



# HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW



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HUNGARIAN  
ASSYRIOLOGICAL  
REVIEW



**ON THE COVER:**

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



# HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW



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Institute of Archaeological Sciences  
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Budapest



# HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Múzeum krt. 4/B., 1088 Budapest, Hungary

### **Email address:**

[info@harjournal.com](mailto:info@harjournal.com)

### **Design and typesetting:**

Attila Király ([attila@litikum.hu](mailto:attila@litikum.hu))

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# Vorwort

Zsolt Simon\*

\* – Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Email: [zsltsimon@gmail.com](mailto:zsltsimon@gmail.com)

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.

Im Schatten des Luwischen, das seine Popularität innerhalb der Forschungsgemeinschaft u.a. auch spektakulären Inschriftenfunden verdankt, steht jedoch die ebenfalls schnell voranschreitende Erforschung seiner Schwestersprache, des Lykischen (und seiner Varietäten). Um den Austausch über die zahlreichen neuen Ergebnisse zu diesem Thema innerhalb eines angemessenen Forums zu fördern und der Forschung weitere Impulse zu geben, wurde dem Lykischen im Rahmen des Wörterbuchprojekts „*The Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages*“ am Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München ein zweitägiger internationaler Workshop („*Current Research on Lycian*“, 16.-17. Februar 2017) gewidmet.

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.

Diese Ausgabe der *Hungarian Assyriological Review* enthält die überarbeitete Fassung eines Großteils der Vorträge dieses Workshops (einige Vorträge wurden bzw. werden aus unterschiedlichen Gründen an anderen Stellen veröffentlicht). Wie in der Altanatolistik üblich, besprechen die Beiträge nicht nur sprachwissenschaftliche Probleme, sondern befassen sich auch mit verwandten Fragestellungen u.a. der alten Geschichte, der Prosopographie, der historischen Geographie und der Numismatik. Daher hoffen wir, dass dieser Band nicht nur innerhalb der historischen Sprachwissenschaften, sondern auch für Interessierte aus benachbarten Disziplinen eine interessante Lektüre bieten kann. Ein vielversprechender Dialog ergibt sich zudem aus dem Umstand, dass einige im Band angesprochene Forschungsthemen gleich von mehreren Autoren aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven behandelt werden.

Schließlich möchte ich meinen aufrichtigen Dank für diejenigen ausdrücken, ohne die der Workshop und dieser Band nicht hätten zustande kommen können. Hier ist zunächst die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft zu nennen, die durch die Finanzierung des *eDiAna*-Wörterbuchprojekts den dazugehörigen Workshop überhaupt erst ermöglicht hat. Für die Unterstützung bei der reibungslosen Organisation des Workshops danke ich außerdem meinen Kolleginnen Anja Busse und Tatiana Frühwirt sowie insbesondere der ehemaligen Institutssekretärin Regine Reichenbach. Des Weiteren bin ich meinen Mitherausgebern des *Hungarian Assyriological Review* dankbar, die freundlicherweise bereit waren, die Ergebnisse des Workshops in unserer Zeitschrift zu veröffentlichen. Nicht zuletzt gilt mein Dank allen Vortragenden und den Autorinnen und Autoren dieses Bandes, insbesondere für ihre Geduld während der langen Vorbereitungszeit vor der Veröffentlichung.





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


Ignasi-Xavier Adiego\*

\* – University of Barcelona. Email: [ignasi.adiego@gmail.com](mailto:ignasi.adiego@gmail.com)

**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*, *waxssebllimi*, *waxssepddimi*, *uxssepddimi*), that seem to be chaotically distributed. The present paper proposes to consider *Waxssebllimi* 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 *waxssebllimi-waxssepddimi-uxsepddimi* 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 *waxsse rddimi*, *ddimiu*, *waxssebe*.<sup>1</sup> 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:

---

<sup>1</sup> 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 Kherēi 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 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) and in coins of a more recent date (the first decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC), Jenkins suggested the existence of two dynasts named *Wexssere*.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

(4) The appearance of a new coin type, published by Özüdoğru<sup>4</sup> containing a name *uxssepddimi* (misread there as *[wa]xssepddimi*)<sup>5</sup> 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) *waxssebe* must be read *waxssebl* and it is in fact the abbreviation of a name that we can read completely in two new coin types: *waxsseblimi*.

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) *waxsseblimi*, abbreviated as *waxssebl*.

c) *waxssepddimi*, possibly abbreviated as *waxsse* in M 133b.

d) *uxssepddimi*.

<sup>2</sup> Jenkins 1959, 33.

<sup>3</sup> For further detailed information, see Vismara 1989a, 27–33.

<sup>4</sup> Özüdoğru 2007.

<sup>5</sup> 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 *waxssepdimi*, 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,<sup>6</sup> where the coin legend was read as *wexsser urwēi* [sic!]. The reading was improved in Mørkholm – Neumann 1977, but the misreading persisted: *wexsser ddimi*. The previous work of reference for Lycian epigraphy on coins was Babelon's *Traité*;<sup>7</sup> but in publishing this coin (n° 442), Babelon gave no reading of the initial letters *waxssep*, limiting himself to offering a drawing of the final part of the name:<sup>8</sup>

EΠΕΡΟ (?)

FIG. 2. Babelon's drawing of the legend on the coin n° 442 (Babelon 1910, n° 442).

Of course, this drawing, which shows the letters inverted, is the starting point of the misreading *urwēi* in SNG von Aulock 4200, corrected as *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 *Les Perses achéménides, les satrapes et les dynastes tributaires de leur empire, Chypre et Phénicie*,<sup>9</sup> 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 *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: ΕΒΨΣΤΡ *waxssep*:

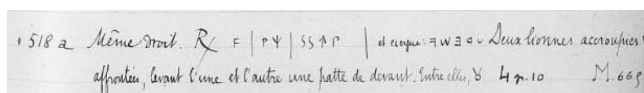


FIG. 3. Babelon's (?) handwritten notes *ad pag.* 76 of the exemplar of *Les Perses achéménides* (Babelon 1893) conserved in BNF. Source: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k399051b/f278> (last accessed 11 October 2021).

If the manuscript additions are by Babelon, and if they were made before the publication of his *Traité* (both reasonable assumptions), the only explanation is that Babelon overlooked this note when he was preparing the *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 *waxssepdimi*:<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> SNG von Aulock 4200.

<sup>7</sup> Babelon 1910.

<sup>8</sup> In a note Babelon mentions Six 1886 and de Luynes 1852, but neither of these works gives a reading or drawing of the legend.

<sup>9</sup> Babelon 1893.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Konuk 2016.



**FIG. 4.** Reverse of Babelon 1910, n° 442 (BNF). Source: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534848z/> (last accessed 11 October 2021).

2.2. The other note is a further consequence of the newly attested form *uxssepddimi*. The symbol  $\Psi$  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,<sup>11</sup> it is the result of a combination of the diskeles – a symbol that she links to the dynast Wexssere II – with the letter  $\Psi$  x, initial of *xñtawata* ‘king, ruler’ [sic].<sup>12</sup> For Kolb and Tietz<sup>13</sup> it is rather a compromise between a symbol  $\Psi$  found in Tlos (cf. the abovementioned coin of *Waxssepdđimi*, Babelon 1910, n° 442, where it appears) and the Lycian letter  $\Psi$  x, 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  $\Psi$  the three initial letters of the name *uxssepddimi*, O  $\Psi$  s (*uxs*). This is particularly visible on some coins minted in Zagaba, as the following images show:



**FIG. 5.** Lycian coin from Zagaba with the symbol  $\Psi$  (Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Auction 309, Lot 232, 7 May 2015. Source: <http://www.coinhirsch.de/AUDaten/309-310/WWWOut/00232-WWW.jpg> (last accessed 11 October 2021).

Of course, this origin does not necessarily invalidate the explanations that associate it with the diskeles or with symbols like the one which appears on the coin from Tlos ( $\Psi$ ). We may be dealing with a “visual paretyymology” according to which a symbol has been reinterpreted and remade by bringing it closer to the shape of the initial letter of a name. But in purely descriptive terms, this symbol, from a Lycian perspective, could easily be read as the combination of *u*, *x*, and *s*, the initial letters of the name *uxsepddimi*.

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

<sup>11</sup> Vismara 1996, 10.

<sup>12</sup> 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, *xñtawata* means ‘kingship, rulership’, the Lycian word for ‘king, ruler’ being *xñtawat(i)-*, see Melchert 2004, ss.vv.

<sup>13</sup> Kolb – Tietz 2001, 383.



**FIG. 6.** Lycian coin from Zagaba with the symbol  $\Psi$  (Third Stater, 3.16 g, Nomos Webauktion 2, Lot 128, 14 June 2015. Source: <https://nomosag.com/source/images/webauktions/2/image00128.jpg> (last accessed 11 October 2021).

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',<sup>14</sup> 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,<sup>15</sup> *waxseblimi* is older than *waxssepddimi*. This chronological ordering may be linked to the fact that a spelling *waxseblimi* is less usual than *waxseppddimi* in Lycian. Whereas *-pddi-* shows a group *-pdd-* that is well attested in Lycian in the stem *pdde/pdda-* 'place', *-bll-* 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.<sup>16</sup> It can be segmented as *waxsse-* + *-blimi/pddimi*. According to Neumann,<sup>17</sup> *waxsse-* 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),<sup>18</sup> Ουαξαμοας, Ουαξαμωας (Isauria-Cilicia).<sup>19</sup> The stem appears in Carian names as well: note particularly *uksmu/wksmu*, *uksi*, *uqsi*. Carian Εξαμυης may also belong here.

<sup>14</sup> Melchert 1994, 276.

<sup>15</sup> Vismara 1989a.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Melchert 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Neumann 2007, 416.

<sup>18</sup> KPN §1141-1.

<sup>19</sup> KPN §1141-2-3.

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,<sup>20</sup> 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 Κεσινδηλῖς in Greek and *xesñtedi* in Lycian. Instead of the resort to a graphic mistake,<sup>21</sup> perhaps *xesñtedi*-, Κεσινδηλῖς represents a Carian name, comparable to the Carian name Πισινδηλῖς,<sup>22</sup> 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 Πελδεμῖς,<sup>23</sup> 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 *waxssebllimi*.

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 paronymological 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 *waxssebllimi*: in all these coins, a symbol Υ 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 – *waxssebllimi*, *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<sup>24</sup> and in other studies, she has also uncovered important information on Wexssere II.<sup>25</sup>

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 Teθθiweiβi 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 *waxsepddimi* as *wexss*

<sup>20</sup> Adiego 2019.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Neumann 2007, 121.

<sup>22</sup> KPN §1268; cf. Blümel 1992, 23, who opportunely recalls Lycian Κεσινδηλῖς.

<sup>23</sup> Blümel 1992, 19.

<sup>24</sup> Vismara 1989a.

<sup>25</sup> Vismara 1989b; 1996.

*ddimi (sic!)* 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 *wexss*, *wex*) and *waxsse*. The symbol  $\Psi$ , 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 *waxseblimi* or *waxsepddimi*; and if we accept, as Konuk does, that *waxsepddimi*, *waxseblimi* and *uxsepddimi* 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 Waxsseblimi, 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:<sup>26</sup>

2A. A ruler Wexssere, whose name appears complete in types VII–VIII, XI, XIII and incomplete in types IX–X.

2B. A ruler Waxsseblimi, who appears in the new coin type “Bearded Hermes / triskeles”.

2C. A ruler Waxsepddimi, who appears in type XIII.

2D. A ruler Uxsepddimi, 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 Waxsse( ), a probably abbreviated form of Waxsepddimi (or Waxsseblimi?).

4C. The use of the symbol *u-x-s*, interpretable as the abbreviation of a ruler's name Uxsepddimi.

<sup>26</sup> 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<sup>27</sup> 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 *Waxssebllimi*) 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 *Waxssebllimi*, *Waxssepddimi* and *Uxssepddimi* 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 *tēnegure* / M 217b *tēnagure*. Above I defended the possibility that *Waxssebllimi* 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 *wexss/wexs/wex* may represent a metaphonic variant *\*wexssebllimi* or *\*wexssepddimi*, and/or that in others, *waxsse* could abbreviate the metaphonic variant *\*waxssere*. Note the above-mentioned example of *tēnegure/tēnagure*. 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*, *waxssebllimi* (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-waxssebllimi-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:

(1) Vismara points out that her type I is very close to type II. Both coin types not only share the presence of a symbol  $\frac{\nabla}{\circ}$ , 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 *waxssebllimi*!<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Konuk 2016.

<sup>28</sup> 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 n° 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.

(2) The new coin published by Konuk,<sup>29</sup> 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*.

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

- a) *wexssere*,
- b) *waxssepddimi*,
- c) *uxssepddimi*,
- d) *uxssepddimi – pttara*.

The most striking thing is that the issue with the legend *waxssepddimi* 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 *waxssepddimi* exemplar than in the *wexssere* ones, indicating that the *wexssere*-issues were coined previously.<sup>30</sup> The coins with *uxssepddimi* and *uxssepddimi-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.

(4) 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  $\forall$  is present.

4.4. 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-Waxssepddimi-Uxssepddimi*. 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-Waxssepddimi* and a *Uxssepddimi-Waxssepddimi* 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 *waxssepddimi* is an approach to a Lycian interpretation of the name, as I have proposed, the case for a double

<sup>29</sup> Konuk 2016.

<sup>30</sup> Konuk 2016, 22.

denomination seems even weaker. Finally, the Xanthos stele guarantees that the Lycian name of the dynast was Waxsseppddimi.

(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 4<sup>th</sup> 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 Waxeblimi, Waxeppddimi, Uxeppddimi. 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 Waxeblimi 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 Waxeblimi.
- c) We could also give a consistent explanation of the complex type XIII (Athena/Hermes), where we find Waxeblimi, Waxeppddimi and Uxeppddimi (the latter also accompanied by the place name Patara in one issue), and extend this explanation to the *waxeppddimi* type C (Athena/Facing lions, most probably coined in Tlos) and to the *waxeppddimi* 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 Waxeppddimi-Uxeppddimi should not also be the one attested earlier as Waxeblimi. In fact, I wonder if the modifications of the name can be related to the extension of his power: Waxeppddimi could be a deliberate lycianization adopted when he extended his power from Wexssere to Tlos, and Uxeppddimi the local form the name adopted in Patara.

It is not difficult to link Waxeppddimi'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 Waxeppddimi is apparently explained in the context of the failed military campaign of the Athenian general Melesander,<sup>31</sup> it is an attractive hypothesis to imagine that Waxeppddimi acted as an ally of Melesander and shared his fate.<sup>32</sup>

d) Finally, the coins attributed by Vismara to Wexssere II seem to point to another dynast, a *Waxe(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 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. This dynast seems to be attested in Wexssere and also in Zagaba; he is unlikely to have been the Waxeppddimi 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 Waxeppddimi's defeat. It is true that we could

<sup>31</sup> Melesander's campaign as narrated in the Xanthos stele (see Cau 1999).

<sup>32</sup> Vismara 1989a seems to assume this implicitly for 'her' Wexssere I, who then would coincide chronologically and politically with 'our' Waxeblimi-Waxeppddimi-Uxeppddimi.



lower the date of Waxesepddimi'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 *waxsse* 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<sup>33</sup> on which the symbol  $\frac{\forall}{\circ}$  *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<sup>34</sup> 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 Waxesseblimi, 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 Waxesepddimi (Uxssepddimi in Patara). He was defeated by Xerēi around 430 BC or at a later date, but in any case during the last decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

b) A ruler of Wexssere called Waxsse( ), probably Waxesepddimi, known also for his symbol  $\frac{\forall}{\circ}$  *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,<sup>35</sup> 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<sup>36</sup>), 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 Waxesseblimi-Waxesepddimi-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

<sup>33</sup> Vismara 1989b, n. 213.

<sup>34</sup> Keen 1998, 155.

<sup>35</sup> Mørkholm 1964.

<sup>36</sup> 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<sup>37</sup> and more recently Vismara,<sup>38</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, but also issued its later coinages of the 4<sup>th</sup> 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*, *waxssepddimi*, *uxssepddimi*), 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 *waxssepddimi* (with its rather banal variant *uxssepddimi*) 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 *waxssepddimi*. Finally, I stated that there are clear examples of interchangeability between *wexssere* on the one hand and *waxssebllimi-waxssepddimi-uxssepddimi* 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 *waxssepddimi* group; or (2) *waxssere* 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.

<sup>37</sup> Spier 1987.

<sup>38</sup> Vismara 2005.

### Afterthought: A further note on *-bllimi-/pddimi-*

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

Lycian		Carian
-BΛΛ -		*-ΛΛ<-
-bll-		*-pdd-
-ΓΔΔ-		*-ΓΔΔ-
-pdd-		*-bll-

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.




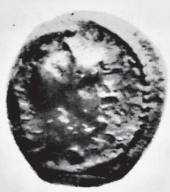








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**TABLE 1.** Coinages of Wexssere-Waxsepddimi-Uxssepddimi with Athena-Hermes (Vismara's Type XIII) – Coinage of Wexssere-Waxsepddimi. Vismara 72: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534847j>; "new": Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auction: 422 Lot:90 (26.04.2018), <https://images.auex.de/img/5//86/00090Q00.JPG>; Vismara 74–75: Vismara 1989a, 98 Vismara 76: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534849c> (last accessed 11 October 2021).

OBV-1					OBV-2
					
	73		74	75	
					
wexssere ←	wexssere →	wexssere →	wexssere ←	waxsepddimi	wexssere
8.36 g	8.30 g	8.56 g	7.93 g	8.36 g	8.05 g
Vismara 72	Vismara 73	new	Vismara 74	Vismara 75	Vismara 76
REV-1	REV-2		REV-1	REV-3	REV-4

**TABLE 2.** Coinages of Wexssere-Waxsepddimi-Uxssepddimi with Athena-Hermes (Vismara's Type XIII) – Coinage of Uxssepddimi-Pttara. New-1: Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger. Auction 407/408, Lot 768, 07.11.2012, <https://images.auex.de/img/5//67/00768Q00.JPG>; New-2: Roma Numismatics Ltd. Auction IX, Lot 373, 22.03.2015, <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=1411632>; New-3: UBS Gold & Numismatics. Auction 59, Lot 5790, 27.01.2004, <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=160594>; Babelon 420: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534845q> (last accessed 11 October 2021).

OBV-1			
			
			
uxssepddimi pttara	uxssepddimi pttara	uxssepddimi pttara	uxssepddimi ("ddimiu")
8.27 g	8.37 g	8.00 g	8.07 g
new	new	new	Babelon 420
REV-1	REV-2		





# Palaeographic Dating of Lycian Inscriptions. A Critical Review of Former Studies and a New Approach

Birgit Christiansen\*


\* – Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Email: [birgit.christiansen@lrz.uni-muenchen.de](mailto:birgit.christiansen@lrz.uni-muenchen.de)

**Abstract:** The aim of this article is a critical examination of earlier palaeographic studies of Lycian inscriptions. The starting point is the corpus of inscriptions whose contents provide information on their dating. On the basis of a survey of the letter forms attested in these texts, an attempt will be made to reconstruct their development. This is intended to provide a solid foundation for future palaeographic studies and other research on Lycian history, culture and language. The study will demonstrate that some letters actually show developments that can be used for palaeographic dating of inscriptions without a text-internal indication of their date of origin. However, it should be taken into account that most of the letter variants already appear in inscriptions that were composed during the reign of Erbbina / Arbinas, and thus in the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. This fact has been overlooked in previous studies. It therefore cannot be ruled out that an inscription showing these variants may date back to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, although these variants are more frequently attested in younger inscriptions.

In addition, palaeographic dating is made more difficult by other circumstances too. The letter forms should therefore only be taken as a rough indication of the inscription's date of origin. Greater certainty might be achieved through a cumulative approach. However, the starting point has always to be the inscriptions with text-internal information about their dating. It is therefore essential to examine them carefully with regard to their palaeographic characteristics before using other criteria.

**Keywords:** Lycian, Lycian inscriptions, palaeography, palaeographic dating, letter forms, Lycian alphabet

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## 1. Introduction

The dating of archaeological and written sources is undoubtedly of central importance for the reconstruction of historical events and the reconstruction of the development of language and writing. To date sources from Ancient Lycia, various approaches have been suggested. They can roughly be divided into three groups:

### 1. Archaeological methods

### 2. Epigraphic methods

### 3. Linguistic methods

So far, archaeological methods have focused on the dating of tombs and thus on the most frequent group of inscribed objects. They aim at dating the tombs on the basis of their architectural form and in particular the design of their façades and chambers. If present, they also take reliefs, inscriptions, grave goods and other finds associated with the tomb into account.<sup>1</sup>

Epigraphic methods investigate in particular the location and material of the inscription as well as its design and contents. As for the latter, special attention is paid to the author, recipient and other information that shed light on the date of origin and historical and cultural contexts. For dating Lycian inscriptions, the so-called dating formulae which state that the monument was built during the reign of a certain dynast are of particular importance. With regard to the design of the inscription special attention is paid to the ductus as well as the use and shape of particular signs. Aside from letters, word dividers, numerals and other characters such as monograms or symbols may also be of relevance.<sup>2</sup>

Linguistic methods focus on words and phrases as well as phonetic, morphological and syntactic characteristics that indicate linguistic development and the influences of other languages. In the case of the Lycian inscriptions, the occurrence of the accusative ending *-u* instead of *-ã* as well as the phrase (*hrppi*) *atli* (*ehbi*) ‘for himself’ have been used as dating criteria.<sup>3</sup> The latter has been interpreted as a loan from Greek (equivalent to the Greek reflexive pronoun ἐαυτῷ) replacing the older, brachyological phrasing which can be found in most Lycian inscriptions. According to Borchhardt, Eichner and Seyer, the use of the phrase (*hrppi*) *atli* (*ehbi*) ‘for himself’ indicates a growing influence of Greek on Lycian and thus a rather later date of the inscription (presumably the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE).<sup>4</sup>

In terms of reliability and precision, the methods differ considerably. The safest and most precise way is to date the inscriptions on the basis of the dating formulae and other text-internal indications.<sup>5</sup>

However, this method can only be used for a limited number of texts. If the inscription does not contain such information, as is the case with the majority of texts, additional criteria must be applied. This has already been done in various studies. Whereas some of them focus on palaeographic and/or linguistic criteria, others pursue the objective of developing a relative chronology on the grounds of the design of the tombs’ façades and burial chambers as well as reliefs, grave goods, and other findings associated with the tomb.<sup>6</sup>

Although these studies have led to significant results, they are not without methodological problems. By far the greatest pitfall is circular reasoning. Although this issue has often been addressed, it has so far not been taken sufficiently into account.

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g. Hüllden 2006, 18–21, 44–50, 102–106; Seyer 2006 and 2009; Kuban 2012, 120–123 (all with further literature).

<sup>2</sup> For the use or absence of word dividers as a possible dating criterion see Christiansen 2020.

<sup>3</sup> See the detailed study by Jenniges – Swiggers 2000 and subsequently also Rix 2015, 113–115.

<sup>4</sup> See Borchhardt *et al.* 2004, 28–29; Seyer 2006, 726–727; Eichner *apud* Seyer 2006, 726 n. 50 and Seyer 2009, 55 n. 21. According to Seyer (2009, 55 n. 21), the attestation of this formula in an inscription points to a dating in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE at the earliest. For a sceptical view see Rix 2015, 108–113.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., also Laroche 1979, 54; Seyer 2006, 720 and Eichner *apud* Seyer 2006, 720 n. 7; Rix 2015, 74.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., Seyer 2006 and Seyer 2009 with further literature.



## 2. The method

On the basis of inscriptions whose contents provide information about their dating, several scholars have tried to establish palaeographic criteria for the dating of inscriptions to which this does not apply. The focus of the method is on letters of which different variants are attested. The method examines when a particular variant appears for the first time. If a certain variant is already or exclusively present in texts that on internal grounds can be dated to an earlier period, it is considered old. If it appears exclusively in inscriptions of a younger date of origin, it is classified as young.

In various fields of text studies, the method has proven very effective.<sup>7</sup> Its success, however, depends strongly on the material upon which it is based. In order to achieve reliable results, a number of conditions must be met. Most important is that the text corpus is sufficiently extensive and relatively homogeneous in terms of the nature of the written sources and their regional distribution. Furthermore, it is important that the period from which the texts were handed down to us is not too short, since writing habits usually change only slowly over time. In the case of the Lycian inscriptions, these conditions are unfortunately not sufficiently met. In addition, there are uncertainties regarding the inscriptions with a text-internal indication of their date of origin. Thus, the reign of several dynasts is uncertain or can only be determined approximately. Moreover, it is not always clear to which personalities or events the inscriptions refer. The following list provides an overview of the obstacles we face in the dating of Lycian inscriptions:

1. The number of inscriptions containing a text-internal indication of their date of origin is relatively small. Thus, only about 1/8 of all known inscriptions contain a dating formula or other relevant information.
2. The reign of certain rulers mentioned in the inscriptions is uncertain or can only roughly be determined.
3. The reigns of certain rulers from the various regions of Lycia overlap.
4. In most cases, it remains uncertain whether an inscription dates from the beginning, middle or end of the reign of a certain ruler.
5. The period over which Lycian inscriptions are attested is comparatively small. It certainly lasted from the reign of Harpagos (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> or last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century) to the reign of Alexander the Great (356–323 c. BCE). Whether there are inscriptions of an earlier or later date remains unclear. According to Rix,<sup>8</sup> TL 35 might date in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Ptolemy II (and thus the year 282/281).
6. The inscriptions with a text-internal indication of their date of origin are unevenly distributed in terms of time and region (see tables 1 and 2). Inscriptions dating from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE all stem from Western Lycia (especially Xanthos and the nearby Letôon) and Central Lycia. Inscriptions dating from the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century mostly stem from Eastern and Central Lycia (in particular the inscriptions dating from the time of Perikle). Only a small number of inscriptions can be dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century by text-internal evidence. Most of them stem from Western Lycia (N 320 from the Letôon near Xanthos, TL 29 from Tlos and TL 35 from Üsümlü near Kadyanda), whereas only one of them stems from Eastern Lycia (TL 99 from Limyra). For this reason, it is often difficult to determine whether a certain letter variant is due to a general development of writing or rather to local traditions or the idiosyncrasies of certain scribes or stonemasons.

<sup>7</sup> This applies, for instance, to Hittite studies. For an overview see, e.g., Weeden 2011, 42–56 with further literature.

<sup>8</sup> Rix 2015, 295–306.

7. Some inscriptions differ from the majority in terms of the social status of their respective authors and with regard to genre and content. At the same time, they show a more elaborate design than most of the tomb inscriptions.<sup>9</sup> This suggests that they were also carved by other stonemasons. If they were chiselled from a draft, the same is presumably true for the latter's composers. Letter variants that appear in either these or the less elaborate inscriptions might therefore rather be due to a difference in the training of the stonemasons and/or composers than represent some other chronological stage of development.

8. Most letter variants are already attested in inscriptions that, by means of contents, can be dated to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> or the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Only a small number of variants is exclusively attested within inscriptions which can be dated by means of their contents to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup>

9. Most Lycian inscriptions show a mixture of different variants of one and the same letter. This already applies to inscriptions dating from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Developments from older to younger letter variants are therefore difficult to trace.

The aim of the present article is a critical evaluation of previous studies aiming at the development of a palaeographic dating model. The other methods will be discussed in a further paper.<sup>11</sup>

### 3. Previous studies

Fundamental studies on palaeographic dating have been published by Bryce, Laroche and Rix.<sup>12</sup> In all these studies, the inscriptions dated by content provide the basis for palaeographic dating. However, the evidence is not identical among all authors. The main reason for this is the fact that some of the inscriptions were published only later. This concerns in particular the study by Bryce<sup>13</sup> who could not include the inscriptions from the Letôon and other later text findings. In a few cases, texts were accidentally or for some reason excluded. In addition, Rix<sup>14</sup> has included inscriptions whose date of origin can only be identified indirectly. In comparison with other inscriptions, their date of origin remains less certain. Furthermore, the three authors use different letters as diagnostic signs. Bryce focuses only on the variants of the letters <ã> and <ẽ> and concludes that only the variants of <ẽ> are suitable for dating.<sup>15</sup> Laroche examines the variants of the letters <a>, <ã>, <b>, <ẽ>, <θ>, <k>, <n>, <p> and <x>.<sup>16</sup> In her in-depth study, Rix discusses the development of all letters of the Lycian alphabet in general.<sup>17</sup> As diagnostic signs for the dating of texts she defines the letters <a>, <ã>, <ẽ>, <n>, <p>, <s> and <x>.

Table 1 (see at the end of the paper) gives an overview of the inscriptions included in the studies by the respective authors. It also indicates to which individuals the inscriptions refer and in what way this happens. Rulers whose date of reign is controversial, or otherwise unclear references are highlighted in grey.

As the table shows, Bryce's study<sup>18</sup> is based on 11 inscriptions. These are TL 77 (Harpagos); TL 43 (Xeriga); TL 44 (Xeriga and Xerëi); TL 67, TL 83, TL 103–104 (all Perikle); TL 40 and TL 61

<sup>9</sup> Cf., e.g., TL 44; N 311, N 320, N 324–325.

<sup>10</sup> For a detailed examination see further below.

<sup>11</sup> See Christiansen [forthcoming](#).

<sup>12</sup> Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979, 54–56; Rix 2015.

<sup>13</sup> Bryce 1976.

<sup>14</sup> Rix 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Bryce 1976.

<sup>16</sup> Laroche 1979, 54–56.

<sup>17</sup> Rix 2015.

<sup>18</sup> Bryce 1976.

(Autophradates); TL 45 (Pixodaros) and TL 29, which he dates in the reign of the Carian satrap Idreus (between 351/50–344/343 rather than the reign of Alexander the Great).<sup>19</sup>

The texts with N-numbers could not be included by Bryce because they were still unknown to him. The texts TL 11, TL 35, TL 128, TL 133 and TL 135 were either left out accidentally or were not considered as reliable or relevant for dating.

Laroche's study from 1979 is based on 14 inscriptions: TL 44 (Xeriga and Xerēi); N 311, N 324 and N 325 (Erbbina / Arbinas, engraved on the same statue base); TL 67, TL 83, TL 103, TL 133 (Perikle); TL 40 (Autophradates); TL 45 and N 320 (Pixodaros);<sup>20</sup> N 318 (Arssāma / Arsames); TL 29 (Alexander the Great) and TL 35 (Ptolemy I/II?). The following inscriptions are not taken into account: TL 77 and N 310 (Harpagos); TL 43 (Xeriga); TL 64 and N 315 (Mizrppata); TL 128 and TL 135 (Trbbēnimi); TL 11 (Arttuṃpara); TL 104 (Perikle) and TL 61 (Autophradates).

Rix<sup>21</sup> takes into account a total of 26 inscriptions. These are in the order they are listed in her chart 2: TL 77 and N 310 (Harpagos); TL 43 (Xeriga); TL 44 (Xeriga and Xerēi); N 324–325 and N 311 (Erbbina); TL 135 and TL 128 (Trbbēnimi); TL 11 (Arttuṃpara); TL 104, TL 103, TL 132, TL 133, TL 67, TL 83 and N 314 (Perikle); TL 40 and TL 61 (Autophradates); TL 64 and N 315 (Mizrppata); N 320 and TL 45 (Pixodaros); TL 99 (post-Hecatomnid period); TL 29 (post-Alexander); and TL 35 (Ptolemy II?). Compared to Bryce and Laroche, Rix thus takes a considerably larger amount of inscriptions into account. This, however, includes also some dubious cases which in the following I would like to discuss:

### ***TL 77 and N 310 (Arppaxu/Harpagos)***

Both inscriptions contain a dating formula stating that the tomb was built 'under the reign of Arppaxu'. From this Rix concludes that the inscriptions date from the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The date of the reign of Arppaxu/Harpagos is, however, uncertain. In contrast to his son Xeriga and his father or father-in-law Kuprlli, whose reigns are also unsure, Harpagos's name is not attested on coins. It is still a matter of debate why this is the case. Furthermore, there is no consensus on the question of how and when Harpagos came into power and when his rule ended.

In more recent times, many researchers argue for a reign in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>22</sup> Other scholars, such as, e.g. Bryce and Kolb<sup>23</sup> consider a dating of Arppaxu's/Harpagos's reign to the last quarter or end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century as more likely.

Rix is among the ones who vote for the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>24</sup> The way, however, she tries to substantiate her hypothesis is based on circular reasoning. This becomes clear in the following section:<sup>25</sup>

"Seyer (2004) 221-236 describes and discusses the site, the tomb and the inscription [sc. the tomb bearing TL 77 in Çindam – B. Christiansen] in detail. As discussed in Chapter 1 Bryce is reluctant to accept that inscriptions were being produced this early, but since the appearance of the tomb and palaeography of the inscription both suggest an early date, his concerns appear unfounded."

<sup>19</sup> Bryce 1976 erroneously 451/450–444/443.

<sup>20</sup> In contrast to more recent views (see, e.g., Funke 2008 and Storme 2014), Laroche (1979, 55) assumes that the text has been composed in the year 358 instead of 337.

<sup>21</sup> Rix 2015.

<sup>22</sup> Thus, e.g., Keen 1998, 117; Borchhardt 2000, 108 with n. 255; Seyer 2004, 226 with n. 21; Hüllden 2006, 108 with n. 461; Rix 2015, 75.

<sup>23</sup> Bryce 1982, 332; 1986, 46 and Kolb 2018, 317–319.

<sup>24</sup> Rix 2015, 119–131.

<sup>25</sup> Rix 2015, 120 n. 217.

In order to establish a palaeographic dating system on the basis of inscriptions containing a dating formula, the method disallows the dating of rulers mentioned in the dating formulae based on the letter forms attested in the inscription. The same is true for the design of the tombs. The latter becomes clear when reading Seyer's article thoroughly.

Thus, Seyer points out that the tomb bearing TL 77 in Çindam shows an uncanonical form.<sup>26</sup> In order to explain this deviation from the major part of tomb buildings, Seyer refers to the dating formula which – in his view – suggests that the tomb was built in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>27</sup> Kolb comments on Seyer's assumption in the following way:<sup>28</sup>

“M. Seyers Schlußfolgerung auf ein Datum der beiden Grabinschriften von Çindam und Phellos noch vor der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. ist abzulehnen. Es besteht kein Hinderungsgrund, Harpagos' Herrschaft in Zentrallykien bis in das letzte Viertel des 5. Jhs. zu datieren.<sup>29</sup> Ob er auf seinen Bruder Khezikha folgte oder umgekehrt, ist unklar.”

In sum, we can state that it remains uncertain whether TL 77 and N 310 as well as the tombs bearing them had already been composed by the middle or the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Nevertheless, they are certainly the oldest, or at least among the oldest, Lycian inscriptions which can be dated in terms of content.

#### **TL 44 (*Xeriga and Xerēi*)**

The authorship of TL 44 is still a matter of debate. Whereas some scholars argue that it was composed by Xeriga, other scholars consider it more likely that it was authored by Xerēi.<sup>30</sup> A further hypothesis was brought forward by Domingo Gyax and Tietz.<sup>31</sup> The two authors argue that the Lycian A inscription on the one hand and the Lycian B inscription and the Greek epigram on the other hand were likely composed at different times. Whereas the Lycian A inscription in their view must have been composed after 404/403 since TL 44b 58–60 refers both to the rule of Darius (II) and Artaxerxes (II), the pillar, as well as the Lycian B inscription and the Greek epigram (TL 44c and d), might have been composed about 20 years earlier. They further argue that it was Xeriga who commissioned the pillar and the inscriptions in Lycian B and Greek, whereas the Lycian A inscription was presumably authored by Merehi (II), the youngest brother of Xeriga and Xerēi.<sup>32</sup>

Although it cannot be ruled out that the various inscriptions were composed at different times, it should be noted that in terms of palaeography the Lycian A and Lycian B inscriptions are very similar. Therefore, it was probably the same stonemason who composed them (or, respectively, members of the same stonemason school). In addition, also the archaeological evidence makes the hypothesis of Domingo Gyax and Tietz<sup>33</sup> unlikely.<sup>34</sup> More recently, Lotz argued on the basis of the stoichedon writing of the Lycian inscriptions that the pillar was commissioned by Xerēi.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Seyer 2004, 221–236.

<sup>27</sup> For an extensive discussion of the reliability of the formula as a dating criterion, see Christiansen *forthcoming*.

<sup>28</sup> Kolb 2018, 319.

<sup>29</sup> Kolb 2018, 393 n. 918 further notes that this date was generally accepted until it was questioned by Bryce (1986, 46) and Keen (1998, 117), who considered a dating in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century as more likely.

<sup>30</sup> For overviews of the research see Domingo Gyax – Tietz 2005, 91 and Lotz 2017, 141–143.

<sup>31</sup> Domingo Gyax – Tietz 2005.

<sup>32</sup> See Domingo Gyax – Tietz 2005, 97.

<sup>33</sup> Domingo Gyax – Tietz 2005, 93.

<sup>34</sup> See Dönmez in Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 130.

<sup>35</sup> Lotz 2017.

The same applies to Mūseler and Schürr,<sup>36</sup> whose argumentation is further based on numismatic and historical observations. In contrast to Domingo Gyax and Tietz,<sup>37</sup> they assume that TL 44b 58–60 does not refer to Darius II and Artaxerxes II, but to Darius I and Artaxerxes I.<sup>38</sup>

### **TL 128 and TL 135 (*Trbbēnimi*)**

The author of TL 128 and TL 135 refers to himself as *tideri* of *Trbbēnimi*. From this Rix concludes that both inscriptions probably date earlier than the ones referring to Perikle.<sup>39</sup> Although this hypothesis is not unlikely, it is based on several debatable assumptions. First, it remains unclear whether the name *Trbbēnimi* refers to the dynast who might have shared rule with Perikle for some time and then was succeeded by him. Second, it is debated among scholars whether this dynast is the same person who is already mentioned in TL 44. If so, *Trbbēnimi* would have been politically active for a very long period, namely from about 430 to 380.<sup>40</sup> Third, it is uncertain whether *tideri* is to be translated by ‘collacteus(?) / collactea(?)’.<sup>41</sup> If the author of TL 128 and TL 135 was indeed the ‘collacteus(?) / collactea(?)’ of the dynast who shared rule with Perikle for some time and then was succeeded by him, both inscriptions might indeed date a little bit earlier than the ones dating in the time of Perikle. They can, however, also be contemporary to the ones referring to Perikle.

### **TL 99 (*Purihimeti, son of Masasa*)**

As for TL 99, the nearby Greek inscription which in all likelihood was authored by the same person suggests that TL 99 dates from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>42</sup> Whether the inscription dates from the post-hecatomnid period, as Rix claims,<sup>43</sup> remains, nevertheless, dubious.

### **TL 64 and N 315 (*Mizrppata*)**

From a methodological point of view, Rix’s argumentation regarding TL 64 and N 315 is extremely problematic. According to their dating formulae, both inscriptions likely date from the reign of *Mizrppata*. In the case of N 315, the formula is only partially preserved. The remains of the letters, though, make the reading *Mizrppata* quite plausible.

Since N 315 shows once the later form of <x> and an unusual form of <ē> and according to the edition of Neumann<sup>44</sup> the accusative form *xupu*, Rix argues that the name *Mizrppata* probably does not refer to the dynast *Mizrppata*/*Miθrapata* who ruled until approximately 380 and is known from coin legends. Instead, she considers it as more likely that the inscription refers to a second dynast of this name who ruled after 360.<sup>45</sup>

She justifies her assertion by claiming that the letter forms as well as the accusative ending in -u are not attested before the reign of Perikle. This, however, is circular reasoning and thus methodologically not permitted.

<sup>36</sup> Mūseler – Schürr 2018.

<sup>37</sup> Domingo Gyax – Tietz 2005.

<sup>38</sup> See Mūseler – Schürr 2018, 390–392.

<sup>39</sup> Rix 2015, 189.

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., Bryce 1986, 47; Thonemann 2009, 175; Rix 2015, 189 with n. 364.

<sup>41</sup> See Neumann 2007, 360 with further literature.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Wörrle 1991, 218–224.

<sup>43</sup> Rix 2015, 82–83 and chart 2.

<sup>44</sup> Neumann 1979.

<sup>45</sup> Rix 2015, 190–191. For this proposal see already Schürr 2012, 34.



The present study, by contrast, assumes that TL 64 and N 315 date from the reign of the dynast Mizrppata/Miθrapata who ruled until approximately 380.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the reading *xupu* at the beginning of the text is uncertain. On the basis of recent photographs taken by the Viennese ‘Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions’ project,<sup>46</sup> Neumann’s reading of the letter sequence could not be confirmed (see Fig. 1–2). While the first letter is certainly <x>, the reading of the following signs as <u>, <p>, <u>, along with a word divider, is doubtful. Instead of <u> the letter following the initial <x> could also be <ē>, whereas the third letter might be <r> rather than <p>. Whether the following letter is to be interpreted as <u> is also doubtful. The fifth sign is, in my view, rather to be interpreted as <n> than a word divider. The sixth sign is rather <ā> than <a>. If so, the verb *pr̥nawate* might have been preceded only by the tomb owner’s name in the nominative and maybe a title or another nominative form. Considering the fact that a beginning of the text with the accusative *xupu* without a preceding demonstrative pronoun and followed by the tomb owner’s name would be singular, this appears all the more possible.

As for the reading of <x> in *xñtawwa*[.] in line 2, Neumann’s reading could be verified. In contrast to the form attested at the beginning of line 1 (∨), line 2 shows the variant (∨). The first form of <ē> in *ēnē* is, however, ∴, whereas the second form is ∴ (Fig. 3).

### TL 35 (Ptolemy I or II?)

As for TL 35, we have to keep in mind that its opening line remains unclear. Since the inscription is only known from the handcopy in Kalinka’s edition<sup>47</sup> and a sketch from Heberdey’s notebook from 1898 kept in the ‘Schedensammlung’ of the ‘Working Group Epigraphy’ of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, the reading cannot be confirmed.<sup>48</sup> Thus, it cannot be decided whether the drawing and transliteration of Kalinka<sup>49</sup> or the sketch in Heberdey’s notebook from 1898 kept in the ‘Schedensammlung’ of the ‘Working Group Epigraphy’ of the Austrian Academy of Science in Vienna is correct. According to the drawing as well as the transliteration in Kalinka’s monograph,<sup>50</sup> the word *uhi* ‘year’ is preceded by four strokes IIII representing the numeral 4 (with the first stroke only partly preserved), while the name of the ruler is to be interpreted as Pttule. By contrast, the sketch in Heberdey’s notebook suggests that the numeral is 3 (III) and the name is to be interpreted as Pttuļume (or similar). This would be much closer to the Greek name Ptolemy (or rather Ptolemaios) than Pttule which lacks an equivalent to the second part of the Greek name.<sup>51</sup>

If the text was really authored by king Ptolemy, it remains uncertain whether he was Ptolemy I or II.<sup>52</sup> If the text was issued in the 4<sup>th</sup> (or 3<sup>rd</sup>) year of Ptolemy I, it would date from 302/301 (or 303/302); if it was issued in the 4<sup>th</sup> (or 3<sup>rd</sup>) year of Ptolemy II, it would date from the year 282/281 (or 283/282). In this latter case, it would be the only inscription providing internal information about its dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> My special thanks go to Diether Schürr for discussing with me the reading of the text after visiting the tomb in June 2018.

<sup>47</sup> Kalinka 1901, 32.

<sup>48</sup> For a photo of the sketch see Rix 2015, Fig. 22.

<sup>49</sup> Kalinka 1901, 32.

<sup>50</sup> Kalinka 1901, 32.

<sup>51</sup> See Fig. 4. See also Rix 2015, 295–296 and Fig. 22, who, however, does not discuss the different numerals in the two drawings.

<sup>52</sup> For detailed discussions see Wörrle 2012, 363 and Rix 2015, 295–311 with further literature.

<sup>53</sup> For the discussion see, e.g., Wörrle 2012, 363 and Rix 2015, 306 with further literature.

## Conclusion

In sum, Rix's palaeographic dating framework shows a number of shortcomings. It is partly based on circular reasoning and includes inscriptions whose date of origin is unclear or controversial.

Table 2 (see at the end of the paper) provides an overview of the alleged reigns of rulers mentioned in the inscriptions as well as the alleged dating of texts such as TL 99 containing other internal information about their dating. It also shows the overlapping between the rulership of certain rulers. Table 3 (see at the end of the paper) provides an overview of the geographical distribution of the inscriptions with text-internal information about their dating.

## 4. The main results of previous palaeographic research on Lycian inscriptions

### 4.1 Bryce's study

With regard to the variants of <ã>, Bryce states that  $\text{𐌂}$ ,  $\text{𐌃}$  and  $\text{𐌄}$  are most frequent. Also  $\text{𐌅}$ ,  $\text{𐌆}$ ,  $\text{𐌇}$  and  $\text{𐌈}$  are often encountered, while  $\text{𐌉}$ ,  $\text{𐌊}$ ,  $\text{𐌋}$ ,  $\text{𐌌}$ ,  $\text{𐌍}$  are rarer. A clear chronological or regional distribution of the variants is not apparent, according to Bryce.

As for the letter <ẽ>, Bryce states that its most frequent variant is  $\text{𐌎}$ . He considers the form  $\text{𐌏}$ , which is only attested in TL 55, as “almost identical to  $\text{𐌎}$ ” and not as a distinct variant.<sup>54</sup> Variants are, according to Bryce,  $\text{𐌐}$  and  $\text{𐌑}$ , which are also quite frequent, as well as the rarer forms  $\text{𐌒}$ ,  $\text{𐌓}$ ,  $\text{𐌔}$ ,  $\text{𐌕}$ . With regard to their chronological distribution, Bryce states that in the older inscriptions only  $\text{𐌎}$  is attested, while the variant  $\text{𐌐}$  appears not before the reign of Perikle. From the fact that in TL 104 it alternates with the older variant, the author concludes that TL 104 marks a transitional stage. Bryce further notes that from the reign of Perikle onwards  $\text{𐌐}$  and  $\text{𐌑}$  become more and more frequent. In contrast to <ã>, <ẽ> could therefore be used as a dating criterion.

Apart from this, Bryce notes that the younger variants frequently appear in the bilingual texts showing the growing influence of the Greek language.<sup>55</sup> Another important observation is that the older variant  $\text{𐌎}$  is not completely replaced by the younger one. Rather, it is still frequently found, especially in official documents.

On the whole, Bryce has made significant progress in the study of Lycian written sources. This is all the more applicable if one takes into account that he could not yet consider the trilingual inscription N 320 and the other texts from the Letôon. As will be shown later, the variants of <ẽ> are indeed more significant in terms of palaeographic dating than other letters. The texts with N-numbers which could not be included by Bryce show, however, that the younger variant of <ẽ> is already attested in inscriptions dating from the reign of Erbbina. Nevertheless, it appears only in a few instances. The general chronological distribution observed by Bryce is still valid.

### 4.2 Laroche's study

The study by Laroche<sup>56</sup> is not a comprehensive analysis either. In contrast to the study by Bryce,<sup>57</sup> it is based on nine letters instead of two, namely on <a>, <ã>, <b>, <ẽ>, <θ>, <k>, <n>, <p> and <x>. A shortcoming of the study is, however, that Laroche lists in his tables only some of the variants appearing in the respective inscription. He does not mention that there are other variants attested in the same text. Moreover, the letter variants are not always correctly depicted. Despite these weaknesses, considerable progress has been made through Laroche's study. Another positive aspect is that Laroche was quite cautious in his judgment. He emphasized that his table only shows

<sup>54</sup> Bryce 1976, 168–169.

<sup>55</sup> Bryce 1976, 170.

<sup>56</sup> Laroche 1979.

<sup>57</sup> Bryce 1976.

tendencies. He further noted that certain letter forms might be regarded as regional variants, but due to the small corpus of Lycian texts, this is difficult to elucidate. As a result, Laroche listed the following development of letter forms:

### 4.3 Rix's study

In contrast to the Bryce and Laroche,<sup>58</sup> Rix's aim was to carry out a comprehensive study of the development of letter forms. The letter variants which she regards as diagnostic are presented in a chart.<sup>59</sup> A shortcoming of her study is, however, that she does not list all the variants attested in the respective texts. Moreover, some variants are not correctly depicted. In most cases, the letter forms are given in a standardized form, which often does not match the forms attested in the texts.

## 5. Evaluation

In this section, the developments of letter forms suggested by Bryce, Laroche and Rix will be examined.<sup>60</sup> If not otherwise noted, all letters have been copied from photographs or paper squeezes taken during the campaigns of the Viennese 'Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions' project. Table 4 (see at the end of the paper) is to provide a synoptic overview of the letter forms of <a>, <ã>, <ẽ>, <k>, <n>, <p>, <s>, <θ>, and <x>, which are attested in the inscriptions dated on the basis of their content, and with the letter forms depicted in the study by Rix.<sup>61</sup>

In the following, I will discuss the alleged developments of the individual letters as described by Bryce, Laroche and Rix in detail.<sup>62</sup>

### 5.1 The letter <a>

According to Laroche, <a> undergoes the following development:  $\text{𐌃} \rightarrow \text{𐌄} \rightarrow \text{𐌅}$ .<sup>63</sup> Rix lists the letter among the diagnostic sign forms in her chart 2.<sup>64</sup> In contrast to other letters, however, she does not discuss the variants in chapter 1.17. Accordingly, she makes no proposal regarding the development of the letter and the significance of the variants for palaeographic dating. Yet, a look at the forms listed in her chart suggests the same development of the letter as noted by Laroche.<sup>65</sup> Thus, for the inscriptions from the reigns of Harpagos, Xeriga, Xerēi and Erbbina, she lists exclusively the form 𐌃. For TL 128 and TL 135, which both refer to Trbbēnimi, she gives the form 𐌄, whereas she lists the forms 𐌃, 𐌄, and 𐌅 among the signs appearing in inscriptions dating from the reign of Perikle. For TL 64 (Mizrppata) she notes the variant 𐌄, which appears only in a few inscriptions, and the more frequent variant 𐌄. For all other inscriptions dating after the reign of Perikle, she lists only the variants 𐌃 and 𐌅.

If one takes the forms listed by Rix as a basis and looks at the distribution of the variants from a chronological point of view only, the development suggested by Laroche<sup>66</sup> indeed seems compelling. However, if one takes not only the standardized versions depicted by Rix into consideration, but all the forms attested in the inscriptions, the situation appears less clear. In the earliest

<sup>58</sup> Bryce 1976 and Laroche 1979.

<sup>59</sup> Rix 2015, Chart 2.

<sup>60</sup> Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979, 54–56; Rix 2015.

<sup>61</sup> Rix 2015, Chart 2.

<sup>62</sup> Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979, 54–56; Rix 2015.


<sup>63</sup> Laroche 1979, 56.





<sup>64</sup> Rix 2015.

<sup>65</sup> Laroche 1979, 56.









<sup>66</sup> Laroche 1979, 56.













inscriptions TL 77 and N 310 the letter is carved with a lengthwise slanted line instead of a vertical line and/or a cross line running from top left to bottom right instead of a horizontal line (cf., e.g., ).









The form with an oblique line running from bottom left to top right is already attested in TL 43–44 from the reign of Xeriga and Xerēi (cf.,  in TL 43 and  in TL 44). Variants with the cross line protruding to the right seem to be typical of the reign of Perikle (cf., e.g.,  in TL 104 and  with a rounded head in TL 132). Whether they were still frequently used in the subsequent period is difficult to say. Apart from the inscriptions dating from the reign of Perikle, these variants do not appear. Among all inscriptions, both variants are mostly found in those from Central and Eastern Lycia. Therefore, the variants cannot be used as indicators of a general chronological development. Rather, they seem to derive from regional traditions and writing habits. They have also spread to the West, but are much rarer there than in Central and Eastern Lycia.

## 5.2 The letter <ã>

As already has been noted, Bryce<sup>67</sup> could not identify a chronological development of <ã> nor a clear regional distribution of its variants. According to Laroche,<sup>68</sup> however, <ã> undergoes the following changes:  →  → . Similarly, Rix<sup>69</sup> identifies  as the earliest variant which was probably invented by “a single individual or group of individuals”.<sup>70</sup> She notes that the form is attested in TL 77 (Harpagos) and on coins of  $\Theta$ ibānuwa where some slight variations can also be found ( and ). Already in TL 43 (Xeriga), however, another variant is to be found, namely , which she classifies as a forerunner of , that for the first time appears in N 325 (Erbina).

Rix asserts that in the valley of Xanthos and Limyra,  and  had been relatively early replaced by  and . Both variants already appear side by side in N 325 (Erbina), whereas N 324 has only . According to Rix,<sup>71</sup> the appearance of  therefore indicates an early date of the respective inscription, “certainly within the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and probably within the first quarter.” She further notes that in Central Lycia the situation is less clear since the oldest variant  is so common there.

Since the forms  and  appear relatively early in the Xanthos valley and Limyra, Rix concludes that they are only of little use for the dating of inscriptions.<sup>72</sup> Their appearance merely suggests that the inscription is not older than the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. But if only the form  is attested in an inscription, a date in the second or third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century seems in her view likely, “if other letter forms do not contradict this”.<sup>73</sup>

Evaluation: Since in the oldest inscriptions the variants  and  appear, Rix is probably right in assuming that these are the oldest variants. In contrast to Rix’s claim,<sup>74</sup> it should be noted that in TL 44 (Xeriga) not only  is attested, but also  and . The pillar inscription is therefore not as consistent and conservative in the use of letter signs as Rix’s description suggests. As she correctly notes, the inscriptions of Erbina from the first decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century show exclusively  and . In N 325 they are attested side by side (see Fig. 5), but N 324 has only  (see Fig. 6). TL 11

<sup>67</sup> Bryce 1976, 168.

<sup>68</sup> Laroche 1979, 56.

<sup>69</sup> Rix 2015, 84–92.

<sup>70</sup> Rix 2015, 84.

<sup>71</sup> Rix 2015, 91.

<sup>72</sup> Rix 2015, 91–92.

<sup>73</sup> Rix 2015, 92.

<sup>74</sup> Rix 2015, 85.

from the reign of Arttūmpara (until approx. 370) shows only  $\forall$ . So far we have only considered the variants of  $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$  in Western Lycia.

The earliest inscriptions from Eastern and Central Lycia with internal evidence of their dating were composed in the time of Perikle (approx. 380–360/50) and maybe in the time of his predecessor Trbbēnīmi (approx. 430–380/70?). The inscriptions in which the tomb builder calls himself *tideri* of Trbbēnīmi (TL 128 and TL 135) show  $\forall$  and the damaged form  $\forall$ . In the inscriptions dating from the reign of Perikle the variants  $\forall$  and  $\forall$ , which are already known from earlier inscriptions, are found. In addition,  $\forall$ ,  $\forall$  and  $\forall$  appear. In the inscriptions dating from the reign of Autophradates (approx. 360/350),  $\forall$  and  $\forall$  are attested.

In the inscriptions which definitely or likely date from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, mostly  $\forall$  and  $\forall$  are attested. N 320 (Letōon) and TL 29 (Tlos) both show  $\forall$  and  $\forall$  (or sim.); TL 99 (Limyra) has  $\forall$ , TL 35 (Üsümlü) has  $\forall$  and  $\forall$ .

Conclusion: The variants  $\forall$  and  $\forall$  might indeed be considered as the oldest variants of  $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$ . However, since  $\forall$  and  $\forall$  are already attested in inscriptions dating from the reign of Erbbina, the variants of  $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$  are of little use for the dating of inscriptions whose contents do not indicate their date of origin. Rix's statement that an inscription likely dates from the second or third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century if it only shows the variant  $\forall$  and "if other letter forms do not contradict this" is in my view dubious. On the contrary, the fact that both  $\forall$  and  $\forall$  appear together in several inscriptions dated by their contents speaks against this hypothesis. The form  $\forall$ , which is attested in N 325 (Erbbina), is listed by Laroche as the youngest variant of the letter.<sup>75</sup> The inscription N 320, however, makes it clear that it is not a variant of  $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$  but of  $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle$ . For the reasons see the following discussion of the variants of  $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle$ .

In sum, the following distribution pattern can be observed for the variants of  $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$  in the inscriptions which can be dated by means of their contents:

1. Oldest variants  $\forall$  and  $\forall$ : for the first time attested in TL 77 (Harpagos) and on coins of  $\Theta$ ibānuwa, which show also  $\forall$ . At least kept in use until the reign of Perikle (cf. the attestation in TL 83).
2.  $\forall$  attested for the first time in TL 43 (Xeriga); at least kept in use until the reign of Autophradates (TL 40).
3.  $\forall$  attested for the first time in TL 44 (Xeriga and Xerēi).
4.  $\forall$  attested for the first time in N 324 and N 325 (Erbbina, see Fig. 5–6).
5.  $\forall$  attested for the first time in N 325 (Erbbina, see Fig. 6).
6.  $\forall$  attested for the first time in TL 103 (Perikle).
7.  $\forall$  attested for the first time in TL 133 (Perikle).

### 5.3 The letter $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle$

It has already been stated by Bryce that the variant of  $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle$  with crossed arms ( $\forall$ ) is the oldest one.<sup>76</sup> According to Bryce, it was replaced by  $\forall$  from the time of Perikle onwards and afterwards also by other variants such as  $\forall$ .<sup>77</sup> If this were true, the inscriptions showing one of the later variants would date from the time of Perikle or later. But this hypothesis seemed only to be true as long as the inscriptions from the Letōon remained unknown. When they were found, it turned out that

<sup>75</sup> Laroche 1979, 56.

<sup>76</sup> Bryce 1976, 169–170.

<sup>77</sup> Bryce 1976, 169–170.

the later variants were already in use in the first decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, we have one attestation of 𐌶 in N 324 (*cf.* in *tubedē* in line 13). In N 325 we find the variant 𐌶 along with the older form (see Figs. 5–6). Laroche listed this form as a variant of <ā> instead of <ē>.<sup>78</sup> According to him, the form was attested in TL 29 (post-Alexander), TL 39, TL 56 and TL 149. In TL 39, TL 56 and TL 149, however, the variant does not appear. Instead, <ā> is written with 𐌶, 𐌶 or similar, whereas <ē> is written in TL 39 and TL 149 with 𐌶, and in TL 56 with 𐌶 (or similar).

In TL 29.3 the form 𐌶 appears as the last letter of the second attestation of the word *ñtēmlē*. At the beginning of the line the same word is attested, here the final <ē> is written with the variant 𐌶. A further attestation of the accusative singular form *ñtēmlē* is to be found in N 324.25 (see . 5). Here both <ē> letters are incised using 𐌶. For all this reason it seems likely that 𐌶 represents the letter <ē> instead of <ā>.

A variant similar to 𐌶 is attested in N 315 dating from the time of Mizrppata. Here the letter is rendered as 𐌶 and possibly also as 𐌶. In TL 104 dating from the time of Perikle, the older variant 𐌶 appears together with the variant 𐌶 which is very similar to 𐌶. Among the inscriptions which, according to their formulae, date from the time of Perikle, most texts show the older variant of the letter. N 314 from Kızılca, however, has exclusively the younger variant 𐌶. The reason for this deviation from most other inscriptions from the time of Perikle might be that the inscription was not cut by a professional stone-cutter, but someone who was accustomed to writing on other material.<sup>79</sup> This is indicated by the fact that the surface of the rock face was only slightly smoothed before the inscription was incised. Furthermore, there is no clear line layout. Rather, the letters are irregularly placed on the surface and written in a cursive style. These characteristics have led in research to the term “amateur inscription.”<sup>80</sup>

Whereas TL 40, which dates from the reign of Autophradates, shows the younger variants 𐌶 and 𐌶, TL 61 which also dates from the reign of Autophradates, has exclusively the older form 𐌶. The same is true for the trilingual text N 320 (𐌶). The younger variants 𐌶, 𐌶, 𐌶 and 𐌶 can be found in TL 99, TL 29 and TL 35.

Conclusion: The overall picture is quite similar to the one for <ā>: As already stated by Bryce,<sup>81</sup> the younger variants become more and more common over time. But they already appear in inscriptions from the reign of Erbbina. Therefore, the variants cannot be taken as criteria to differentiate between inscriptions dating in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and inscriptions dating to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Only in combination with other criteria can the letter forms be used to make a rough estimate of the inscription’s date of origin.

#### 5.4 The letter <k>

According to Laroche, <k> shows the following development: 𐌵 → 𐌵.<sup>82</sup> By contrast, Bryce and Rix do not list the letter among the diagnostic signs.<sup>83</sup> The use of the letter as a dating criterion is indeed problematic. One reason for this is that in many inscriptions it is not attested. This applies, for instance, to the inscriptions from the reign of Harpagos and thus the oldest texts known to us. Based on the texts in which the letter appears, the development postulated by Laroche cannot be observed. Rather, they suggest the opposite development. In TL 43 (Xeriga) the oblique strokes are slightly curved (𐌵). In TL 44 the letter appears both with slightly curved and without curved

<sup>78</sup> Laroche 1979, 55–56.

<sup>79</sup> See also Rix 2015, 88.

<sup>80</sup> *Cf.*, e.g. Rix 2015, 88 and 93.

<sup>81</sup> Bryce 1976, 170.

<sup>82</sup> Laroche 1979, 56.

<sup>83</sup> Bryce 1979 and Rix 2015.

strokes (⋈ and ⋈̣). In both cases, however, the oblique strokes meet the vertical. The first attestation for the variant with curved strokes that do not meet the vertical is to be found in N 324 from the reign of Erbbina (⋈̣, see Fig. 5). TL 128 and TL 135 (both referring to Trbbēnīmi) show the variant with pointed oblique strokes (⋈̣). In the inscriptions from the time of Perikle both variants appear, in TL 61 (Autophradates) the letter is carved with curved oblique strokes (⋈̣). In TL 29 and TL 35, which date with high probability to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century or later, the letter is always written with pointed oblique strokes (⋈̣).

### 5.5 The letter <n>

According to Laroche, the letter shows the following development:  $\nearrow \rightarrow \nearrow \rightarrow \nearrow$ .<sup>84</sup> Similarly, Rix maintains that the letter developed from  $\nearrow$  or  $\nearrow$  “to a form which, in its most idiosyncratic form, became  $\nearrow$  or similar”.<sup>85</sup> While she emphasizes that the old forms were still in use in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, she claims that the attestation of  $\nearrow$  in an inscription “may indicate a date in the second half of the fourth century, often towards its end”.<sup>86</sup> By and large, this hypothesis seems quite likely. Among the inscriptions which can be dated by means of their content,  $\nearrow$  is in fact attested only in TL 29 and TL 35.

It should, however, be noted that in TL 29 the letter form appears only once. Aside from it, also  $\nearrow$  and  $\nearrow$  are attested. By contrast, TL 35 shows exclusively  $\nearrow$ .

Nevertheless, it is questionable whether it can be inferred from this evidence that an inscription showing this variant dates from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

First of all, due to the unclear reading of the text, the dating of TL 35 in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Ptolemy I or II is by no means sure (see the more detailed discussion above).

But even if the texts date from the reign of Ptolemy I or II, this does not necessarily mean that the variant  $\nearrow$  only came into use in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Above all, it should be noted that similar variants are already attested in the reign of Erbbina. The form  $\nearrow$  attested in N 311 shows the greatest similarity. But the variants attested in N 324–325 are significant, too. The only difference is that the left stroke is less oblique. Furthermore, it often reaches further downwards (see Fig. 5–6). Although Rix lists these variants in chart 2,<sup>87</sup> she does not mention them in chapter 1.17, in which she discusses the other variants.

Moreover, <n> is also written in other inscriptions with the right stroke reaching further below than the left one. This is, for instance, already the case in N 310 (Harpagos) and TL 44. In Eastern Lycia, we find a similar variant in TL 83 (time of Perikle). Interesting is also one of the variants attested in N 314 from Kızılcā. Forms similar to the ones attested in the inscriptions of Erbbina and TL 29 and TL 35 can also be found in the trilingual text N 320, dating from the time of Pixodaros. For all these reasons, the shape of the letter <n> is only of limited use for dating inscriptions. The presence of variants of <n> similar to the one attested in TL 29 and TL 35 in a certain inscription does not necessarily mean that it was not composed until the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>84</sup> Laroche 1979, 56.

<sup>85</sup> Rix 2015, 100.

<sup>86</sup> Rix 2015, 101.

<sup>87</sup> Rix 2015.

### 5.6 The letter <p>

According to Laroche, <p> shows the following development:  $\sqcap \rightarrow \sqcap \rightarrow \lrcorner$ .<sup>88</sup> Similarly, Rix argues that the form with the square head  $\sqcap$  is the oldest version, originating in the Greek letter Π.<sup>89</sup> The form with the curved head  $\cap$  and the one with the hooked head  $\lrcorner$  are in her view slightly younger. As the youngest variant she identifies the one with the head formed only by an oblique stroke  $\neg$ . The letter forms depicted in chart 2 of Rix's study<sup>90</sup> indeed suggest this development. However, the chart contains some errors and omissions. In TL 77 (Harpagos), both the form with the square head and the one with the curved head appear side by side. The first attestation of the variant with the head formed only by an oblique stroke is to be found in N 325 and thus in an inscription dating from the time of Erbbina. In Eastern Lycia, it is attested in TL 135 which likely dates from the reign of Trbbēnīmi. Furthermore, it is found in several inscriptions dating from the time of Perikle. Interestingly, it does not appear in the inscription dating from the time of Autophradates and the trilingual text N 320. But it can be found in TL 99 (beside the form with the square head) and TL 29 along with the form with the curved head. In TL 35, however, it is the only variant attested. This evidence suggests that  $\neg$  is indeed the youngest variant of <p>. It should, however, be noted that it is already attested during the reign of Erbbina. It is therefore not possible to decide based on the variants of <p> whether an inscription dates from the first or the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

### 5.7 The letter <s>

According to Rix,<sup>91</sup> the letter shows in general only minor variants. In the earlier inscriptions, both curved and more angular forms are found. In some later inscriptions, however, “a more stylised form with a single straight diagonal line above a curved section:  $\zeta$ ” is attested.<sup>92</sup> Other later variants are, according to Rix,  $\varsigma$  and  $\succ$ .<sup>93</sup> She emphasizes, however, that the forms are only of limited use as dating criteria since the older forms continued to be used also in later times.

Evaluation: Rix's statement that in the earlier inscriptions both curved and more angular forms occur is correct. Her assertion regarding the more stylised form is, however, to be modified. It should, for instance, be noted that TL 44 shows some variants to which Rix's description as “more stylised forms” also applies. In contrast to the variant described by Rix, the elements in these forms are arranged in the opposite fashion: a single straight diagonal line is placed below a curved section ( $\cap$  and similarly  $\neg$ ). It should also be kept in mind that the forms often differ only gradually. Nonetheless, Rix's observation that the inscriptions from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and possibly later show some peculiar variants ( $\zeta$ ,  $\succ$ ,  $\varsigma$ ) which do not appear in the earlier inscriptions is correct. These forms can therefore be used as diagnostic signs which, together with other criteria, might indicate a late date for the inscription.

### 5.8 The letter <x>

According to Laroche,<sup>94</sup> the letter shows the following development:  $\chi \rightarrow \psi \rightarrow \psi$ . Rix maintains that the Lycians borrowed different variants from the Greek alphabet.<sup>95</sup> Among them was  $\psi$ , which is the oldest variant used in Greek epichoric alphabets, but also  $\chi$  and  $\psi$ , that appear

<sup>88</sup> Laroche 1979, 56.

<sup>89</sup> Rix 2015, 99.

<sup>90</sup> Rix 2015.

<sup>91</sup> Rix 2015, 101–103.

<sup>92</sup> Rix 2015, 102.

<sup>93</sup> Rix 2015, 102.

<sup>94</sup> Laroche 1979, 56.

<sup>95</sup> Rix 2015, 97–99.



already in inscriptions dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century. From the fact that all three variants are already attested in inscriptions dating back to the period from Harpagos to Xeriga and Xerēi (TL 77, N 310, TL 44) Rix concludes that they had been borrowed simultaneously from the Greek alphabet.<sup>96</sup> However, since √ appears in only a few of the inscriptions datable by means of content, Rix believes that it soon fell out of use.<sup>97</sup> She therefore considers it likely that inscriptions showing this variant, such as TL 59 (Antiphellos), TL 70–71 (Kyaneai), as well as TL 128, TL 106, TL 146 and TL 100 (all Limyra) are among the earliest at their respective sites.

As for ∨ and √, Rix claims that they are to be regarded as younger variants.<sup>98</sup> The development of these forms can already be observed in TL 44 where in some cases “the central stroke is slightly off-set from the centre”.<sup>99</sup> According to Rix, the same is true for the dedications of Erbbina N 324 and N 325.<sup>100</sup> The fact that the older form is still attested in formal inscriptions from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century such as N 320 and TL 45 shows, according to Rix, that it was not completely replaced by the younger variants. The late inscriptions TL 99, TL 29 and TL 35, however, show exclusively the younger versions. Rix, therefore, maintains that for other inscriptions that exclusively show the younger variants, a late date of origin is also likely.<sup>101</sup> This applies especially for sites “where the later form was particularly common (for example, at Tlos)”.<sup>102</sup> Inscriptions that show both the older and the younger variants might in Rix’s view, however, also date from an earlier period.<sup>103</sup>

Evaluation: In general, Rix’s assumption regarding the development of the letter forms is plausible. Nonetheless, there is some reason to be sceptical about her claim that inscriptions that show the variant √ are likely to be among the earliest inscriptions at the site.<sup>104</sup> The fact that √ is only attested in the earlier inscriptions that are datable by means of their contents does not necessarily mean that the variant ceased to be used. Furthermore, it should be noted that the younger variants ∨ and √ are already to be found in N 325 and thus in an inscription dating from the reign of Erbbina (see Fig. 6). Likewise, it should be noted that some inscriptions dating from the time of Perikle show exclusively the older variant (TL 67, TL 83, TL 132, N 314), whereas others show exclusively the younger variant (TL 103, TL 132). Therefore, Rix’s statement that inscriptions exclusively showing the younger variants likely “were produced at a comparatively late period”<sup>105</sup> cannot be maintained. In addition, it should be noted that in TL 29 apart from ∨, the form √, which is closer to the older version of the letter, also appears.

### 5.9 The letter <θ>

For <θ> Laroche suggests the following development: ∽ ∽ → ∽,<sup>106</sup> whereas Rix<sup>107</sup> does not include it among the diagnostic letters. This is indeed reasonable since the letter does not appear in many of the inscriptions datable by means of their content. It is also quite infrequent in other inscriptions. Furthermore, the forms differ only slightly from each other. In TL 77 (Harpagos) the form ∽ ∽ is attested, whereas TL 44 shows ∽ ∽ as well as ∽. N 325 has both a variant that is more elongated

<sup>96</sup> Rix 2015, 98.

<sup>97</sup> Rix 2015, 98.

<sup>98</sup> Rix 2015, 98.

<sup>99</sup> Rix 2015, 98.

<sup>100</sup> Rix 2015, 98.

<sup>101</sup> Rix 2015, 99.

<sup>102</sup> Rix 2015, 99.

<sup>103</sup> Rix 2015, 98.

<sup>104</sup> Rix 2015, 98.

<sup>105</sup> Rix 2015, 99.

<sup>106</sup> Laroche 1979, 56.

<sup>107</sup> Rix 2015.



(>) and a variant that is slightly more compact (>). TL 83 (Perikle) shows >, N 320 (Pixodaros) >. In TL 29 the letter is represented by an elongated and less curved form (>). However, a clear development from a more curved and compact to a less curved and more elongated form cannot be observed. The forms of <θ> are therefore not suitable for the dating of Lycian inscriptions.

## 6. Conclusions and prospect for future studies

We can certainly observe certain changes in letter forms over time. Most of the discussed younger letter forms appear at an increasing level over time. But dating inscriptions on the basis of letter forms remains problematic since almost all forms (with slight variants) are already attested in inscriptions dating from the time of Erbbina/Arbinas. Therefore, it is hardly possible to judge on the basis of letter forms whether an inscription dates from the first or second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

One letter form that does not appear in the inscriptions of Erbbina is the form of <n> with a short oblique left stroke and an almost vertical right stroke that reaches very far below or downwards ^.

There are, however, already some variants attested in the inscriptions of Erbbina that are quite similar to the form ^ found in TL 29 and TL 35. The only difference is that the left stroke is less oblique. Furthermore, it often reaches further downwards. The variants thus differ only gradually from each other. In addition, it should be noted that the letter is also written in other inscriptions with the right stroke reaching further down than the left stroke. This is, for instance, already the case in N 310 (Harpagos) and TL 44 (Xeriga and Xerēi). In Eastern Lycia, we find a similar variant in TL 83 (time of Perikle). Comparable are also one of the variants attested in N 314 from Kizilca (Perikle) and another one that is to be found in N 320 (Pixodaros). The situation with the variants of <n> is therefore quite different from that of <ā> and <ē> and those of some other letters which are attested in a number of clearly distinct variants. For this letter, and for all others too, it is important to note that they provide an indication of the dating of the inscription only when combined with other dating criteria.

The letter <s> also shows some peculiar variants (>, >, >) which are not attested before the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. These forms might, therefore, in combination with other criteria, indicate a late date for the inscription.

Although other dating methods have been mentioned, the focus of this paper has been on palaeographic dating. Its objective is a critical evaluation of previous palaeographic dating models on the basis of those inscriptions whose contents provide information about their dating. By collecting and critically evaluating the letter variants used in these inscriptions, the foundation was laid for future studies on the dating of the inscriptions and for research based on their results. These include a critical evaluation of linguistic and archaeological criteria, as will be the subject of another paper.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Christiansen [forthcoming](#).

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**TABLE 1.** Inscriptions with text-internal information of their dating.

Ruler	Text and location	Indication of date of origin	Studies considering the respective dating formula
Arppaxu/ Harpagos	TL 77 (Çindam, near Isinda, Central Lycia)	Dating formula (lines 2–3): <i>ēñē arpp&lt;p&gt;axuhe xñtawata</i> ‘under the reign of Arppaxu’	Bryce 1976; Rix 2015
	N 310 (Phellos, Central Lycia)	Dating formula (line 4): <i>ē[nē] arppaxuhe xñtā[w]ata</i> ‘under the reign of Arppaxu’	Rix 2015
→ Two inscriptions referring to Arppaxu / Harpagos, son or son-in-law of Kuprlli and father of Xeriga and Xerēi. Both inscriptions stem from Central Lycia (Çindam and Phellos). Period of reign debated: middle or last quarter of the 5 <sup>th</sup> century (for different views see further below).			
Xeriga	TL 43 (Xanthos, Western Lycia)	Dating formula (line 2): <i>ēñē xñtawata xer[i]xehe</i> ‘under the reign of Xeriga’	Bryce 1976; Rix 2015
→ One inscription from Western Lycia dating from the reign of Xeriga (approx. 440-400).			
Xeriga and his brother Xerēi	TL 44 (Xanthos, Western Lycia)	Various references to Xeriga (44a.10; 44c.37; 44d.8.19.45.53–54), Xerēi (44a.47.48; 44b 23) and other people and events	Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979; Rix 2015
→ One inscription on the pillar tomb of Xanthos mentioning Xeriga and his brother Xerēi. The dating of the pillar is highly debated. According to Domingo Gygax and Tietz, <sup>109</sup> the <i>terminus post quem</i> for at least the Lycian A inscription (TL 44a and TL 44b) is 404/403, whereas the Lycian B inscription (TL 44c and TL 44d) and the Greek epigram (TL 44c) might have been composed about 20 years earlier			
Erbbina/Arbinas	N 311 (Letoôn near Xanthos)	Erbbina, son of Xeriga, author of the inscription: votive offering for the goddess Artemis (lines 1–2): <i>[erb]bina(j)=ēne ubete ertēmi [xer]igah tideimi se(j)=upēneh</i> ‘[Erb]bina, son of [Xer]iga and Upēni dedicated it as a votive offering for Artemis’	Laroche 1979; Rix 2015
	N 324 (Letoôn near Xanthos)	Erbbina as the author of the inscription mentioned in line 9 and fragmentarily also in lines 3, 7 and 29	
	N 325 (Letoôn near Xanthos)	Erbbina as the author of the inscription mentioned in line 11 (fragmentarily preserved)	
→ Three inscriptions from the reign of Erbbina/Arbinas, son of Xeriga, ruler of Western Lycia, presumably after 400, all votive inscriptions from the Letoôn near Xanthos, all elaborate in their design.			
Mizrppata / Miθrapata	TL 64 (Isinda, Central Lycia)	Line 2: <i>ēñē xñtawata[t]a mizrppatahe</i> ‘under the reign of Mizrppata’	Rix 2015
	N 315 (Seyret, Central Lycia)	Line 2: <i>ēñē: xñtawwa[ta]: mīzrppatahe</i> ‘under the reign of Mizrppata’	
→ Two inscriptions from the reign of Mizrppata / Miθrapata, ruler of Central Lycia until approx. 380 BCE. <sup>110</sup> See the discussion further below.			

<sup>109</sup> Domingo Gygax – Tietz 2005.<sup>110</sup> But cf. Schürr 2012, 33–34 and Rix 2015, 190–191 “after 360” due to letter forms and alleged acc. sg. *xupu* in N 315.

Ruler	Text and location	Indication of date of origin	Studies considering the respective dating formula
Trbbēnīmi	TL 128 (Limyra, Eastern Lycia)	Tomb owner refers to himself as <i>Krustti trbbēnemeh tideri</i> 'Krustti, collacteus(?) of Trbbēnīmi' (line 1)	Rix 2015
	TL 135 (Limyra, Eastern Lycia)	Tomb owner refers to himself or herself as <i>[.]uwata trbbēnimeh tideri</i> '[.]uwata, collacteus(?) / collactea(?) of Trbbēnīmi' (line 1)	
→ Two inscriptions referring to a certain Trbbēnīmi. If this is the dynast who is also mentioned in TL 44, the inscription presumably dates to the first two decades of the 4 <sup>th</sup> century. Trbbēnīmi was between approx. 430–380 politically active, for some time he was contemporaneous with Perikle (but some scholars assume that there was a second Trbbēnīmi). If <i>tideri</i> is to be translated as 'collacteus(?) / collactea(?)', TL 128 and TL 135 might date a little bit earlier than the ones dating in the time of Perikle.			
Arttuṃpara	TL 11 (Pinara, Western Lycia)	Reference to the reign of Arttuṃpara (lines 2–3): <i>ḫñewete ter[i] arttuṃpara</i> 'when Arttuṃpara ruled in Lycia'	Bryce 1976; Rix 2015
→ One inscription from Western Lycia (Pinara, Xanthos valley) referring to Arttuṃpara, dynast until approx. 370, successor of Erbbina in Western Lycia, in Central Lycia presumably successor of Miṭrapata / Mizrppata, defeated about 370 by Perikle. <sup>111</sup>			
Perikle	TL 67 (Timiusa, Central Lycia)	Dating formula (lines 2–3): <i>ēñē periklehe ḫñta-wata</i> 'under the rulership of Perikle'	Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979; Rix 2015
	TL 83 (Arneai, Central Lycia)	Dating formula (lines 5–6): <i>ēñē perik[lehe] ḫñtawata</i> 'under the rulership of Perikle'	
	TL 103 (Limyra, Eastern Lycia, same tomb as the one bearing TL 104)	Dating formula (line 3): <i>ēñē periklehe ḫñtawata</i> 'under the rulership of Perikle'	
	TL 104 (Limyra, Eastern Lycia, same tomb as the one bearing TL 103)	Reference to victory over Arttuṃpara (lines 2–4): <i>ēke ese perikle teβete arttuṃpara se ṃparahe telēzije</i> 'when Perikle defeated Arttuṃpara and the army(?) of (Arttu)ṃpara(?)'	Bryce 1976; Rix 2015
	TL 133 (Limyra, Eastern Lycia)	Tomb owner Xñtlapāne refers to himself as <i>Perikleh mahinaza</i> 'offering priest of Perikle' (lines 1–2)	Laroche 1979; Rix 2015
	N 314 (Kızılcā, Northern Lycia)	Dating formula (lines 7–8): <i>[ē]ti: ḫñtawata [p]eriklehe</i> '[i]n(?) the reign of [P]erikle'	Rix 2015
→ Six inscriptions referring to Perikle, a dynast of Eastern Lycia, who later gained control over all Lycia (approx. 380–360/350). Three inscriptions stem from Limyra in Eastern Lycia, two inscriptions from Central Lycia and one from Northern Lycia.			
Autophradates	TL 40 (Xanthos, Western Lycia)	Mentions the satrap Autophradates (line 1): <i>wat[aprd]ata xssadrapa</i>	Bryce 1976; Rix 2015
	TL 61 (Phellos, Central Lycia)	Dating formula (line 2): <i>ēñē ḫñtawata wataprddatehe</i> 'under the reign of Autophradates'	

<sup>111</sup> See Kolb – Tietz 2001, 400–401.



Ruler	Text and location	Indication of date of origin	Studies considering the respective dating formula
→ Two inscriptions from the reign of Autophradates, from approx. 360/350 satrap of Lycia. <sup>112</sup>			
<b>Pixodaros</b>	TL 45 (Xanthos, Western Lycia)	Pixodaros = author of the inscription: Lycian lines 1–2 <i>pixe[s]ere kat[amla]h</i> ≈ Greek lines 1–2 Πιξώδαρος Ἐκ[α]τόμν[ου]	Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979; Rix 2015
	N 320a (Letoôn near Xanthos, Western Lycia)	Dating formula (lines 1–2): <i>ēke: trēmisiñ: xs-saθrapazate: pigesere: katamlah: tideimi</i> ‘after Pixodaros, son of Katamla, became satrap of Lycia’	Laroche 1979; Rix 2015
→ Two inscriptions from Western Lycia (Xanthos and nearby Letoôn) referring to the Carian Satrap Pixodaros, son of Hecatomnos. Both inscriptions show an elaborate design and are of an official and religious character. When Pixodaros became Satrap of Lycia was controversially discussed in the research. While some researchers argued that it was in 358, Funke and Storme have convincingly demonstrated that it happened as late as 337. <sup>113</sup> Whereas Funke focused on the relative chronology of the events, <sup>114</sup> Storme <sup>115</sup> demonstrated by a linguistic analysis that the opening lines of N 320 are to be translated in the way mentioned above rather than “when Pixodaros, son of Katamla, was satrap of Lycia” as previously suggested by Briant. <sup>116</sup>			
<b>Purihimeti, son of Masasi</b> (likely second half of 4 <sup>th</sup> c.)	TL 99 (Limyra, Ostlykien)	Purihimeti, author of the inscription (line 1)	Rix 2015
→ One inscription from Limyra, likely dating from the second half of the 4 <sup>th</sup> c. This is suggested by the fact that the name of the tomb owner and the patronym are also attested in a nearby Greek inscription that is to be classified as a decree. In Greek, the names are attested in the spelling Πυριματις Μασατος ‘Purimatis, son of Masas’. That both inscriptions refer to the same person is also substantiated by the fact that both monuments have similar features. Although a date in the second half of the 4 <sup>th</sup> c. is more likely, an earlier date cannot be excluded. <sup>117</sup>			
<b>Arssāma (Arsames II?)</b>	N 318 (Letoôn near Xanthos)	Lines 1–2: <i>[.....]mis tuwete arssāma 2 [....] emleh tideimi [..]’[...]</i> ... built Arssāma, son of <i>[....]emle/i’</i>	Laroche 1979
→ One inscription on a stele which according to the text was erected by a certain Arssāma. According to Laroche, the name might refer to Arsames II, the Persian satrap in Cilicia, who was an enemy of Alexander the Great and got killed in the battle of Issos. The inscription was evaluated by Laroche for the palaeographic dating. When Bryce published his article, the inscription was still unknown. Rix does not list the inscription among the dated inscriptions in her chart 2. Elsewhere, however, she dates the inscription into the second half of the 4 <sup>th</sup> c. and suggests that Arsames might be an official at the Hekatomnid court. <sup>118</sup> The monument and its location as well as the contents of the inscription suggest in any case that the author was a high-ranking person. Whether he was the satrap of Cilicia or an official at the Hekatomnid court remains uncertain.			

<sup>112</sup> Thus also Laroche 1979, 54–56 and Rix 2015, differently Bryce (1976, 169): “after 390”.

<sup>113</sup> Funke 2008 and Storme 2014.

<sup>114</sup> Funke 2008.

<sup>115</sup> Storme 2014, 132–135.

<sup>116</sup> Briant 1998, 323. For the dating of N 320 and further literature see also Rix 2015, 242 with n. 474.

<sup>117</sup> See the detailed commentary by Wörrle 1991, 223–224.

<sup>118</sup> Rix 2015, 264.



Ruler	Text and location	Indication of date of origin	Studies considering the respective dating formula
<b>Alexander the Great</b>	TL 29 (Tlos, Western Lycia)	Reference to the reign of Alexander (line 9): ... <i>alaxssa[ñ]tra</i> : ... <i>teri trñmisñ: ñtepi: xñtawata: appte</i> '... Alexander ... when he brought Lycia under (his) rule', further references to Arttuṃpara and Idrieus	Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979; Rix 2015. According to Bryce 1979, however, the inscription dates from the time of the Carian satrap Idrieus (between 351/350–344/343, Bryce erroneously 451/450–444/443).
→ 1 inscription from Western Lycia referring to events during the reign of Alexander the Great over Lycia (334–323).			
<b>Pttule = Ptolemy I or II?</b>	TL 35 (Üsümlü, Western Lycia)	(Line 1): I?III <i>uhi xñtawati pttule</i> '4 <sup>th</sup> year of king Pttule' <sup>119</sup> or, rather: III <i>uhi xñtawati pttuḷuṃ</i> ?[ '3 <sup>rd</sup> year of king Pttulum[e?]' <sup>120</sup>	Laroche 1979; Rix 2015
→ One inscription from Western Lycia which might date to the reign of Ptolemy I or rather, according to Rix 2015, 295–306 that of Ptolemy II. Although the name of the king is not fully preserved, the dating formula suggests that the text is a decree or something similar.			

<sup>119</sup> Thus according to the drawing in Kalinka 1901, 32.

<sup>120</sup> Thus maybe according to the sketch from Heberdey's unpublished notebook 'Lykien 1898' (Heberdey I), in the 'Schedensammlung' of the 'Working Group Epigraphy' of the Austrian Academy of Science in Vienna. See Fig. 4 and Rix 2015, fig. 22.

**TABLE 2.** Alleged periods during which the persons named in the inscriptions ruled or lived.

	<b>Harpagos</b> (middle or last quarter of 5 <sup>th</sup> c.)	<b>Xeriga and Xerei</b> (2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 5 <sup>th</sup> / beginning of 4 <sup>th</sup> c.)	<b>Erbbina</b> (after 400)	<b>Mizrppata</b> (until approx. 380, but <i>cf.</i> Schürr <a href="#">2012</a> , 33–34 and Rix <a href="#">2015</a> , 190–191 “after 360”)	<b>Trbbēnimi</b> (approx. 430–380)	<b>Arttuṃpara</b> (until approx. 370)	<b>Perikle</b> (approx. 380–360/350)				
<b>450</b>											
<b>440</b>											
<b>430</b>											
<b>420</b>											
<b>410</b>											
<b>400</b>											
<b>390</b>											
<b>380</b>											
<b>370</b>											
<b>360</b>											
<b>350</b>											
<b>340</b>											
<b>330</b>											
<b>320</b>											
<b>310</b>											
<b>300</b>											
<b>290</b>											
<b>280</b>											

<b>Autophradates</b> (approx. 360/350)	<b>Pixodaros</b> (satrap of Lycia 337/336–336/5)	<b>Purihimeti</b> (2nd half of 4 <sup>th</sup> c.?)	<b>Alexander the Great</b> (after 339)	<b>Arssāma</b> (= Arsames, 2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 4 <sup>th</sup> c.?)	<b>Pttule/ Pttu[um[e]</b> = Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II, 4 <sup>th</sup> or 3 <sup>rd</sup> year (302/301 or 303/302 or rather 282/281 or 283/292)?	
						<b>450</b>
						<b>440</b>
						<b>430</b>
						<b>420</b>
						<b>410</b>
						<b>400</b>
						<b>390</b>
						<b>380</b>
						<b>370</b>
						<b>360</b>
						<b>350</b>
						<b>340</b>
						<b>330</b>
						<b>320</b>
						<b>310</b>
					Ptolemy I?	<b>300</b>
						<b>290</b>
					Ptolemy II?	<b>280</b>

**TABLE 3.** Geographical distribution of the inscriptions with text-internal information about their dating.

	Northern Lycia	Western Lycia				
	Kızılca	Üsümlü	Tlos	Xanthos	Letôon	Pinara
450						
440				<div>TL 43, TL 44</div> <div>N 311</div> <div>N 324, N 325</div>		
430						
420						
410						
400						
390						
380						
370	N 314			TL 40		TL 11
360						
350						
340					TL 45, N 320	
330			TL 29			
320						
310						
300		TL 35?				
290						
280		TL 35?				

Central Lycia					Eastern Lycia			
Phellos	Arneia	Timiusa	Isinda	Çindam	Limyra			
						450		
						440		
						TL 77 N 310	TL 128?, TL 135?	430
								420
								410
								400
								390
								380
							TL 103, TL 104 TL 133	370
								360
								350
								340
								330
								320
								310
								300
								290
								280

**TABLE 4.** Overview of diagnostic letter forms in inscriptions with text-internal information about their dating.




[illegible]



Number	Ruler, location, date	a	ā	ē	k	n	p	s	θ	x	
TL 44c	Xeriga and Xerēi	𐤀 𐤀	𐤁 𐤁 𐤁	𐤂 𐤂 𐤂	𐤃 𐤃	𐤄 𐤄	𐤅 𐤅 𐤅 𐤅	𐤆 𐤆	-	𐤇 𐤇	
TL 44d	Xeriga and Xerēi	𐤀 𐤀 𐤀	𐤁 𐤁	𐤂 𐤂 𐤂 𐤂 𐤂	𐤃 𐤃	𐤄 𐤄 𐤄 𐤄 𐤄	𐤅 𐤅 𐤅	𐤆 𐤆	-	𐤇 𐤇	
TL 44 as a whole	Xeriga and Xerēi	𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀	𐤁 𐤁 𐤁 𐤁	𐤂 𐤂 𐤂 𐤂 𐤂 𐤂	𐤃 𐤃 𐤃 𐤃 𐤃	𐤄 𐤄 𐤄 𐤄 𐤄	𐤅 𐤅 𐤅 𐤅 𐤅 𐤅	𐤆 𐤆 𐤆 𐤆	𐤇 𐤇 𐤇	𐤈 𐤈 𐤈 𐤈	𐤉 𐤉 𐤉 𐤉 𐤉
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	-	𐤄	𐤅 𐤅 𐤅	𐤆 𐤆	-	𐤇 𐤇	
Erbinna (first decades of 4 <sup>th</sup> c.)											
N 324	Erbinna, Letôon	𐤀 𐤀 𐤀	𐤁 𐤁	𐤂 𐤂 𐤂 𐤂 𐤂	𐤃 𐤃	𐤄 𐤄 𐤄	𐤅 𐤅 𐤅	𐤆 𐤆	-	-	
N 325	Erbinna, Letôon	𐤀 𐤀 𐤀	𐤁 𐤁 𐤁	𐤂 𐤂 𐤂 𐤂	-	𐤄 𐤄 𐤄	𐤅 𐤅 𐤅	𐤆 𐤆 𐤆	𐤇 𐤇	𐤈 𐤈 𐤈 𐤈	
	N 324–325, (Rix 2015, Chart 2)	𐤀	𐤁 𐤁 𐤁	𐤂 𐤂 𐤂 𐤂 𐤂 once 𐤂	-	𐤄	𐤅 𐤅	𐤆	-	𐤇 𐤇	
N 311 <sup>(a)</sup>	Erbinna, Letôon		-		-	𐤄		𐤆	-	𐤇	
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	𐤀	-	𐤂	-	𐤄 𐤄	𐤅	𐤆 <sup>(b)</sup>	-	𐤇	



















































































































































a Neither the original nor a photograph or squeeze are available to me. The letter forms are therefore copied from Bourgarel – Metzger 1992, 150 fig. 1. Rix's (2015, Chart 2) drawings might be more correct, but from the drawing of Bourgarel – Metzger (1992, 150 fig. 1) and the photograph in Metzger 1992, pl. 76 fig. 2 this cannot be decided.

b Not clear.

















































































Number	Ruler, location, date	a	ā	ē	k	n	p	s	θ	x
Mizrppata/Miθrapata (before 380, if the dynast mentioned in TL 44b, 16 an on coins), differently Schürr and Rix <sup>(a)</sup> , possibly a second Mizrppata who ruled after 360 (due to letter forms and alleged acc. sg. <i>xupu</i> in N 315).										
TL 64	Mizrppata, Isinda	𐌱 𐌱	-	-	-	𐌵	𐌱 𐌱𐌱	-	-	-
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	𐌱 𐌱	-	-	-	𐌵	𐌱	-	-	-
TL 315	Mizrppata, Seyret	𐌱 𐌱	-	𐌶 𐌶?	-	𐌵	𐌱	-	-	𐌶 𐌶
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	𐌱	-	𐌶	-	𐌵	𐌱	-	-	𐌶 𐌶
Trbbēnīmi (probably the Lycian dynast who is also mentioned in TL 44; between approx. 430–380, for some time contemporary with Perikle (but some scholars assume that there was a second Trbbēnīmi), note that in TL 135 and TL 128 the tomb owner refers to himself/herself as <i>trbbēnemeh tideri</i> 'coll acteus(?)' / <i>collactea(?)</i> of Trbbēnīmi										
TL 135	Trbbēnīmi, Limyra	𐌱 𐌱 𐌱	𐌶 	𐌶 𐌶	𐌵	𐌵 𐌵	𐌱 	𐌶 𐌶	-	-
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	𐌱	𐌶	𐌶	-	𐌵	-	𐌶	-	-
TL 128	Trbbēnīmi, Limyra	𐌱 𐌱 𐌱	𐌶	𐌶 𐌶	𐌵	𐌵	𐌱 𐌱	𐌶 𐌶	-	𐌶 
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	𐌱	𐌶	𐌶	-	𐌵	𐌱	𐌶	-	𐌶
Arttuṃpara (dynast until approx. 370)										
TL 11	Arttuṃpara, Pinara	𐌱 𐌱 𐌱	𐌶 𐌶	𐌶 𐌶	-	𐌵 𐌵 𐌵	𐌱 𐌱	𐌶 𐌶	-	𐌶
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	𐌱	𐌶	𐌶	-	𐌵	𐌱	𐌶	-	𐌶
Perikle (approx. 380–360/350)										
TL 103	Perikle, Limyra	𐌱 𐌱	𐌶 𐌶							
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	𐌱	𐌶							

a Schürr 2012, 34 and Rix 2015, 190–191.

Number	Ruler, location, date	a	ā	ē	k	n	p	s	θ	x
TL 104	Perikle, Limyra		un-clear							
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)		 un-clear		-				-	-
TL 132 Limyra	Perikle, Limyra		-					-	-	
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)		-		-			-	-	
TL 133	Perikle, Limyra			-				-	-	
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)			-	-		 possibly 	-	-	
TL 67 Perikle	Perikle, Timiusa								-	
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)				-		 possibly 		-	
TL 83 Perikle	Perikle, Arneia				?					
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)		 perh. 		-				-	 or 
N 314	Perikle, Kızılca	a)  b) 	a) 	a)  b) 	a)  b) 	a)  b) 	a) 	a) 	-	a)  b) 
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)				-				-	

Number	Ruler, location, date	a	ā	ē	k	n	p	s	θ	x
Autophradates (from approx. 360/350)										
TL 40	Autophradates, Xanthos	    	    	    	-	    	    	    	-	    
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	 	  	   	-		   		-	  
TL 61	Autophradates, Phellos	 		   		 	 	 	-	
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)				-				-	
Pixodaros, Carian satrap, time of the Hekatomnids (337/336-336/335)										
N 320	Pixodaros, Letôon	 	   	   		          	 	   	  	   
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)		 			 				 
TL 45	Pixodaros, Letôon, (337)	 				  	 	 		   
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)									    

a First letter form up to line 21, second one from line 24.

Number	Ruler, location, date	a	ā	ē	k	n	p	s	θ	x
Purihimeti, son of Masasa, probably second half of 4 <sup>th</sup> c., Limyra, tomb owner also mentioned on a nearby stele in Greek language as Πυριματις Μασατος 'Purimatis, son of Masas' (both monuments show similar stlye).										
TL 99	Purihimeti, son of Masasa, Limyra	line 1 	line 1 -	line 1 -	-	line 1 	line 1 	line 1 	-	line 2 
		line 2 	line 2 	line 2  		line 2 	line 2 	line 2  		
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)				-		line 1  line 2 	 	-	
After Alexander the Great's arrival in Lycia (339–334)										
TL 29	post-Alexander, Tlos	 	 	   		  	   	  		 
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)		  (once)		-				-	
4th (or 3rd) year of the ruler Pttule or Pttuļum[...] (Ptolemy I or II?)										
TL 35	Üsmülü / Kadyanda	  	  	 	 	 	 	  	-	   
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)				-				-	



**FIG. 1.** Photo of the beginning of N 315 on a rock-cut tomb in Seyret (Ludwig Fliesser, ‘Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions’ Project Vienna, August 2006).

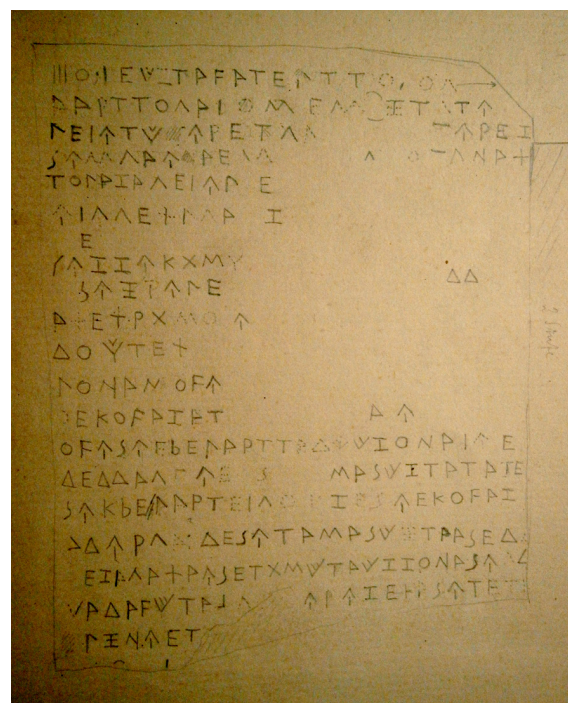


**FIG. 2.** Photo of the beginning of N 315 on a rock-cut tomb in Seyret with tracing of letters (photo: Ludwig Fliesser, ‘Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions’ Project Vienna, August 2006, tracing: Birgit Christiansen).



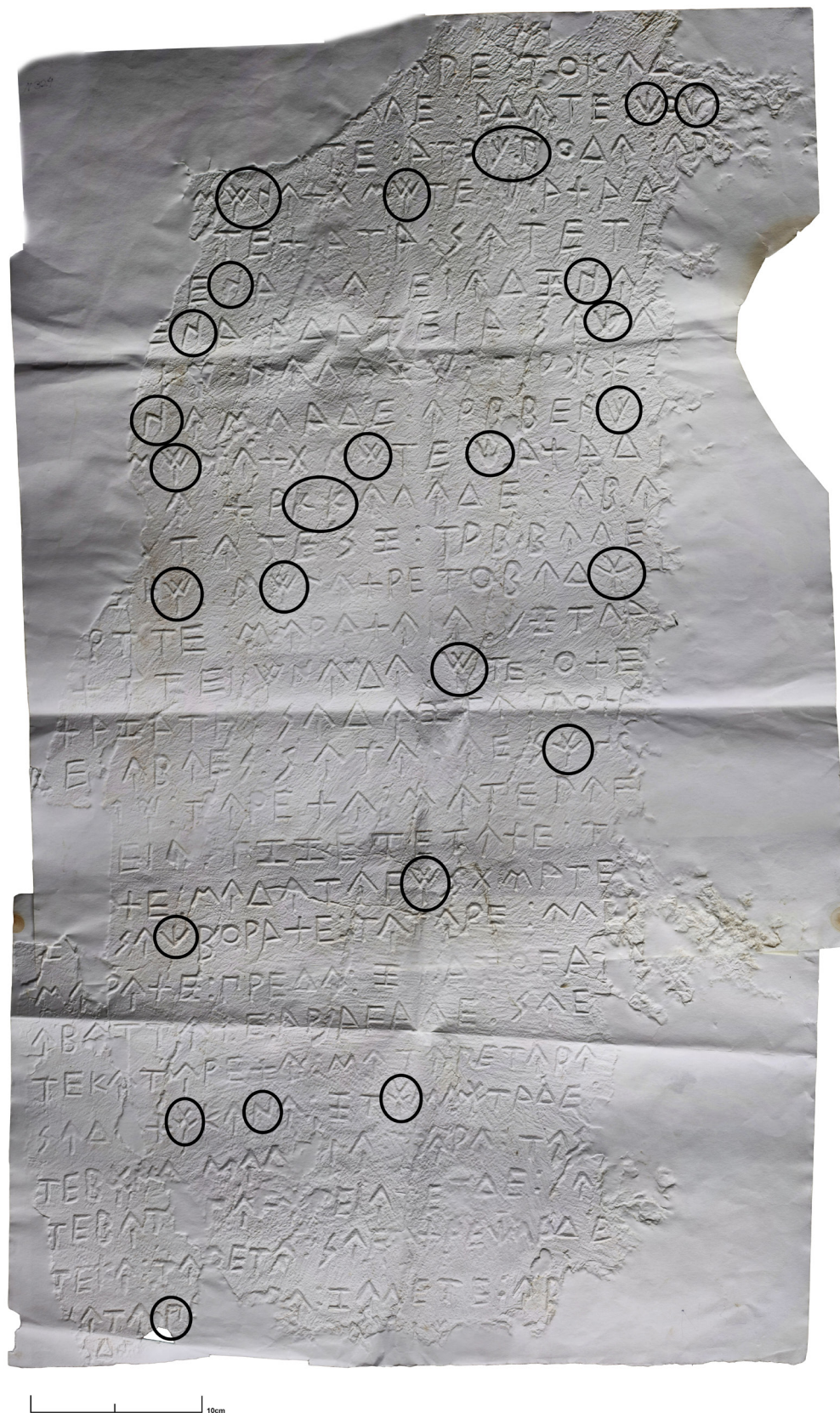


**FIG. 3.** Photo of N 315 on a rock-cut tomb in Seyret with tracing of letters of the dating formula (photo: Ludwig Fliesser, 'Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions' Project Vienna, August 2006, tracing: Birgit Christiansen).



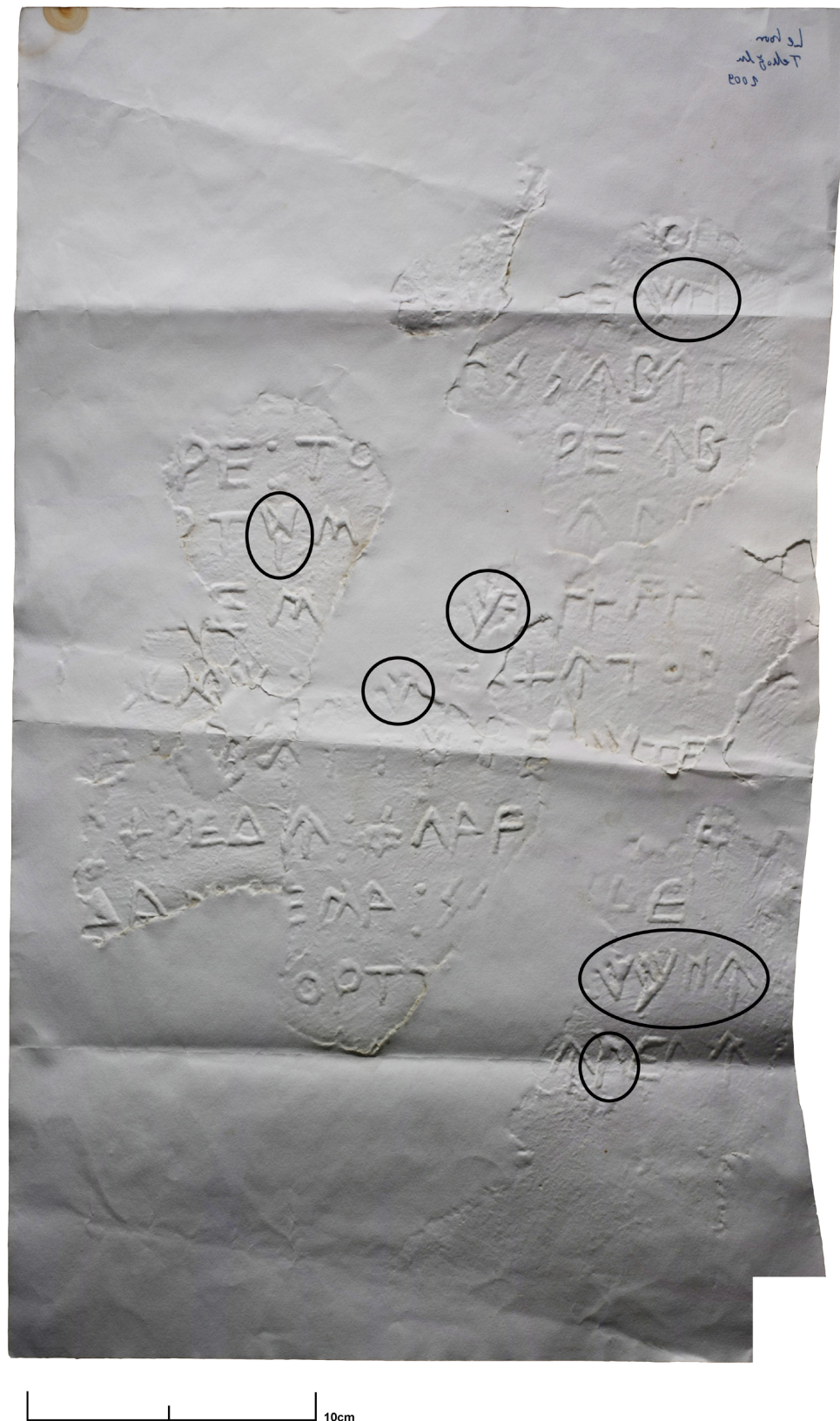
**FIG. 4.** Sketch from Heberdey's notebook (Lykien 1898, Heberdey I), in the 'Schedensammlung' of the 'Working Group Epigraphy' of the Austrian Academy of Science in Vienna, Rix 2015, fig. 22).





**FIG. 5.** Photo of a paper squeeze of N 324 (paper squeeze: Recai Tekoğlu, ‘Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions’ project Vienna; photo: Miriam Kehl, Januar 2016).





**FIG. 6.** Photo of a paper squeeze of N 325 (paper squeeze: Recai Tekoğlu, ‘Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions’ project Vienna, photo: Miriam Kehl, Januar 2016).





# Lycian Relative Clauses


H. Craig Melchert\*

\* – Carrboro, NC. Email: [melchert@humnet.ucla.edu](mailto:melchert@humnet.ucla.edu)

**Abstract:** Lycian relative clause syntax generally matches that of Hittite and other Anatolian Indo-European languages, with some minor differences due to Lycian SVO word order. One putative major contrast is that Lycian seems to have at least one example showing “overt *wh*-movement”. Arguments are made that opening formulas with enclitic *=ti* in funerary inscriptions contain a reflexive particle, not “cleft” structures with the relative pronoun.

**Keywords:** clefts, Lycian, reflexive particle, relative clauses

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## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Garrett offered a comprehensive and coherent account of Lycian relative clause syntax,<sup>2</sup> but it has been shown to be based on several false premises.

First, he assumed that Lycian inherited from Proto-Anatolian (and PIE) “overt *wh*-movement” by which the interrogative-relative pronoun obligatorily appears in the left periphery of a clause regardless of its syntactic role.<sup>3</sup> As shown by Goedegebuure in the framework of functional discourse grammar<sup>4</sup> and Huggard in a minimalist model,<sup>5</sup> Hittite is an “*in situ wh*-language”:

(i) KBo 8.23:17 (NH; CTH 209, Letter to the Queen)

*nu MUNUS.LUGAL GAŠAN=YA kuit iyaši*

‘What will you, the queen, my lady, do?’

(ii) KBo 6.34 i 30 and passim (MH/NS; CTH 427, Military Oath)

*kī=wa kuit*

‘What is this?’

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Birgit Christiansen, Heiner Eichner, Diether Schürr, and Ilya Yakubovich for helpful comments and suggestions both at the oral presentation of this paper and afterwards. I naturally am responsible for the contents of this written version.

<sup>2</sup> Garrett 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Garrett 1994, 51–55, after Hale 1987.

<sup>4</sup> Goedegebuure 2009.

<sup>5</sup> Huggard 2011 and 2015, 93–112.

Word order in Hittite interrogative and relative clauses is determined by considerations of focus and topicalization. The status of overt *wh*-movement in Lycian is thus an entirely open question.

Second, Garrett assumed that Lycian also inherited a grammaticalized contrast between “determinate” and “indeterminate” relative clauses in which only the former are marked by obligatory fronting of another full constituent to the left of the relative pronoun.<sup>6</sup> In the latter the relative pronoun itself must undergo fronting and cannot be preceded by anything except sentence conjunctions plus or minus clitics. In “determinate” relative clauses the existence of the referent of the relative noun phrase is presupposed; in “indeterminate” relative clauses it is not. It is crucial to note that the latter are always equivalent to conditional clauses. Attested counterexamples for non-initial “indeterminate” (better “conditional”) relative clauses in both Hittite and Lycian now refute the claim of a grammatical contrast based strictly on word order (for Lycian see 2.1.1 below):<sup>7</sup>

(iii) KBo 5.4 Ro 33–34 (NH; CTH 67, Treaty with Targasnalli)

*namma ANA* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *kuiš* LÚ.KÚR [*n=aš / tuk*] LÚ.KÚR *ēšdu tuk=ma kuiš* LÚ.KÚR *ANA* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI=*ya=aš* LÚ.KÚR

‘Furthermore, whoever is an enemy to *His Majesty*, [let **him**] be an enemy [to you], while whoever is an enemy to you, **he** is also an enemy to *His Majesty*.’

(iv) KUB 23.72 Vo 27–28 (MH/MS; CTH 146, Mida of Pahhuwa)

*n=ašta ANA* LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>*Pahhuwa kuedani UD-ti kūruraš memian anda ištamašteni nu apēdan[i UD-ti ...] ārten*

‘On whatever day you hear a hostile word among the men of P., **on that day** [ ] arrive!’

But examples of conditional relative clauses with contrastive topics (in example iii, as defined by Goedegebuure<sup>8</sup>) or another constituent that precedes the relative pronoun are relatively rare (less than ten thus far). As new information whose existence is not presupposed, Hittite preposed conditional relative clauses are in “identification-information” focus<sup>9</sup> and are accordingly “fronted”<sup>10</sup> and appear mostly clause-initially:

(v) KBo 2.2 iii 33–34 (NH; CTH 577, oracular inquiry)

*kuiš IKRIBU šarninkuwaš n=an šarninkanzi*

‘Whatever votive offering is to be made in restitution, they will give **it** in restitution.’

Finally, Garrett does not recognize postposed restrictive relative clauses or any kind of embedded relative clauses for Hittite,<sup>11</sup> but both exist.<sup>12</sup>

The discussion of Lycian relative clauses by Kloekhorst<sup>13</sup> is ancillary to the main topic and neither comprehensive nor descriptively adequate (*cf.* below, 2.1.2 and 3). Likewise Eichner<sup>14</sup> treats only one aspect of the problem, with no attempt to ground his analysis in a coherent account of the rest of Lycian relative clause syntax.

<sup>6</sup> Garrett 1994, 44–47, following Held 1957 and Hale 1987.

<sup>7</sup> See Melchert 2016 and for Hittite, Huggard 2015, 134–138.

<sup>8</sup> Goedegebuure 2014, 476–479.

<sup>9</sup> Goedegebuure 2009.

<sup>10</sup> *Per* Huggard 2011, 98, to “SpecCP.”

<sup>11</sup> Garrett 1994.

<sup>12</sup> See Melchert 2016 with references to Probert 2006 and Huggard 2015.

<sup>13</sup> Kloekhorst 2011, 15–18.

<sup>14</sup> Eichner 2017, 285–286.



The entire topic requires reexamination. The presentation here is intended only as a first step. I have restricted the data base to assured examples in complete contexts with clear interpretations, except for one partially restored passage whose syntactic analysis is decisive for the question of whether Lycian has “overt *wh*-movement”. Debatable forms of the relative pronoun such as *tija*, *tijāi* and *tijēi* have been excluded for now.

## 2. Attested types of relative clauses in Lycian

### 2.1 Preposed adjoined relative clauses with resumptive main clauses

#### 2.1.1 Indeterminate (= conditional)

(1) TL 56.3–4

*se=ije ti edi: tike: mētē: m=ene qasttu: ēni: qlahi: ebijehi: se wedri: wehñtezi*

‘And whoever does any harm to it, let the mother of the local sanctuary—and the *w. w.*—slay **him!**’ (= εὖν δέ τις ἀδικήσῃ ἢ ἀγοράσῃ τὸ μνημα)

Further examples with the relative pronoun preceded only by a clausal conjunction with or without enclitics are: TL 6.2, 94.3, 102.2 (first example), 111.2, 128.2, 131.2 and 3, 139.3 (plus less certain cases).

(2) TL 101.2–5

*me ñtepi tāti: za[h]āmā: se: ladā: se: tideimis: ehbi[s] kbi: tike: ti ñtepi tadi: a[t]la[h]i: tibe: kbijehi tibe=te: ala[h]adi ti: m=ene: mā[h]āi: tubeiti wed[rēñ]ni*

‘And they shall put inside Z. and wife and his children. Whoever puts inside *someone else*, his own or of someone else, or whoever performs a burial service, the *w. gods* shall strike **him.**’

Other passages illustrating topic shift marked by a constituent to the left of the relative pronoun are: TL 57.9, 106.2, N314b.1–3. Note that all such examples are as predicted equivalent to conditional clauses (as confirmed by the Greek translation of the first example cited).

#### 2.1.2 Determinate

(3) TL 75.2–3

*s=ene ñte: tāti tdi isbazi: me=ije: ni hr[ppi] tātu: tike:*

‘And the bench/couch into which they put him, **therein** they shall put no one else in addition.’

(4) N320.25–27

*me=ije=sitēni=ti: hlñ mipijata m=ede=te=wē: kumezidi: nuredi: nuredi: arā: kumehedi:*

‘And the income-gift that lies therein (accrues thereto), one shall sacrifice **it** as a rite monthly with a sheep...’

These examples show that against the claim of Kloekhorst<sup>15</sup> preposed determinate relative clauses are also resumed by main clauses with the conjunction *me*.

In sum, available evidence argues that in Lycian, as in Hittite, the relative pronoun in indeterminate (conditional) relative clauses, since it stands in identification-information focus, generally appears initial in its clause, but other constituents may appear to its left. Hieroglyphic Luwian preferentially topicalizes some other constituent, but also has examples with the focused relative

<sup>15</sup> Kloekhorst 2011, 16.

pronoun clause-initial. The grammar is thus the same in all three languages, the difference being one of diction. Thus far, Lycian preposed determinate relative clauses appear only with other constituents (sometimes multiple) in focus and thus to the left of the relative pronoun. One should note, however, that Lycian, unlike Hittite, preferentially “fronts” the finite verb,<sup>16</sup> a fact surely related to the overall frequency of verb “fronting” in Lycian.<sup>17</sup>

## 2.2 Clearly embedded relative clauses

### 2.2.1 Coordinated as a noun phrase with another noun phrase

#### 2.2.1.1 Internally headed

(5) TL 124.1–8

*ebēñnē xupu se=i hri=ti ñtipa m=e=ti adē uhetēi ebehi ñtatā*

‘As for *this* tomb and the ñ. that is on top of it, U. made himself **them** as *his* burial chamber.’

This example is erroneously listed as a preposed relative clause by Garrett,<sup>18</sup> but it clearly is part of a topicalized direct object consisting of two coordinated noun phrases.

#### 2.2.1.2 Free relative (with no antecedent/domain noun)

(6) N320.29–30

*me=kumezidi: seimija: se=de: seimijaje: xuwati=ti:*

‘And S. shall serve as priest, and one who stands near (is related to) S.’

### 2.2.2 Embedded within the main clause (both examples are free relatives)

(7) TL 87.4–5

*me=i=pñ: pudē: ti ñte xahba: [eh]bi: wazzije: kbatra*

‘And afterwards his grandchild, the daughter of W., engraved on it who/what is inside.’<sup>19</sup>

(8) N320.22–25

*se=wa(j)=aitē: kumaha: ēti sttali: ppuweti: kñmē: ebehi: xñtawataha: xbidēñnaha: se=rKKazumaha:*

‘And they made sacred as belonging to the King of Kaunos and Arkesima as much as they write on this stele.’

I emphasize that the word order in the second example cannot be attributed to influence from the Greek version, where the relative clause is embedded as the clause-initial subject of the main clause with a passive verb. Against previous claims, both types (embedded relative clauses coordinated with another noun phrase and relative clauses embedded within the main clause) also exist in Hittite.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See already descriptively Gusmani 1962.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Garrett 1994, 55–56.

<sup>18</sup> Garrett 1994, 53.

<sup>19</sup> Thus with Garrett 1994, 59 against Melchert 2004, 65.

<sup>20</sup> See Melchert 2016, 292–294.

## 2.3 Postposed (or embedded?) relative clauses

### 2.3.1 Non-restrictive relative clauses

(9) TL 150.1–4

*ebeli: me sijēni: xssēñzija: xñtlapah: tideimi: mutleh: prñnezijehi: prñnawate=ti: ñtatã: atli: ehbi:*

‘Here lies X., son of X., household member of M., who built the burial chamber for himself.’

(10) N310.1–3

*ebēñnē: xup[ã m=]jēne: prñnawatē xlasitili: magabatah: tideimi xali: gehñnite=ti: ebēñnē:*

‘As for *this* tomb, X., son of M. built it, who q-ed this temenos(?).’

### 2.3.2 Restrictive relative clauses

(11) TL 80.2

*se=i=ni ñtepi tātu tike ne=de xuwati=ti*

‘And let them not put in it anyone who does not stand near (is not related).’

### 2.3.3 “Indefinite” relative clauses<sup>21</sup>

(12) TL 93.1–2

*e[b]ēñn[ē x]upã m=ē=t[i p]rñn[a]watē upazi musxxah tideimi hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime: sttati=ti*

‘As for *this* tomb, U., son of M., built himself it for his wife and (any) children who remain.’

(13) TL N320.20–22

*se=sñmati: xddazas: epi=de arawa: hāti kñmētis: me=i=pibiti: sixlas:*

‘And they shall oblige as many slaves as they release into freedom that they give shekels (i.e., one each).’<sup>22</sup>

### 2.3.4 Free relatives

(14) N320.11–12

*se=i pijētē: arawã: ehbi: esi=ti:*

‘And they gave him freedom (for) that which is his.’

(15) N320.41<sup>23</sup>

*me=hriqla: asñne: pzziti=ti*

‘And the supreme temenos is to carry out what he (Pixodaros) decrees/decides.’

<sup>21</sup> See for the definition Garrett 1994, 47–48.

<sup>22</sup> Both (12) and (13) thus with Garrett 1994, 58, against Samuels 2005, 287–288 with arbitrary and implausible syntactic analyses.

<sup>23</sup> See Melchert 1999 for the interpretation.

Garrett tentatively takes all of these examples as embedded,<sup>24</sup> followed by Samuels,<sup>25</sup> who gives an explicit syntactic analysis. Note that all but the free relatives would by this analysis be externally headed. But Garrett concedes that only free relatives are unambiguously attested as embedded (see examples (7) and (8) above), and that in Lycian, which is not SOV (like Hittite), one cannot easily tell whether examples (9)–(15) are embedded or postposed. At least one example seems to point to postposing:

(16) TL 75.2–4

*s=ene ñte: tãti tdi isbazi: me=ije: ni hr[ppi] tãtu: tike: ñmẽ: ladã ti=(i)je hrppi: latĩ*  
*hrppi=[(i)je me]=i: tadi: tike: kbi:*

‘And the bench/couch into which they put him, therein they shall put no one else in addition, except the wife, whom they shall allow therein in addition. If one puts anyone else in addition therein...’ or ‘...except a wife whom they shall allow therein in addition...’

For the suggestion that the verb *latĩ* belongs to *la-* ‘to allow’ see Christiansen.<sup>26</sup> The standard interpretation ‘who dies’<sup>27</sup> is very hard to motivate in the presence of *=ije* ‘therein’. A reading either as a non-restrictive relative clause or as an indefinite relative clause is contextually possible.

This attractive analysis has a major unavoidable implication: it requires that Lycian have overt *wh*-movement—the direct object *ti* precedes both an adverb and the finite verb.<sup>28</sup> While sure diagnostic examples for *in situ wh*-pronouns in interrogative clauses predictably are lacking in Lycian, I must underscore that there is no other positive evidence for overt *wh*-movement.<sup>29</sup>

In the oral presentation of this paper I assumed only with great reluctance the major grammatical feature of overt *wh*-movement in Lycian based on a single partially restored example. I therefore was prepared to gratefully adopt with slight modification a suggestion of Ilya Yakubovich (personal communication): to restore a predicative infinitive *la[ne]*, for which compare example (15), and to interpret the relative clause as ‘...except the wife, who is to be allowed therein in addition’ or ‘...except a wife who is to be allowed...’.

However, Birgit Christiansen has now generously shared with me a much better photo than that presented in Christiansen 2019, 231. It shows a clear reading of the preceding *hrppi* and an unmistakable <T> representing the *t* as the third letter of the verb. Traces of <E> representing the final *-i* are much fainter, but also seem to be present. In any case, the context calls for a present-future, not a preterite. Since the next clause is the protasis of a sanction formula, one also cannot separate the relative clause from *ñmẽ: ladã* and construe it with what follows. While at least one further compelling example of “overt *wh*-movement” in Lycian would be welcome, present evidence argues that this feature is part of Lycian grammar.

### 3. Excursus

Before concluding, I must deal at some length with a challenge to the otherwise coherent picture of Lycian relative clause syntax just presented. Sentences like (17) and (18) are generally regarded as showing a reflexive particle *=ti*:

<sup>24</sup> Garrett 1994, 60.

<sup>25</sup> Samuels 2005, 286–287.

<sup>26</sup> Christiansen 2019, 232.

<sup>27</sup> See Hajnal 1995, 110 n. 100; Melchert 2004, 34; and Neumann 2007, 180.

<sup>28</sup> I am following Christiansen 2019, 240 and *passim* in interpreting *hrppi* as an adverb meaning ‘in addition’, not physically ‘on top’.

<sup>29</sup> Note that *wh* movement of the direct object *ti* is unavoidable either with the relative clause embedded as the object of the preposition *ñmẽ* (‘except which wife...’) or with a postposed relative clause with an external domain noun (‘except the wife, whom...’).

(17) TL 99.1–2

*purihimetī=ti: prñawate: masasah: tideimi xupā: ebēñnē hrppi: atli: ehbi: se tideime: ehbiye:*

‘P., son of M., built himself this tomb for him(self) and his children.’

(18) TL 105.1–2

*ebēñnē: xupu m=ē=ti: prñawatē esete: muleseh atli: ehbi: se ladi: se tideime*

‘As for *this* tomb, E., (son of) M., built himself it for him(self) and (his) wife and children.’

However, Eichner,<sup>30</sup> Tekoğlu,<sup>31</sup> and Kloekhorst<sup>32</sup> have argued that such structures contain the relative pronoun *ti* in a “cleft” (17) or “pseudo-cleft” (18) construction.

The arguments made by Kloekhorst against the interpretation of *=ti* as a reflexive are entirely non-probative,<sup>33</sup> being based on the erroneous premise that the reflexive must have a self-benefactive sense (and would thus be redundant in cases like (17) and contradictory in cases like (12) above). As argued by Christiansen, not all reflexives in other languages are self-benefactive (see her discussion of German examples). Likewise in at least some speakers’ English ‘I built myself this house/tomb for me’ and ‘I built myself this house/tomb for the family’ and similar sentences are entirely grammatical. The reflexives in such sentences underscore the subject’s self-interest in the actions taken, whether or not the subject is the beneficiary.<sup>34</sup> Unlike true benefactive reflexives, they are entirely optional and may be omitted without changing the sense of the sentence (thus the absence of *=ti* in cases like (19) is also entirely expected:<sup>35</sup>

(19) TL 37.1–6

*ebēñnē: xupā: m=ēne prñawatē: mede: epññēni ehbi: hñ prāma: se(j)=atli*

‘As for *this* tomb, M. built it for his younger brother H. and himself.’

Kloekhorst claims that in examples like (18) *m=ē=ti: prñawatē esete: muleseh* is “the core sentence” and that *m=ē=ti: prñawatē* is an embedded relative clause, the subject of a nominal sentence ‘The one who built it (is) E., (son of) M.’.<sup>36</sup> But by his own analysis,<sup>37</sup> (18) is a *derived* topicalized structure, formed from an underlying structure like that in (17) by left dislocation of the direct object and a *resumptive* pronoun, which appears only as the result of left-dislocation of the direct object noun phrase.<sup>38</sup> As per Kloekhorst and Eichner,<sup>39</sup> against Garrett, Samuels, and Daues,<sup>40</sup> the synchronically unmarked word order in Lycian is SVO, as shown by (20), from which structure (21) is derived by the same process as that of (18) from (17):<sup>41</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Eichner *apud* Borchhardt *et al.* 1997–1999, 62–63 and Eichner 2017, 285–286.

<sup>31</sup> Tekoğlu *apud* Seyer – Tekoğlu 2009, 222 with n. 12.

<sup>32</sup> Kloekhorst 2011, 14–18.

<sup>33</sup> Thus also Christiansen *forthcoming ad* TL 98.

<sup>34</sup> There are also non-standard dialects in which the non-reflexive pronoun is used in this function: ‘I built me this house/tomb for myself/for the family.’

<sup>35</sup> Against Kloekhorst 2011, 14.

<sup>36</sup> Kloekhorst 2011, 15–16.

<sup>37</sup> See also Kloekhorst 2011, 18.

<sup>38</sup> See similarly Garrett 1992; Samuels 2005, 278–279; Goldstein 2014, 102 with n. 4; Eichner 2017, 283 and Daues 2009, 54–55, who also stresses that *ebe* ‘this’ has undergone contrastive focus within the topicalized noun phrase.

<sup>39</sup> Kloekhorst 2011, 17 and Eichner 2017, 285.

<sup>40</sup> Garrett 1994, 30–36; Samuels 2005 and Daues 2009, 550.

<sup>41</sup> Note, however, against Kloekhorst that the word order Verb Subject in (21) must be due to verb fronting, not right dislocation of the subject noun phrase, which is precluded by examples like (5) and (19), where the subject is followed by non-dislocated constituents of the verb phrase.

(20) TL 40b.1–3 (identical to 40a)

*pajawa m[a]n[ax]ine: prñnawate: prñnawā ebēñnē:*

‘P. m. built this grave-house.’

(21) TL 70.1–3

*ebēñnē: xupā m=ene prñnawatē sbikaza xñtanubeh tideimi temusemutah tuhes*

‘As for *this* tomb, S., son of X., cousin of T., built it.’

There is no basis whatsoever for assuming fronting of the subject in (20). See also for unmarked SVO order TL 31.3–4, 104a, and 104b (both clauses!). Per Kloekhorst,<sup>42</sup> a sentence like (17), repeated here for convenience, is a “cleft sentence”:

(17) TL 99.1–2

*purihimeti=ti: prñnawate: masasah: tideimi xupā: ebēñnē hrppi: atli: ehbi: se tideime: ehbiye:*

‘P., son of M., built himself this tomb for him(self) and his children.’

A cleft reading of this sentence requires that *purihimeti* be part of the main clause (a nominal sentence), and thus the antecedent of an *externally* headed relative clause: ‘It is P. who built...’<sub>S</sub> [(It is) P.]<sub>S</sub> [*ti prñnawate:...*]<sub>S</sub>. Alternatively, one may with Eichner<sup>43</sup> analyze the structure as ‘Purihimeti is the one who built...’:<sub>S</sub> [P. (is)]<sub>NP</sub> [*ti prñnawate:...*]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>, with the relative clause embedded as the predicate noun phrase of the main clause. Contrary to my claim in the oral presentation of this paper, Hittite likely shows similar structures:

(vii) KBo 4.13 iv 20 (NH; CTH 68.C, Treaty with Kupanta-Kuruntiya)

*[n]amma=za=kan šu[m]ēš kuiēš 3 LÚ.MEŠ ELLU*

‘Furthermore, it is you who are the three free men.’<sup>44</sup> or

‘Furthermore, you are the ones who are three free men.’<sup>45</sup>

My first objection to the cleft analysis thus falls. There remain, however, two problems. First, *masasah: tideimi*, which is clearly appositive to *purihimeti* in (17) would be right-dislocated into the following relative clause, an unattested process in any language to my knowledge. But real speakers famously violate syntactic constraints with some frequency. Based on “licit” cases of “heavy NP shift” as in (22) below (see also TL 51 and N 311), speakers could have produced “illicit” structures as in (17) (also in TL 62, 98, 116, 126, and 127). This point alone is thus less than probative.

(22) TL 133

*xñtlapa=~ne: prñnawate: perikleh: mahinaza: epñtibazah tideimi*

‘X. built it, the m. of P., son of E.’

Far more serious is the second problem, that structures of the type of (18), entirely grammatical with a reflexive pronoun, would require by the “cleft” analysis that the direct object noun phrase be left-dislocated out of a relative clause:

<sup>42</sup> Kloekhorst 2011, 16.

<sup>43</sup> Eichner 2017, 286.

<sup>44</sup> Beckman 1996, 76.

<sup>45</sup> See similarly KUB 19.76+21.1+ iii 31 (NH; CTH 76.A, Treaty with Alaksandu).



(18) TL 105.1–2

*ebēñnē: xupu m=ē=ti: prñnawatē esete: muleseh atli: ehbi: se ladi: se tideime*

‘As for *this* tomb, E. (son of) M., built himself it for him(self) and (his) wife and children.’

vs. from an underlying *esete muleseh ti prñnawate xupu ebēñnē atli ehbi se ladi se tideime*

‘It is E., (son of) M., who built this tomb for himself, his wife, and children.’ >

\*‘This tomb, it is E. (son of) M. who built it for himself, his wife, and children.’<sup>46</sup>

That such a structure became grammaticalized seems extremely unlikely. We must conclude that a relative clause analysis of such clauses is very problematic. Expressed concerns about the reflexive analysis<sup>47</sup> must also be relativized. First, there is at least one assured example of the reflexive particle outside of the opening tomb formula:

(23) TL 44b.60–61

*se=ti: teθθiweiibi: ade mē: leθθi: qlā:*

‘And T. likewise made himself a precinct of Leto.’

Another very likely example appears in TL 149.14, where *me=ti mazaiti* has little chance of containing the relative pronoun. Further possible occurrences are found in *me=ti* in TL 29.3 and 14. In view of our extremely limited understanding of Lycian B it cannot be excluded that examples in its corpus have been overlooked. Finally, the total number of occurrences of the relative pronoun in Lycian (A) is modest, so the absence of co-occurrence with the reflexive may easily be due to chance.<sup>48</sup> Such combinations are not overly frequent in the Hittite corpus.<sup>49</sup>

## 4. Conclusion

Current available evidence suggests that Lycian relative clause syntax mostly matches that of Hittite. First, preposed conditional (“indeterminate”) relative clauses mostly show the relative pronoun initial in clause, but as in Hittite there are some undeniable exceptions. Second, all preposed “determinate” relative clauses attested thus far have a non-initial relative pronoun, but in Lycian this results mostly from focusing of the finite verb, which is rare in Hittite (where other constituents are topicalized or focused). Third, internally headed and free relatives may be embedded as coordinated noun phrases and within main clauses. Fourth, restrictive, non-restrictive, indefinite, and free relative clauses appear descriptively postposed to a main clause, and that is the likely, but not assuredly, correct syntactic analysis, based on the final finding: there appears to be at least one example of “overt *wh*-movement” in a postposed relative clause.

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<sup>46</sup> The problem is the same with Eichner’s (2017, 286) analysis: ‘E., (son) of M., is the one who built this tomb...’ > \*‘This tomb, E., (son) of M., is the one who built it...’.

<sup>47</sup> Eichner 2017, 285 and after the oral presentation of this paper.

<sup>48</sup> Since a reflexive with ‘give’ is unlikely, the sequence *tibe=ti=pe=wē=pijeti=tdi* in N 324.27 probably shows a double-*wh* construction: ‘Or whatever they give to whomever (= anyone)...’.

<sup>49</sup> Of 70 occurrences of the reflexive particle in Old Hittite/Old Script just one cooccurs with a relative pronoun, and of 170 instances in assured Middle Hittite compositions in Middle Script a modest five. The large number of duplicates makes it impossible for a rapid survey to arrive at meaningful figures for the much larger corpus of New Hittite compositions, but cooccurrence surely appears in no more than five percent of examples of the reflexive.

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# The Distribution of *-a-* and *-e-* in the Lycian Genitival Adjective Suffix


Stefan Norbruis\*

\* – Leiden University. Email: [s.norbruis@hum.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:s.norbruis@hum.leidenuniv.nl)

**Abstract:** The Lycian genitival adjectival suffix A *-Vhe/i-*, B *-Vse/i-* is attested both with *-a-* and with *-e-*. The present treatment suggests that the main principle behind this variation is morphological, and tries to determine the default variant for each stem type, as well as to find explanations for the seeming exceptions. Lycian A and B are treated separately, but give comparable results. The ultimate origin of the suffix is argued to have been *\*-osio(-)*, which directly accounts for the variant with *-e-*. The variant with *-a-* is its counterpart in the *a*-stems. Some additional light is shed on the workings of Lycian vowel assimilation processes.

**Keywords:** Lycian, morphology, suffix, genitival adjective, vowels

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## 1. Introduction

The normal way of expressing a genitival relationship between nouns<sup>1</sup> in Lycian is by means of a genitival adjective (gen. adj.), inflected to agree with the head noun, which is formed with a suffix of the shape *-ahe/i-* or *-ehe/i-* in Lycian A, and *-ase/i-* or *-ese/i-* in Lycian B.<sup>2</sup> For example, the gen. adj. of Lyc. *xssadrapa* ‘satrap’ is *xssadrapahe/i-* ‘of the satrap’. The variation found in the suffix vowel, *-a-* or *-e-*, has so far not been well understood. This article will address this issue in detail.

## 2. Earlier interpretations

### 2.1. *-a-* and *-e-* as phonetic variants

The two variants of the suffix have sometimes been treated as phonetic variants without any further differentiation on a morphological level.<sup>3</sup> This is true for Lyc. *a* and *e* in general, which were not only until relatively recently assumed to go back to one Proto-Anatolian phoneme corresponding to Luwian and Hittite *a*, but have also for a long time been known to be subject to

<sup>1</sup> Proper names normally rather use a genitive. However, the declension of nouns and adjectives sometimes spills over to proper names, and I have included here the occurrences in which this is the case.

<sup>2</sup> In this article the notation *-e/i-* refers to the combination of a neuter gender *e*-stem paradigm and a common gender *i*-stem paradigm (more commonly called “*i*-mutation paradigm”), found in virtually all adjectives. This contrasts with the alternative combination of a neuter gender consonant stem paradigm and a common gender *i*-stem paradigm, noted *-C(i)-*, e.g. *kñmēt(i)-* ‘how(ever) many’ (c. *kñmēti-*, n. *kñmē*) – although see 4.2.1 for a refinement of this statement. In nouns, common gender *i*-stems are here noted with *-i-* (e.g. *ēni-* ‘mother’) rather than with *-e/i-* and *-(i)-*, as there is no difference between these types. For an elaboration on these choices see Norbruis 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. Neumann 1969, 383–384.

umlaut rules that cause some wavering between the two. Specifically, *a* > *e* before the front vowels *e* and *i* (*i*-umlaut), and *e* > *a* before the back vowels *a* and *u* (*a*-umlaut). For instance, the gen. adj. of *atla*- ‘self’ is attested both as *atlahi* and as *etlehi*. In the latter case, *i*-umlaut must have been active, affecting even the radical vowel *a*.

It has sometimes been assumed that *-a-* was the original vowel of the suffix. Initially, this assumption was based only on the general correspondence of Lyc. *a* ~ *e* with Luw. and Hitt. *a*. In the case of the gen. adj. suffix, cf. the Luwian equivalent *-assa/i-* (CLuw. *-ašša/i-*, HLuw. *-asa/i-*).<sup>4</sup> But the original status of *-a-* has been defended even after it had become known that Lyc. *a* and *e* in principle continue different Proto-Anatolian phonemes (most relevantly *\*ā* and *\*ō*, respectively<sup>5</sup>). Melchert, for instance, used the supposed original *a*-vocalism of the suffix as an argument to uphold the suspected connection with the Latin suffix *-ārius*, explaining all forms with *-e-* as the result of *i*-umlaut, e.g. *\*ēnahi* > *ēnehi* ‘of the mother (*ēni*-)’.<sup>6</sup> Melchert retracted this in favor of a morphological distribution,<sup>7</sup> but the idea that the distribution of *-a-* and *-e-* does not correlate with any morphological feature is still found today.<sup>8</sup>

## 2.2. *-a-* and *-e-* as morphological variants

Although umlaut undeniably plays a role in the variation between *-ahe/i-* and *-ehe/i-*, from early on it has also been stated that there is some correlation of these variants with the stem type of the base noun, viz. of *-ahe/i-* with *a*-stems and of *-ehe/i-* with *i*-stems. Meriggi, for instance, notes that

“i temi in *-a* mantengono la vocale tematica ed hanno quindi più spesso la desinenza *-ahi*, mentre i temi in *-i* l’alterano in *e* ed hanno di regola la desinenza *-ehi*. Queste due desinenze *-ahi* ed *-ehi* si scambiano però di frequente, come in generale *e* ed *a*, oppure *ê* ed *â*, in licio.”<sup>9</sup>

He attributes the interchange of *-a-* and *-e-* to *i*-umlaut on the one hand (*-ahi* > *-ehi*), and analogy on the other (*-ahi* with *i*-stems).

Hajnal finds support for a general correlation with the stem type in a collection of relevant occurrences.<sup>10</sup> Apart from *-a-* correlating with *a*-stems and *-e-* with *i*-stems, he also finds *-a-* with consonant stems and with some *i*-stems which were originally *o*-stems.<sup>11</sup> Recently, Sasseville has proposed that *-ahe/i-* is used with *a*-stems and *i*-stems which were originally consonant stems, whereas *-ehe/i-* is used with *i*-stems which were originally *o*-stems, as well as with collectives.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. Houwink ten Cate’s (1961, 55) citation of the suffix as *-ahi-*, after a comparison with the Luwian suffix.

<sup>5</sup> See Melchert 1992.

<sup>6</sup> Melchert 1994, 77, 296.

<sup>7</sup> Melchert 2012.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. e.g. Neumann 2007, 17 s.v. *apuwarzahi*: “Das Suffix *-ahi-* erlaubt keine Aussage, ob der Stammauslaut *-a-* oder *-i-* gewesen ist”.

<sup>9</sup> Meriggi 1928, 413–414.

<sup>10</sup> Hajnal 2000, 170–171.

<sup>11</sup> Specifically, Hajnal offers the following analyses (notations his): *-a-* with consonant stems in *pddātahi* (*pddāt-* ‘place’), *xñtawatahi* (*xñtawat(i)-* ‘king’), Lyc. B *Trqqñtasi* (*Trqqñt-* ‘Storm-god’), *-a-* with *o*-stems in *Sppartalijahe* (*Sppartali(je)-* ‘Spartan’), *uhahi* (*uhe/i-* ‘year’), Lyc. B *Xbadasi* (*Xbade/i-* TN). All of these will be treated below, except *Sppartalijahe*, which is better analyzed as belonging to *\*Sppartalija-* ‘land of Sparta’ (Melchert 2004, 59 interprets it as a genitive; Sasseville 2018, 314 n. 34 as a dative-locative plural of *\*Sppartalijsa-*); its base is unattested in any case.

<sup>12</sup> Sasseville 2018, 314–316. Sasseville mentions for *i*-stems continuing *o*-stems (notations his): *ēnehe/i-* (*ēnese/i-* (*ēne/i-* ‘mother’), *esbehe/i-* (*esbe/i-* ‘horse’), *xñtawatehe/i-* (*xñtawate/i-* ‘king’), *prñnezijehe/i-* (*prñnezije-* ‘house servant’), *telēzijehe/i-* (*telēzije-* ‘army’), *kbihehe/i-* (*kbi(je)-* ‘another’); for *i*-stems continuing consonant stems: *pddātahe/i-* (*pddāt(i)-* ‘place’), *uhahe/i-* (*uh(i)-* ‘year’), *xθθānahe/i-* (*xθθan-* ‘?’), along with the preserved consonant stem *trqqñtase/i-* (*trqqñt-* ‘Storm-god’). He uses this distribution to interpret *xbad(i)-* ‘river-valley’ (gen. adj. *xbadase/i-*) and *al(i)-* ‘?’ (gen. adj. *alase/i-*) as former consonant stems, and *-(w)ñne/i-* (ethnicon suffix, gen. adj. *-ñnehe/i-*) and *miñte/i-* (gen. adj. *miñtehe/i-*) as former



Hajnal uses the occurrence of *-a-* in other types than *a*-stems as an argument in favor of the original status of *a*-vocalism for all stems, supporting the connection with Lat. *-ārius*, with *-ehe/i-* or *-ese/i-* resulting from analogy after the stem vowel of the base. Kloekhorst and Yakubovich, however, note that if there is a correlation with the stem type, it could just as easily be attributed to the opposite analogy, in which *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-* or *\*-ǣ-* replaced *\*-o-* after the stem vowel of the base noun.<sup>13</sup> Both favor a shared origin with a PIE *o*-stem genitive: Kloekhorst with *\*-osio* (Skt. *-asya*, Gr. *-o-jo*, *-οιο*, OLat. *-osio*, Arm. *-oy*), Yakubovich with *\*-oso* (Gr. *-ov*). Such an origin and analogy had already been proposed by Pedersen.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. Outline

The distribution of *-a-* and *-e-* in the gen. adj. suffix is still quite unclear. First, not everyone seems to be convinced that there is any systematic distribution, the only factor at work allegedly being phonetic and haphazard in nature. This view can be abandoned right away in view of Hajnal's collection of forms,<sup>15</sup> which shows that there is at least some relation to morphology, as had been claimed before. Additionally, the morphological significance of the vowel difference is confirmed by a minimal pair: *xñtawatehi* 'of the king' (to *xñtawati-*) and *xñtawatahi* 'of the kingship' (to *xñtawata-*). Those who do believe there is a pattern assume a general tendency for the vowel to correlate with the stem of the base noun, but the exact assumed correlations differ. It is the purpose of the remainder of this article to refine our understanding of these patterns.

The existing accounts can be improved upon in several respects. First, some new inscriptions and improved interpretations have become available since Hajnal's collection.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, rather than a treatment per suffix form, the course which has been taken so far, we would like to have synchronic rules indicating which stem in principle takes which form of the suffix, as well as systematic explanations of the exceptions to these rules. Furthermore, the historical split in *i*-stems that Hajnal and Sasseville observe is disconcerting and needs further scrutiny. Finally, Lycian A and B should be treated separately. Even though they are closely related, their synchronic rules cannot be assumed to have been the same.

In order to determine the relationship between the form of the gen. adj. and the stem form of the base as carefully as possible, it is necessary to take as a starting point those attestations of the gen. adj. whose bases have a stem type that can be determined with certainty or at least extreme likelihood on the basis of attestations. In what follows, I will therefore collect all forms of the gen. adj. suffix whose base is attested, ordering them according to the stem vowel of the base, and try to formulate rules. All apparent exceptions to these rules will be discussed. For determining the impact of umlaut it will be useful also to include the token frequency of the gen. adj. rather than type frequency only. After the assessment of the synchronic rules (4–6), I will also address the question of how we can best interpret the results historically (7).

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*o*-stems. For *-ehe/i-* with collectives he mentions *uwehe/i-* (*uwa-* 'bulls, cattle') and *ehetehe/i-/esetese/i-* (*ahata-* 'peace'). All of these examples will be discussed below.

<sup>13</sup> Kloekhorst 2008a, 216 and Yakubovich 2008, 195.

<sup>14</sup> Pedersen 1898–1899, 98. He considered the gen. adj. to be a derivation of the genitive in *-h(e)*, about which he remarks: "Dette kan være den indoevr. Endelse for *o*-Stammerne *-sjo* ... og endelig må Endelsen *-he*, *-h* fra *o*-Stammerne være overført til andre Stammer (f. Eks. *i*-Stammerne).", i.e. "This can be the IE *o*-stem ending *-sjo* ... and finally the ending *-he*, *-h* may have been transferred from the *o*-stems to other stems (for example the *i*-stems).".

<sup>15</sup> Hajnal 2000, 170–171.

<sup>16</sup> Hajnal 2000. Most importantly, Hajnal's collection was based on Melchert 1994, of which an improved edition appeared in 2004. The most noticeable addition to the corpus is N337, which contains new instances of *xñnahi*, *teθθi*, and *ēnehi*, as well as the first unambiguous Lyc. A instance of *xugahe/i*, corresponding to Lyc. B *xugasi* (on which see 6).

## 4. Lycian A: Attestations, rules and exceptions

### 4.1. Nouns

#### 4.1.1. *a*-stems (c.)

The following attested *a*-stem nouns have attested gen. adj. forms.<sup>17</sup> Unless indicated otherwise, the listed gen. adj. forms are hapax legomena. For the sake of completeness, I also add nom.-acc. pl. n. forms in *-aha*, but in brackets, because these are not informative. There are no occurrences of *\*-eha* in Lycian A, meaning that *a*-umlaut works without exception here, and the form always comes out as *-aha* irrespective of the stem vowel of the base noun.<sup>18</sup> The attestations are the following:<sup>19</sup>

	<b>-<i>ahe/i</i>-</b> (31) (19)	<b>-<i>ehe/i</i>-</b> (6/7)
<i>arkkazuma-</i> ‘(PN or title)’	<i>rkkkazumahi</i> , ( <i>rkkkazumaha</i> )	
<i>mahana-</i> ‘god’	<i>mahanahi</i> , ( <i>mahānaha</i> ); <i>mahanahi</i> (subst.)	
<i>pedrita-</i> ‘Aphrodite’	<i>padritahi</i> (subst.)	
<i>qla-</i> ‘precinct(?)’	<i>qlahi</i> (13)	
<i>xñtawata-</i> ‘kingship’	( <i>hri</i> )- <i>xñtawatahi</i>	
<i>xssadrapa-</i> ‘satrap’	<i>xssadrapahi</i>	
	(12)	(2/3)
<i>atla-</i> ‘self’	<i>atlahi</i> (7), <i>atlahe</i>	<i>etleh[i]</i>
<i>malija-</i> ‘Athena’	<i>malijahi</i> (4)	<i>malijehi</i> , <i>malijehe?</i> (subst.?)
		(4)
<i>wawa-</i> , <i>uwa-</i> ‘cow’		<i>uwehi</i> (4) (subst.?)

Out of nine attested lexemes, six show only *-ahe/i-* (with a total of 19 occurrences), two show both variants, and one consistently shows *-ehe/i-*. In the two lexemes that show both, the form with *-a-* is more frequent: in the case of *atla-* we find *-a-* eight times and *-e-* only once; for *malija-* we find *-a-* four times next to *-e-* twice. The clear preponderance of *-ahe/i-* indicates that this is the morphologically regular form for *a*-stems, and that the forms with *-ehe/i-* are exceptions. The rest of this section will be devoted to scrutinizing these exceptions.

For *etlehi*, an explanation of the occurrence of *-e-* readily presents itself (*cf.* 2.1), because this form also shows the change *a > e* in the vowel of the root. This can only be due to *i*-umlaut, meaning that the morphologically aberrant *-e-* of the suffix likewise has to be attributed to the same process.

For *malijVhe/i-*, Sasseville assumes that the occurrence of the variant with *-e-* is related to substantivization and lexicalization, and posits a neuter noun *malijehe-* ‘temple of Malija’, comparing

<sup>17</sup> For the places of attestation, as well as the exact determinations, as far as known, see Melchert 2004 and Neumann 2007.

<sup>18</sup> When *-aha* is the only form in which the gen. adj. is attested, I have not added the lexeme to the list. The forms thus excluded are *arñnaha* (*arññā-* ‘Xanthos’) and *zaxabaha* (*zagaba-* ‘Lagbos’).

<sup>19</sup> A third form of the suffix is found in *laθθi* ‘in-law’ (subst.), to *lada-* ‘wife’, syncopated from *\*ladVhi*. The quality of the vowel has been lost along with the vowel, and the word therefore cannot help us further here.

Gr. Ἀθήναιον ‘temple of Athena’.<sup>20</sup> This interpretation was also considered by Neumann, who compares *pttara malijehi* (TL 44a, 43) ‘in Patara, in the Maliya-temple(?)’ with *padritahi arñna* (TL 44b, 53) ‘in the Aphrodision, in Xanthos’.<sup>21</sup> Lexicalization would be a good explanation for a stronger resistance to analogical restoration of the stem vowel after it had been umlauted (see the discussion of *uwehi* below, and cf. perhaps *laθθi* in n. 19).<sup>22</sup>

This leaves *uwehi*, which stands out in not having a variant with *-a-*. Occurring four times, it rather seems that *-e-* was the inherent vowel of this word.<sup>23</sup> Sasseville assumes that the suffix variant *-ehe/i-* is regular if the gen. adj. belongs to a collective, and so regards it as belonging specifically to the collective *uwa* ‘cows’ rather than to the basic lexeme *wawa-/uwa-* ‘cow’.<sup>24</sup> In my opinion, this is *a priori* unlikely given that the collective ends in *-a*. The contexts in which *uwehi* occurs also do not necessarily point to this particular interpretation.<sup>25</sup> A closer look at the contexts rather suggests a different explanation. In TL 22, *uwehi* is part of the title(s?) of Hrixttibili, who was a *mahanahi uwehi*. In TL 92, we find a tomb made by [.]urttija, who is further designated as *mahanahidi axā[t]i uwehi*.<sup>26</sup> The word also occurs twice in TL 29 (3, 4), in a much less clear context. But again, one instance is paired with *axāti* (here in the form *axuti*), which suggests that its use in this inscription is similar to that in the other two. Although its connection with *wawa-* ‘cow’ is not in question given the parallel *axāti : esbe[h]i* (TL 128, 1), which features the gen. adj. of *esbi-* ‘horse’,<sup>27</sup> the collocations in which it occurs, especially with the derivations of *mahana-* ‘god’, as well as its use in or as a title, suggest that *uwehi* was specialized as a priestly designation, or a part thereof. In its co-occurrence with ‘priest’ (*mahanahi*), Melchert interprets it as an epithet meaning ‘who oversees a cattle sacrifice’.<sup>28</sup> Neumann analyzes it as substantivized (‘the one of the cattle herds’, i.e. ‘the one responsible for the cattle herds’).<sup>29</sup> Its specialized, perhaps even substantivized, but at least probably lexicalized status may well explain its deviant vowel pattern. Because of their defining separation from the base paradigm, lexicalizations often contain forms that deviate from the synchronic rules, preserving the regular form of an older stage of the language. There are two ways in which this may be true in this case. The first possibility is that we are again, just like Sasseville proposed for *malijehe-*,<sup>30</sup> dealing with an unrestored umlauted variant. A second possibility is that it is a morphological archaism. From a historical point of view, the *a*-stem *wawa-* is secondary. PIE had a *u*-stem *\*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-u-* (Gr. βοῦς etc.), which survived as such in Proto-Anatolian (Hitt. GUD-*u-*), and then regularly became an *i*-stem in Proto-Luwic (still Luwian *wawi-*: CLuw. GUD-*iš*, HLuw. (BOS.ANIMAL)*wa/i-wa/i-*).<sup>31</sup> It may therefore be the case that the lexicalization *uwehi* preserves the gen. adj. that belonged to the older form *\*wewi-* rather than to the innovative *a*-stem *wawa-*.

<sup>20</sup> Sasseville 2018, 315.


<sup>21</sup> Neumann 2007, 193. The appurtenance of *malijehe* (TL 26, 12) is unclear; it may belong here, or be the gen. sg. of *malija-*.

<sup>22</sup> Of course, not even lexicalizations are immune to analogical pressure, as *padritahi* and *mahanahi* exemplify.

<sup>23</sup> The form [u]wahe featuring in Hajnal 2000 is better interpreted as part of a gen. of a proper name, *pu[nam][u]wahe* (see Melchert 2004, 102; Neumann 2007, 292).

<sup>24</sup> Sasseville 2018, 314.

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion of the original argument to regard *-ehe/i-* as regular with collectives, see 4.4.

<sup>26</sup> Following Kalinka 1901, 71, the existing editions have *u[we]hi*, implying that *w* and *e* are completely illegible. If Kalinka’s accompanying drawing is accurate, however, what little is left of the vowel leaves no doubt that the form is *uwehi* (*uwehi*) and not *\*uwahi*: .

<sup>27</sup> For this word and its stem formation, see 4.1.2 with footnote.

<sup>28</sup> Melchert 2004, 78.

<sup>29</sup> Neumann 2007, 413.

<sup>30</sup> Sasseville 2018, 315.

<sup>31</sup> On the regularity of the change from consonant stems to *i*-stems in (pre-)Proto-Luwic, and the fact that this word effectively belonged to this type due to its consistently consonantal *\*-u-*, as well as on the productivity of *a*-stems in Lycian, see Norbruus 2018.

For *a*-stems we may safely conclude that *-ahe/i-* is the paradigmatic form of the suffix. While in general it may be said that *i*-umlaut can account for the occasional occurrences of the variant *-ehe/i-*, it should be specified that only one attestation of *-ehe/i-*, viz. *etlehi* (against eight attestations of expected *atlahe/i-*), clearly occurs in the inflectional gen. adj. function and can therefore be attributed to the synchronic workings of umlaut. In the two other lexemes with a variant *-ehe/i-*, we seem rather to be dealing with lexicalizations: *malijehe-* quite possibly designates the ‘temple of Malija’ and *uwehi-* is (part of) a priestly title. The occurrence of *-e-* specifically in lexicalizations suggests that it is an archaism which resisted later restructuring. For *uwehi-*, the gen. adj. of a former *i*-stem, we may either be dealing with a morphological archaism, or with preserved umlaut, and the latter is the most likely option for *malijehe-*. This suggests that *i*-umlaut used to be more pervasive, but was regularly restored in the inflectional gen. adj. to align the vowel with the *-a-* of the stem of the base.<sup>32</sup>

#### 4.1.2. *i*-stems (c.)

The following attested *i*-stem nouns have attested gen. adj. forms. The same considerations and systematicity as for the *a*-stems above apply.<sup>33</sup>

	<b>-<i>ehe/i-</i></b> (16)	<b>-<i>ahe/i-</i></b> (2)
<i>ēni-</i> ‘mother’	<i>ēnehi</i> (3)	
<i>ertēmi-</i> ‘Artemis’	<i>ertemehi</i>	
<i>esbi-</i> <sup>34</sup> ‘horse’	<i>esbehi</i> ; <i>esbehi</i> ‘(PN?)’	
<i>miñti-</i> ‘a supervisory authority’	<i>miñtehi</i> (2), ( <i>miñtaha</i> (4)) <sup>35</sup>	
<i>prñneziji-</i> <sup>36</sup> ‘household member’	<i>prñnezijehi</i> (6)	
<i>xñtawati-</i> ‘king’	<i>xñtawatehi</i> (2), ( <i>xñtawataha</i> )	
 <i>uhi-</i> ‘year’		 <i>uhahi</i> (2)

With six out of seven lexemes consistently (in all 16 attestations) showing the variant *-ehe/i-*, we can safely conclude that *-ehe/i-* is the morphologically regular gen. adj. suffix variant for *i*-stems.

The one deviating lexeme, *uhi-* ‘year’, is also consistent, showing the variant *-ahe/i-* in both of its occurrences. It should be noted that it is not completely certain that this noun was an *i*-stem. The only form securely belonging here is *uhi*, probably a dat.-loc. sg., which does not exclude *a*-stem or (neuter) *e*-stem inflection. However, *i*-stem inflection is the most likely option in view of the Luwian equivalent *ussi-* (CLuw. *ušši-*, HLuw. (“ANNUS”) *usi-*). Lycian did transfer some nouns from the *i*-stems to the *a*-stems, but the only secure examples refer to animate beings (*xawa-* ‘sheep’,

<sup>32</sup> The analysis of the absence of *i*-umlaut as resulting from restoration leads to a reverse chronology compared to Hajnal’s (2000, 170) claim to the effect that *a*-umlaut is older, and *i*-umlaut is still in development. Rather, apart from the occasional exception (*etlehi*, and cf. [er]ewezijehed[i] in n. 42), *i*-umlaut seems no longer to have been active and its effects were regularly restored, at least paradigm-internally, whereas *a*-umlaut was an active process, not allowing for restoration of *-aha* to morphologically expected *\*-eha*.

<sup>33</sup> Here, too, we find a syncopated form with *-θθ-*: *teθθi* (to *tedi-* ‘father’). Excluded for only being attested in the nom.-acc. pl. n. is *tтарaha* (to *t(e)teri-* ‘city’).

<sup>34</sup> The only attestation of the base (abl. *esbedi*) and the undoubtedly common gender leave *esbi-* as the only realistic stem formation. Other stem forms which are more often assumed, most prominently *esbe-* and *esb-*, do not correspond to regular Lycian common gender noun declension types (see Norbruis 2018, 32).

<sup>35</sup> We also find two forms with syncope: *miñta*, whose preform must have been *\*miñtaha*, and *miñte*, probably from *\*miñtehe*.

<sup>36</sup> More commonly noted *prñnezij(e)-*, which more accurately represents the fact that the *-i-* of the direct cases merged with the preceding *-i(j)-* inherent to the suffix.

*wawa-* ‘cow’ and probably *kbatra-* ‘daughter’, *atla-* ‘person, self’, *mahana-* ‘god’<sup>37</sup>), meaning that assuming a transfer in this case would also mean assuming a deviation from this pattern. If the form *uhe* (TL 65, 15) is to be identified as the dat.-loc. pl. of ‘year’, it would all but rule out an *a*-stem (cf. 4.4 on the isolation of *-e* for *a*-stems). A neuter *uhe-* would be an unexpected mismatch to Luwian *ussi-*. In the current state of attestation, the best assumption is therefore that the word was *uhi-*.

Sasseville explains the occurrence of *-ahe/i-* as resulting from *uhi-*’s former status as a consonant stem (PIE *\*uet-es-*), comparing the supposed former *nt*-stem *pddāti-* ‘place’ (gen. adj. *pddātahe/i-*).<sup>38</sup> A distinction in the *i*-stems between former consonant stems and former *o*-stems would be highly remarkable. The merger that blurred this distinction took place in pre-Proto-Luwic, meaning that Lycian would have preserved an unmotivated distinction for at least 1500 years, from pre-Proto-Luwic onward, only in one grammatical category that is otherwise very productive and prone to analogy (cf. the near-absence of *i*-umlaut in *a*-stems). Indeed, I do not think the evidence can sustain the proposed rule. The word for ‘place’ suffers from the same defective state of attestation as does *uhi-*: the only securely attested case is the dat.-loc. sg. *pddāti*, meaning that the exact stem form cannot be determined. It is possible that the word was rather a neuter *nt*-stem (see 4.1.4). The rule would then rest only on *uhi-* → *uhahe/i-*. This example, however, contradicts the rule more than it supports it. PIE *\*uetes-* cannot be the direct ancestor of PLuw. *\*ussi-*: even if we assume that *\*-ss-* can come from *\*-ts-*, PIE *\*uet-es-* is a neuter noun, PLuw. *\*ussi-* is not. The change of gender is probably to be attributed to suffixation. This is also favored by the stem form, which does not occur as such in the inflection of the *s*-stems. This suggests that the preform was rather *\*ut-s-o-* (for a similar process cf. Skt. *vatsarā-* m. ‘year’).<sup>39</sup> I therefore conclude that the *a*-vocalism of *uhahi* has to be explained in another way.

The contexts in which *uhahi* occurs may provide further clues. In TL 43, it is part of the appositional titular string *trijatrbbahi pñnutahi uhahi*. As both other words are obscure, except for apparently also being genitival adjectives (so probably all of them are substantivized), so is *uhahi* in this context. In this case, it is not even clear that it refers to ‘year’, although it is formally probable. In TL 40c, 7–10, *uhahi* occurs in the context *erawazija ebe[ij]a m=e prñnawaxã 10 uhahi hiti ahāmadi arññadi* ‘this monument I built at/for a *hiti* of 10 years from/with the Xanthian *ahāma*’. Although not all aspects of this sentence are equally clear, what is clear is that *uhahi* is preceded by a plural numeral,<sup>40</sup> and must accordingly have a plural interpretation. The possibility arises, then, that this fact and the *a*-vocalism are related. The vocalism may stem from a collective, *\*uha*. Compare the collective *uwa* ‘cows’, both attestations of which occur after plural numerals (*āñmāma kbisñtāta uwa* TL 111, 4, *nuñtāta añmāma uwa* TL 131, 3–4).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> See Norbruis 2018, 36.

<sup>38</sup> Sasseville 2018, 315.

<sup>39</sup> Conversely, of the *i*-stems showing *-ehe/i-*, *miñti-* and *xñtawati-* are usually thought to go back to consonant stems, although admittedly neither really has a clear history. See also the provenance suffix *-ñne/i-*, which had a consonantal neuter in Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Luwic, but has a gen. adj. *-ñnehe/i-* in Lycian. In this case, however, the suffix seems to have been thematicized in pre-Lycian (see 4.2.1).

<sup>40</sup> Neumann 2007, 400 interprets this number as ‘21’ rather than ‘10’, but this reading is not normally accepted. His tentative translation of the first part of the sentence is “Diese *erawazija* nun habe ich erbaut (als) 21-jährig(er)”, with *uhahi* as a substantivized gen. adj. meaning ‘(21)year-old (man)’. It seems more probable to me that the time indication refers to years passed relative to an event (given the context, possibly military).

<sup>41</sup> If the occurrence as a title in TL 43 is regarded as the same lexeme, the fact that it has the exact same form may suggest that the *-a-* was inherent to the gen. adj. rather than dependent on number, although the word for ‘year’, as a unit of measurement, probably occurred in a plural interpretation relatively frequently. This characteristic may even have prompted a shift in stem type. Hopefully, future attestations will bring more clarity about the morphological details of this lexeme.



### 4.1.3. *e*-stems (n.)

The following attested neuter *e*-stem also attests a gen. adj.:<sup>42</sup>

**-*ehe/i*- (2)**

*telēzije*- ‘military camp/fort’      *telēzijehi* (2)

We can assume from this that *e*-stems took the suffix form *-ehe/i*.<sup>43</sup>

### 4.1.4. Consonant stems (n.)

No attested gen. adj. has a base that can be securely identified as a neuter consonant stem noun. The two best candidates are the following:

**-*ahe/i*- (3)**

*xθθan*-(?) ‘?’      *xθθanahi* (2)  
*pddāt*-(?) ‘place’      *pddātahi*

For *xθθan*-(?), the gender of the base lexeme is clear from the neuter plural *xθθāna*. The analysis of the stem type depends on the singular, which may be *xθθā* (TL 44b, 38, and cf. [x]θθā in N325, 7). If this is correct, then the base noun is a neuter *n*-stem.

Another possible neuter consonant stem is *pddāt*-(?). Since we only have the dat.-loc. *pddāti*, its stem class cannot be determined with certainty. We may, however, perhaps compare the suffix of the HLuw. neuter LOCUS-*la(n)t*- ‘place’, whatever the root of this word was.<sup>44</sup> For the implied form *\*pddā* cf. perhaps the PN *pddā-xñta*.

The gen. adj. of both potential neuter consonant stems is only attested with the suffix form *-ahe/i*. Perhaps, then, this was the paradigmatic form for neuter consonant stems. The evidence, however, is rather flimsy.<sup>45</sup>

## 4.2. Adjectives

### 4.2.1. *e/i*-stems

The *i*-stem adjectives are normally divided into *e/i*-stems, which have a thematic neuter, and (*i*)-stems, which have a consonantal neuter. Of the adjectives that are attested in the gen. adj., there are five whose base can be categorized beyond doubt, since they have either the suffix *-ije/i*- or *-ñne/i*-. Since both paradigms that are combined in the *e/i*-stem type, *i*-stems (c.) and *e*-stems (n.), in nouns take the ending *-ehe/i*-,<sup>46</sup> this is the only ending we would now predict for the *e/i*-stem adjectives. We find the following attestations:

**-*ehe/i*- (19)**

*ebije/i*- ‘local, of this place’      *ebijehi* (13)  
*ehbije/i*- ‘his’      *ehbijehi* (2), *ehbiehi*  
*pñtreñne/i*- ‘from Pñtre’      *pñtreñnehi*

<sup>42</sup> In addition, the neuter plurale tantum *erawazija*, *arawazija* ‘monument’ (dat.-loc. *arawazije*, abl. [araw]azijedi) is probably the base of the gen. adj. abl. [er]ewezijehed[i]. If so, however, the occurrences of *-e*- for *-a*- show that the word has undergone *i*-umlaut, which, like in *etlehi*, affected the entire word. This has obscured any morphologically motivated vowel quality.

<sup>43</sup> See 4.4, however, for the possibility that the *-a* of the plural also sometimes triggered the variant *-ahe/i*-.

<sup>44</sup> The gender of Hitt. *pēdant*- cannot be determined.

<sup>45</sup> See also 4.4 for the possibility that the variant *-ahe/i*- may sometimes have been triggered by the neuter nom.-acc. pl. ending *-a*.

<sup>46</sup> *prñneziji*- (*prñnezije*-) ‘household member’ is even a substantivization of (the common gender of) an adjective formed with the suffix *-ije/i*-.



*wedrēñne/i-* ‘from Wedre’*wedrēñnehi**xbidēñne/i-* ‘from Kbide’*xbidēñnehi, (xbidāñnaha)*<sup>47</sup>

The expectation is borne out by the data: all 19 occurrences of the five lexemes in question have *-ehe/i-*.

The ethnicon or provenance suffix *-ñne/i-* may be discussed somewhat more elaborately. This suffix was consonantal in Proto-Anatolian (Hitt. *-um(e)n-* < \**-Hu(e)n-*), and the neuter still was in Proto-Luwic (cf. the HLuw. nom.-acc. sg. n. *-wanza* rather than \*\**-wanan-za* in *á-ta-na-wa/i-za-ha* (URBS), from *átanawan(i)-* ‘of Adana’). However, a non-mutated pronominal version *-ñne-* is probably found in the Lyc. acc. sg. c. *ebēññē* ‘this’,<sup>48</sup> which suggests that the suffix was transferred to the normal *e/i*-stem type in Lycian. Such a transfer would not be unexpected. Even apart from the probably intolerable shape the consonantal neuter would have had (\*\**-ñn*), the (*i*)-stem type was moribund in general, the only rather secure surviving example being *kñmēt(i)-* ‘how(ever) many’, nom.-acc. sg. n. *kñmē*, which may well be an archaism.<sup>49</sup>

### 4.3. Pronouns

#### 4.3.1. *e-stem(s)*

For the pronoun *ebe-* ‘this; he/she/it’ we usually find an adjective based on the gen. adj., *ehb-ije/i-* ‘his’ (see 4.2.1), rather than a true gen. adj. Nevertheless, *ebe-* also attests a gen. adj. without the effects of syncope, metathesis and suffixation: *ebehe/i-*,<sup>50</sup> with consistent *-ehe/i-*:

<sup>47</sup> And one syncopeated form, *xbidēñhi*.

<sup>48</sup> For this identification see Kloekhorst 2008b, 135–137, and cf. already the refs. in Neumann 2007, 46. It is also possible that *-ēññē* somehow goes back to the acc. sg. c. ending, as is assumed by Eichner 2017, 282. The biggest advantage of this assumption is that it explains the suffix’s restriction to the acc. sg. c. The historical explanation it requires is quite intricate, however. Eichner compares the 3sg. acc. sg. c. enclitic pronoun, which is attested in the forms *=ē*, *=ēne* and *=ene*. Whereas the first neatly continues PLuw. *\*=on*, the latter two point to virtual *\*=on-o*, with an extension of some sort. According to Eichner, the original input of *-ēññē* was identical to the extended variant of the enclitic pronoun, and its ultimately diverging shape resulted from the addition of an extra accusative ending (*\*ono+n*) – which is, however, not found in the enclitic pronoun itself – syncope (cf. *ebññē* ‘him’), and restoration. Although this is not inconceivable, the identification with the identical provenance suffix is formally more straightforward. Eichner’s (2017, 282) criticism of this identification is mostly beside the mark. Indeed *ebēññē* seems to mean ‘this’ rather than ‘belonging to this’ (Eichner’s points (a) and (e)), but this does not invalidate the historical morphological analysis (cf. the occurrence of the suffix *-ije/i-* in the same paradigm). The claim that the suffix only forms ethnic designations derived from toponyms (point (b)) is based on only a handful of examples. The Luwian and Hittite counterparts of the suffix are also mainly found in de-toponymic designations, but we nevertheless find atypical uses such as CLuw. *ānna-wann(i)-* ‘stepmother’ (*ānni-* ‘mother’), Hitt. *tame-umm-aḫḫ-* ‘to make different’ (*tamāi-* ‘other’). The absence of *w* in Lyc. B *[e/ab]qññu* (TL 55, 1) as opposed to *xbidewñni-*, *tunewñni-*, *trelewñni-* (point (d)) is a good point, but hardly decisive. First, although probable, the word is not securely attested. Not only is it damaged, the form of the proposed restoration is also not found in the rest of the corpus. Second, if correctly restored, there are several factors that may be connected to the deviant shape of the suffix in this case, such as the fact that it occurs in a different inscription than the other examples, the fact that the suffix is part of a pronoun, and potential influence from Lycian A (cf. *uwedri-* ← Lyc. A *huwedri-* ‘all’). In any case, caution about this form is due, and it is best not to base any argument on it. Eichner’s explanation of the variant *ebēñni* as developed from *ebēññē* with *-ē > -i* parallel to *-ā > -u* (point (c)) cannot be correct, because we do not find it in other cases of *-ē*. This form is also only combined with head nouns in *-ā* rather than *-u*. The *-i* in *ebēñni* must therefore be the *i*-stem ending. This strengthens the proposed connection with the provenance suffix (Kloekhorst 2008b, 136–137). Cf. similarly *ebeis* next to *ebeijes*. It is not excluded, however, that these forms are the result of a secondary encroachment of the *i*-stem inflection on the pronominal system.

<sup>49</sup> I assume that its survival was favored by the fact that the nom.-acc. sg. n. happened to end in *-ē*. Similarly, the survival of *-wan-za* in HLuw., where we find a similar situation to that of Lycian, may have been favored by its ending in *-an-za*.

<sup>50</sup> Morphologically and functionally (‘this here, of this place’) comparable with *eb-ije/i-* ‘local, of this place’ and, probably, *ebe-ññē* ‘this’.

**-ehe/i-** (15)*ebe*- ‘this; he/she/it’*ebehi* (13), *ebbehi*, *ebehē(?)*<sup>51</sup>

Additionally, its dat. pl. *ebtte*, *ebette* was used as a base for the gen. adj. meaning ‘their’.

**-ehe/i-** (9)*ebtte*, *ebette* ‘to them’*ebttehi* (4), [*eb*]*tte*[his]; *epttehi* (2), *epttehe*;<sup>52</sup> *ebettehi*

Since *ebette* ends in -e, the choice for -ehe/i- is unsurprising.

**4.3.2. Non-ablauting i-stem(s)**

Although the word meaning ‘(an)other’, *kbi*-, declines very similarly to the *i*e/i-stems (and is analyzed as such by Melchert<sup>53</sup>), it may differ in one crucial point, namely the nom.-acc. sg. n., if this is how we should interpret *kbi* in TL 149, 15 (as opposed to otherwise expected *\*\*kbijē*). If so, it would show that, rather than with the vowel-alternating *i*-stem paradigm known from nouns and adjectives, here we are dealing with a non-ablauting *i*-stem paradigm, featuring -i- throughout.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, as in the regular alternating *i*-stems and the adjectival *e/i*-stems, the gen. adj. is consistently -ehe/i-:

**-ehe/i-** (8)*kbi*- ‘(an)other’*kbijehi* (6), *kbijehis*, *kbijehedi***4.4. Attested but unclear bases**

Some other gen. adj. forms have attested bases that can be interpreted in multiple ways: *ehetehe/i-* / *ahatahe/i-*, *exburahe/i-*, *adṛmmahe/i-*.

The gen. adj. forms *ehetehe/i-* and *ahatahe/i-* are usually taken together with *ahata* ‘?’.<sup>55</sup> This complex is quite obscure. The noun *ahata* seems to be attested as such as an object (*sej ahata : astte* ‘and made a.’, TL 29, 4);<sup>56</sup> if this is the case, it has to be either a neuter plural or a collective. Since this is the only attested form, its stem form cannot be determined. If *ahata* is also correctly identified, with Schürr,<sup>57</sup> in TL 44b, 47–49 (*ahata ha||[dē] ēnē : q̄la (e)bi : ehetehe : se mahāna : ehete||[he]*),<sup>58</sup> its co-occurrence with the only two attestations of *ehetehe/i-* may indeed suggest that they belong together. Sasseville bases a rule on these forms by which the collective in -a regularly takes the suffix variant -ehe/i-, which he also observes in *uwa* → *uwehe/i-*.<sup>59</sup> In 4.1.1, I have interpreted *uwehi* differently, and in 4.1.2, I have proposed that we may rather see the influence of the collective ending -a in *uhahi*. As for *ahata*, its forms also fit the established pattern of neuter *e*-stems, and we may therefore simply assume that the noun was *ehete-* (n.). Cf. also the Lyc. B dat.-loc. sg. *eseti*, which perhaps belongs to the same noun.<sup>60</sup> In Lyc. B, too, we find the gen. adj. *esetese/i-* as a divine epithet (*trqq[i]z : esetesi||[=k]e er[b]besi=ke*, TL 44d, 12–13). Since the gen. adj.

<sup>51</sup> With Neumann 2007, 46, I would take at least [*e*]*behē* in TL 54, 1 as belonging here rather than as a gen. pl. (so Melchert 2004, 11). However, rather than as a nom.-acc. sg. n., in view of its head *tukedri* I would analyze it as an acc. sg. c. with lack of *i*-mutation in a pronominal form (cf. *ebeñnē*, *ebeijes*).

<sup>52</sup> And once *eptte*, probably for *\*epttehe*.

<sup>53</sup> Melchert 2004.

<sup>54</sup> For this type cf. Norbruis 2018, 29 and forthcoming.

<sup>55</sup> Its meaning has been conjectured to be ‘peace, rest’ (Melchert 2004, 4). Neumann 2007, 5 opts for ‘success, victory, fame’.

<sup>56</sup> But the case is considered unclear by Neumann 2007, 5.

<sup>57</sup> Schürr 1997, 65.

<sup>58</sup> But Neumann 2007, 5 rather considers it part of a gen. adj. nom.-acc. pl. n. *ahataha* and reads *ahataha||[ñt]ēnē : q̄labi : ehetehe* (Neumann 2007, 52).

<sup>59</sup> Sasseville 2018, 314.

<sup>60</sup> Melchert 2004, 115.

in general almost never shows any effect of *i*-umlaut (see 4.1.1), it is unlikely that the underlying form is really *\*ahatahe/i-/**\*asatase/i-*, and that all actual instances in both Lycian A and B are the result of *i*-umlaut.<sup>61</sup> The attested hapax *ahatahi* is therefore best taken as a morphologically different form. Possibly, it belongs to an *a*-stem derivation *\*ahata-*.<sup>62</sup> Alternatively, the two variants may be united by connecting the *a*-vocalism of *ahatahi* to the nom.-acc. pl. n. ending of *ahata*. Since both *-e-* and *-a-* occur prominently in the *e*-stem paradigm, the occurrence of both vowels in its associated genitival expression would not be all that surprising. We may especially expect *a*-vocalism to seep through to the gen. adj. when the referent has a plural interpretation (cf. *uhahi* in 4.1.2), or when the plural is generally prominent. This could indeed be the case for *ahata*, if this really has a singular meaning such as ‘peace, rest’ (cf. *erawazija* ‘monument’).

Possibly, we find the same phenomenon in the hapax *exburahi*. Its base (indicating some family-related concept) is attested as *ekebura* and *[ek]eb[u]re*, analyzed by Melchert as nom.-acc. pl. and dat.-loc. pl., respectively, and as a plurale tantum.<sup>63</sup> Since the context of *ekebura* does not permit a solid syntactic analysis, we might alternatively be dealing with an *a*-stem.<sup>64</sup> The Lycian B form *kaburā* suggests as much, at least for this dialect. However, in favor of Melchert’s analysis it may be noted that the dat. pl. of *a*-stems in Lycian A is normally *-a* rather than *-e*; *-e* is attested only once, in *xahbe*, and even for this lexeme we find the expected form, *xahba*, twice.

In TL 44b, 9 we find the form *adṛmahī*, whose base is probably attested three lines earlier as *[a]dṛmedi* ‘?’. The mismatch between *-a-* and *-e-* might again belong to a neuter. Alternatively, but less likely, the base is *\*adṛma-* and *adṛmedi* is an *i*-umlauted form. In its current state of attestation, we cannot determine the stem or gender of the lexeme on independent grounds, and so we cannot use it to infer any rules.

## 4.5. Lycian A: Conclusions

We can posit the following morphological rules for the suffix form of the gen. adj. in Lycian A.

### Nouns

1. *a*-stems (c.) take *-ahe/i-*. We find *-e-* as the result of active *i*-umlaut in only one attestation, *etlehi*, whose expected counterpart *atlahi* is much more frequent. In *malijehi* and *uwehi*, we are probably dealing with unrestored *i*-umlauted forms in lexicalizations, if not morphological archaism in the case of *uwehi*.

2. *i*-stems (c.) take *-ehe/i-*. The only potential exception, *uhahi*, may be due to its plural interpretation, with *-a-* stemming from the collective ending *-a*. *a*-umlaut further turns *\*-eha* into *-aha* without exception.

3. *e*-stems (n.) take *-ehe/i-*. There is a possibility that the nom.-acc. pl. *-a* could also trigger the variant *-ahe/i-*.

4. Consonant stems (n.) possibly take *-ahe/i-*, but the evidence is scarce.

### Adjectives

5. *e/i*-stems take *-ehe/i-*.

<sup>61</sup> Pace Hajnal 2000, 171.

<sup>62</sup> Sasseville 2018, 315.

<sup>63</sup> Melchert 2004, 13.

<sup>64</sup> So Sasseville 2018, 315.

## Pronouns

6. The *e*-stem *ebe*- takes *-ehe/i-*, as does its dat. pl. *ebette*.
7. The non-ablauting *i*-stem *kbi*- takes *-ehe/i-* (resulting in *-ijehe/i-*).

## 5. Lycian B: Attestations, rules, and exceptions

For Lycian B, due to the poor state of attestation, we have only little material to work from. Only a small number of lexemes are attested both in a base whose stem type can be determined and in the gen. adj. When the base is not attested in Lyc. B, but it is in Lyc. A, I have added the Lyc. A form (indicated as such).

### 5.1. Nouns

#### 5.1.1. *a*-stems (c.)

The following attested *a*-stems are also attested in the gen. adj.:

	<b>-ase/i- (4)</b>
<i>atla</i> <sup>65</sup> ‘person, self’	<i>atlasī</i>
<i>masa</i> <sup>66</sup> ‘god’	<i>masasī</i>
<i>pasba</i> - ‘?’ <sup>67</sup>	<i>pasbasī</i>
<i>xñtaba</i> - ‘rule’	<i>xñtabasī</i>

The suffix form is consistently *-ase/i-*. This fits perfectly with what we would expect on the basis of Lyc. A (*-ahe/i-*).<sup>68</sup>

#### 5.1.2. *i*-stems (c.)

We find the following combinations of an *i*-stem base and a gen. adj.:

	<b>-ese/i- (3)</b>	<b>-ase/i- (4)</b>
<i>erbbi</i> <sup>69</sup> ‘battle’(?)	<i>erbbesī</i>	
<i>ēni</i> - ‘mother’ (Lyc. A)	<i>ēnesī</i>	
<i>tedi</i> - ‘father’ (Lyc. A)	<i>tedesī</i>	
<i>ali</i> -(?) ‘?’		<i>alasi</i>
<i>xbadi</i> - ‘(river) valley’(?)		<i>xbadasī, xbadasiz,</i> <i>xbadasadi, (xbadasa)</i>

Both variants of the gen. adj. occur. Three out of five lexemes show the expected variant *-ese/i-*.

<sup>65</sup> The stem type cannot strictly be determined on the basis of Lyc. B only, where we only have the dat. sg. *atli*, but an *a*-stem is probable on the basis of Lyc. A *atla*-.

<sup>66</sup> This word seems to have belonged to a subtype of *a*-stems with a nom.-acc. pl. in *-aiz* rather than in *-āz/-az*. We also find this in *lijaiz* ‘nymphs’. Although the exact prehistory of this ending is still unclear, its aberrancy is undoubtedly related to the fact that these words are *ana*-stems in Lycian A (*mahana-*, *elijāna-*).

<sup>67</sup> Often interpreted as ‘sheep’ or ‘cattle’ on the basis of a formally possible connection with PIE *\*peku-* ‘cattle’.

<sup>68</sup> Perhaps the base of *xidrasadi* is found in the sequence *qil[rasdditiu]* (TL 44d, 18), from which an acc. pl. *qidras* is sometimes distilled. Both forms have also been emended to *qidrasadi*.

<sup>69</sup> The stem type is not identifiable as such in Lyc. B, where we only have the form *erbbi*, but Lyc. A has the same lexeme, whose forms *erbbi*, *erbbe* and *erbbedi* point to an *i*-stem or, less likely, a neuter *e*-stem. The gen. adj. in *-esi* is expected in either case.

The assessment of the stem class of *ali*-(?) depends on the analysis of *ali* in TL 44c, 55: if this is a nominative or accusative, the lexeme can only be an *i*-stem. If it is a dat.-loc. sg., however, the stem class cannot be determined. Although our current understanding of the context does not allow for a clear-cut decision, it is mostly assumed that this is a direct case. In any case, the lexeme *xbadi*- is very clearly an *i*-stem (nom.-acc. pl. *xbadiz*), and its gen. adj. with *a*-vocalism confirms the occurrence of this suffix variant for *i*-stems.

For *xbadase/i*-, the consistent *a*-vocalism suggests that this is the inherent quality of the suffix vowel for this word. There is no indication of an *a*-stem (collective) form that could have exerted some influence. Given the other *i*-stems that take *-ese/i*-, the vocalism can also not depend on the stem type. I would like to propose a tentative solution based on all certain or potential Lycian B gen. adj. forms. When we confront those featuring *-a*- (*atlasi*, *masasi*, *pasbasi*, *xñtabasi*, *alasi*, *xbadasi*, *trqqñtasi*, *xidrasadi*, *xinasi*, *xugasi*) with those featuring *-e*- (*erbbesi*, *ēnesi*, *tedesi*, *plejerese*, *esetesi*, *ñtemlesi*, *kuprimesi*), we can discern the pattern that whenever the vowel preceding the suffix vowel is *-a*-, we find a gen. adj. suffix with *a*-vocalism, whereas all occurrences of *-e*- in this position are followed by a gen. adj. suffix with *e*-vocalism. This suggests that Lycian B had some form of *progressive vowel harmony*.<sup>70</sup> Vowel assimilation typically works regressively, as in Lycian A (e.g. *etlehi* < *\*atlahi*). However, if it only partly affects a paradigm there is always a morphological counter-pressure to restore the stem (cf. the normal Lycian A form *atlahi*), and if such restoration happens it may trigger vowel harmony in the opposite direction (not so in Lycian A, cf. *xñtawatehi*). I suggest that this is what happened in Lycian B, and explain the occurrences of morphologically unexpected *a*-vocalism in *xbadi*- → *xbadasi* and *ali*-(?) → *alasi* in this way, i.e. as triggered by the preceding *-a*-. This phenomenon may also underlie the occurrences of ablatives such as *xidrasadi*, *xbadasadi*, *kñmmasadi*, whose desinential *-a*- is unexpected for an *e/i*-stem paradigm, although one could alternatively analyze these, with Sasseville,<sup>71</sup> as belonging to *a*-stems with a suffix *-asa*-. In general, however, the ablative shows the same distribution.<sup>72</sup>

### 5.1.3. Consonant stem(s) (c.)

The only common gender consonant stem in Lycian is the name of the Storm-god, which is attested in the base in both Lycian A and Lycian B, and in the latter also in the gen. adj.:

#### *-ase/i*- (1)

*trqqñt*- ‘Storm-god’

*trqqñtasi*, (*trqqñtasa*)<sup>73</sup>

The *a*-vocalism may be compared with the potential *a*-vocalism of neuter consonant stems in Lycian A. It has to be borne in mind, however, that this lexeme is a proper name, which means that we cannot base a rule for consonant stems in general on it. This is especially true in view of the fact that the remaining consonant stems are all neuters. In proper names, *a*-stems are the most frequent type, and the choice for *a*-vocalism in *trqqñtase/i*- may well have been inspired by this.<sup>74</sup> I would therefore regard it, like its base inflection, as *sui generis*.

<sup>70</sup> For this phenomenon, cf. e.g. modern Turkish, in which the exact quality of the vowels in most suffixes and endings is determined by the preceding vowel (e.g. the plural suffix: *ev-ler* ‘houses’, *kitap-lar* ‘books’).

<sup>71</sup> Sasseville 2018.

<sup>72</sup> We find *kñmmasadi*, *laxadi/ulaxadi*, *luwadladi*, *sabadi*, *xbadasadi*, *xidrasadi*, *tuxaradi*, *waxs(s)adi* vs. *lelebedi*, *meredi*, *murēnedi*, *tuwemedi*/[*tuw*]ēmedi, *wesedi*, *zirememedi*. The only exception is *punāmadedi*. These are all the forms listed as abl.-inst. in Melchert 2004 in which the suffix is preceded by *-a*- or *-e*-. The only other form which could formally be analyzed as such, but is rather (tentatively) interpreted as a verb, is *sebedi*, which conforms to the same pattern.

<sup>73</sup> In TL 55, if the readings are correct, we also find the odd forms *trqqñtā[s]az* (2–3) and *trqqñtasati* (or *°zi*) (8). The first looks like a nom.-acc. pl. of an *a*-stem *trqqñtasa*- (cf. Sasseville 2018, 309), which would then have to be based on the gen. adj. The second seems to be a further derivation, apparently verbal.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. the adaptation of *\*tarhunz* to *tarhunzas* in HLuw.



#### 5.1.4. *e-stem(s) (n.)*

The best candidate for being a neuter *e-stem* with an attested gen. adj. is the following:<sup>75</sup>

	<b>-ese/i- (1)</b>
<i>plejere-</i> ‘?’	<i>plejerese</i>

We find the expected suffix variant with *-e-*. It is also possible, however, that we are dealing with a common gender proper name and its genitive.

#### 5.1.5. *Attested but unclear base (n.)*

One neuter noun of unclear meaning is attested in the nom.-acc. pl. as *xuzrñta*. Its stem form cannot be further identified. An extended form that could contextually well be genitival is found as *xuzrñtasi||si*. Since Gusmani<sup>76</sup> this is usually emended to *xuzrñtasi{si}*, supposing dittography. However, it is quite bold to correct an inscription written in a language we barely know, and it would be advisable not to correct more than the obvious. The form as it is looks most like a genitival formation to a non-ablauting *i-stem* *xuzrñtasi-*, which would then most probably be the onomastic counterpart of a gen. adj. In either case, however, the form presupposes a gen. adj. *xuzrñtase/i-*. Perhaps the *-a-* should be compared to the *-a-* of *xθθanahe/i-* and *pddātahe/i-* in Lyc. A (4.1.4), both potentially belonging to neuter consonant stems. It may also not be a coincidence that the *a-vocalism* of this gen. adj. *xuzrñtase/i-* matches the ending of the only attestation of the base, *xuzrñta* (cf. 4.4). Given the uncertainties, however, we can hardly base any rule on this form.

### 5.2. Adjectives

#### 5.2.1. *e/i-stems*

The best candidate for being an *e/i-stem* adjective is *kuprime/i-*, probably a participle in *-me/i-*, although formally it could also be a neuter *e-stem*:

	<b>-ese/i- (1)</b>
<i>kuprime/i-</i> ‘desired’(?)	<i>kuprimesi</i>

The evidence points to *e-vocalism*, as in Lycian A.

### 5.3. Lycian B: Conclusions

For Lycian B, we can posit the following rules:

#### *Nouns*

1. *a-stems* (c.) take *-ase/i-*.
2. *i-stems* (c.) take *-ese/i-*, but a preceding *-a-* appears to trigger the variant *-ase/i-*.
3. The only common gender consonant stem in Lycian, *trqqñt-* ‘Storm-god’, in Lycian B takes *-ase/i-*, probably after the most frequent vocalism in proper names.
4. *e-stems* (n.) take *-ese/i-*, if *plejere-* is not rather a proper name. Possibly neuters could also take *-ase/i-*, if *xuzrñtasisi*, whose base is probably attested as the nom.-acc. pl. n. *xuzrñta*, is any indication.

<sup>75</sup> The assignment of the base noun to the neuter gender stems from the fact that it is an *e-stem* noun. For the near-absence of common gender *e-stem* nouns, see Norbruis 2018, 34.

<sup>76</sup> Gusmani 1968, 16.



## Adjectives

5. *e/i*-stems take *-ese/i-*.

The picture is very similar to that found for Lycian A (4.5).

## 6. Conclusions: synchronic rules

The findings show that the distribution of *-a-* and *-e-* in the gen. adj. suffix is in principle morphological in nature. The most frequent types naturally allow us to discern their rules most clearly: *a*-stems (c.) take the variant with *-a-*, *i*-stems (c.) take the variant with *-e-*. *e*-stems (n., and c. in the pronoun *ebe-* ‘this’) that are clearly attested as such in the singular take the variant with *-e-*. *e/i*-stem adjectives, which combine *i*-stem (c.) and *e*-stem (n.) inflection, also expectedly show *-e-*. Morphologically, these rules are completely within the lines of expectation. The gen. adj., although inflected itself, is part of the inflection of its base, whose oblique cases feature the same vowels as are found in the gen. adj. (e.g. abl. *a*-stems *-adi*, *i*-stems, *e*-stems, *e/i*-stems *-edi*). The only surviving common gender consonant stem in Lycian, *trqqñt-* ‘Storm-god’, takes *-ase/i-* in Lyc. B, probably after the most frequent vocalism in proper names, that of the *a*-stems.

A few other attestations of the gen. adj. showing *a*-vocalism belong to bases of uncertain stem type, but at least in some cases to neuters. Lyc. A *pddātahe/i-* and *xθθanahe/i-* are the best candidates for having neuter consonant stem bases (*pddāt-(?)* ‘place’, *xθθan-(?)* ‘?’). We similarly find *a*-vocalism in Lyc. A *exburahe/i-* and Lyc. B *xuzrñtase/i-(?)*, whose bases are morphologically unclear because they are only attested in the plural. Since neuter consonant stems do not have a stem vowel, their choice of *-a-* or *-e-* is somewhat arbitrary, and either choice, which appears to have fallen upon *-a-*, should not surprise us. For *ahata* (‘peace, rest’?), formally a nom.-acc. pl. n., possibly of *ehete-/esete-* (Lyc. B dat. sg. *eseti?*), we may even find both variants, *ehetehe/i-/esetese/i-* and *ahatahe/i-*. One factor in the choice may have been the characteristic nom.-acc. pl. n. ending *-a*. Similarly, the collective ending *-a* may be responsible for the one (uncertain but probable) *i*-stem showing *-ahe/i-* in Lyc. A, *uhi-* ‘year’ → *uhahe/i-*. In order to settle any of this with any certainty, we need more attestations.

The quality assigned by morphology is sometimes overruled by phonological factors. *a*-umlaut was apparently still an active process: any instance of morphologically expected *\*\*-eha*, *\*\*-esa* comes out as *-aha*, *-asa*. *i*-umlaut, on the other hand, was regularly overruled by morphology. In only one attestation do we find the opposite: Lyc. A *etlehi* for normal *atlahi* ‘of himself’. Cf. also [er]ewezijehedi to *erawazija* ‘monument’. Additionally, *malijehe-* ‘temple of Maliya’ and *uwehi-*, a priestly designation referring to cows, probably show unrestored *i*-umlaut (if not morphological archaism, if *uwehi* was created to older *\*wewi-*) in lexicalizations: forms that had detached themselves from their bases and so could dodge their analogical force more easily. In Lyc. B, it appears that the restoration of root vowels affected by *i*-umlaut has triggered *progressive* vowel harmony: when the preceding vowel is *-a-*, the variant *-ase/i-* is found instead of morphologically expected *-ese/i-*.

One side-effect of these findings is that they allow us to determine the stem class of two kinship terms which are only attested in the gen. adj.: Lyc. A *xñnahi* (3), (*xñnaha*)<sup>77</sup> ‘of grandmother’ and Lyc. A *xugahi*, (*xugaha*), Lyc. B *xugasi* ‘of grandfather’. Since their bases are certainly common gender nouns (and very unlikely to base their gen. adj. on a collective), these bases must be the *a*-stems *xñna-* ‘grandmother’ and *xuga-* ‘grandfather’, respectively.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Perhaps also Lyc. B *xinasi*.

<sup>78</sup> This is one more lexical link between the Lycian and Luwian *a*-stems (“without *i*-mutation”): Luwian has *huha-* (HLuw. (AVUS)-*ha-*, CLuw. abl. *hūḫati*). This link is elaborated upon in Norbruis 2018, 34–36.

## 7. Historical interpretation

In view of the morphological distribution along the lines of synchronic stem types, sometimes overruled by sound changes, there is no need to assume a continued relevance for the *i*-stems of the former distinction between consonant stems and *o*-stems, the main donor categories of the *i*-stems, which had already merged by Proto-Luwic. Projecting the main Lycian rules back to Proto-Luwic, we can posit the use of *\*-osso/i-* with *i*-stems, *o*-stems and *o/i*-stems and of *\*-āssa/i-* with *ā*-stems.<sup>79</sup>

Proto-Luwic *\*-osso/i-* can hardly reflect anything else than *\*-osio-*, an inflected form of the PIE genitive ending *\*-osio*.<sup>80</sup> Additional evidence for this is the dat.-loc. sg. in Luwian *-assan*. Elsewhere, I have proposed that the unexpected dative-locative ending *-an* was adapted from *\*-a*, originally the allative ending, which I argue to have been used in Proto-Anatolian instead of the regular dative-locative ending *\*-i* if the preceding element was *\*-i-* as well.<sup>81</sup> This implies that the preform indeed had an *\*-i-*, leaving *\*-osio-* as the only option.

Although its use as the main expression of a genitival relationship is clearly a Luwic innovation, the suffix has a cognate in Hittite,<sup>82</sup> and will therefore be at least of PANat. date. There are also some potential comparanda in other IE languages (next to Lat. *-ārius* < *\*eh<sub>2</sub>sio-* we may consider e.g. Lat. *cuius -a -um*, Sabellic *poi-* ‘whose’, perhaps < *\*k<sup>w</sup>osio-*, and the Tocharian B gen. adj. suffix *-šše* < *\*-sio-*). It is unclear whether these are the result of parallel developments, or that the suffix should be reconstructed for PIE. In any case, the related *o*-stem genitive ending *\*-osio* can be plausibly reconstructed for PIE,<sup>83</sup> since it is probably continued in the Luwic genitive *\*-V(s)o*

<sup>79</sup> Here I use *\*ā*, the intermediate stage between attested *a* and original *\*eh<sub>2</sub>*, but quite possibly the vowel was already short in Proto-Luwic.

<sup>80</sup> Yakubovich’s (2008, 208) proposal to reconstruct *\*-osso* runs into various problems. First, it requires the assumption that PIE *\*-oso* goes back to *\*-osso*. According to Yakubovich, *\*-ss-* was restored in Anatolian because it was (still) analyzed, in accordance with the origin of the suffix that Yakubovich supposes, as the gen. sg. *\*-os* followed by a particle *\*-so*, which he identifies with the Luwian neuter particle *-sa*. However, there is no evidence for this morphological analysis, and the original nature of the Luwian particle is obscure, meaning that this scenario has little chance of being correct (cf. for similar criticism Melchert 2012, 281). It could be improved by deriving non-Anatolian IE *\*-oso* from PIE *\*-osso*, assuming, with Kloekhorst (2016), that the sound law *ss > s* was a non-Anatolian IE development, but then we would still expect the geminate to undergo lenition in Anatolian. Second, the evidence for an *o*-stem genitive *\*-oso* is very limited. It mainly consists of Greek *-ov* < *\*-oo* and dialectal Germanic *\*-as*, both of which are suspect of being secondary to *\*-osio*, perhaps even by sound law (for Greek see Miller 2014, 338–339, for Germanic see Ringe 2017, 226–227). That Greek inherited *\*-osio* is clear from the dialects (Myc. *-o-jo*, Hom. *-oto*, Thess. *-oi(o)*). The ending *\*-osio* is widely found in the IE languages (see 2.2 above, and Fortson 2010, 127; for Hitt. *-aš* cf. n. 83). The main reason for Yakubovich to prefer *\*-oso* over *\*-osio* as the origin of the Luwic gen. adj. is the idea that *\*-osio* is instead the source of the HLuw. genitive ending *-asi*. It is not excluded, however, and indeed even likely, that both the genitive (whose original form is *-asa* rather than *-asi*, see Palmér 2021 and n. 84 below) and the genitival adjective reflect *\*-osio(-)* (cf. Melchert 2012, 282–283). Finally, Yakubovich’s proposal is contradicted by the positive evidence for *\*-osio-* as the source of the gen. adj. adduced in the following.

<sup>81</sup> Norbruis forthcoming.

<sup>82</sup> See Kloekhorst 2008a, 216 s.v. *-ašša-*.

<sup>83</sup> The *o*-stem genitive *\*-osio* is often suspected to be a secondary intrusion in nouns and adjectives, motivated by the fact that in the *o*-stems the regular genitive ending *\*-(V)s* was indistinguishable from the nominative ending. It is also typically thought that the corresponding Hitt. ending *-aš* still reflects the older situation (cf. e.g. Fortson 2010, 127). This may be correct, but unless one assumes that non-Anatolian *\*-osio* and the Luwic genitive developed independently from the genitival adjective, *\*-osio* must have been present in Proto-Anatolian in one grammatical category or another, and have been replaced there in Hittite. This category may have been a subset of the *o*-stems, for example in the pronominal system, but it is also in principle not excluded that *\*-osio* was the general *o*-stem ending after all, with Hittite (re)generalizing the ending *-aš* from the other stems. As Hittite shows, formal identity of the nom. and gen. sg. does not have to be regarded as a problem, whereas the oddity of a unique *o*-stem ending may have been.

(Lyc. *-ahe*, *-ehe*, HLuw. *-asa*).<sup>84</sup> In Luwic this ending is found with all stem types, with the distribution of Lyc. *-a-* and *-e-* matching that of the gen. adj. (e.g. *arttuṃpara*, gen. *arttuṃparahe*; *perikle*, gen. *periklehe*). Since *\*-osio* was restricted to the *o*-stems in PIE, the Luwic *ā*-stem variant (Lyc. *-ahe*) must be analogical to the *o*-stem form (in PIE transposition *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-sio* after *\*-o-sio*). Similarly, the main shape of the PLuw. gen. adj. suffix was *\*-osso/i-* (< *\*-osio-*), and the *ā*-stem variant *\*-ās-so/i-* (< *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-sio-*) must be analyzed as parallel to the *o*-stem form *\*-osso/i-* (< *\*-o-sio-*). This essentially corresponds to the accounts of Pedersen and later Kloekhorst and Yakubovich (see 2.2).<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Like the genitival adjective, the genitive is normally inflected in Lycian, with the secondary case forms nom. *-Vh*, acc. *-Vhñ*. For these forms see Adiego 2010. Similarly, in dialectal HLuw. a specific common gender form *-asi* was innovated from *-asa* in analogy to the vocalism of the *a/i*-stem adjectives (see Palmér 2021).

<sup>85</sup> Pedersen 1898–1899, 88; Kloekhorst 2008a, 216; Yakubovich 2008, 195.

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# Observations on the Xanthos Trilingual: Syntactic Structure of TL 44a, 41–55 and the Lycian Terminology of Art and War


Rostislav Oreshko\*

\* – CNRS/UMR 8167 ‘Orient et Méditerranée’/Center for Hellenic Studies (Washington, DC). Email: [rostislav.oreshko@cnrs.fr](mailto:rostislav.oreshko@cnrs.fr)

**Abstract:** The paper offers a new analysis of the passage of the Xanthos trilingual containing a detailed description of the military exploits of the author of the inscription (TL 44a, 41–55). The first part (§§1–2) discusses the overall structure of the passage and the meaning of the key term of the text, *hātahe*, for which an interpretation ‘victory’ (gen. sg.) is proposed. The subsequent paragraphs discuss separate words and particularities of the syntax of the passage. The new proposals include, among others: *tupeliya* ‘script, writing(s)’, *tupa* ‘images, reliefs’, *axa* ‘deed, exploit’, *ahata* ‘foundation, platform’ (§3); *hēmen* ‘shooting, hunting’ (§3); *terñ* ‘when’ (adverb with temporal function) (§4); *zēm̃tija* ‘formidable’ (§5); *nele* ‘acropolis’ (§5); *ese ... tebe/-taba* ‘join with’ (§6); *tarbi* = *trbbi* ‘against’ (§7); *hbāt* ‘hoplite’ (§8); *uwe* ‘day’ (§8). The most important historical implications of the new analysis concern *Trbbēnimi* and *Xerēi*, who are argued to be allies (not enemies) of the author, as well as *Herikle*, who is identified as a governor (*sehaxlaza*-) of Kaunos, connected with the Persian king. The resulting translation of the text is proposed in §11.

**Keywords:** Xanthos trilingual, Lycian, Luwian, Anatolian languages

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The passage TL 44a, 41–55 represents one of the best-known sections of the Xanthos trilingual.<sup>1</sup> This part of the text is almost perfectly preserved, having only several small gaps with only one or two letters lost, and even if not all the lexical and grammatical details of the text are transparent, the passage as a whole gives a fairly clear idea of the story related here: numerous toponyms and personal names as well as certain verbs leave no doubt that the passage concerns *military exploits* of the author of the inscription. Even a simple listing of the personal and place names in the order they appear in the text suggests the general outlines of the narrative: while the initial part of the passage (ll. 41–50) concerns events in Lycia proper, its latter part (ll. 51–55) touches upon the episodes taking place in Caria, Rhodes and Ionia. However, despite a few more or less detailed discussions of the text and references to it in the literature,<sup>2</sup> one cannot say that the

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<sup>1</sup> The bulk of the paper has been finished in July 2018 as a part of the project ‘The Trojan Catalogue (Hom. Il. 2.816–877) and the Peoples of western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age’ (for fuller information see ‘Acknowledgments’ at the end of the text). At later stages I was able to make only relatively minor additions and changes in some parts of the text (notably section 3), and could integrate the discussion of the recent literature only to a limited extent.

<sup>2</sup> For a philological/linguistic discussion of the passage in general see Schürr 1998, 151–155 and 2009, 163–170; Melchert 2002; Martínez Rodríguez 2021; Sasseville (this volume), cf. also notes in Borchhardt

passage received all the attention it deserves: not only many specific details of the text remain rather vaguely understood, but also there seems to be no agreement on both the overall structure of the passage and the syntactic building of its separate parts. The present contribution aims to fill this gap. In the first part (§§1–2) I will try to clarify the overall structure of the passage and the meaning of the key term of the text, *hātahe*, adding some considerations (in §2) also on the structure and interpretation of the preceding part of the text on side A of the pillar (esp. ll. 36–40). In the second part of the paper I will analyze a grammatical construction with *terñ* (§3) and the grammatical structure and vocabulary of the eight separate sections into which the passage can be divided (§§4–10), concluding with a final translation of the entire passage (§11). Before proceeding to the discussion, it seems appropriate to reproduce the text of the whole passage for the sake of easy reference:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>41</sup>([pr]ulija) *epi=de: izredi: zēmtija: ehbi<sup>42</sup>di: Zagaba: nele=de: hātahe: Ētri: Tumine<sup>43</sup>hi: nele=de: hātahe Pttara: Malijehi: hāt<sup>44</sup>ahe: Xbane: ese: Trbbēnimi: tebete: terñ se <sup>45</sup>Milasāñtrā: pddēneke: Xbānije: izredi <sup>46</sup>ehbijedi: hātahe: Tlāñ nele: nele: tarbi<sup>47</sup>=de: Xerēi: qastte terñ: Tlahñ: erbbedi: h[ā]<sup>48</sup>tahe: Medbijahe: ese: Xerēi: tebete: ʔer[ñ] <sup>49</sup>se Waxssepddimi: ēti: zehi: hbāti: CII: uw[e] <sup>50</sup>ñtepi: xlaina terñ hātahe: āka: Herikle <sup>51</sup>sehaxlaza: pabra=ti: Xbide: hrixñtawā<sup>52</sup>tahi: ese tabāna: terñ: Ijānā: Ijalusas <sup>53</sup>Krzzāñase: hātahe: Mukale: tewēte: Sāma=<sup>54</sup>ti: trbbetē: Turaxssi: zxxāna terñ: es<sup>55</sup>e: Humrxxā: tebāna terñ: hātahe*

## 1. Structure of the passage and the semantic function of *hātahe*

One has to start from the question where the passage properly begins. There is every reason to see it in the element *epi=de*, a combination of a local adverb with an enclitic *=de*. This may be literary interpreted as ‘on top of that’ or taken to mean ‘moreover’ or ‘henceforth’.<sup>4</sup> Whichever interpretation one prefers (*cf.* below), it appears to be an appropriate marker for a new and syntactically relatively independent part of the text, which still *may* be semantically more or less immediately connected with the preceding section. *Contra* Schürr<sup>5</sup> it is quite impossible to separate the last letter from *irijēm* in the preceding line (l. 40) making out of it a sentence-initial *m[e]* (for the word see below); consequently, *prulija* does not belong to the first clause of the passage.

As already noted, many things in the passage are clear. There are six *personal* names in it: *Trbbēnimi*, *Xerēi* and *Waxssepddimi* are Lycian names referring to regional rulers (‘dynasts’); *Milasāñtrā* (acc.) is a rendering of the Greek name Μελίσανδρος known from Thucydides (2.69) as an Athenian *strategos* and *Herikle* is commonly interpreted as a reference to the Greek hero Ἡρακλῆς (see, however, below); and *Humrxxā* (acc.) represents a Lycian rendering of the name known to Greeks as Ἀμόργης (< OPers. \**Humarga*). There are as many as twelve place names: *Zagaba* (Lagbos), *Ētri Tuminehi* (Lower Tymnessos), *Pttara* (Patara), *Xbane* (Kyaneiai), *Tla* (Tlos), *Medbijahe*, *Xbide* (Kaunos in Caria), *Ijalusa* (Ialysos on Rhodes),<sup>6</sup> *Krzz[ā]ñase* (Chersonesos in Caria), *Mukale* (Mykale, mountain ridge in Ionia, mod. Samsun Dağı), *Sāma* (island Samos), *Turaxssi* (Mount Thorax, just to the north-east of Mykale). There is also one ethnonym: *Ijānā*

*et al.* 1997–1999, 17–56. For a historical discussion *cf.* Childs 1981; Keen 1998, 125–147; Thonemann 2009.

<sup>3</sup> For justification of the reading *sehaxlaza* in l. 51 (instead of *se haxlaza*) and *uw[e]* in l. 49 see below.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* Melchert 2004, s.v. *epi* and Neumann 2007, s.v. *epide*.

<sup>5</sup> Schürr 2009, 163–164.

<sup>6</sup> There can be no doubt that the correct reading of the place name is *Ijalusas* and not the phonetically odd \**Ijaeusas* as thought earlier, as already pointed out by Schürr (1998, 153 and 2009, 169 with ref. to Savelsberg). Moreover, it is not even a scribal mistake as assumed by Savelsberg: an excellent photo of the respective spot sent to me by Dieter Schürr – for which I use this opportunity to thank him once again – clearly shows that the two oblique hastas of the fourth letter are *long* and reach the *bottom* of the line, which corresponds to Λ, while in ↑ the hastas reach only slightly below the middle height of the line; on the other hand, what was taken for a vertical stroke between the two hastas represents merely a later accidental damage of the stone.



(acc.) which refers either to Ionians or to the Greeks in general (*cf.* below). It is obvious that the place names build the framework of the narrative. Some expressions of the passage can also be interpreted with reasonable certainty: *izredi ehbijedi* (ll. 41 and 45–46) is ‘by his (own) hand’ and *erbbedi* (l. 47) is something like ‘by (or in) a (hard) battle’; *Malijehi* (l. 43) certainly refers to goddess *Malija* (Athena), although the precise interpretation of the form is disputed (*cf.* below); lastly, the word commonly read as *haxlaza* but possibly to be taken as *sehaxlaza* (*cf.* below) may be interpreted as a title in a way connected with *asaxlazu* in N320, 5.

However, in spite of this rather favorable situation, the passage eludes complete interpretation. The difficulty lies in the *verbs*, and it has two aspects. First, there are only a few verbs in the passage and their distribution in the text is quite unusual. One can identify only *eight* verbs in *fifteen* lines: *ese ... tebete* (44), *tarbide* (46–47), *qasste* (47), *ese ... tebete* (48), *xlaina* (50), *ese tabāna* (52), *zxxāna* (54), *ese ... tabāna* (54–55) (or nine if one interprets *pabrati* as 3sg. pres., *cf.* the discussion below). It seems quite impossible to see in *nelede* (42 and 43) a verb, as was sometimes assumed earlier;<sup>7</sup> the passage leaves little doubt that it represents a close counterpart of *nele nele* (46) which is well attested elsewhere and whose meaning may be with reasonable certainty defined as a ‘specific place (in the city)’ be it ‘agora’ or something different (*cf.* below). This means that the first *three* lines of the passage mentioning four place names and one personal name contain *no* verb whatsoever; only a little shorter is the verbless sequence between 44–46 which mentions two place names and one personal name or that in 52–54, which mentions six place names. The second problem is that *four* of these verbs are, as far as one can see, infinitives. These are concentrated in the final part of the passage: *xlaina* (50), *ese tabāna* (52), *zxxāna* (54), *ese ... tabāna* (54–55); it is noteworthy that the final *four* lines of the text contain *only* infinitives. It is not immediately clear how *action* can be rendered by infinitives. Given this picture, it is obvious that the passage represents something quite different from a *usual narrative*. However, as long as one proceeds from the interpretation of the passage as a sort of account of military campaigns, one has to assume that some element of the text should encode – directly or indirectly – an *action* in the long verbless sequences of the text.

There are several reasons to suspect that this element is *hātahe*. There are *eight* attestations of the word in the passage, while outside of it the word is found only once in the text (side B, 56) and, at least in this form, in no other text of the Lycian corpus. It would be logical to assume that *hātahe* is a term connected specifically with the description of military exploits. No less important is the distribution pattern of *hātahe*. First, the word is distributed on average more evenly in the text than the verbs are, occurring first already in the second line of the passage (42) and last in its last line. Second, there is a clear correlation between the distribution of *hātahe* and the place names, around which, as already noted, the narrative is organized. The pattern becomes visible when one divides the passage into eight sections (clauses) ending in *hātahe*, its clause final position being indicated by the last line of the text *ending* with the word:

- 1) *izredi: zēmtija: ehbi<sup>42</sup>de: Zagaba: nele=de: hātahe:*
- 2) *Ētri: Tumine<sup>43</sup>hi: nele=de: hātahe*
- 3) *Pttara: Malijehi: hāt<sup>44</sup>ahe:*
- 4) *Xbane: ese: Trbbēnimi: tebete: terñ se <sup>45</sup>Milasāñtrā: pddēneke: Xbānije: izredi <sup>46</sup>ehbijedi: hātahe:*
- 5) *Tlāñ nele: nele: tarbi<sup>47</sup>=de: Xerēi: qastte terñ: Tlahñ: erbbedi: h[ā]<sup>48</sup>tahe:*
- 6) *Medbijahe: ese: Xerēi: tebete: tēṛ[ñ] <sup>49</sup>se Waxssepddimi: ēti: zehi: hbāti: CII: uṵ[e] <sup>50</sup>ñtepi: xlaina terñ hātahe:*

<sup>7</sup> *Cf.* Melchert 2004, s.v. *nele*-<sup>2</sup> and Neumann 2007, s.v.

7) *āka: Herikle* <sup>51</sup>*sehaxlaza: pabra=ti: Xbide: hrixñtawā* <sup>52</sup>*tahi: ese tabāna: terñ: Ijānā: Ijalusas*  
<sup>53</sup>*Krzzānase: hātahe:*

8) *Mukale: tewēte: Sāma=* <sup>54</sup>*ti: trbbetē: Turaxssi: zxxāna terñ: es* <sup>55</sup>*e: Humrxxā: tebāna terñ:*  
*hātahe*

Although the clauses are quite different in length, each of them concerns *one* toponym or *one interconnected group* of toponyms; in six out of eight cases the clause *begins* with a toponym. In the initial part of the passage comprising six clauses the structure is very simple, with one clause mentioning only one toponym: 1): *Zagaba*, 2): *Ētri Tuminehi*, 3): *Pttara*, 4): *Xbane*, 5): *Tla*, 6): *Medbijahe*. It is noteworthy that in the case of *Xbane* and *Tla* the correlation is especially clearly visible: in each of the clauses the respective toponym is attested twice (in different forms) but appears in no other clause. In the final part of the passage, the structure becomes more complex. In 7) we find not one but three toponyms: *Xbide* (Kaunos), *Ijalusa* (Ialysos) and *Krzzānase* (Chersonessos), which are further associated with the Ionians/Greeks (*Ijānā*). However, all of them lie outside Lycia and very close to each other, so that one can easily imagine a single military event (campaign) associated with all of them together and involving Greeks. Lastly, in 8) one finds *Mykale*, *Samos* and *Thorax*, which are again situated within a distance of several dozens of kilometers from each other.

The resulting picture suggests that *hātahe* as the key term of the passage should somehow mark the *crucial action* in a single military campaign or, given the final position of the word, probably even a *general (positive) result* of a campaign – while the verbs contained in some clauses would refer, one may assume, rather to some *particular* military actions leading to it. The simplest assumption would be that *hātahe* renders, in one way or another, the idea of a *victory*. This preliminary conclusion proves to be in agreement with the interpretation of the word *hātahe* in 44b, 56 tentatively suggested by Eichner ('Siege'),<sup>8</sup> but runs counter the interpretations suggested by Schürr and Melchert.<sup>9</sup> Schürr did recognize the pattern of occurrences of *hātahe* in the passage, but did not pay proper attention to the problem of the verbs and the logical structure of each section, interpreting the word as an adverb 'gloriously' or 'greatly' ('herrlich'), which hardly sheds much light on the text. Melchert analyzed the word primarily from the phonetic perspective connecting it with the Luwian war god Šanda and assuming a dedicatory context for a part of the passage in question; however, considered in the context of the whole passage, which, *contra* Schürr and Melchert, should be taken as a single whole associated with military action, the interpretation 'to/for Šanda' again makes little sense.

## 2. Formal interpretation of *hātahe* and the meaning of *prulija*

The next question is how precisely *hātahe* functions in the passage and what its grammatical form is. The word does not look like a verbal form; taken in the face value, *hātahe* is an ordinary genitive in *-he*. Accordingly, it should be based on a noun *hāta-* for which one may suggest a meaning 'victory'. There are two possibilities to reconcile the grammatical form and the presumed meaning of *hātahe*, depending on how one interprets the general structure and/or function of the text of side A. If one takes the passage in question still as a sort of *narrative*, *hātahe* may be interpreted as a *free standing* genitive functioning either as a (substantivized) adjective 'victorious' or as a noun 'victor' < '(man) of the victory'. In either case, one should assume that the verb 'to be' remained unexpressed. The general structure of each clause would then follow the scheme: 'at

<sup>8</sup> Eichner 2005, 34 with n. 187, cf. below.

<sup>9</sup> Schürr 1998, 151–155; 2009, 163–170; Melchert 2002. For the earlier interpretation of *hātahe* as 'personal, one's own' (*vel sim.*) based on the comparison with *hāta* attested in TL 84, 3 see Neumann 2007, s.v. with further refs. and a critical assessment by Melchert (2002, 245–246). As for *hāta* in TL 84, 3 it has in all probability nothing to do with victory, but is a participle of *ha-* 'release, let (go)', which could possibly mean also 'leave (behind)', and *hāta* could mean, consequently, 'left (behind)' > '(body) remains, relics'.

such and such place after such and such action(s) he was victorious’. There is nothing improbable in such a scheme, although it looks somewhat artificial.

However, there is another possibility, which may lead to a more coherent interpretation of the passage. One may interpret the recurrent *hātahe* as a row of usual genitives depending on one word which stands just before the beginning of the passage: *prulija*. This makes good sense, as *prulija*, representing in all probability a collective plural, may be interpreted as ‘trophies’<sup>10</sup> or a similar type of *monument* (cf. below), which in any case produces a plausible interpretation of *prulija ... hātahe* as ‘trophies (vel sim.) of the victory (there and there)’. This interpretation implies that the whole passage is not a narrative *strictu sensu*, but basically a *list* of victories won at different locations, or, more precisely, a narrative embedded in a row of genitival constructions organized in a list.

This interpretation may be corroborated by several further considerations. Possibly the clearest indication comes from the passage which contains the last attestation of *hātahe*, the only one outside the present passage, 44b, 55–57:

*urublijē<sup>56</sup> hātahe: tubehi prñnezi: se lihbeze: eh[b]<sup>57</sup>ije: se dewē: zxxaza: se ñtuweriha: ade.*

The passage appears in the part of the text which clearly describes different installations (*ade* ‘he made’), both of cultic and profane character; the immediately preceding lines (51–55) describe sacrifices (*kumezija*) in different cities (*tere tere*)<sup>11</sup> for the Storm-God (*Trqqñti*, dat.) and Aphrodite (*Padritahi*, gen. adj.), to whom also a statue (*tukedri*) is dedicated. However, the clause beginning with *urublijē* ‘(a sort of) monument’ contains no indications that it picks up the cultic topic. In contrast, there are two indications that the new clause deals with a military theme: the noun *tubehi* (a noun in gen.) may be naturally connected with the verb *tub(e)i-* ‘strike, attack’, well-attested also in Hieroglyphic Luwian (*tuba-*) in military contexts; and *zxxaza* represents a derivative of the root *zxxa-* ‘fight’. The context perfectly agrees with the interpretation of *urublijē hātahe* as ‘monument of the victory’ and this interpretation has been in fact already tentatively proposed by Eichner,<sup>12</sup> as already noted above. Moreover, it appears quite sensible to include the following *tubehi* into the same syntactic group interpreting it straightforwardly as ‘fighting’ (< *tub(e)i-* ‘strike, fight’). Now, the combination *urublijē hātahe: tubehi* ‘the monuments of victory(ies) (and) fighting’ proves to be rather reminiscent of how the author defines his monument in the Greek text (44c, 23): [ἐρ]γων καὶ πολέμου μνημα τόδε ‘this monument of (martial) deeds and war’.<sup>13</sup> It is clear that ἐργοι in the given context refers to the *res gestae* – military exploits – of the author, which are here by definition successful and thus semantically virtually identical to ‘victories’. It seems likely that the Greek text represents an attempt to translate the Lycian syntagm, adjusting

<sup>10</sup> See Melchert 2002, 249–251.

<sup>11</sup> For *tere* as ‘city’ see below, §3 with n. 129.

<sup>12</sup> Eichner 2005, 34 with n. 187. Eichner takes, however, *tubehi* as a personal name connecting it with the following *prñnezi* ‘household members’ (‘Hausstand’).

<sup>13</sup> In the reconstruction of the Greek text I follow Bousquet (1975, 139 with n. 6, cf. 1992, 159–161) against Kalinka’s reading [νικ]έων. Bousquet already pointed out two important facts which speak for the reading [ἐρ]γων: this form fits better both into the hexameter meter and into the stoichedon scheme of the inscription. It is true that both these points do not present absolute proof: some examples show that the scribe could sometimes squeeze a combination of a letter with the following iota in a single grid cell (cf., e.g., ΟΙΣ of ἐργοις in line 31 corresponding to ΟΠ of τροπαῖα in line 30) and, in theory, one can scan νικέων as two longs with synaeresis of -έω. What is, however, decisive for the case is the actual traces of the first preserved letter in line 23, which I was able to verify with the help of a good photo sent to me by Heiner Eichner (for which I once again express my warmest thanks). The letter is still seen very clearly and there is only one roundish damage at the very bottom of the letter. There can be no doubt that if the letter were E one would be able to clearly see the second horizontal hasta of the letter. Furthermore, the upper horizontal hasta of the letter is slightly longer than it is usual for E used by the scribe of the Greek text. Lastly, one may mention that references to ἐργοι are in general found more frequently in the laudatory epigrams; in particular, the word is attested in two texts which were cited as parallels to the Greek text of the Xanthos pillar already by Kalinka (see TAM I, 47).

it to the requirements of the meter and space. As for the rest of the Lycian passage, it seems to further develop the topic, adding details absent in the short Greek text.<sup>14</sup>

Next, it seems to be possible to identify one more attestation of the word in the text. The form *hātē* appears in the clause 44c, 4 following a passage which undoubtedly concerns fightings:

*se Parzza: Xbide: se Sp[part]ali[j]ahe: <sup>3</sup>trbbi: Atānas: zxxāte: terñ: me=<sup>4</sup>ñ[n]e=(e)mu: axagā: maraza: me ubu hātē: Kbijēti: se <sup>5</sup>Utāna: sttati: sttala: ...*

The initial part of the passage can be interpreted as ‘when the Persians at Kaunos and the (troops of the) Spartan(s) fought against the Athenians, I became *maraza*’ (for *terñ* and *trbbi* see below). *Contra* Melchert,<sup>15</sup> an interpretation of *maraza* as ‘judge’ or ‘arbitrator’ is highly improbable: in the context of the Peloponnesian War and the following period, marked by the equally uneasy relationships between Athens, Sparta and the Persian Empire, it is impossible to ascribe to a warlike Lycian dynast under the more or less direct Persian authority any sort of peacemaking activities. More logical is to see in *maraza*, which is clearly based on *mar-* ‘order, command’, simply a ‘(military) commander’,<sup>16</sup> linking *-ñ[n]e-* ‘(for/to them)’ of the enclitic chain specifically with *Parzza*. In other words, the author of the Lycian text boasts that he was a commander of the Lycian military contingent which fought for Persians against Athenians – in all likelihood, quite successfully. In this context, the appearance of a word for ‘victory’ in the next clause looks entirely expected.

The question is how exactly the clause is constructed. Melchert interprets *ubu* as acc. sg. of *\*uba-* ‘grant, offering’.<sup>17</sup> If accepted, this would define *ubu hātē* as ‘grant/offering of the victories (gen. pl.)’ in which one might plausibly see ‘trophies’ dedicated to temples or the like. However, this perception of *ubu* produces a rather serious syntactic inconsistency: the clause *me ubu hātē* remains without a verb. The verb *sttati* ‘install, set up’<sup>18</sup> which follows *Kbijēti se Utāna* – in which there is every ground to identify two toponyms (Τυινδα and Ὑτεννα)<sup>19</sup> – is clearly connected with *sttala*, as it is the case in the two clauses further in the text: *se Xbide sttati mē: sttala:* (44c, 6-7) and

<sup>14</sup> The analysis of the clause is impeded by the fact that *lihbeze* and *ñtuweriha* are attested nowhere else. Given the attested meaning of *prñezi(je)-* as ‘household member’, which might correspond to συνγενέσιν (dat. pl.) ‘to the kinsmen’ of the Greek version (44c, 27), and the probable meaning of *zxxaza* as ‘soldier’ (*zxxa-* + suffix *-za* building names of professions) the likeliest syntactic analysis of the clause would be: ‘Monuments of victories and fighting/war for the kinsmen and their (i.e. ‘of the kinsmen’) *lihbeze* and gifts for the soldiers and for *ñtuweriha* he made’. It is, however, not excluded that *ñtuweriha*, which may be taken as acc. pl. n., represents a further *direct* object of the verb to be taken parallel with *urublijē* and then refers indeed to some sort of ‘memorial installation’ (cf. Melchert 2004, s.v.).

<sup>15</sup> Melchert 1992, 190 with n. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. further considerations on *marazija* in Oreshko 2019a, 108–100.

<sup>17</sup> Melchert 2004, s.v. *uba-*.

<sup>18</sup> For interpretation of the verb *stta-* as transitive ‘install, set up’ (in the present context impersonal) as against usual perception as intransitive ‘to stand, remain, be erected’ see below.

<sup>19</sup> For *Kbijēti* see Neumann 2007, s.v. referring to a personal communication by Schürr. Besides the present context, the identification of *Kbijēti* as a toponym is made very likely by the attestation in N309b, 3 of the form *Kbijētezi*, which looks like an ethnic adjective derived from *Kbijēti*. It is noteworthy that this interpretation has an important bearing on the interpretation of *sidi*, which appears in the same clause: *m=ene=ñtepi=tāti: Xatmā: se sidi: <sup>3</sup>ehbi: Kbijētezi Huzetēi*: ‘And they put inside (=bury) Xatamma and his/her Tyindean *sidi* Huzeteni’. *Sidi* (attested also in TL 35, 14–15 and possibly in N342 as *sedī*) is clearly the Lycian counterpart of Luwian *zida/i-* ‘man’ and is also likely attested as a part of the PN *Ipre-sida* (TL 29, 1 and 69, 1). However, the meaning ‘husband’ is clearly excluded by the context (the husband of Xatamma is *Ddepñnewe* named in line 1). Moreover, now even its interpretation as a kinship term (cf. ‘son-in-law’ in Melchert 2004, s.v. with further refs.) is made unlikely by its appearance in combination with *Kbijētezi*. One may assume that ‘Tyindean man’ refers either to a friend or a guest-friend (ξένοϛ) of the tomb-owner. A less likely, but still not impossible interpretation would be that it refers to a servant who virtually achieved the status of a family member (it would remain, however, unclear why he is still referred to by his place of origin).



se *Ddewe*: *sttati mē urublijē* (44c, 9).<sup>20</sup> No less importantly, no other acc. sg. in *-u*, which is arguably a secondary form developed from a more labial realization of *ā > \*ū* (with or without nasalization loss), is found in the inscription, while there are a number of clear acc. sg. in *-ā*, e.g. *tupelijā* in 44a, 38 and 39, *Milasāñtrā* in 44a, 45, *Ijānā* in 44a, 52, *θrñmā* in 44b, 44 or *wawā* in 44b, 45 etc. In view of this, it seems better to take *ubu* as a verbal form, namely 1sg. pres., which well correlates with *axagā* (1sg. pret. mid.), on the one hand, and with the present tense used further in the text (*sttati*), on the other. Given this interpretation, it is hardly possible to see in *hātē* something other than acc. sg. and the context strongly suggests that *me ubu hātē* means ‘I win/achieve a victory’.

The usage of the verb *ub(e)-* proves to be strikingly reminiscent of the Luwian verb (“CAPERE”) *u-pa-* regularly found in similar contexts associated with victories and trophies, cf., e.g. KARKAMIŠ A1a §§9–10:

|(\*349)á-la-ta-ha-na-ha-wa/i(URBS) |ARHA |DELERE-nú-wa/i-ha

|\*a-wa/i-tú |pa+ra/i-i-ha-’ (SCALPRUM.CAPERE<sub>2</sub>)u-pa-ní-na |(CAPERE<sub>2</sub>)u-pa-ha

which can be interpreted as ‘And I destroyed the city of Alataha and I fetched the trophies over here for him (scil. the Storm-God)’.<sup>21</sup> *Contra* Yakubovich,<sup>22</sup> there is little reason for separating (CAPERE<sub>2</sub>)*u-pa-* and (PES<sub>2</sub>)*u-pa-*, for which he assumed the (traditional) connection with Hitt. *uppa-* ‘bring’: in fact, all contexts featuring verb (CAPERE<sub>2</sub>)*u-pa-* perfectly agree with its interpretation as ‘fetch, furnish’, which is strongly supported as by the determinative CAPERE<sub>2</sub> as by the pre-verbs combined with it, *ARHA* ‘away’ (KARKAMIŠ A2 §7) and *a-tá* (/anda/) ‘in(to)’ (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §13 and İSKENDERUN §4), the first of which directly contradicts the meaning ‘erect, found’. On the other hand, the meaning ‘fetch, furnish, provide’ equally well agrees with the meaning which can be supposed for Lycian *ube-* found in N311 and for Carian *yb-* found in C.xx 1 in clearly dedicatory contexts.<sup>23</sup> As a result, the clause *me ubu hātē* can be interpreted as ‘I gained a victory’.

<sup>20</sup> The interpretation of *Ddewe* as a toponym is strongly suggested by the context and, as in the case of *Kbijēti* (cf. previous footnote), is supported by the attestation of the ethnic *Ddeweze* in TL 65, 19–20 and 24, both times applied to a temple precinct, in all appearances that of the Storm-God (cf. ll. 19–20: ... *Trqñti: se [q]laj=ebi: Ddewe[ze/i]* ‘...for the Storm-God and in the temple precinct of *Ddewe*...’), cf. Neumann 2007, s.v. *ddewe*. Given that the spelling with the geminate consonant in the word-initial position is probably a graphic convention used to indicate a combination of a reduced vowel *a* plus consonant (/əd/ in this case), which means, *inter alia*, that PN *Ddxuga-* (TL 44d, 19) likely corresponds to the Carian name attested as *Dquq* in Carian alphabet (E.Th 44) and as Ἰδαυυγος in Greek (see Oreshko 2019a, 201–202, n. 14), one may tentatively compare *Ddewe* with Lycian toponym Ἰδεβεσσός (attested also as Ἐδεβησσός and Ἐλεβησσός) localized to the north of Rhodiapolis (cf. Zgusta 1984, 192). Even if *Ddewe* is not identical with Ἰδεβεσσός, both names are likely based on the same root.

<sup>21</sup> For other examples see Yakubovich 2005, 243.

<sup>22</sup> Yakubovich 2005.

<sup>23</sup> N311: <sup>1</sup>[*Erb*]bina(j)=ēne ubete xruwata Ertēmi: <sup>2</sup>[*Xer*]igah tideimi se(j)=Upēneh: ‘Erbbina, son of Xeriga and Upeni, dedicated/furnished these gifts for Artemis’. C.xx 1: *Šrquq* | *Qtbelemś* | *ybt* | *snn* | *orkn* | *Ntro* | *pjdl* ‘Sharigygos, son of Kytbelemis, dedicated this bowl as a gift to Apollo-Natri’ (for the inscription see Adiego 2007, 160 and for the verb 432–433 with further refs). Likewise, HLuw. *uba-* (for the contexts cf. Yakubovich 2005, 246) has the same meaning ‘fetch, furnish, provide’ and Luw. *ubadid-* is a ‘land-grant’ or ‘land-donation’ (not an ‘establishment’). Carian *upe/wpe* ‘funerary stela’/‘monument’ or ‘tomb’ has probably nothing to do with *ube-* (cf. Adiego 2007, 429–430) and there are no other contexts in any way corroborating the meaning ‘establish’ for the verb. One should also note that *contra* Melchert (2004, s.v. *ube-*) it is highly unlikely that the passage in 44c, 13 (*erbbedi ñtube*) contains the same verb: given the obvious parallel in 44b, 19 (*m=en=erbbedi: tubei[...]*) and the clear military context, *ñtube* can be interpreted as a phonetic variant of *tube-* ‘strike’. The spelling likely reflects voicing of the initial dental in sandhi with the preceding *erbbedi*. It is noteworthy that a similar variation in the spelling of the initial dental is found also in the case of *ñtuweriha* (44b, 57), which is likely based on the same root as *tuwer-i(se)* in TL 84, 5, and *ñtewē* (/dewē/) ‘before’. The parallelism between 44b, 38: *ñtewē: n-emu* ‘before me’ (note the sandhi realization of the nasal) and *dewē emu* of the next line clearly suggests that *dewē* is a graphic variant of *ñtewē* (cf. Neumann 2007, s.v. *ddewe* for a similar idea expressed (but later dismissed) by Carruba 1969, 31 n. 14). The parallelism between *dewē: zxxaza:* of 44b, 57 and *ddewē: zxxazāi* of 44c,

Now one can revisit the attestations of *prulija* in order to verify its interpretation as ‘trophy’ suggested by Melchert and clarify the difference between *prulija ... hātahe* and *urublije- hātahe*. The only other attestation of *prulija* besides 44a, 41 is found in the passage of the Xanthos trilingual which immediately follows the *hātahe* passage, 44b, 1–2:<sup>24</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*ebei: kbija: prulija: ēti pddāt[...]* <sup>2</sup>*ijāna=tija ...*

The initial part of the passage may be interpreted as ‘The other/second *prulija* here, which (is) in the place/precinct ...’. It is quite obvious that there is a connection between the *prulija* mentioned in 44a, 41 and the ‘other *prulija*’ in the present passage, but otherwise, the passage hardly gives any additional clue on the nature of the *prulija*. Such a clue, however, seems to be produced by a proposal by Schürr to restore at the transition between lines 1–2 [*er*]ijāna interpreting it as a form of verb *eri(ja)-* ‘raise’.<sup>25</sup> Although Schürr’s discussion of the verb does not look equally convincing in all parts and his own interpretation of the lines 44b, 1–2 as ‘Hier andere *prulija* am Platz ...ten sie, welche zu *erheben* (waren)’ is far from being immediately illuminating, there are good reasons to accept this restoration. First, Schürr’s restoration and interpretation of *pddāt[er]* as a verb is quite unconvincing: *pddāt-* is well attested as a noun with the general meaning ‘place, precinct’. A restoration *ēti pddāt[i]* ‘in the precinct’ is obviously suggested by the parallel in 44c, 5: *ēti: Malijahi: pddāti* which means apparently nothing other than ‘in the precinct of Malija’. Consequently, *eri(ja)-* is the verb of the clause, while *prulija* is either its direct object or, if one assumes a passive construction, its subject.<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, there is every reason to recognize the same verb also with the first attestation of *prulija* in 44a, 41, identifying it in the (se) *irijēm[m]* at the end of line 40, as was suspected by Neumann and considered as a possibility by Schürr.<sup>27</sup> However, *contra* Schürr, a better restoration would be *irijēm[m(a)]*, a collective plural form of the participle in agreement with the following *prulija*. The change *e > i* at the beginning of the word represents either a regressive vowel-harmonic change

6 further implies that also *ddewē* is a different spelling of *ñtewē*. Note that these considerations virtually eliminate the entry *ddewe*<sup>-1</sup> in Melchert 2004. The status of the remaining *ddeu* in 44c, 10 is unclear, but it may be the same form as *ddawu* (1sg. pres.) probably found in N323c (cf. Melchert 2004, s.v.) and be based on the same root as *ddewite* in TL 21, 3–4.

<sup>24</sup> In the recent publication of a new Lycian inscription from Aloanda (see Onur – Tekoğlu 2020, 17–22), Recai Tekoğlu proposed to read a form *:prulij[...]* in the first line of the text. This reading appears unlikely. *Contra* Tekoğlu, the letter following Λ cannot be E, as it clearly has no long horizontal stroke at the bottom (cf. fig. 42 on p. 31). Moreover, while the identifications of the first letter as P and of a word-divider before it seem likely, the reading of the second letter as P is highly dubious: one can see no traces of the lower part of the ‘loop’ of P and, more importantly, the distance between this letter and the preceding one implies that to the left of the vertical hasta there should be a further element of the letter. Given the picture, one may suggest reading the second letter as T (for seemingly drooping ends of the horizontal hasta cf. the last T in the next line) and the entire sequence as *:P̄tule[...]*, identifying in it a variant spelling of the name *Pttule*, attested in TL 35, 1 and 65, 8. This reading appears all the more sensible, as TL 35 comes from Üzümlü-Kadyanda, the northern neighbour of Aloanda, and *Pttule* is the name of a king which appears here also in the first line of the text as a part of a dating formula (III *uhi xñtawati Pttule* ‘Year four, king *Pttule*...’). It is possible that the text from Aloanda features at the beginning a similar structure, and the word preceding *:P̄tule[...]* which probably ends in *-i* (*contra* Tekoğlu’s reading *-a*) should be restored as *[xñtawati]*.

<sup>25</sup> Schürr 2007b, 118–122.

<sup>26</sup> Formally, *erijāna* has an appearance of an infinitive, which, however, makes little sense unless one assumes some special grammatical construction. In fact, a much simpler interpretation would be to see in the form a preterite medio-passive form cognate with the forms in *-ēni* (as in *sijēni* ‘he lies’). *Prulija* is inanimate (coll. pl.) and one would expect with it a verb in singular, so the form may be identified as the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular of *hi*-verbs (the class to which *eri(je)-* belongs) rather than a plural counterpart of *-ēni* (although this is finally not quite excluded). Whether one should identify *erijeina/erijeine* in TL 29, 4 and 7 as the same form or still as infinitives remains an open question. Accordingly, the clause <sup>1</sup>*ebei: kbija: prulija: ēti pddāt[i eri]* <sup>2</sup>*ijāna=tija ...* may be interpreted as ‘The other/second *prulija* here, which were raised in (this) precinct’.

<sup>27</sup> Neumann 2007, s.v. *irijēm[m]*); Schürr 2009, 162–163.



or results from the crasis with *se*. This evidence quite obviously suggests that *prulija* is something that can be *raised* or *erected*.

The recognition of this fact introduces a nuance in its interpretation. It means that the word cannot refer to ‘trophy’, at least in the sense ‘things gained in a victory’, as the latter would be dedicated in a temple rather than ‘raised’ somewhere. An interpretation as a ‘victory monument’ would be not impossible for *prulija*, but even if so, it would be not quite the same as Greek *τρόπαιον*, as the latter was usually set up directly on the battlefield. On the other hand, one may dismiss an interpretation of *prulija* as an abstract term for ‘heroic deeds’ (*res gestae*) suggested earlier by Meriggi<sup>28</sup> or a description thereof as text.<sup>29</sup> The use of the verb *eri(ja)-* suggests that *prulija* is something rather high. Combining it with the fact that *prulija* may contain a description of military exploits and with the indication on ‘(the) other/second *prulija* in this precinct’, it would be tempting to see in *prulija* the name for the *pillar (monument)* itself.<sup>30</sup> The ‘other/second *prulija* ‘in this precinct’ may refer just to the *present* pillar bearing the text, and the indication *ēti pddāt[i]* may be immediately compared with the indication of the Greek text (44c, 22) that the monument was erected in the ‘holy precinct’ (ἐν καθαρῷ τεμένει).<sup>31</sup> Consequently, *prulija* mentioned in 44a, 41 should refer to a similar monument erected *elsewhere*. This assumption presents a logical explanation of the peculiar mode of the narrative imbedded in genitival constructions: it represents only a brief summary of a longer text presented in full on a *different* monument.

However, this interpretation faces one serious difficulty: it runs counter the common restoration at the beginning of the very first line of the text in which the present monument should be mentioned as *ebēñni[: stta]l[ā: m=e]n=ad[ē:]* which is interpreted as ‘This stele (acc.) made (PN) ...’. It is clearly impossible to discuss here in full the vexed question of restoration of the beginning of the text, on which also the question of the authorship of the text is immediately bound, but one may briefly point out several facts which speak against the traditional restoration. The clues for restoration of *stta]l[a]* are more than subtle: on the fragment nr. 203 one can see in the upper part only one letter (Λ) and something which *may* be a part of *Ϝ*, but may be simply the broken edge of the stone.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the attribution of the fragment to the first line of the text is finally just a guess. However it may be, the fact is that both technically and functionally the pillar monument is *anything but a stele*. It is a colossal and complex monument, which included not only the pillar – which is at least three times wider and thicker than an ordinary stele – but, essentially, also a highly elaborate structure put on the top of it, which consisted, at the least, of different statues, smaller figures and carved reliefs – as suggested by the text itself (*cf.* below) – but quite probably contained also the grave chamber of the author of the text.<sup>33</sup> One could imagine that this sort of monument could be called by the same name which is usually applied to the rock-tombs *prñnawa-* ‘building’ or be designated as *arawazije-*, which seems to be a general word for ‘monument’<sup>34</sup>, but to call it a ‘stele’ would be pretty much the same as to call an Arch of Triumph a ‘gate.’

<sup>28</sup> See ref. in Neumann 2007, s.v.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. also interpretation of *prulija* as ‘Siegestaten’ considered as a possibility by Eichner (2005, 23 with n. 121).

<sup>30</sup> If this interpretation is correct, one wonders if the word can be distantly cognate with Latin *pīla* ‘squared pillar or column’, a word of quite uncertain etymology (*cf.* de Vaan 2008, s.v. with further refs.).

<sup>31</sup> This disproves Schürr’s (in Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 144–146) attempt to see ‘holy precinct’ in *nelde*, *cf.* discussion below, §4.

<sup>32</sup> For photos see Demargne 1958, pl. XLIV (upper left) (or Laroche 1953, pl. X, fig. 1), *cf.* the drawing in Eichner 2006, 238, fig. 2. For restoration of the first line *cf.* Borchhardt *et al.* 1997–1999, 21 or Eichner 2006, 234.

<sup>33</sup> See, e.g. Borchhardt *et al.* 1997–1999.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. especially *arawazija: me(j)=adē:* in TL 128, 1, which employs the same verb as is supposedly present in the first line of TL 44.

There are other subtler, but still significant linguistic details. First, the verb supposedly used in the first line to describe the installation of the monument *a-* ‘make’ poorly agrees with ‘stele’ as an object. The word *sttala* is attested in this form only in 44c, 5 and 7 and both times is used in combination with the verb *stta-* which is clearly etymologically connected with it and, whether one takes it transitively or intransitively (*cf.* below), in any case, describes an *upright setting* of the stele, which closely corresponds to the Greek verb usually used with *στήλη*, *ἵστημι* ‘make to stand’ (*cf.*, e.g., Hom. Il. 13.437 or 17.434). It seems quite possible that the verb *ta-* ‘put, place’ would be used with *sttala*, just as Greek *τίθημι* is used with it (e.g. Pi.N.4.81), but *a-* ‘make’ sounds odd in this context. Second, there are some doubts that *sttala* represents a noun in nom. sg. and that a form *\*sttalā* could exist at all. This interpretation was suggested on the basis of the combined evidence of the verb used with it in both occurrences in 44c, 5 and 7, *sttati*, which is the 3rd singular, and by the assumption that it is a borrowing from Greek *στάλα* (the Doric form of *στήλη*). However, both points are not quite conclusive. From a purely formal point of view, *sttala* may be nom.-acc. of *neutral collective plural*. In fact, this interpretation of *sttala* is unequivocally supported by both contexts. The first passage names *two* different cities in which *sttala* shall be set up in the respective temple precincts of Malija (*Kbijēti: se Utāna*) and the second passage names in all probability *four different* temples in Kaunos (*Xbide: ēti: qlahi ’bijehi: se Mali’jahi: selj]=Ertemehi: se Xñtawatehi: Xbidēñ[e]’hi* ‘in the (precinct) of (the Mother of?) the local temple, and (that) of Malija, and (that) of Artemis, and (that) of the Kaunian King’.<sup>35</sup> If *sttala* would be *nominative neutral collective plural*, the verb would have a singular form, as this type of agreement is normal for the Anatolian languages. Consequently, the form should be *accusative*. This interpretation rather compellingly follows from the parallelism between (1) *Kbijēti: se Utāna: sttati: sttala*, (2) *Xbide sttati mē: sttala:* and (3) *Ddewe: sttati mē urublijē* (44c, 9), since *urublijē* clearly represents acc. sg. The verb should be then interpreted as *transitive* ‘make to stand, set up’, thus corresponding to the *transitive* meaning of Greek *ἵστημι*, and should be taken as an impersonal form ‘one will make stand’, which finds an immediate parallel in the subordinate clause following *urublijē: me=i=ti: puwe*<sup>10</sup>*ti: azzalā* ‘on which one will write a decree’.<sup>36</sup> Re-interpreting *sttala* as nom.-acc.

<sup>35</sup> Despite its seemingly clear structure, the passage is quite problematic from a syntactic point of view. The main two difficulties are that one has gen. *qlahi* ‘of the temple’ instead of dat.-loc. required by the context (*cf.* *pddāti* in line 5) and that *’bijehi* (< *ebijehi*) ‘local’, which syntactically clearly represents the first member of the list of different deities connected by *se*, looks quite senseless in the given context, since all the temples named in the clause should be the *local* temples of Kaunos. The problems can be solved by the assumption that the scribe has omitted one or two words, having been confused by similarity of *ēti* and *ēni*. Indeed, the combination *qlahi ’bijehi* is very reminiscent of *ēni: qlahi: ebijehi*: ‘Mother of the local temple’ – who can be identified on the basis of the Letoon trilingual as Leto – which appears in many inscriptions (*cf.* Neumann 2007, s.v. *qlahi*). Admitting that the first deity in the list was Leto, one may assume that the original clause was *ēti: (pddāti: )ēnehi: qlahi ’bijehi: se Mal’ijahi: etc.* ‘In (the precinct) of the Mother of the local temple, (that) of Malija etc.’ (*pddāti*: might in theory be elliptically absent) and the scribe, having written only *ēti* already had in mind *ēnehi* and proceeded with *qlahi*.

<sup>36</sup> This interpretation of the verb *stta-* is well compatible with three other attestations. First, the verb appears in N320, 16–17 in a clause *sē=ñte=ñte=kñmē: sejēti: θθē: sttat’i=teli:* which corresponds to καὶ ὅσον πρὸς τῷ ἀγρῷ in the Greek part. The combination *θθē sttati* can be naturally taken as a transitive verb plus object in acc. sg. and this interpretation is in fact preferable for *θθē*, since from the synchronic point of view it would be the *only* Lycian noun for which one may claim a nasal ending in nom. sg., which looks rather suspicious (the only other possible parallel *pddē* represents in all probability an adverb roughly corresponding to Greek *πρός* ‘in the direction of, at, before etc.’, *cf.* below). The whole Lycian clause may be interpreted as ‘And however much lies (*sejēti*) within (the territory) where they set the altar’ (*contra* previous interpretations and Melchert [online], I take *sejēti* as a verb (3pl. pres.) which may be interpreted as a phonetic variant of *si-* ‘lie’; this interpretation better agrees with the syntax of the Lycian clause and better corresponds to the *twofold* contrast present in the Greek text: ὅσον πρὸς τῷ ἀγρῷ vs. τὰ οἰκήματα). The impersonal usage of the verb finds parallels elsewhere in the text, *cf.* *ēti sttali: ppuweti: kñmē:* (Il. 22–23): ‘however much one writes on the stele’ and *mara: ebeija: ēti: sttali: ppuwēti=mē* (Il. 33–34) ‘these regulations as they write them down on the stele’. The second attestation is found in TL 93, 1–2: *hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime: 2 sttati=ti*. The relative *ti* refers quite probably to *xupā* (not to *ladi* or *tideime*), and the verb can be interpreted in the present context as ‘he (scil. *Upazi*, the builder of the tomb) ‘establishes/sets up for’ (his wife and children) (*cf.* semantics of Lat. *pōnere* or German *zur*

pl. n. one should postulate its nom. sg. form as *sttale-* (cf., e.g. nom. sg. *arawazije* in 44a, 21 and 44b, 46 vs. nom.-acc. pl. n. *arawazija* in 44b, 38); this would be *\*sttalē* in acc. sg. and would, in any case, be incompatible with the alleged traces of *ṽ* on the fragment nr. 203.

As for the first word of the text, *ebēñni*, there are strong doubts that it is simply a variant of *ebēñnē*, as it is usually taken.<sup>37</sup> The form *ebēñni* is assuredly attested only in five inscriptions,<sup>38</sup> as contrasted with about nine dozens of attestations of *ebēñnē*. The nasal auslaut of the latter form represents in all probability ending of acc. sg. corresponding to the respective ending of the following noun (*xupā*, *prñnawā* etc.), which is obviously not the case with *ebēñni*. An alternative interpretation of *ebēñni* is suggested by 44b, 1 which begins with *ebei* ‘here’. *Ebēñni* may well represent an emphatic variant of *ebei*, just as *ebēñnē* may represent in its origin an emphatic variant of the rarely attested *ebē*, which does not demonstrate any semantic difference from *ebēñnē* (cf., esp. *ebē*: *prñnawā* in TL 61, 1 as contrasted with usual *ebēñnē prñnawā*). Thus, the form *ebēñni* is not diagnostic for the form of the following noun.

As a result, the restoration of *[stta][ā]* in 44a, 1, once proposed *faute de mieux* and with the course of time turned to be regarded almost as an established fact, is not only uncertain but rather unlikely. In contrast, there is at least one more argument, besides those discussed above, for the assumption that the name of the pillar monument, which was once present in the very first line of the inscription, is in fact *prulija*. This is the possible parallelism between the first line on side A and that of side B. Given the fact that side A ends with a blank space, one may regard the text on side A as a whole as in a way contrasted with the text on side B continued on side C. This implies that the first line on side B, which may be read as a sort of *heading*, may be contrasted with the analogous heading on side A, i.e. the first words of the side B *ebei: kbija: prulija* ‘the other/second *prulija* here’ picks up not only – or even not so much – the *prulija* described in ll. 41–55, but also the *prulija* possibly named in the first line of side A.

### 3. General structure of the text on side A: description of the parts of the pillar monument (ll. 33–40)

3.1. In order to further support the suggested interpretation of the text, it is appropriate to take a glance at the broader context of the *hātahe* passage. The first rather fragmentarily preserved part of the text (ll. 1–27/28) contains, as far as one can judge, a description of building/setting up different monuments (cf. *prñnawā* ‘building’ in 14, *tukedri tuwete* ‘set the statue’ in 20, *arawazije* ‘monument’ in 21, *prñnawate* ‘built’ in 22 etc.). In ll. 24–27, which heavily uses spatial adverbs/prepositions *ñtewē* ‘in front of’ and *ñtepi* ‘in, into’, the description seems to be quite specific in terms of space and concerns probably the position of (a) particular monument(s) of the author in relation to the earlier monuments of his family. One may identify at least three reference points: *ñtewē: Erbbinahe: tezi: xul[gahi: ehbi]hi* (ll. 25–26) can be interpreted as ‘in front of the monument

*Verfügung stellen*). The last attestation is found in 44b, 35 (*sttāti*). I interpret the verb as referring to the setting up a monument (or several monuments in different cities), as it is the case in 44c, 5, 7 and 9. The name of the monument is in all probability *pisba[s]* in l. 30 (either nom.-acc. pl. n. or acc. pl. c. depending of the presence or absence of the final s), which may be identical with *pasba* in the Lycian B part, as was suggested earlier (cf. Neumann 2007, s.v.; the interpretation of Lycian B *pasba* as ‘sheep’ < PIE *\*péku-* preferred in Melchert 2004, s.v. is no more than an etymological guess). If this identity is valid, then *pisba[s]/pasba* may represent the same word (either as a borrowing or a cognate) as Hittite *paššu-* ‘an elevated structure, podium or the like’ (cf. CHD P, s.v.). The long row of the forms in instr. which follow *pisba[s]* in ll. 31–34 represent quite probably the elements of the structure, possibly reliefs or figurines, as the structural parallel in 44a, 36–38 suggests (see below). The monument was dedicated to the Storm-God, as *pri: Trqqas* in line 34 shows. The following *hexis* represents possibly a geographical epithet of the Storm-God and [...]*ñmezezi: erbbi:* in line 35 may be his further characterization, something like ‘who gives support in the battle’. As for the status of the verb *stta-* in Lycian (borrowing or inherited), cf. the recent discussions by Schürr 2014b; Melchert 2018 and Oreshko 2020, 31–32, 35–36.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Neumann 2007, s.v. *ebe-* and Melchert 2004, s.v.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Neumann 2007, s.v. *ebe-*.

of Erbbina, his ancestor’ (for *tezi* as ‘monument’ see below) and *se ñtewē: mahāna: neleze* (l. 27) as ‘and in front of the *neleze*-gods’); the clause in l. 26 can be quite probably restored as *se ñtewē: teθθi: ehbi[lehi arawazije]*: ‘and in front of [the monument] of hi[s] father’.<sup>39</sup>

The content of the following section (28–34) is more obscure. Usually, it is connected with animal sacrifices, which is based on the interpretation of *wawadra* (nom.-acc. pl. n.) in line 32 and *uwadraxi* in line 33 as ‘bovine sacrifice’ or ‘herd, collection of cattle’.<sup>40</sup> However, given that lines 31–32 again contain the word for ‘monument’ ([*araw*]azijedi, instr. sg.), it is quite possible that the passage goes on with the description of the monuments, which makes the suggestion by Heiner Eichner<sup>41</sup> to interpret *wawadra* as ‘bull protomes’ quite attractive. This interpretation perfectly agrees with the actual presence of bull protomes in the upper part of the pillar monument itself as well as with the morphological structure of the word. As already noted by Neumann,<sup>42</sup> *wawadra* finds a close parallel in Lycian *tukedri*- ‘statue’ which is based on the Anatolian word for ‘body’ (< \**tw(e)ka-dar*-). The latter is in turn structurally parallel with words for different cultic effigies attested in Hittite texts,<sup>43</sup> as DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-*niyatar* (\**šiuniyadar*) ‘divine image’, HUR. SAG-*tar* and KUR-*tar*- ‘mountain effigy’, which is quite probably to be interpreted phonetically as *wattadar*-, also attested in the descriptions of cultic statues,<sup>44</sup> and, especially appropriate for the present case, UR.MAḤ-*tar* (\**walwa-dar*) ‘lion effigy’.<sup>45</sup> Given this interpretation, one may analyze *ēñne* in line 32 as *ēñn=e*, i.e. < *ēnē+e* ‘below them’, with the pronoun referring to the parts of the monuments referred above in the text, in all probability the statues installed on the top of the column.<sup>46</sup> The verb *xistte* following *ēñn=e*, attested also several lines above in the text (l. 29), represents possibly a technical term referring to the execution of statues/figures (‘carve out’ or the like); it is not impossible that the root is present in the final part of the compound *uwadra-xi*.<sup>47</sup>

The text in the next section (33–40) can now be almost completely restored thanks to the recent find of a new fragment.<sup>48</sup> The section is crucial in a number of respects for understanding the whole second part of the text on side A, and it is worth reproducing its full text here.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The syntax of the clause clearly suggests that the rest of the line should contain the name of the monument associated with ‘his father’. Together with *-ehi, arawazije* takes twelve letters, thus precisely fitting into the space available for the rest of the line (cf. the reconstructed stoichedon-grid in Lotz 2017, 167 fig. 1).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. *wawadra*.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999, 36 and Neumann 2007, s.v. *wawadra*.

<sup>42</sup> Neumann 2007, s.v. *wawadra*.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Neumann 2007, s.v. *tukedri*.

<sup>44</sup> For the convincing reading of the Luwian word for ‘mountain’ as *wata/i*- see Gérard 2006, esp. 250 on *wattadar*.

<sup>45</sup> In contrast, in the arguably sacrificial contexts one uses simple *wawa*-, e.g. 44b, 44–45: *kumez[e]ine: uhazata: wawā: trisñni*: ‘to sacrifice as a year-offering a three-year old bull’ or N320, 26–28: *kumezidi ... se=uhazata: uwadi* ‘will sacrifice ... and a year-offering as (lit. ‘by’) a bull’ (cf. further TL 318, 3–4 and TL 26, 18).

<sup>46</sup> For reconstruction of the general appearance of the monument see Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999, 93, pl. 2.1.

<sup>47</sup> Thus *contra* its usual perception as ‘make an animal sacrifice’, cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. and Neumann 2007, s.v. with further refs. Cf. CLuw. *hizza(i)*- which in theory may be an iterative of \**hi*-; its interpretation ‘hand over’ (cf. Melchert 1993, s.v.) is not assured. Note that the verb *xurz*- attested in 44b, 43–44 seems to have a similar meaning as *xi*-.

<sup>48</sup> Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 132–144.

<sup>49</sup> I read *hqqdaid/le*- at the end of line 37 instead of Schürr’s *hqqdaime*- (Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 133–134). *Contra* Schürr, the last but one letter hardly can be *Ṣ* (cf. Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 133, fig. 15a): the left oblique hasta of the letter seems to go a bit too far down for an *Ṣ* and there is not a trace of the further oblique hasta to the left of it, which one should see, if it would be *Ṣ*, as there is enough stone surface preserved (thus *contra* what the drawing in fig. 15b seems to suggest). Moreover, the triangle of the letter in question looks like a perfect isosceles triangle, while it is mostly not the case with the two triangles of *Ṣ*, i.e. the oblique hastas of *Ṣ* diverge from the upper point at slightly different angles to the virtual horizontal (cf., e.g. *Ṣ* preserved on the other side of the same stone fragment). The letter can be thus only *Δ* or *Λ*. The very acute angle of the triangle strongly speaks for the former possibility, as Lycian *Λ* has a



przz[e/ě...]<sup>34</sup>ehetehi: axā: ara: nele=de Arñna: me=ti p[rz]ze <sup>35</sup>axā Trñmile izredi: pededi: ñterez[e:] xu<sup>36</sup>base: tupa: esbedi: hñmenedi: Trñmil[i]je<sup>37</sup>di: se Medezedi: padrātahedi: hqqdaiḏ/le<sup>38</sup>[d]i: se mrbbēnedi: tupelijā: Trñmilis[. (.)]<sup>39</sup>[. . qa]Kadunimi: puwejeñ: tupelijā: sl/ṁ[(.)]<sup>40</sup>[. . .]: qaKadunimi: puwejeñ

The entire section was recently discussed by Schürr.<sup>50</sup> He convincingly argued for interpreting lines 35–38 with their reference to ‘by hand and foot’ (*izredi pededi*), a ‘horse’ (*esbedi*, inst.) and something ‘in Lycian and Median (style)’ (*hñmenedi: Trñmil[i]je*<sup>37</sup>*di: se Medezedi*, inst.) as a description of the virtues and skills of the author (~ ἀριστεία), which finds correspondence in the Greek text (44c, 24–25) and has good parallels elsewhere, including Old Persian inscriptions, which might have served as a model for imitation. However, a number of points in his interpretation are not quite convincing and the meaning of several terms remain quite obscure (cf. below). Schürr’s discussion of lines 38–40<sup>51</sup> also failed to produce any comprehensible interpretation of the text. Even the common perception of two words that appear twice in the passage, *qaKadunimi* and *puwejeñ*, as personal names is very dubious, since it is difficult to imagine why a name with a patronymic would be repeated as a whole in two successive lines.<sup>52</sup>

However, the most curious word of the passage is *tupelijā* (acc. sg.), which appears here twice and may well give the key for the understanding of the whole section. The word practically exactly corresponds to HLuw. word for ‘writing, script’ which may be reconstructed as *\*tupaliya*.<sup>53</sup> The word is attested four times in KARKAMIŠ A15b §19 in the form SCRIBA-*li-ia*- and, being modified by different toponymic adjectives, has here a meaning ‘writing/script’; the context of its appearance in KARATEPE 4 §2 (in the form SCRIBA-*LA-li-ya*-) suggests, on the other hand, a more concrete meaning ‘writings, written text’.<sup>54</sup> The logographic reading of the sign SCRIBA as *\*tup(p)a/i*- is quite certain in view of the joint evidence of its attested phonetic value <tù><sup>55</sup> and the cuneiform title *tup(p)alanura*- ‘chief scribe’ (<*\*tup(p)ala(n) + ura*- ‘big, great’), which presupposes *\*tup(p)ala*- ‘scribe’ – which clearly corresponds to HLuw. SCRIBA-*la*- ‘scribe’ – a professional name derived with the suffix *-al(l)a/i-* from *tuppi*- ‘(clay) tablet’ (< Sumerian DUB ‘tablet’).<sup>56</sup> *\*Tupaliya*- repre-

somewhat squatter shape. And yet, this distinction is not absolute and sometimes the upper angle of Δ and Λ correspond very closely (cf., e.g. Λ in *Trñmilis* at the end of line 36 and Δ in *hqqdai*- just above it), so it is not excluded that the letter in question is still Λ (which is supported by a possible Luwian comparandum, cf. below). For the reading *sl/ṁ* - at the end of line 39 instead to Kalinka’s *se*- see below, n. 61.

<sup>50</sup> Schürr 2009, 157–161, cf. Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 132–144.

<sup>51</sup> Schürr 2009, 161–163.

<sup>52</sup> In this perception Schürr follows Melchert (2004, s.vv. *Kadunimi* and *Puweje*), arguing only for taking *qaKadunimi* as a single word, which is very likely, since one can still clearly discern the interpunction sign (:) before *qaKadunimi* in line 40, but there seems to be no such sign between any other letters in the sequence. Neumann (2007, s.vv. *Kadunimi* and *puweje*-) takes *Kadunimi* also for a personal name and remains agnostic about *puweje*-, pointing out a possibility to see the basis of it in *puwēi* (44b, 42). Interpretation of *puweje*[e]he in 44a, 24 and *puwēi* in 44b, 42 is equally dubious: in all probability they represent, as *puwejeñ*, a derivative of the root *p(p)uwe*- (cf. below).

<sup>53</sup> This possibility was also tentatively noted by Eichner 2005, 26 n. 140.

<sup>54</sup> See Hawkins 2000, 69–70 and 130–133. It is noteworthy that KARATEPE 4, §2 mentions *two* scribes responsible for the text, Masanis and Masanazamis (‘DEUS-ní-i-sá’ ‘DEUS-na-(OCULUS)á-za-mi-sá’), which are both good Luwian names. There is no corresponding scribal signature in the extant Phoenician text. Given the fact that KARATEPE represents a *bilingual*, it would be logical to suppose that one of the scribes worked on the Phoenician version and the other one on the Luwian one. But even if they worked jointly on both versions, the probability is that it was a *Luwian* scribe who incised the Phoenician version of the text. This consideration has a certain influence on the question of primacy of either Luwian or Phoenician version (see for a recent discussion Yakubovich 2015).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Hawkins 2000, 33.

<sup>56</sup> For a discussion of *tuppalanura*- and *tuppi*- see Tischler 1991–1994, s.vv., cf. also Yakubovich 2017, 41–43. The title SCRIBA-*la*- is well attested both on the Empire Period seals (cf., e.g., Herboldt 2005, 308) and in the later HLuw. corpus (cf. KARABURUN §14, BOYBEYPINARI 1, §11, KULULU 3, §1, MEHARDE §9 (SCRIBA-*la/i/u*-) and SHEIZAR §8). It is also noteworthy that the pictographic form of the sign also agrees well with its reading as *tuppa/i*-, as it seems to render a foldable wooden tablet (diptych) of the type depicted

sents, accordingly, a derivative with the suffix *-ya-* from *\*tupala-* ‘scribe’ and means ‘that of the scribe’ > ‘art/production of the scribe’; there is every reason to think that the form attested in KARATEPE 4 §2, SCRIBA.LA-*li-ya-*, conceals the same form (and not *\*\*tupalaliya-*): the latter form would be rather senseless from a morphological point of view and a similar practice of frozen combinations of a logogram with a phonetic complement, which creates an impression of double phonetic marking of certain syllables, is found elsewhere in HLuw., cf., for instance, such spellings as (TERRA+LA+LA)*wa/i-li-li-t-* for /walilid-/ ‘territory, field’ (e.g., KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §8) or AEDIFICARE+MA/I-*ma-* for /tama-/ ‘build’ (e.g., KARATEPE 2 §1).

The possibility to identify in Lycian *tupeliya-* the word for ‘writings’ or ‘script’ – which may be recognized as a borrowing from a Luwian dialect (or from Hittite) – is supported by several other clues. First, a title *tupelezije* attested twice in 44b, 62–64 is linguistically obviously connected with *tupeliya-* and may be now interpreted as ‘scribe’, being apparently a specifically Lycian formation replacing older *\*tuppala-*.<sup>57</sup> Given that *tupelezije* is characterized as ‘of the king’ (*xñtawatiye*) and that something is taking place ‘before’ or ‘in front of’ (*ñtewē*) him, the interpretation as ‘scribe’ makes fairly good sense.<sup>58</sup>

Second, the form *puwejehñ* which appears in ll. 39–40 in close association with *tupeliya-* may naturally be taken as a derivative of root *p(p)uwe-* commonly defined as ‘write’; the possibility of the spelling of the root with non-geminate *p-* is confirmed by an attestation in 44c, 9–10 in combination with *azzalā* ‘decree’ (or the like).<sup>59</sup> It looks like *tupelijā* is agreed with *puwejehñ* which makes

on the Assyrian reliefs and actually found in Kalhu and the Uluburun shipwreck.

<sup>57</sup> The word *tupazaliye* found in TL 35, 5 represents in all probability the same word, being a scribal slip for *tupalazije*. Note that the text is neither a usual tomb inscription nor a *res gestae*, but quite probably a sort of official document, as it starts with a dating formula (III *uhi xñtawati Pttule*).

<sup>58</sup> The whole passage reads: *me=sitēni: eb<sup>62</sup>[e]ija garāi: zeusi: ñtewē: xñtawati: sber<sup>63</sup>ide: xñtawati: tupelezije: se ñtewē: suxinaje: tupelezije: xñtawatiye: sppart<sup>44c1</sup>[azi(je)-]*. The passage eludes complete interpretation due to several unclear words and not quite transparent syntax. However it is, there is every ground to consider it in the context of the previous lines (58–62), which mention a decree (*azzalā*, acc. sg.) of the Persian kings Darius (59: *Ñtarijeusehe*, gen. adj.) and Artaxerxes (59–60: *Ertaxssirazahe*, gen. adj.), who are apparently Darius II (423–405/404 BC) and Artaxerxes I (died in 425 BC), Lycia (60), a Lycian dynast *Teθθiweiibi* (60–61) and a temple/precinct of Leto (61: *leθθi: qlā*, acc. sg.). This all clearly suggests that the present passage deals with political agenda. The final part of the passage seems to be reasonably clear: ‘and before *suxinaje* scribe of the king of Sparta’ (inclusion of *sppart[azi(je)]* is not completely assured, but quite possible). *Suxinaje* may be a personal name, as it is commonly taken (cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. and Neumann 2007, s.v.). The probable context of dealings with Achaemenid administration in Anatolia, brings to mind a passage of Herodotus (3.128) which, touching upon the court of Oroetes at Sardis, attests the presence of the ‘royal scribes’ (γραμματισταί βασιλῆϊοι) there, as was the case with all Achaemenid satrapal courts. Furthermore, taking into consideration the crucial significance of the satrapal seat at Sardis for diplomatic relations between the Persians and the Greeks, and the fact that Amorges (*Humrxxa*), the satrap of Lydia, played a role in the event described in the text (for details cf. below), one wonders if the unclear *sberide* may refer just to the Lydian capital. The original Lydian form of the name was probably *\*Sfar(i)-*, on which an adjective *Sfarja* (/Sfarða/) ‘Sardian’ was based, which was used as general name for ‘Lydians’ and was adopted as *Sparda* in Old Persian, *Sprd* in Aramaic (LW 1) and *Sēfaraḏ* in Hebrew (cf. Oreshko 2019b, 198–199). Lycian *Sberide* (phonetically /Sberiðe/), possibly a form in locative (cf. loc. *Xbide* or *Wedre*), represents a fairly exact phonetic match of the name, with substitution of *f* absent in Lycian by *b* (/β/), rising of *a > e* (or simply neutralization of the sound) before *r*, and epenthetic *i* to break the sequence *-rð-* untypical of Lycian; for alternative way of doing this with the epenthetic vowel *a* cf. two personal names, Persian *Wataprddate-* = /wataprəḏate-/ = Αὐτοφραδάτης (TL 61, 2) and (possibly local) *Prddewā* = /prəḏeuā/ (TL 126, 1), for the phonetic interpretation see Oreshko 2019a, 201–202 n. 14). It is also noteworthy that in the Lycian B part of the text one finds forms *sbirte* (44c, 32, the very first word of the text) and *sbirtē* (44c, 41 and 49). Neither the context nor the number of the phonological discrepancies nor the morphology of the word support its identity with *Sberide*.

<sup>59</sup> For a recent treatment of the root see Giusfredi 2009. However, *contra* Giusfredi (and earlier Neumann 2007, s.v. *ppuwe-*) a connection of *ppuwe-* with CLuw. *pūwā(i)-* and Hitt. *pūwae-* usually defined as ‘to pound, to grind’ seems to me unlikely, as the production of written text is connected not with ‘pounding’ or ‘crushing’ wooden writing tablets, stone or papyrus, but with ‘cutting or ‘carving’ it or ‘painting’ on it, cf. γράφω ‘write’ vs. OE *ceorfan* = NE *carve* (PIE <\*gerb<sup>h</sup>-); γλύφω ‘engrave, incise’ vs. OHG *klioban* ‘cleave, split’ and Lat. *glübō* ‘peel’ (<\*gleub<sup>h</sup>-); Lat. *scribō* vs. Latv. *skripāt* ‘to scratch, scribble, write down’



it quite probable that the words between them make part of the same syntactic group, which discards the interpretation of *qaKadunimi* as a personal name. The repetition of *tupelijā ... puwejeññ* in two successive lines proves to be quite reminiscent of the repetition of *SCRIABE-li-ia-* in KARKAMIŠ A15b §19, and the parallelism suggests that *Trm̃milis[...]* should be taken as a geographical modifier, i.e. ‘Lycian’.<sup>60</sup> Accordingly, in the gap between the lines 39–40 one should expect a second toponym modifying the second *tupelijā*, which likely refers to the text written in another language, in which one would most readily see Lycian B or ‘Mylian’. The initial part of this putative toponym possibly begins with *Sl-* or *Sñ-* (*contra* earlier reading as *se-*) and, if one adopts the former reading, it would be seducing to see in it a reference to the Σόλυμοι, the people inhabiting the northern part of Lycia, who were, according to Herodotus (1.173), the same people as Μιλύοι.<sup>61</sup> It is noteworthy that, unlike KARKAMIŠ A15b §19, *tupelijā* seems to refer not to the abstract ‘script’ but the concrete ‘writing(s)’, i.e. ‘text’, as it is the case in KARATEPE 4 §2. The meaning ‘script/writing’ may be rather ascribed to *puweja-* – otherwise, the construction would seem tautological – and the clauses may be interpreted accordingly as ‘text in Lycian/in Sl[...] ... writing/script’. The interpretation of *qaKadunimi* remains elusive; formally, it represents a participle or a relational adjective in *-mi*.<sup>62</sup>

and OIc. *hrifa* ‘scratch, tear’ (< PIE \*(s)kreibʰ-); OCS *pisati* ‘write’ and Toch AB *pik-* ‘write, paint’ vs. Lat. *pingō* ‘to color, paint’ (< PIE \*pink-). In Luwian, one used for rendering the idea of ‘carving’/‘writing on stone’ the root *kwanz-* ((CAPERE+SCALPRUM) *kwā/i-za-*) which in all probability goes back, as Hittite *gulš-* ‘to carve, to engrave, to inscribe’, to PIE \**kʷels-* ‘to draw furrows’ (Yakubovich 2013–2014, cf. Kloekhorst 2008, s.v. *gulš-*). Instead, one may connect the root *puwa-* with Hitt./Luw. *puwatti-* which corresponds to Akk. *šimtu*, *šindu* ‘mark(ing), color’ in the trilingual lexical list IZI (KBo 1.42 iv 46) and possibly designates a red dying pigment, such as ‘madder’ (cf. CHD P, s.v. *puwatti-* with further refs.). In fact, the connection of Lyc. *puwe-* with CLuw. *pūwā(i)-* and Hitt. *pūwae-* may be maintained under an assumption that the core semantics of the latter was not ‘pound’, which presupposes ‘striking’, but rather ‘grind, rub’, which presupposes *lateral* motion, and the semantic development was ‘rub in’ > ‘paint’ > ‘write’ (cf. Greek τρίβω ‘rub’ and ἐντρίβω ‘rub in (cosmetics) > paint’).

<sup>60</sup> The form represents quite probably a derivative with the ethnic suffix *-s-*, for which cf. below, §9.

<sup>61</sup> At present one can see only a part of an oblique stroke at the end of the line. Fellows (1842) draws an entire ↑, but one should hardly put much weight on it, as there are many small inaccuracies in his drawing, cf. e.g., his *qamaeunimi* instead of *qaKadunimi* in l. 40, *xñnahñ* instead of expected *xñnah[i]* in line 29 or already discussed *Ijaeusas* (n. 5). In fact, the position of the stroke and its inclination speak against the identification as a part of ↑: as far as one can see, the stroke descends somewhat lower in the line than it is usual for ↑ (cf. above n. 6 on the *Ijalusas*) and seems to be inclined at an obtuser angle to the imaginary vertical. Moreover, the letter is set unusually far from §, while in all the cases of §↑ observable on side A the letters are set closer to each other. All these indications agree much better with the identification of the letter as Λ. However, an identification as X cannot be completely excluded (in contrast, \* and M are rather out of question). The possibility to recognize here a reference to Σόλυμοι is suggested by Neumann’s (2007, s.v. *slm̃mewe*) proposal to connect PN *Slm̃mewe* attested in TL 12, 2 with this ethnic name; for the Solymians and their relationship to the Lycians cf. Frei 1993. Given this more than slim evidence, one cannot expect any final proof, but it is striking that a restoration *Sl[ñ]⁴⁰[mi]*: exactly fits into the space available in the gap.

<sup>62</sup> Very tentatively one may hazard a guess that *qaKaduni-* may refer to *graphical* or to *metrical* organization of the text, i.e. either indicate that the text is written *stoichedon* (as the present inscription) or that it is a versed (or rhymed) text. Given the fact that the Lycian letter ʳ (transcribed as K) renders a tectal sound, which is established beyond doubt by the equation of the Letoon Trilingual *ArKKazuma* = Ἀρκεσίμα, and that \* (q) renders predominantly (or exclusively) a sound going back to PA \**Hu* (cf. Lyc. *Trqqñt-* = Luw. *Tarhunt(a)-*) one may reconstruct the preform of the stem as \**hu(w)aḥḥaduni-*. The form looks like a reduplicated formation structurally comparable with such Luwian forms as *ḥuwaḥu(wa)rdi-* ‘throat’ and *ḥu(wa)ḥḥu(wa)rdalla-* ‘necklace’ (< \**hu(wa)-ḥu(wa)r(d)-*), or *ḥu(wa)ḥḥursant-* ‘?’ (< \**hu(wa)-ḥu(wa)rs-*). The similarity is not quite trivial and one wonders if \**hu(w)aḥḥaduni-* may have approximately the same meaning as *ḥu(wa)ḥḥu(wa)rdalla-*, i.e. ‘necklace’, ‘beads’ or the like. Given the fact that ‘necklace’, ‘beads’, ‘garland’, ‘wreath’ are frequently used metaphorically for metrically organized text (cf., e.g., Skr. *mālā-* ‘wreath, garland, row, line, series etc.’), this interpretation of *qaKaduni-* looks rather appropriate. The final part of the word is comparable with *kñtuni* in TL 29, 8 which might represent the same word as HLuw. *ka(n)tuni-* ((“\*314”) *ka-tú-ni-*) attested in KARKAMIŠ A6, §§14–15, which seems to refer to a sort of instrument.

It is noteworthy that the suggested interpretation of *tupeliya-* allows the function of *epi=de* to be specified and introduces a nuance into the interpretation of the text in the following lines. The context clearly implies that the *prulija* is the material carrier of the *tupeliya-*, the immaterial text, i.e. that *tupeliya-* is on the *prulija*, which suggests that *epi=de* should be taken literally ‘on it/them’. Furthermore, now it appears likelier that the genitive *hātahe* is connected with *tupeliya-* rather than with *prulija*. As a result, the lines in question may be now interpreted as: ‘... (made) writing(s) in Lycian ... script (and) writing(s) in ... script and (put them) onto the erected pillar(s): (the writing) of the victory at ..., (that) of the victory at ... etc.’.

The suggested interpretation of *tupeliya-* may further shed some light on the preceding text and first of all on the clause in ll. 36–38 which begins with *tupa* and contains a long row of instrumentals in *-edi*. As already mentioned, the section can be plausibly connected with a description of the author’s skills in different fields. The question is what is *tupa*. Given the appearance of *tupa* and *tupeliya-* so closely in the text, it seems possible that they are connected in a way. One may suggest that *tupa*, which is quite probably neuter plural (like *prulija*), reflects the word which ultimately underlies Luw. *\*tupaliya-* and Lyc. *tupeliya-* and is attested in cuneiform as *tuppi-* ‘tablet’. However, its meaning here should be more general than a ‘(writing) tablet’, and one may assume that it refers, as Greek πίναξ or Latin *tabula (picta)*, to a ‘picture’ or ‘image’.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, the presumed meaning of the word proves to be very close to if not identical with Greek τύπος which, besides original ‘blow, impression’, means also ‘engraving, carved or relief figure, image’. It is quite possible that the semantics of Lyc. *tupa*, if it indeed came from *tuppi-* ‘tablet’, was influenced by the Greek word; however, it is possible that the Lycian word simply represents a borrowing from Greek. At any event, this means that the passage in ll. 36–38 is actually not a narrative of the virtues of the author *per se*, but again an *imbedded* narrative, this time a description of the *images* on the pillar.

3.2. At this point, it is appropriate to make an excursus on the terminology of the passage describing the images. First, it seems that Schürr’s guess that *hēmenedi* is connected with *archery* hits the target quite closely.<sup>64</sup> The word can be interpreted as a derivative with suffix *-men-* = Luwian *-(m)an-*, which derives neutral action nouns, from a root *\*he-* in which one can readily identify the Lycian counterpart of Hittite *šai-/šiye/a-* ‘impress; shoot’ (along with several other meanings).<sup>65</sup> The root is also attested in both meanings in Luwian. In the reduplicated form, it serves as the basis for HLuw. *sasan-* ‘seal’ and for the word *sasaliya* (*(\*262)sa-sa-li-ia*, probably nom.-acc. pl.

<sup>63</sup> It is noteworthy that the word is probably attested in one more text (TL 57) in a derivative *tuprñme* which appears in a clause <sup>4</sup>*se=i pijētē* <sup>5</sup>*pijatu: miñti: ētri: xupu: sixli: aladehxxāne: se hrzzi* <sup>6</sup>*tuprñme: sixla: hrzzi prñnawī*. This may be roughly interpreted as ‘They gave as a gift for the community (*mindis*) for *aladehxxāne* in the lower chamber-tomb (*xupu*) a shekel; and in the upper ... shekel(s) in the upper building. The word *tuprñme* is usually taken with *sixla* and interpreted as ‘two-fold, pair’ (see Neumann 2007, s.v. with further refs.). This interpretation, *faute de mieux*, might seem not quite senseless, but regarded from a linguistic perspective, it appears extremely doubtful. It is rather difficult to reconcile root *tup-* even with the Lycian B form of the numeral ‘two’ *tbi-* (in *tbi-su* and possibly *tbi-plē*, cf. Melchert 2004, s.vv., cf. HLuw. (*\*2*)*tu-wa/i-*), as it is not clear how *u* of the PIE *\*duu-i/o-* might develop to voiceless labial. This interpretation is, however, even less credible in view of the normal Lycian A form of the numeral, *kbi-* (with the regular Lycian development *dw > kb*) and there is otherwise no evidence that the Luwian forms of the numeral ‘two’ go back to something other than PA *\*dui*. Lastly, a formation with a suffix *-rñme* is unique for numerals, and finally it is not clear why the scribe would bother at all to write *tuprñme sixla* instead of writing *sixla* II. In fact, the syntax of the clause suggests quite a different interpretation of *tuprñme*: it should be a noun agreed with *hrzzi* ‘upper’ or a further adjective characterizing elided *xupu*, building a certain contrast with *ētri xupu* ‘lower tomb-chamber’ and *hrzzi prñnawī* ‘upper tomb-building’. The word may be interpreted as ‘decorated with paintings’ and refers either to a separate *painted* part of the tomb or, if one takes two *hrzzi* as dittography, it represents the epithet of the *hrzzi prñnawa-*. *Sixla* represents probably a dual or plural form of *sixli* (cf. *sixlas* in N320, 22 = δύο δραχμας in 320G, 20).

<sup>64</sup> Schürr 2009, 161. Thus *contra* Hajnal’s (1995, 51 with n. 53) connection with Hitt. *šāmana-* ‘foundation(s)’.

<sup>65</sup> For the Hittite root see Kloekhorst 2008, s.v.

n.) attested in the epigraphs to the reliefs MALATYA 1 and MALATYA 3, which should mean, judging from the accompanying reliefs depicting chariot hunting scenes, either ‘shooting’ or ‘hunting’.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, it is quite possible that Luwian also preserves further derivatives of verb *\*s(i)ya-*. The first one is probably *šama-* (*sà-ma-ia*, possibly dat. sg.) attested in BOHÇA §5: the context associated with the ‘wild beasts’ and the favors of the Stag-God *K(u)runtiyas*, well known as a deity responsible for good fortune at the hunt, makes an interpretation of *sà-ma-ia* ‘at the hunt’ or the like quite plausible.<sup>67</sup> The second is *šaman-* (*sà-ma-za* = /šaman-t<sup>s</sup>a/, nom.-acc. sg. n.) attested in KARABURUN §5 and KULULU 2 §2 which quite probably means not ‘sealed document’, as usually assumed, but rather ‘shooting/hunting’ and thus exactly corresponds to Lycian *hēmen-*.<sup>68</sup> As a result, the clause *esbedi: hēmenedi: Trēmil[ije]di: se Medezedi* may be interpreted as ‘(images) with shooting/hunting on the horse-back in the Lycian and Median (Persian) style.’

The interpretation of the following sequence, *padrātahedi: hqqdaīd/le[d]i: se mrbbēnedi*, is much more difficult. The first two words are not found, at least in this form, elsewhere in the Lycian corpus and the existence of cognates in other Anatolian languages is questionable.<sup>69</sup> However, the last word of the passage, *mrbbēnedi*, is attested two more times in the corpus. Besides a second

<sup>66</sup> For the texts see Hawkins 2000, 319 (MALATYA 3) and 321 (MALATYA 1). Morphologically, the word *sasaliya* seems to represent an exact counterpart of *\*tupaliya-* discussed above: it may be analyzed as a substantivized *ya*-adjective from *\*sasala/i-* ‘shooter/hunter’, a derivative with suffix *-al(l)a/i-* from *\*sasa-* ‘shoot (repeatedly)’.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Hawkins 2000, 478–480 with a ref. to the personal communication by G. Neumann, who proposed an interpretation ‘for shooting’.

<sup>68</sup> See Hawkins 2000, 480–483 (KARABURUN) and 487–490 (KULULU 2). A meaning ‘sealed document’ or ‘compact’ adopted by Hawkins by the association with *\*sa-* ‘seal’ is in no way compelling for either context. KULULU 2 §2 (a funerary stele) relates only that ‘My children made here *šaman-za* and *la(la)man-za* (|wa/i-mu-u |á-mi-zi-i |INFANS.NI-zi-i |za-ti-i |sà-ma-za |CAPERE-ma-za-’ |i-zi-ia-ta) and an interpretation ‘sealed document’ sheds little light on the text, in a way contradicting the fact that the word for ‘seal’ found further in the text (§7) is spelled differently ((“SCALPRUM.SIGILLUM”)sa-s[a]-za). There is nothing impossible in the assumption that the author simply relates that his children ‘made here hunting and catching’, which would well agree with the mention of a *feast* in the next clause (note that the interpretation of “CAPERE”-ma-z[a] in BULGARMADEN §13 as ‘contract’ is also rather dubious, as is its semantic connection with CLuw. *lalami-* ‘list, receipt’ which means simply ‘received (items)’). The author of the text has died during this feast, in his own words, and might have been buried on spot. Similarly, the context of KARABURUN does not necessarily imply that §5 is immediately connected with §4, and in any case it is not quite clear what sort of ‘sealed contract’ should be done *after* building a fortress. Again, nothing speaks against an assumption that the two Sipis (the authors of the inscription) simply went on hunting in this place, in the course of which they found the boulder (§6: “SCALPRUM”-wa/i wa-mi-OCULUS<sub>2</sub>-ta) on which they made an inscription to commemorate their cordial relationships (cf. Yakubovich’s translation in ACLT, s.v.).

<sup>69</sup> Adopting a viewpoint that the passage picks up the description of military scenes, one may tentatively compare the root underlying *padrātahedi*, *\*padra-* with the Hittite word *pattar* which is attested in a description of a statue of the War-God Yarri in KUB 17.35 ii 35 (cf. CHD P, s.v. *pattar* C). The phonetic correspondence is not perfect, as to link the forms one needs to assume a contraction and subsequent voicing of the dental in the cluster *-tr-* > *-dr-*. The meaning of *pattar* is not unequivocally defined by the context, but it may be a *protective* piece of armor, for which the simplest assumption would be ‘shield’. The word may be then identical with the other *pattar* which designates different things made of wickerwork, as ‘tray’, ‘basket’ and ‘sieve’ (cf. CHD P, s.v. *pattar* B), since simple shields were made just from this material. Accordingly, *padrāt(i)-* may be interpreted as ‘shield-bearer’, finding a structural correspondence in such terms as *esbēt(i)-* ‘horseman, knight’ and, possibly, *hbēti* ~ ὀπλίτης (cf. below); its semantic correspondence in Greek would be probably πελασστής ‘light-shield-bearer’ (rather than ὀπλίτης ‘large-shield-bearer’). The assumption of a scene with ‘shield-bearers’ would find a ready support in the preserved parts of the reliefs of the present pillar (see, e.g., Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999, Tafel 1:2 and Tafel 3:1). However, the genitival form of the word has no ready explanation. The next word, *hqqdaīd/ledi* may be based on the same root as Lyc. personal name *Ahqqadi* attested in TL 36, 2; a connection with obscure *haqaduwe-* in TL 26, 13 cannot be excluded either. On the other hand, if one proceeds from the reading *hqqdaīle-*, the word proves to find an almost exact formal correspondence in CLuw. *šahuidala-* (*šahuidara-*), demonstrating only slight difference in vocalism. Unfortunately, the Luwian word is attested only in a few broken or obscure contexts and does not shed any new light on the Lycian text (for attestations see Melchert 1993, s.v.).

attestation in the Xanthos trilingual (44b, 5) in a partly broken and rather obscure context,<sup>70</sup> the word is attested in TL 28, 3 in a sequence *mlttaimi mrbbanada*[...]. The first word, *mlttaimi*, can be interpreted as ‘honey-sweet’ and corresponds to Luw. *malirim(m)is* ((‘PANIS’) *ma-li-ri-i-mi-i-sá*) attested as an epithet of a king in MARAŞ 1, §1i.<sup>71</sup> This peculiar meaning of *mlttaimi* already implies rather positive associations for *mrbbanada*- and with good probability excludes military interpretation of the sequence *padrātahedi: hqqdaiḍ/le[d]i: se mrbbēnedi*. Schürr interpreted *mrbbana*- as ‘goodness/excellence’ (ἀρετή),<sup>72</sup> which is, however, just a guess. In fact, two texts recently discovered in Tlos<sup>73</sup> shed some new light on the meaning of *mrbbana*-. Both texts (now N356a and b)<sup>74</sup> are inscribed on the same stone block and, as far as one can see, are largely – but not completely – parallel to TL 28. This parallelism allows TL 28 and N356a on the new block be restored almost completely:

TL 28:	N356a:
<sup>1</sup> <i>ñte=ne Putinezi tuw[ete]</i>	<sup>1</sup> <i>[ñte=ne] Putin[e]zi tuwete</i>
<sup>2</sup> <i>Prijabuhāmah kbatru n(?)</i> [...]	<sup>2</sup> <i>[Prija]buhāmah kbatru ehbi</i>
<sup>3</sup> <i>mlttaimi mrbbanada</i> [...]	<sup>3</sup> <i>[...]ṭiweh tezi<sup>75</sup> puwejeḥñ</i>
<sup>4</sup> <i>ladu Uwitahñ xahb[u]</i>	<sup>4</sup> <i>[lad]u Uwitahñ xahbu</i>
<sup>5</sup> <i>Apuwazahi p[r]ñnezijehi<sup>76</sup></i>	<sup>5</sup> <i>[Apuwa]zahi prñnezijehi</i>

Tekoğlu interpreted all three texts as referring to ‘a collective burial’,<sup>77</sup> thinking that the texts refer to as many as four different individuals (all women) not connected with each other who were buried in the same grave; he also took *mrbbanada*- and *puweje*- to be personal names. This interpretation does not look very credible. First and foremost, there is every ground to think that the texts are not funerary inscriptions at all. Against this speaks already the number of inscriptions: what is the sense to write as many as three nearly identical funerary inscriptions on two different stone blocks which do not look like parts of a grave monument? Further, the verb *ñte ... tuwe*- used in the first lines of the inscriptions does not imply exclusive funerary associations. The verb *tuwe*- ‘set up’ (lit. ‘place, put’) is not a usual verb connected with constructing a tomb or burying, for which *prñnawa*- and *ñtepi ta*- ‘put inside’ are used respectively. In a

<sup>70</sup> The passage in ll. 4–5 reads <sup>4</sup>*se=teeteris: erizāna: ti(j)* <sup>5</sup>[...]°iked[i]; *se=mrbbēnedi: xbiññ: hñ*°. Given the correspondence in the grammatical form and in syntactic position, one may assume that *mrbbēnedi* has the same function as in 44a, 38, which implies that *erizāna* may be a functional counterpart of *tupa*. On the other hand, it looks suspiciously close to *erijāna* discussed above and one wonders if Kalinka’s copy correctly renders the fourth letter as I. The word *xbiññ* (acc. sg. of gen. adj.), which in all appearances belongs to the next clause, may be quite probably interpreted as ‘of the river’, as *xbi*- seems to exactly correspond to Luwian *ḥāba/i*- (cf. *xba(i)*- ‘irrigate’ and *Xbide*- < \**ḥābada/i*- ‘river-valley’); *xbahñ*: in 44b, 14 represents probably its phonetic variant.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. already Schürr 2009, 161 with further refs.

<sup>72</sup> Schürr 2009, 161.

<sup>73</sup> See Tekoğlu 2017, 64–65.

<sup>74</sup> For numbering of the new inscriptions cf. Christiansen 2019. I express my warmest thanks to her for sending me the manuscript before its publication.

<sup>75</sup> Christiansen 2019, 125–129 doubts the reading of the letter after *tez*- as E and pleads rather for 𐀓 (ñ), pointing out that the appearance of the word *tezi* which she, following Melchert (2004, s.v.), interprets as ‘sarcophagus’ is inappropriate in the non-funerary context of the inscription. However, the form of the letter as seen on the photo of the squeeze (Tekoğlu 2017, 67, pl. 6) rather corroborates the reading as E and, on the other hand, *tezi* does not mean ‘sarcophagus’, but ‘monument’ (see below).

<sup>76</sup> In Kalinka’s drawing (TAM I, 26) the final E is shown far to the right of + (after a gap equal to approximately two letters), and, as it seems, beyond the right limit of the inscription. In all probability, the drawing is based on some mistake, as N356a shows that that *prñnezijehi* should be the last word of the inscription.

<sup>77</sup> Tekoğlu 2017, 64–65.



number of contexts the verb *tuwe-* arguably refers to *dedications*, which is a usual meaning also for Luw. *tuwa-*, cf. esp. TL 44b, 51–52: *tuwetē: kumezija: ... Trqñti: ‘they set up sacrifices ... for the Storm-God’* or *ebeis: tukedris: ... tuwetē: ‘he set up these statues’* in TL 25, a bilingual dedication to Apollo.<sup>78</sup> There can be thus little doubt that the three inscriptions in question are *dedications* on different occasions.<sup>79</sup>

Second, there is every reason to think that the inscriptions concern only two closely related persons: a father and a daughter.<sup>80</sup> The absence of a demonstrative pronoun *ebēñne* at the beginning of the inscription speaks against the perception of *Putinezi* as a term for the monument, as suggested by Tekoğlu;<sup>81</sup> rather, it is the name of the dedicator. The dedication is made on the behalf of ‘his daughter’ (acc. sg. *kbatru ehbi*), the usage of accusative in this function finding an exact correspondence in the dedication TL 25 (ll. 3–4: *atru: ehb[i] se ladu: ehbi: ‘for himself and his wife’*). Consequently, *Prijabuhāmah* can only be interpreted as patronymic of *Putinezi* with an elided *tideimi* ‘son’. Lines 4–5 of both inscriptions provide further information about the family ties of the daughter. As *prñnezijehi* ‘household member’ is definitively the last word of N356a and it is a *genitive* apparently agreeing with *Apuwazahi* – but not with *kbatru*, *ladu* and *xahbu* – the only possibility to make sense of the lines is to assume that instead of usual construction [gen.+nom.] used in similar formulae elsewhere, we have an *inverted* construction ([nom.+gen.]), i.e. the daughter of *Putinezi* is ‘the wife of *Uwita*, the grand-child of *Apuwaza*, the household member’.<sup>82</sup> This means that in both inscriptions we are dealing with one and the same daughter of *Putinezi*. Her name should have stood at the end of line 2 in TL 28 and thus begin with *N-* (if the letter is drawn by Kalinka correctly) and is completely or partly lost in line 3 of N356a.

Now, the question is what information the respective third lines of the inscriptions contain. N356a is clearer in this respect, as the meaning of *tezi* is established with reasonable certainty by the bilingual TL 72 as ‘monument’ (= μνημα).<sup>83</sup> The next word, *puwejehñ* (gen. adj. acc. sg.), can then only be an adjective describing it, which can be now connected, as already discussed above, with the root *puwe-* ‘write’ or ‘paint’. This produces an ‘inscribed/painted monument’. This means that *mrbbanada-* in TL 28, 3 refers most probably also to a sort of *material object(s)* intended as a dedication, even if some uncertainty remains due to the broken end of the line. This interpretation well agrees with the morphological properties of *mrbbanada-*: as suggested by Melchert,<sup>84</sup> the final *-da-* of the word likely represents a collective suffix found also in *hrñmada* contrasted with *hrñma* elsewhere. As far as one can judge, *mlttaimi* is not agreed with *mrbbanada-* grammatically. It may well be an affectionate epithet applied by *Putinezi* to his daughter, but, as we are possibly dealing with a dedication to a deity, it is not excluded that *mlttaimi* is the name or rather an epithet of a deity. If so, then, given its honey associations and the connection of the monument

<sup>78</sup> Dedicatory context can also be assumed for TL 51 (which, as N356a, uses *ñte tuwe-*); TL 44a, 20 (*tukedri: tuwete*) and fragmentary N318. However, the verb *ñte tuwe-* could arguably be used also in funerary contexts, cf., e.g., TL 72 or N332, both of which feature the verb with *tezi* (or *t[e]zi* in N332) as direct object. The combination *tezi ñte tuwe-* means simply ‘set up (this) monument’ and could be used apparently in any context. In the collocation *hlñmi ... tuwe-* attested TL 88, 4 and TL 93, 2–3 the verb has probably a general sense ‘put, place’.

<sup>79</sup> TL 28 is incised on a stone block (found in a field) which, according to the description, does look like a statue basis, see TAM I, 26. The reference by Kalinka to Benndorf 1892 is, however, false, as one finds there neither description nor a squeeze nor a copy of the inscription.

<sup>80</sup> A similar interpretation is envisaged for TL 28 also by Schürr (2009, 161).

<sup>81</sup> Tekoğlu 2017, 64–65.

<sup>82</sup> It is noteworthy that this unusual syntax correlates with two other unusual features of the inscription: elision of *tideimi* ‘son’ and the absence of word-dividers in all the three inscriptions.

<sup>83</sup> Neumann 2007, s.v. Thus *contra* Melchert 2004, s.v. who defines it as ‘sarcophagus, coffin’. This meaning is refuted not only by TL 72, but also by the usage with *tezi* in TL 78 of verb *prñnawa-* ‘build, construct’ and the fact that it is intended for several persons (as long ago pointed by Torp, cf. Neumann 2007, s.v.), which is also true for TL 88, in which *tezi* is intended both for *Ddaqasa* and his wife.

<sup>84</sup> Melchert 2004, s.vv. *mrbbēn-* and *hrñma-*.



with a girl, it would be hardly possible to see in *mlttaimi* any other deity than Aphrodite, stirrer of the ‘sweet desire’ (γλυκὺς ἔμερος). If *mlttaimi* is indeed Aphrodite, then the word in gen. sg. partly preserved in line 3 of N356a ([...] *itiweh*) may be a part of the name of another deity.<sup>85</sup> Lastly, one should note a curious parallelism in the usage of *mrbbanada-* as a counterpart of *tezi puwejehñ* ‘inscribed/painted monument’ in the dedications by *Putinezi* and the appearance of *mrbbēnedi* and *tupelijā ... puwejehñ* in the successive lines of the Xanthos trilingual.

These considerations open up two directions in the further interpretation of the passage. First, the possible associations of *mrbbanada-* with the cult of Aphrodite raise the question if the goddess herself can be present in the present passage. Indeed, *padrātahe* clearly represents gen. of *padrāta-*, which is strikingly close to the Lycian name of Aphrodite attested as *Padrita-* somewhat further in the Xanthos trilingual (44b, 53 in the gen. form *Padritahi*) or as *Pedrita* in N307a. The phonetic discrepancy between *padrāta-* and *Padrita-/Pedrita* is in itself not very significant and may be explained by the fact that the name is a borrowing in Lycian, as this type of word is not infrequently associated with a certain fluidity of form. As a parallel one may adduce a similar discrepancy in the rendering of the name of Alexander, which is attested as *Alaxssāñtra* in TL 29, 9, but as *Alixssāñtra* in N307b. The presence of the name in a different form in the trilingual itself presents an additional difficulty, even if it at the same time shows that the goddess’ domain is not alien to the text. If one still accepts the connection, *padrātahe-* can be literally interpreted as ‘Aphroditean’. Although the precise meaning of *mrbbēnedi* still remains elusive, the connection with Aphrodite confines its semantics in general to the sphere associated with sensual life. Given the fact that the passage likely refers to a sort of figurative representation, one might tentatively connect it with festivals, dances, choruses etc.

The other direction would be to look for possible cognates of *mrbbanada-* in other Anatolian languages. The final *-na-* of *mrbbana-* quite probably represents a suffix. Given regular reflection of PA *-w-* in the postconsonantal position as *-b-* in Lycian (cf., e.g., Lyc. *esbe-* ‘horse’ = Luw. *azu(wa)-*), the root *\*mrbbā-* proves to rather straightforwardly correspond to *mar(u)wa-* which is well attested in cuneiform Luwian in different derivatives, such as *mar(r)uwai-*, *mar(r)uwašha*, <sup>D</sup>*Marwāinzi*, perhaps also *marušam(m)a/i-* and *marušaša*.<sup>86</sup> Recognized long ago as a root connected with *color*, it was earlier taken as referring to ‘red’, which now appears rather unlikely. The correspondence of <sup>D</sup>*Mark(u)waya-*, which refers to a class of minor deities with underworld associations, to Luw. <sup>D</sup>*Marwāinzi*, the deities who accompany the Plague-and-War God Šandaš, suggests an etymological connection with PIE stem *\*merg<sup>w</sup>-* ‘dark, murky’.<sup>87</sup> However, contrary to usual perception, the name of <sup>D</sup>*Marwāinzi* can be interpreted not simply as ‘Dark Ones’, but rather as ‘Those-of-the-Darkness’, as it represents a suffixal derivative from a noun *\*marwā-* (< *\*merg<sup>w</sup>-éh<sub>2</sub>-jo-*). The separation of a noun *\*marwā-* is supported by a further derivative attested in KAYSERİ §8: here an epithet *marwawana/i-* is applied to the deity Nikaruha/Nikarwa ((“DEUS”) *ma-ru-wá/i-wá/i-ni-sa...* (“DEUS”) *ní-ka-[...-s]a*), who represents, as far as one can see, also a rather sinister figure.<sup>88</sup> Formally, *marwawana/i-* represents a derivative with the ethnic suffix *-wana/i-*, which at the first glance appears rather strange, but can be naturally explained by an assumption that

<sup>85</sup> In view of this, it is quite likely that the gap at the end of line 1 of TL 25 contained the Lycian counterpart of Ἀπόλλωνι (dat.) of the Greek part. The last letter partly seen before the gap is rendered by Kalinka (TAM I, 24) as *Ṃ*, but, as far as one can judge from the drawing, it may well be *Ṃ* and thus the form is probably *Natri*. As the gap seems to comprise 5-6 signs, one may suggest to restore after the name of Apollo the relative pronoun *=ti*: *ebeis: takedris: Ṃ[atri=ti] tuwetē: Xssbezē: ‘(This are) the statues which Xssbezē set up for Natri’*.

<sup>86</sup> For the words see CHD L–N, s.vv. with a detailed discussion.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Kloekhorst 2008, s.v. *maruāi-*.

<sup>88</sup> The deity is attested in KARKAMIŞ A6 §31: *á-pa-pa-wa/i-* (DEUS) *ni-ka+ra/i-wa/i-sá* CANIS *ni-i-zi á-pa-si-na* | CAPUT *hi-na* | ARHA EDERE-*tú* ‘Let the dogs of Nikarwa devour his head!’ and in BULGARMADEN §16: (DEUS) *ni-ka-ru-ha-sa-pa-wa/i-na* AR[HA] EDERE-*t[u]* ‘Let Nikaruha devour him!’.

*marwa-* ‘darkness’ refers to a ‘dark place’, the Netherworld. This interpretation is supported by the determinative DEUS which hints at the divine/supernatural character of *marwa-*.

The appropriateness of the connection of Lycian *mrbbana-* with the Luwian material is not immediately obvious. It is clear that neither *mrbbana-* nor *mrbbanada-* can have here an abstract meaning ‘darkness’. However, the general association with *color* seems to be appropriate for both contexts. If one unties the exclusive association of *marwa-* with ‘black’ and takes it in a more generic sense ‘colored’, then *mrbbanada-* in TL 28 may be interpreted as ‘colored/painted stuff’, i.e. probably ‘paintings’, which would make a good counterpart with *tezi puwejeñ* ‘inscribed/painted monument’. On the other hand, one may see in the passage *padrātahedi: hqqdaid/le[d]i: se mrbbēnedi* a reference to the *technic of execution* of the figures in the upper part of the column: if *mrbbēnedi* is something like ‘painted’ then *hqqdaid/le[d]i* might be, as its counterpart, ‘carved’ or ‘executed in bas-relief’. A semantic shift from ‘paint in a particular color’ to generic ‘paint’ is common (cf. Lat. *fūco* ‘paint, dye’ < *fūcus* ‘red orchella-sea-weed’ or Russ. *krasnyj* ‘red’ > *krasit* ‘paint’), the underlying color word is usually ‘red’. Whether Anatolian for some reason generalized ‘black’ or the meaning of the root *\*marw-* was still broader, is unclear. Given the number of uncertainties associated with either interpretative line, the overall meaning of the passage remains an open question.

3.3. The interpretation of the text as a description of the monument proves to be quite sensible also for the preceding lines (ll. 33–36), allowing several further forms to be elucidated. First, in the combination *ñterez[...]* *xubase*: one may identify *ñterez[...]* as a further term referring to the relative position of a part of the monument – in all likelihood just the following *tupa*. The word may be interpreted as an adjective derived from *ētre/i* ‘lower, below’ (= HLuw. *andara*) following the pattern *hri* ‘up, on’ > *hrzzi* ‘upper’ and *pri* ‘forth, in front’ > *przzi* ‘frontal’. Accordingly, one may restore the word as *ñterez[e:]*, the final *-e* (loc. sg.) being suggested both by possible agreement with the following *xubase* and by the likely parallel of *p[rz]ze* in the preceding line (cf. below).<sup>89</sup> Although it is quite possible that *ñterez[e]* might elliptically refer to the ‘lower part’, a different way to indicate a lower position without a reference to a specific part in line 32 (*ēñn-e*) makes it still likelier that *ñterez[e]* stands in apposition with *xubase*, which implies that the latter is the name of some further part of the pillar monument. Tentatively one may compare *xubase* with Hittite and Luwian <sup>GADA</sup>*hūp(p)ara-*/<sup>GADA</sup>*hūpra-* which designates a type of cloth, quite probably ‘sash’.<sup>90</sup> The derivational history of *hūp(p)ara-* is not quite clear, as there is no immediately obvious semantic correspondence with any of the roots of comparable phonetic form.<sup>91</sup> However,

<sup>89</sup> As far one can see, there is only one letter lost in the gap (cf. Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 135 and Lotz 2017, 167, fig. 1), which precludes restoration of *\*ñterezze* which one might expect on the analogy with *hrzzi* and *przzi*. However, the form *ñterez[e]* perfectly agrees with the interpretation of the clusters C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub> as standing for C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub> (see Oreshko 2019a, 201–202 n. 14): while *hrzzi* and *przzi* stand for /hrəzi/ and /prəzi/, which come from *\*hri-zi* and *\*pri-zi* respectively, *ñtere-z-* preserves a non-reduced vowel *e* before the suffix. A similar phenomenon is seen, e.g., in spelling *xalxxa* (TL 29, 5) or *zexisxxaje* (TL 29, 10) as contrasted with *telixa* (twice in 29, 6), *hrmazaxa* (29, 8), *-ajaxa* (29, 9), which all seem to represent analogous formations (for the suffix *-xa-* see below).

<sup>90</sup> For attestations see Puhvel 1991, s.v. *hup(p)ai-*. The clearest attestation is a clause in the Ritual of Zarpiya available both in Luwian and Hittite: Luw. <sup>D</sup>*Lūlahinz=aš=tar hūpparanza kuinzi hišhiyanti* (KUB 9.31 ii 24) = *hūpruṣ kuēš iṣhiyanteṣ* (KUB 9.31 i 38) ‘the Lulahi-Gods who bind (on) *hūp(p)ara*-s’ = (for the text see now the on-line edition by Görke 2014–2015). The verb *hišhiya-/iṣhai-* means literally ‘bind’, which suggests that *hūppara-* is something which can be literally ‘bound on’, i.e. something which has a rope-like form, as ‘sash’ or ‘girdle’ (cf. Melchert 1993, s.v.), cf. also Hitt. *iṣhiyal-* ‘bond, band, belt’ and *iṣhiman-* ‘string, cord, rope’. If *hūp(p)ara-* were ‘mantles’, as it is interpreted by Görke (2014–2015), one would rather expect *anda iṣhai-* which means ‘wrap into’.

<sup>91</sup> Puhvel (1991, s.v. *hup(p)ai-*) connected *hūp(p)ara-* with *hup(p)ai-/huppiya-* which he defined as ‘interlace, entangle, mingle, mix etc.’. However, neither of these meanings is really supported by the available contexts and the entry itself seems to ‘entangle’ several – possibly as many as three – different roots: (*katta*) *hūwapp-* ‘cast, hurl (down)’, *hūppā(i)-* ‘heap together’, *huppiya-* ‘play the music instrument *hūhupal*’ (in addition to *hūwapp-* ‘do evil against’), see analysis of the verbs in Melchert 2007.

it may well be a derivative of a root *\*hūp(p)(a)-* with the suffix *-ra-*, in the same way as CLuw. *hattara-* ‘hoe’ (or the like) is a derivative of *\*hatt-* ‘chop, hack’.<sup>92</sup>

On the other hand, it is quite probable that *hūp(p)ara-* represents the same word as *hūbala-* (*hūpala-*), reflecting an early oscillation between *r/l* more often found in the later Luwian dialects.<sup>93</sup> The latter word is attested only once in KUB 6.29 ii 34 in a clause: *appūn=ma=kan* <sup>URU</sup> *IŠTAR Šamuḫa GAŠAN-YA KU<sub>6</sub>-un GIM-an :hūpalaza EGIR-pa ištaptā n=an iṣḫiyat* ‘Ištar of Šamuḫa, my Lady, caught him as a fish with a *hūbala-* and bound him’ and on the basis of this context is usually defined as ‘(fishing) net’. In fact, Ištar-Šauška – who is, as a matter of fact, not a professional fisherwoman – might catch somebody as ‘a fish’ with her ‘belt/sash’ as well, which, as her figural representations show, she quite probably indeed possessed.<sup>94</sup> The presence in the clause of the verb *iṣḫai-* ‘bind’, which may well express a further action with *hūbala-*, supports this interpretation and the identity with *hūp(p)ara-*, which is also used precisely with this verb (cf. n. 90). *Hūpala-* is clearer morphologically, being in all probability a derivative with a frequent suffix *-la-* from the root *\*hūb-* whatever its original meaning is.<sup>95</sup> If right, this opens a possibility to consider Lycian *xubas-* as an alternative derivative of the same root and assume a similar meaning for it. A meaning ‘belt’ or ‘girdle’ fits almost perfectly into the context, as it may be naturally taken as referring to the *band* of reliefs encircling the upper part of the pillar. The meaning of *xubas-* may then well correspond to Greek ζώνη or διάζωμα which are used as architectural terms to designate ‘frieze’.

Adopting the interpretation of *ñterez[e:] xubase* as ‘lower frieze’, it is difficult not to see in *przze* which appears two times in two preceding lines a term functionally similar to *ñtereze*, which dismisses its direct grammatical connection with *Trm̃mile* and interpretation as ‘foremost’ > ‘noble’ suggested by Schürr.<sup>96</sup> However, unlike *ñtereze*, *przze* in line 34 should be a noun, since it is followed by the incongruent *axā*. The term can be literally interpreted as ‘front, frontal part’ and refers probably to the protruding upper part of the monument adorned with statues and represents an architectural feature functionally close but not quite identical to the fronton (pediment) of the Greek temples. This interpretation makes the structure of the text in 44a, 34–35 much clearer and allows to isolate a clause *p[rz]ze axā Trm̃mile izredi: pededi* in which all elements except *axā* are clear: ‘On the frontal part: *axā* in Lycia (or: among Lycians) with hand and foot’.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Melchert 1993, s.v.

<sup>93</sup> For this phenomenon in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC cf. e.g., CLuw. *šahuidāla-/šahuidara-* mentioned above or *ušanliya(a)-/ušanliariya(a)-* ‘bringing gains, blessings’.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Herbordt 2009, 103–104. This feature Ištar-Šauška shares with Aphrodite who possessed a magic girdle called in the Homeric text ἰμάς (Hom. Il. 14.214 and 219). It is noteworthy that the latter word was also used as an architectural term (‘planks laid on rafters’).

<sup>95</sup> It is probably better to take the absence of geminate spelling in *hūbala-*, sporadically found also in *hūp(p)ara-*, seriously and count with a derivation from a PIE root containing *\*b* or *\*b<sup>h</sup>*. From a semantic point of view, a connection with Skr. *ubh-* ‘bind, fetter’, Greek ὑφαίνω etc., usually reconstructed as PIE *\*uebh<sup>h</sup>-* (e.g., LIV<sup>2</sup>, s.v.) and earlier suggested for the entire (now obsolete) entry *hup(p)ai-* (cf. Puhvel 1991, s.v.), looks very attractive. Formally, this connection presents a problem, as an expected outcome of *\*h<sub>2</sub>ubh<sup>h</sup>-* which may be suggested on the basis of the Hittite evidence would be rather *\*aṽphaίνω*. One may, however, point out that the initial *aṽφ-* is impossible in Greek and this may be the factor which triggered an alternative development of the initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-* (or a subsequent re-modeling of the root) in Greek. It is noteworthy that a hypothesis of the development PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-* > Greek *\*hu-* would well explain the non-etymological spiritus asper in ὑφαίνω. It is noteworthy that Beekes (2010, s.v. ὑφαίνω) considers a possibility of the reconstruction of the root as *\*h<sub>2</sub>uebh<sup>h</sup>-*, basing on the evidence of Myc. *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na*, allegedly /ewepsēsomena/ ‘which are to be woven’. This is rather dubious, as the precise meaning of Myc. form cannot be ascertained. On the other hand, the existence of a Hitt. verb *wep-* ‘weave’ and a noun *wepa-* based on it, which is also sometimes connected with the family of Greek ὑφαίνω (cf. Kloekhorst 2008, s.v. *wep-*), is all but certain, as it is attested only once in a *figura etymologica* *uepus uēpta* whose connection with ‘weaving’ is just a guess.

<sup>96</sup> Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 136.

Schürr<sup>97</sup> is certainly right that the clause should in a way refer to the *athletic* contests, which definitively precludes its interpretation as ‘animal sacrifice’.<sup>98</sup> Schürr interprets *axā* as 1sg. pret. of *a-* ‘make’.<sup>99</sup> This is formally possible, but still does not produce an entirely satisfactory sense. No less importantly, the appearance of the form of 1sg. is very unlikely in this part of the text. All identifiable verbs on side A have the forms of the 3sg./pl. (or the infinitive) and there is no indication of a subject switch in the lines preceding 34–35. On the other hand, the general structure of the clause and the parallel of the following clause featuring *tupa* with a row of instrumentals suggest that *axā* may be a *noun* in acc. sg. and refer to what is actually done ‘with hand and foot’. In this context, the random guess of Conder<sup>100</sup> that the word, which he read back then as *āgō*, may represent Greek word *ἀγών* might seem to be quite appropriate. Indeed, *ἀγών*, although etymologically meaning ‘gathering’, is first of all ‘contest for a prize’ and was used as a term for any kind of contests staged during festival games in the Greek world, which included, of course, both competitions in the ‘foot strength’ (στάδιον, δίαυλος, δόλιχος etc.) and those in the ‘hand strength’ (πυγμαχία and the mixed πένταθλον). As a term reflecting a specifically Greek institution, *ἀγών* would be a good candidate for borrowing. However, the phonetic correspondence between *axā* and *ἀγών* is, on a closer glance, quite imperfect. Greek *o*, even the short one, is regularly rendered as *u* in Lycian (cf., e.g. *Ijetruxle* = Ἰητροκλής or *Musxxa* = (possibly) Μόσχος) and it is somewhat unlikely that the final *-n* of *ἀγών* would have been simply dropped in such a short word. If borrowed, one would rather expect that *ἀγών* would be reflected in Lycian as *\*\*agun(e)-/\*\*axun(e)-* (nom. sg., or *\*\*aguna/\*\*axuna* in plural).

On the other hand, it is possible to explain *axa-* as a genuine Lycian formation.<sup>101</sup> Even if the interpretation of *axā* as a final verb of 1sg. pret. is unlikely, its connection with the root *a-* ‘make’ seems to be entirely sensible: taking *axa-* as a noun, one can interpret it as ‘deed, action’, which, like Greek *ἔργον*, might have quite a broad semantics and designate specifically ‘heroic deeds’, be it in an athletic contest or a battle.<sup>102</sup> Alternatively, *axa-* may be a gerund. There are several strands of evidence that support the identification of a *nominal* suffix *-xa-* in Lycian. At least in two further texts, the forms in *-xā* hitherto interpreted as finite verbs in 1sg. pret. likely represent nominal formations. The first is TL 149, 13 which attests a form *pījaxā* in a partly broken and in general obscure context. However, its interpretation as 1sg. pret. is rather directly contradicted by the fact that the text is clearly formulated in the *third person* perspective, as it is the case with the absolute majority (if not all) of the known tomb inscriptions, and in the lines preceding line 13 there is no explicit indication of a person switch (such as pronoun 1sg. *amu/ēmu*). As usual, the inscription is opened (ll. 1–2) by the usual formula: *ebēñnē: prñnawā m=ene: prñnawatē Ijamara* ‘This building (is the one) which Ijamara built’. In lines 3–4 the action of ‘giving/granting’ performed by Ijamara on behalf of his ‘household members and the city’ is expressed by a verbal

<sup>97</sup> Schürr 2009, 159–160; cf. Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 136–137.

<sup>98</sup> Melchert 2004, s.v. *axa-*.

<sup>99</sup> Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 137.

<sup>100</sup> Conder 1891, 665.

<sup>101</sup> The considerations put forward below have been briefly presented in Oreshko 2019a, 101–105.

<sup>102</sup> The word *axāti/axuti* and its derivative *axātaza*, either of which Melchert (2004, s.vv.) defines as ‘priest of animal sacrifice’, are probably not related. A connection of *axātaza*, clearly a *nomen agentis* with the suffix *-za* and thus probably a title, with cultic sphere is made likely by TL 149, 2–3: *Malijahi: Wedrēñnehi: axātaza* ‘*axātaza* of Malija of Rhodiapolis’. The attestations of *axāti/axuti* are less clear: the only thing which can be said about it is that it is connected with animals, cf. *axuti: uwehi* (TL 29, 3) and *axā[t]i u[we] hi* (TL 92, 2) ‘*axāti* of the bulls/cows’ and *axāti: esbe[h]i* ‘*axāti* of the horses’ in TL 128, 1 (cf. also *axāti: uz[...]* in TL 30, 2). In fact, the very peculiar ‘*axāti* of the horses’ speaks rather against the perception that *axāti* is a priest, as it is difficult to imagine the existence of a special ‘horse-sacrificer’, even if one assumes that the horse sacrifice existed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Lycia. A simpler assumption would be that *axāti* is a ‘herder’, which does not contradict the evidence of TL 149. However it is, it is difficult to demonstrate any direct semantic connection with *axa-*. Formally, *axāti* may represent either an *nt*-formation or go back to *\*axa-want-*; a connection with obscure CLuw. *āḫḫašā-/āḫšā-* (cf. Melchert 1993, s.v.) is not excluded (> *\*axha* > *axa-*).



form in 3sg. (*me pibijeti prñezi: se=tteri: adaijē*). *Adaijē* (acc. sg.) is apparently connected with the unit of weight *ada-* used in financial stipulations and thus means probably simply ‘money’. The next clause (ll. 4–5) seems to indicate the fact that Ijamara makes the grant publicly: *me=i=ne ñtawātā pibijeti: tere ebehē* can be interpreted as ‘And he gives his field *in front of* (*ñtawātā*) it (the city)’.<sup>103</sup> Then follows a part of the text (ll. 5–11) specifying punishment for a non-authorized burial in the tomb, which is formulated in the 3sg./pl. and uses 3sg. pronoun when referring to Ijamara’s wife (l. 6: *ladi: ehbi*). From line 11 on, the text describes different annual sacrifices to be performed by the ‘household members and the city’ (ll. 11–12: *se kumezeiti: [prñezi] se teteri: uhazata*). In this context, there is no sense to interpret *pijaxā* in line 13 as ‘I gave’. In contrast, one may naturally interpret the form as a noun (acc. sg.) ‘grant, donation’ which picks up one of the actions mentioned in ll. 3–5, either the monetary donation to be used for procuring sacrificial stuff or the land donation. Interpretation of *pijaxā* as acc. sg. c. of *pijaxa* is supported by the appearance of the latter form in line 17.

Similar arguments may be advanced for the interpretation of *prñnawaxā* in TL 40c, 8 as a noun/gerund ‘building’ rather than a finite verb ‘I built’. Both in 40a and the identical 40b, the fact of the building of the funerary monument is formulated in the standard 3sg. perspective: *Pajawa: manaxine: prñnawate: prñnawā: ebēñne* ‘Pajawa, the *manaxine*, built this building’. At the beginning of 40c, Pajawa fully identifies himself by a patronymic (now almost completely lost in a gap), apparently in a usual external perspective. The text in ll. 3–6 is damaged, but the forms *uwete* (l. 5) and *-ijetē* may be reasonably identified as verbs in 3sg. pret. There is thus every ground to interpret *prñnawaxā* as a non-final verbal form, in all probability a sort of verbal noun in acc. sg.<sup>104</sup> Besides that, one may mention many other forms ending in *-axa* whose interpretation as 1sg. pret. is quite problematic, cf. *hijānaxā* in 44b, 24<sup>105</sup> or an entire row of such forms in TL 29: *xalxxa*

<sup>103</sup> The meaning of *ñtawātā* is not entirely clear and the interpretation of the clause crucially depends on the interpretation of the clitics. I interpret them as indirect object in dative *singular* (=i) plus direct object in accusative singular (=ne) referring to the city and to the field respectively. The interpretation of *ñtawātā* as an adverb/adposition (and not as a noun, as it is usually taken, cf. Neumann 2007, s.v.) is suggested by the context of TL 52, 1–2 and the interpretation of *miñti* as ‘people/community’ (=δῆμος) which I elaborated in Oreshko 2019a. The passage *s=ē pijetē Waziye se(j)=ēni: se piljjetē: miñti ñtawātā* as ‘and he gives it (scil. *xupā*) to *Waziya* and (his) mother; and he gives it in front of the people’, the last clause serving to indicate that the people of the city publicly witness the act of granting the tomb to *Waziya* and the mother of the owner. Etymologically, *ñtawātā* may be connected with *ñtewē* ‘facing, opposite, toward’ and interpreted as an univerbation of *ñta* and *\*tawā(n)-* ‘eye’ with a further suffix *-ta*.

<sup>104</sup> One can propose several emendations for the reading of the following text as compared with TAM I, 35, based on the photos of the monument (now in the British Museum). First the number is OO<, i.e. ‘25’: the sign < ‘5’ can be still rather clearly seen after the second O ‘10’; the first O is now almost entirely effaced, but can be with certainty restored taking into consideration the position of the signs in the line (the second O is approximately one sign to the right of the normal beginning of the line in this part of the text). Second, after *uhahi*: one can read *ñti* instead of Kalinka’s *.iti*: although the left part of the sign is somewhat damaged, one still can see the upper and the lower horizontal hastas. As a result, the final part of the text can be read as: *m=e prñnawaxā* <sup>9</sup> OO< *uhahi: ñti: ah<sup>10</sup>āmadi: Arñnadi*. The combination OO< *uhahi* means apparently ‘of 25 years’ and is connected with the preceding *prñnawaxā*. The following *ñti* is found nowhere else. Tentatively, one may suggest two interpretations: it may be either *\*in* + relative *ti* ‘in which’ and then refer to *prñnawaxā* or a phonetic variant of *ñte* ‘in(side)’, and may be then taken together with OO< *uhahi* ‘building within 25 years’, which seems, however, to be contradicted by the fact that *ñti* is much larger than the preceding letters and is put significantly lower, making an impression that it begins a new clause.

<sup>105</sup> The (partly broken) context of the form is quite obscure and does not lend any real support for the speculative interpretation of the form *hijānaxā* as ‘I unified’ by Serangeli (2016). In fact, there is no indication that the narrative, represented here, as far as one can see, from the objective 3rd person perspective (cf. 44b, 19: *erbbedi: tubei[t-]* ‘he/they stroke by battle’), would have switched for some reason to 1sg. in this particular passage. Given the possible maritime context of the passage and the involvement of the Greeks in the events described (cf. *trijerē: Kijezē* ‘Chian trireme(s)’ in l. 22 and once again *trijere* in l. 23), one cannot exclude that *hijāna-* is just a variant spelling for *Ijāna-* ‘Ionian(s)’ who are mentioned both several lines below (44b, 27: *Ijānisñ*) and somewhat earlier in the text (*Ijānā* in 44a, 52); the initial *h-* may be an intrusive breathing to prevent hiatus between *merehi* and *hijānaxā*, which finds a possible parallel in the case *ahata ha[de/ē]* (44b, 47–48) < *\*ahata ade* ‘one made *ahata*’ (see below). If right, this would



(l. 5) and *xlxx(e)* (l. 7: *xlxx(e)=ebēñti*), *telixa* (twice in l. 6), *hrmazaxa* and *θējubexu* (l. 8), *ajaxa* (l. 9), *texisxxu* (l. 10), *ajāxa* (l. 16) and *lxxa* (l. 18). Lastly, the same suffix may be assumed in the form *aladehxxāne* (TL 112, 4 and TL 57, 5) to be analyzed as *aladehxxā=ne* (*aladehxxā* + enclitic 3sg. ‘him/her’).

3.4. Lastly, one may propose here some considerations on *ehete*hi attested in ll. 33–34. There are three other passages in Lycian texts which feature the word. The first is found in TL 29, 3–4 in a context which, despite its somewhat obscure sense, seems to correspond rather close to the present one: *ñtēmlē: przze: astte teli<sup>4</sup>se(j)=ahata: astte*: ‘where one made the front *ñtēmlē*- (or: *ñtēmlē*- in the front part), one also made *ahata*’.<sup>106</sup> The exact meaning of *ñtēmlē*- is not entirely clear, but it obviously represents a sort of construction or installation which can be also ‘put/set’, cf. N324, 25: *ñtēmlē tadi* ‘one puts *ñtēmlē*-’.<sup>107</sup> The parallelism of *ñtēmlē* (*przze*) and *ahata* in the passage suggests that *ahata* may be a similar term referring to a sort of physical structure, which fits rather well into the context of the monument description in TL 44a. The second attestation is found in TL 118, 4 in a structurally transparent clause: *se=ije: ahatahi: ñtata me ñtepi: ta[s]ñti* ‘(There is) a burial chamber of *ahata*- for him and they put (him) inside (it)’. Again, the context leaves little doubt that *ahata*- has a concrete physical meaning and refer quite probably to a specific part of the tomb in which the chamber is found. Lastly, the word appears thrice in the following passage of the Xanthos trilingual (44b, 47–50):

*se=d(=)de: ahata ha<sup>48</sup>[de/ē:(?)] ēñē: qla ’bi: ehete*hi: *se mahāna: ehete<sup>49</sup>[hi] Arñna: Tumine*hi:  
*Kerθθi: Xākbi: epi=d<sup>50</sup>[e ñ]temlē sitāma*:

The overall interpretation of the passage is far from clear, due to the gap at the beginning of line 48 and the uncertainty regarding the element *=dde* and *si(-)tāma*.<sup>108</sup> Schürr proposed to separate at the end of l. 47 *ahata* and interpreted the following *ha-* as the initial part of the verb *hade/ē*,<sup>109</sup> which means, however, not ‘put/set’ (‘setzen’), as he translated, but ‘let (go)’. This analysis looks likely, as otherwise the passage seems to lack a finite verb.<sup>110</sup> Also, a certain parallelism of the passage with TL 29, 3–4 which mentions *ahata* and *ñtemlē*- in a close combination supports the separation of *ahata*. On the other hand, the combination of *ahata* with the verb *a-* ‘make’ in TL 29 suggests an alternative possibility of interpretation: the verb used in the clause may be not *hade*, but *ade* ‘he/one made’ and the *h* after *ahata* may be simply a mistake instead of the interpunction mark (:) or, more likely, an intrusive breathing which emerged in the process of auto-dictate to avoid the hiatus phonetic sequence /ahata-ade/. Accepting this, one may tentatively interpret the passage as: ‘And ... one made *ahata* under/below the temple (precinct) of *ahata* and for the gods of *ahata* (dat. pl.) in Xanthos, Tymnessos, Kride and Kandyba (and) thereon a *ñtemlē*- ...’.

mean that the suffix *-xa-* is not an exclusively de-verbal suffix, but may function possibly as a sort of collective formant.

<sup>106</sup> For improved readings of the text see Tekoğlu 2006. One cannot quite exclude that in the given context *przze* means ‘earlier’.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. ‘sacrificial installation’ in Melchert 2004, s.v.

<sup>108</sup> The analysis of *sitāma* as *(e)si tāma*, i.e. the verb ‘to be’ (3sg. pres.) plus *tāma*, proposed by Neumann (1984, 95) and accepted by Melchert (2004, s.vv. *es-* and *tama*), looks rather unlikely for three reasons: *ñtemlē* is clearly an acc. sg. and requires a *transitive* verb; it is highly dubious that Lycian might preserve the sibilant of PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>es-*, since, as far as one can see, Lycian demonstrates an *unconditioned* development of PIE/PA *\*s > h*; the expected result of a combination *ñtemlē* + *esi* would be rather *\*\*ñtemlēnesi*. In view of this, it seems preferable to take *sitāma* as one word. Its grammatical form and meaning are quite opaque. Very tentatively, one may take it as a form based on the verb *si-* ‘lie’ (possibly secondary derivative (*\*site-*) with a transitive sense ‘place (upon)’?), which makes good sense in the context (cf. below), cf. also the form *sitēni* in 44b, 61.

<sup>109</sup> Schürr 1997, 65.

<sup>110</sup> The sequence *se=d(=)de*, whatever it is, can hardly contain a verb: exactly the same sequence re-appears several lines below (l. 51) just before a finite verb: *se=d(=)de tuwetē: kumezija*.

Besides that, there are two supplementary pieces of evidence from outside the Lycian corpus. The Lycian A *ehetehi* clearly corresponds to Lycian B *esetesi* found in TL 44d, 12–13 as one of two epithets of the Storm-God: *Trqq[i]z: esetesi=[k]e er[b]besi=ke* ‘Tarḥunt(as) of the *esete*- and of the battle’. An exact match is found also in Luwian: *aššattašši-* (gen. adj.) appears in KUB 2.1 iii 44 also as an epithet of a deity, but this time of a goddess, <sup>D</sup>Ala, a female consort of the Tutelary Deity (the Stag-God K(u)runtiyas).

The clear contexts of TL 29 and especially TL 118 exclude an interpretation of *ahata* as ‘peace, rest’ suggested by Melchert<sup>111</sup> on the basis of possible etymological connection with Hittite *ašš-* ‘remain, abide’ or ‘victory’<sup>112</sup> and other etymological guesses proposed so far.<sup>113</sup> *Ahata-* is clearly something more material, which can also be man-made, although the use of the word as an epithet of different deities seems at the first glance to run counter to it. The key piece of evidence for a more precise definition of the nature of *ahata* is TL 118. The ‘burial chamber of *ahata*’ (*ahatahi: ṇtata*) in l. 4 is contrasted here with the ‘upper burial chamber’ mentioned in ll. 1–2: *hrzzi: ṇtat[ā Xu]ṇnije: s[e] ladi: [ehb]i* ‘The upper burial chamber is for *Xuṇnije* and his wife’. These indications can be compared with the physical realities of the tomb which is still found standing high in the necropolis of Limyra (tomb P II/3).<sup>114</sup> The tomb indeed possesses two chambers: the upper one, which is clearly the *main* burial chamber, found in the superstructure – the grave-house proper which emulates the form of a Greek temple – and the lower one, found in the substructure or the foundation of the tomb, which has a side entrance. The ‘burial chamber of *ahata*’ should clearly refer to the lower, secondary burial chamber and its location obviously suggests that *ahata* is ‘foundation, basis, pedestal’ or the like. This interpretation proves to be immediately sensible for 44b, 47–50, where *ahata* is made *under* (*ēnē*) a *qla*, and *ṇtemle-* is put/built *on it* (*epi=de*). It is noteworthy that this interpretation implies that *qla* is not a temple precinct, i.e. a parcel of land belonging to a temple with different structures on it,<sup>115</sup> but rather one single physical structure, i.e. *temple* itself. *Ahata* in this context appears to be the Lycian counterpart of Greek κρηπίς/κρηπίδωμα (Lat. *crepido*), the platform on which the temple itself was built.

The interpretation may be further supported by etymological considerations. A rather straightforward connection within Luwic is HLuw. root *as(a)-* ‘to be seated, to dwell’ ((SOLIUM)*á-sa-*, cf., e.g., KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §10) which is thought to correspond to Hitt. *eš-/aš-* ‘to sit down, to seat oneself; to sit, to reside; to settle’.<sup>116</sup> The verb is especially frequently used in the causative form *išnuwa-* ((SOLIUM)*i-sà-nu-wa/i-*) to render the general idea of ‘establishment’ or ‘foundation’ of something. Moreover, one also finds in Luwian a term for some sort of (architectural) structure derived from this root, (“MENSA.SOLIUM”) *á-sa-*. Despite the underlying semantics of the root and the presence of the ideogram MENSA,<sup>117</sup> HLuw. *asa-* it is not just a ‘seat’. Its usage in connection with the verb *tama-* ‘build’ (cf. KARKAMIŠ A6 §§8 and 24 or HAMA §6) and the mention of two of its main constituents in KARKAMIŠ A6 §§ 27–28 – ‘stones’ (SCALPRUM = *asu-*) and ‘stone blocks’

<sup>111</sup> Melchert 2004, s.v.

<sup>112</sup> Neumann 1984, 89–91.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Neumann 2007, s.vv. *ahata*, :*ahatahi-*.

<sup>114</sup> See Mühlbauer 2007, 69–71 with figs. 102–105.

<sup>115</sup> As in Melchert 2004, s.v. and Neumann 2007, s.v.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Kloekhorst 2008, s.v. Note, however, that both the general meaning and spelling of HLuw. *as(a)-* would be also compatible with Hitt. *āšš-* ‘to remain, to stay, to be left’. The connection of the Hitt. verbs *eš-/aš-* and *āšš-* is ambiguous: although semantically obviously close, if not practically identical, they demonstrate fine and, as it seems, rather consistent differences in spelling, which precludes their simple identification (cf. Kloekhorst 2008, s.v. *āšš-* with further refs.). Given that one can propose for *āšš-* no good PIE etymology other than PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-/h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>s-* ‘sit’, albeit the root should obviously belong to the inherited stock, a connection, even if indirect, between the two roots remains a possibility.

<sup>117</sup> The Latin name of the sign is misleading: there can be no doubt that the sign depicts not a ‘table’, but a ‘stool’ corresponding in form to <sup>GIS</sup>*šarpa-* ‘a stool covered with skins’ and rather similar to *sella curulis*, cf. (DEUS)MONS.MENSA in EMİRGAZİ §26, 29, 37 referring to the Mount Šarpa (cf. Forlanini 1987).

(*tasa*-)<sup>118</sup> – indicates that it is a bigger and a more complex structure.<sup>119</sup> (‘MENSA.SOLIUM’) *á-sa*- may well represent a sort of ‘pedestal’ or a complex altar-like structure. Lycian *ahata* represents then a further derivative of \**aha*- = *asa*- with a dental suffix *-t(a)*-.<sup>120</sup> The meaning ‘foundation, basis’ or ‘platform’ would be both appropriate for *ehetehi* in the description of a pillar monument in 44a, 32–41. The question is, however, which part it *exactly* refers to. The mention of *wawadra* and *uwadraxi* in the preceding lines makes it likely that the description in ll. 33–34 is focused on the top part of the monument. If right, then *ahata* should refer not to the ‘basis’ of the column, as one might think, but rather to the ‘platform’ which lies on the column itself and on which statutes and probably the grave-house itself were set: i.e. basically to the foundation of the grave house and not that of the column.<sup>121</sup>

Summarizing the observations put forward above, one may describe the overall structure of the text on side A as follows. From line 32 on, the text may be interpreted as a description of a monument identical or very similar to the present pillar monument. The description goes from top downwards: *wawadra* and *uwadraxi* (32–33) quite probably refer to bovine protomes, together with which one could also see either reliefs or figures depicting ‘heroic deeds’ (*axa*-), possibly athletic in character (*izredi*: *pededi*:). Below it, in the ‘lower frieze’ (*ñterez[e:] xubase*), there were set reliefs (*tupa*) depicting scenes of horse hunting (*esbedi*: *hēmenedi*) and either battle scenes or some festival-like events. Lastly, the ‘writings’ (*tupeliya*) on the *prulija* refer to the text on the column itself, whose contents is specified in the *hātahe* passage (38–55).

#### 4. Temporal construction with *terñ*

The suggested interpretation of the overall structure of the *hātahe* passage significantly clarifies the structure of its separate parts. One of the immediate effects of the recognition that each section is an extended genitival group concerns the interpretation of the verbs. It is clear that each part should describe *circumstances* under which each of the victories has been won. However, there are only a few final verbs in the whole passage. As already noted, the final part of the passage is characterized by heavy usage of infinitives: as far as one can see, it is the only verbal form which is used in sections 7) and 8) (for *pabra=ti* cf. below); and in 6) it appears with what also looks like a final verb (*ese ... tebete*, 3sg. pret.). A striking feature of all the attestations of the infinitival forms is that they are followed by an element *terñ*, which appears, however, in three cases also after forms in *-te* (44: *tebete: terñ*, 47: *qastte terñ* (for the latter form see below), 48: *tebete: ter[ñ]*).

<sup>118</sup> The HLuw. *tasa*- represents apparently the same word as Lyc. *θθe*- ‘altar’ (< \**tehe*- < *tasa*-), but it is not a ‘stele’, as it often erroneously translated (cf., e.g. Neumann 2007, s.v. *θθe*- with further refs.). The word *tasa*- is never written with the logogram STELE, which was used with two other terms, *wanid*- ((STELE) *wa/i-ni-za*) and *tanis(a)*- ((STELE) *ta-ni-sà*-), cf. already in Hawkins 2000, 418. Instead, in KULULU 2, §6 the word is found with the logogram \*256 (“\*256”) *tà-sá-za* which depicts a *square* object, suggesting that *tasa*- is a ‘stone block’, which agrees well with the meaning of Lycian *θθe*-. In all appearances, (‘MENSA.SOLIUM’) *á-sa*- consisted of large stone orthogonal blocks on which smaller, possibly polygonal or unworked stones (*asu*-) were put.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Hawkins 2000, 126.

<sup>120</sup> One may note HLuw. (“\*460”) *á-sa-ta-ri+i* attested in ASSUR letter e, §10 in quite an obscure context. *Contra* Melchert 2003, 196 the word can hardly correspond to HLuw. *ašta*- ‘(evil) spell, charm’, as for it one would expect a spelling \**á-sà-ta*-. Given exact formal correspondence, it is not excluded that (“\*460”) *á-sa-ta*- corresponds to HLuw. *aššatta*- (in *aššattašši*-) and Lyc. *ahata* also semantically.

<sup>121</sup> However, it is not the only possibility with which one may reckon. It seems likely that the meaning of *ahata* in the combination ‘gods of *ahata*’, who apparently abided in the ‘temple of *ahata*’, and the sense of the epithets of the Storm-God and Ala, is more specific than just a ‘foundation, base’. The ‘deities of the foundation’ may be ‘primordial deities’ or those of the ‘Earth foundation’, i.e. the Netherworld deities. If right, it is not excluded that *ehetehi* in combination with the word lost in the gap at the end of 44a, 33, referred to figures of some *creatures*, associated with the primordial world or Netherworld. Taking into consideration the imagery of the ‘Harpy Tomb’ set nearby on the acropolis of Xanthos, female winged figures which are likely connected with the Netherworld sphere, one wonders if similar figures could be present in the form of statues on the upper platform.

As infinitives lack exponents of time and person and alone cannot serve as an indication to circumstances, it would be logical to assume that we are dealing with a special temporal or circumstantial construction with *terñ*; it is quite obvious that its interpretation either as ‘army’ or as ‘territory, district’ suggested earlier<sup>122</sup> is quite impossible in the context.<sup>123</sup> The construction may be purely temporal, i.e. indicate a victory ‘when’ something happened, or it may also have a resultative aspect, i.e. indicate a victory ‘after’ or ‘as a consequence of’ some happening.

However it is, there is every ground to connect *terñ* with *teri* ‘when’ which represents the Lycian counterpart of the Luwian *kwari* (*kwa/i+ra/i*) having the same temporal meaning.<sup>124</sup> The final nasal of *terñ* may be then compared with the nasal element in such Luwian adverbs as *annan* (as contrasted with adposition *anni*) or *andan* (vs. *anda*) or Hittite adverbs *āppan* (vs. *āppa*) or *kattan* (vs. *katta*).<sup>125</sup> This allows a conclusion to be made that Lycian *terñ* is, first of all, a *temporal* adverb and as such finds close structural parallels in *ēnē* ‘under’ = Luw. *annan*, *ñtewē* ‘in front of’ < \**entewe-n* (< \**tewe* ‘eye’) ~ Luwian *tawiy-an(ni)*, *trbbē* ‘opposite’<sup>126</sup> and probably also *pddē* whose exact meaning is not quite clear.<sup>127</sup> The difference in the appearance of the final nasal element (-*ñ* vs. -*ē*), can be naturally explained by the fact that while the forms in -*ē* etymologically reflect old *a*-stems (e.g., *ēnē* < \**anna-n*, *terñ* is based on an *i*-stem *teri* (< \**teri-n*)).<sup>128</sup>

A curious problem represents the form *terñ* which appears in section 4 and is the only one (of six attestations in the present passage) with the initial τ. Comparable forms with the initial τ- refer elsewhere to ‘city’ (*teri*- < *tteri*- < *teteri*-, *τeteri*-).<sup>129</sup> The passage is obviously parallel to other

<sup>122</sup> Melchert 2004, s.v. and Neumann 2007, s.v.

<sup>123</sup> A re-interpretation of *terñ* as temporal *conjunction* was independently proposed by David Sasseville at the same workshop in Munich (see his contribution in the present volume).

<sup>124</sup> It is dubious that *kwari* ‘when’ represents simply a rhotacized form of *kwadi* as sometimes assumed (cf. Melchert 2003, 207), given the fact that *kwa/i+ra/i* is regularly attested already in HLuw. inscriptions of the Empire Period, cf., e.g., YALBURT, block 10, §3 or SÜDBURG §1 (the latter quite probably dates to as early as ca. 1350-1330 BC, i.e. early in the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, cf. Oreshko 2016, 9–49). Also CLuw. *k(u)wār(i)* represents probably the same word (for attestations see Melchert 1993, s.v., cf. also *k(u)wāri-ḫa*).

<sup>125</sup> Cf. the recent detailed treatment of the Hittite and Luwian local adverbs by Boroday – Yakubovich 2018 with further refs.

<sup>126</sup> The form *trbbē* is attested once in 44a, 23. Given that the likely context – a description of the mutual spatial position of different monuments (cf. *ñtewē* in ll. 26–27) – it refers to a position of something ‘opposite’ or possibly ‘on the other side of’ something contrasting in a way with *ñtewē* (thus *contra* Eichner 2005, 29 n. 156 who pleads for an interpretation as ‘instead, again’ (‘hingegen, wiederum’)).

<sup>127</sup> For *pddē* see Boroday – Yakubovich 2018, 18 with further refs. The authors follow Schürr favoring the derivation of *pddē* from *pede*- ‘foot’, which finds a certain structural correspondence in *ñtewē* (< \**tewe* ‘eye’); if right, it would define the meaning of the adverb as ‘at the foot of’ > ‘below’/‘close to’. However, a derivation from the root *pdde*- ‘place’ seen in *pddēt*-/*pddāt*- ‘place, precinct’ (= Hitt. *peda(n)*-) appears to be no less likely (cf. also the form *pdde=ñne* in N318, 3) and formally is still better, as the forms match each other in the spelling. This derivation would define the etymological meaning of *pddē* as ‘at the place of’ > ‘near/beside’.

<sup>128</sup> For the phonetic interpretation of Lycian *ñ* and *ṁ* as syllabic nasals – quite probably in *all* cases, including -*VñC*-/*VṁC*- – see, e.g., Adiego 2005 with further refs.

<sup>129</sup> The confusion of the forms beginning with *ter*-/*ter*- goes even beyond the inclusion of the adverb *terñ* into the entry conventionally defined by both dictionaries as ‘territory, district’ (see Melchert 2004, s.v. *tere*- and Neumann 2007, s.v.). In fact, the entry *tere*-/*tere*- ‘territory, district’ appears to be erroneously defined as a whole, since a part of the forms listed therein may be interpreted as forms belonging to *teteri*-/*τeteri*- ‘city’ and another part represents the word meaning rather ‘field, land parcel’. After the elimination of the adverb *terñ* ‘when’ (besides the *hātahe* passage, the adverb is likely attested in 44b, 12 and 44b, 36; cf. also [...t/τ]erñ in broken context in 44a, 15), there remain only a few attestations of *tere*- and *tere*- which seem to refer to a *place*. First, there is an iterative form *tere tere* (clearly, a *locative*) attested in 44b, 3 and 51. *Contra* common perception, the context does not support an interpretation ‘district’ or ‘territory’: in the first case the passage concerns *building* activities (*puna[te] tere tere tāmade: zaxxaziye* ‘in every *tere* he/one built’ [monuments?] of the warrior(s)), which speaks for ‘city’ rather than ‘district’ in general (the restoration *puna[te]* ‘every, all’ may be suggested on the basis of HLuw. *pūnata/i*-, while the restoration *puna[me/a]* ‘totality’ suggested by Eichner (2005, 24 n. 129) does not fit well into the



passages with *terñ* and its interpretation as the temporal adverb is beyond doubt. However, this interpretation leaves the following *Tlahñ* which is formally acc. sg. of the relational adjective *Tlah-* ‘Tloan’ without a noun. This is not a severe problem, as it may be a substantivized adjective referring to a Tloan ruler or army. However, given the strange spelling with the initial τ, another explanation seems likelier: the form represents in all probability a haplographical writing for *terñ*: *terñ*: *Tlahñ*.

The definition of the meaning of *terñ* raises the question of what is the difference between the usage of *terñ* with infinitives and the forms in *-te* and whether the latter are indeed *final* forms or they represent another type of *non-finite* forms of the Lycian verb, as, e.g. a verbal noun, a sort of Lycian counterpart of Latin supines in *-tum* or of the English gerund. As for the first question, at least the formal difference between the construction with the infinitives and form in *-te* is quite transparent: in all three cases of the usage with *-te* the verbal form is preceded by a personal name which may be identified either as the subject of the respective verb or its direct/indirect object (for discussion of the meanings see below), cf. 44: *ese*: *Trbbēnimi*: *tebete*: *terñ*; 47: *Xerēi*: *qastte* *terñ*; 48 *ese*: *Xerēi*: *tebete*: *[t]er[ñ]*. In contrast, there are no personal names before the infinitives, and the subject is here by default the author of the inscription (the possessor of the ‘victories’), cf. esp. *ese*: *Trbbēnimi*: *tebete*: *terñ* vs. *ese* *tabāna*: *terñ*. The picture seems to imply that the forms in *-te* are used in cases when there is an explicitly expressed subject or an animate object. In general, this would favor the interpretation of the forms in *-te* as final forms (i.e. simple 3sg. pret.), as they are more specific in indicating person. A slight confirmation of the fact that the usage of *terñ* was not strictly bound to the non-finite forms comes from another attestation of the adverb in the text (44b, 36) where it appears after broken [...] *mejese*. Lastly, one may note that the temporal construction with *terñ* is contrasted in the passage with another such construction which employs temporal conjunction *āka* ‘when’ and introduces in all probability a separate subordinate clause giving a more detailed description of circumstances (for details see below).

## 5. Sections one to three: *zēmtija*, *nele(=de)* and *Malijehi*

1) *izredi*: *zēmtija*: *ehbiye*<sup>42</sup>*di*: *Zagaba*: *nele=de*: *hātahe*:

2) *Ētri*: *Tumine*<sup>43</sup>*hi*: *nele=de*: *hātahe*

3) *Pttara*: *Malijehi*: *hāt*<sup>44</sup>*ahe*:

The first section may now be approximately interpreted as ‘of the victory by his own hand (at) *zēmtija*: (at) *Zagaba*, *nelede*. The term *nelede* appears also in the short second section: ‘of the victory at Lower Tymnessos, *nelede*’. There are two points to discuss: the meaning of *zēmtija* which so far remained without persuasive interpretation and the exact meaning of *nele/nelede* for which neither *agora* nor ‘*Agora-Temenos*’ (for refs. see below) look like entirely satisfactory solutions.

context; the restoration also better agrees with the traces indicated in Kalinka’s drawing (TAM I, 40): the lower part of the vertical hasta of the letter following ϩ is seen significantly farther than one would expect for ϩ, perfectly agreeing with the expected position of T). In the second case, *tere tere* may be also naturally taken as referring to the cities listed below (53–55: *Arñna Tuminehija ... Xākbija ... Kerθθi*; it is not excluded that either *qñnākba* or *xrssēni* represents a toponym as well). The accusative of the same word (*terñ*) is quite probably found in 44a, 47 (if one accepts the haplographical explanation, cf. above) and in 44c, 13 (*erbbēdi ñtube*: *ter[ñ?]*); it is not excluded that the form *terñ* found in TL 26, 6 in a broken context (*tibe=i terñ terñ* [...]) also represents the same form (or again is a confused spelling for *\*terñ terñ* ...). These two forms (*tere* and *terñ*) represent quite probably simply spelling variants of the word for ‘city’ *teteri-* or *tereri-* (the meaning is ascertained by the bilingual N320, 13 and 31), attested also as *tteri-* (TL 149, 4 vs. *teteri-* in line 12). On the other hand, in two texts (TL 149 and N324) one finds forms *tere* (149, 5, 16, and 324, 24, 26, possibly loc.) and *terē* (149, 14, acc. sg.). As far as the context of TL 149 allows one to judge, the word refers to a *land parcel* connected with the tomb; the word may be naturally connected with Hitt. *kuera* ‘field, land parcel’ (< *kuer-* ‘cut’). As a result, one may define an *e*-stem *tere* (acc. *terē*) ‘land parcel, field’ and an *i*-stem *teteri-/tteri-/ter-* (acc. *terñ*) ‘city’.



In the short section 3 – ‘of the victory at Patara *Malijehi*’ – the meaning of *Malijehi* ‘of Maliija-Athena’ will be addressed.

As for *zēm̃tija*, Schürr proposed to analyze the form as *zēm̃=tija* seeing in the second part a relative pronoun and in *zēm̃* a participle of the verb *ze-* with quite obscure meaning.<sup>130</sup> This analysis does not lead to any clarification of the passage and is not quite convincing phonetically; moreover, the position of the word between two words making a single syntactic unit *izredi: ehbijedi:* plainly runs counter the separation of a relative pronoun. In fact, there is absolutely no necessity to divide the word into any parts, as its exact counterpart is attested both in hieroglyphic and cuneiform Luwian as an adjective *zammant-/zamnant-*. An interpretation as *zēm̃tija* as an adjective fits well into the context, as it may naturally be taken as an epithet of Zagaba.

The meaning of Luwian *zammant-* remained so far rather obscure,<sup>131</sup> so a closer glance of the contexts is worthwhile. There are five attestations of *zammant-* in four different cuneiform texts plus a related form *zammaniya-*. The attestation of the word in KBo 4.11, although found in an obscure context, sheds some light on its phonetics and morphology. The text features two phonetically close forms in two successive lines: *zamnan[t]in* (acc. sg.) in line 58 and *zammaniyan* (acc. sg.) in line 57. The forms are obviously related, which suggests that the form *zammant-* attested elsewhere is in fact a secondary form resulting from assimilation from *zamnant-*; the form can be interpreted as the contracted variant of *\*zamman-ant-*, a derivative of *zamman-* with suffix *-ant-*, while *zamman-iya-* represents an alternative derivative with suffix *-iya-*. The underlying root *zamman-* is well attested elsewhere in the Cuneiform Luwian corpus and refers to something with (predominantly) negative connotations.<sup>132</sup> In KBo 12.137 iii 9 *zamnant-* appears in the clause *zappatta zamman-za utar-ša* ‘he cut/slit the *zammant-* word’.<sup>133</sup> The combination *zamman-za utar-ša* appears also in KUB 35.54 ii 4 (partly damaged). Another line of the same text (ii 38) features also a clause *a=(a)ta zappatta attu[w]al-za utar-ša*. The parallelism obviously suggests that *zammant-* is an adjective with negative connotations comparable in sense with *ādduwāl-* (*ādduwān-*) ‘bad’.

The two attestations of *zammant-* in the Pittei Birth Ritual (KUB 44.4+) confirm this meaning: rev. 6 tells about the birth of a ‘*zammant*-child’ (*zammantiš DUMU-iš*) which causes terror in Ištar of the Field; in the same text (rev. 24) the child appears in a context of a magic spell as something to be ‘seized’ (*lalauna*) along with a lion to be ‘bound’ (*GIŠ-ruanzi*) and a wolf to be ‘fettered’ (*patalḥauna*).<sup>134</sup> It is noteworthy that a close parallel to the passage is found in KBo 3.8 iii 10–12 which reads: *ulipanan pargauei ḥamikta UR.MAḤ zamnišan ḥamikta* ‘He tied the wolf on the high (place), he tied the *zamniša*-lion’;<sup>135</sup> *zamniša-* is clearly connected with *zammant-/zamnant-* and the passage again implies that the stem is associated with something dangerous, wild and terrifying.

The only attestation in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus shows, however, that this was not always the case: in KARKAMIŠ 15b §23 the word characterizes a ‘stone’ (“SCALPRUM”-*su-na za-ma-ti-i-na* = /asun zamma(n)tin/, acc. sg.) found by the author of the inscription, which in all probability served him as the basis for his statue (or material for the statue itself).<sup>136</sup> The stem *zamna-* apparently does not have negative association also in personal names attested in cuneiform

<sup>130</sup> Schürr 2007b, 119. The analysis is also accepted in Eichner 2005, 24 n. 125. Cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. *ze-* and Neumann 2007, s.v. *zeti-*.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Melchert 1993, s.v.

<sup>132</sup> For attestations see Melchert 1993, s.v., cf. a brief discussion by Yakubovich 2013, 101.

<sup>133</sup> For a discussion of verb *zapp-* which could be used (with *arḥa*) also as sacrificial term (‘butcher’) see Poetto 2010.

<sup>134</sup> For a recent new edition and discussion of the text see Bachvarova 2013.

<sup>135</sup> For an on-line edition of the text see Fuscagni 2017, §37. The analysis of *zamnišan* as *zamni=šan* does not look credible given the mid-clause position of the word.

<sup>136</sup> For the text see Hawkins 2000, 130–133.

<sup>137</sup> *Zamna-wiya* and <sup>m</sup>*Zamna-zidi*.<sup>137</sup> To reconcile these different aspects of the root *zamna*- one may suggest that it encompasses the complex feeling of ‘fear’, ‘reverence’ and ‘awe’ and semantically closely corresponds to Hittite *naḥṣaratt-* < *naḥ(h)-*.<sup>138</sup> Accordingly, *zammant-* is both ‘fearsome, terrifying’ and ‘awesome’, ‘formidable’, ‘terrific’. It is noteworthy that in the Alaituraḥḫi Ritual (KBo 12.85 iii 6–7) the lion is associated just with ‘fearsomeness’ (*naḥṣaratt-*). These considerations lead to the interpretation of *zēmtija ... Zagaba* as ‘formidable Zagaba’ which well fits into the military-boastful context.

As for *nele*, the discovery of the second part of the Greek-Lycian bilingual inscription TL 72<sup>139</sup> made it clear that *mahāi nelez[i]* correspond to Greek θεοί οἱ ἀγοραῖοι and consequently *nele* is an – at least approximate (*cf.* below) – counterpart of Greek ἀγορά, which disproves all earlier interpretations of the word, including ‘settlement’.<sup>140</sup> As already noted, it is quite impossible to postulate a verb *\*nele-*, as the context of the *hātahe* passage makes it quite clear that *nelede* in sections 1) and 2), which immediately follows a toponym (*Zagaba* and *Ētri: Tuminehi* respectively), roughly corresponds to *nele*: *nele* in section 5) which also follows a toponym (*Tlāñ*).<sup>141</sup> On the other hand, Schürr<sup>142</sup> observed that *nelede*, which he considers to be a *derivative* from *nele*, appears already in 44a, 19, where it might indicate the place where the present monument was set up and, consequently, might correspond to the ‘holy precinct’ of the Greek text (44c, 22: ἐν καθαρῷ τεμένει). Accordingly, he interpreted *nelede* as *Agora-Temenos*.

There are several problems with these interpretations. First, functionally ἀγορά, ‘assembly and market place’, and τέμενος, which is a ‘plot of holy land dedicated to a deity (or deities)’ *separated* from the profane area, are two very different notions, so that an ‘Agora-Temenos’ is quite an impossible hybrid. Second, as the above discussion implies, there is every reason to think that the description on side A refers not to the present monument, but a different one erected at some other place. Instead, the present monument is referred to in all probability as *kbija prulija* ‘the other/second pillar’ in 44b, 1 which is erected ‘in this precinct’ (*ebei: ... ēti pddāt[i]*). The latter indication corresponds precisely to Greek ἐν καθαρῷ τεμένει, which disproves Schürr’s considerations. There are thus no reasons to separate *nele* and *nelede*.

The problem is, however, that an interpretation ‘assembly and market-place’ looks rather senseless in the description of military events: it does not represent a place of any strategic importance worth of a special mentioning to emphasize the importance of the victory. What one would expect as a reference to a *specific* part of a city along with a *general* reference by its name is rather an ‘acropolis’, ‘stronghold’ or ‘burg’, i.e. the part of the city which is most difficult to capture and which is often remained unconquered even when the territory and the ‘lower town’ of the city have been ravaged. In fact, the Greek text (44c, 26–27) does explicitly mention just ‘many acropolises’ conquered by the author ([πο]λλὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλεις ... [π]έρσας), suggesting that *nele/nelede* may correspond to ἀκρόπολις. As for the equation ἀγορά = *nele*, it does look somewhat suspicious, since the former, in its political sense, is a very specific *Greek* notion, being the center of the public life in a *democratic* polis, whose existence in the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC Lycia is at least dubious; from a purely topographical point of view, agora representing nothing more than a square (a market-place). Taking this into consideration, one may suggest that Lycia *nele* refers first of all to the central and by definition the best fortified part of the Lycian city, in which, quite naturally,

<sup>137</sup> *Cf.* Yakubovich 2013, 100–101.

<sup>138</sup> *Cf.* CHD N, s.vv.

<sup>139</sup> For the publication of the fuller version of TL 72 see Neumann – Zimmermann 2003.

<sup>140</sup> *Cf.* Melchert 2004, s.v. and Neumann 2007, s.v.

<sup>141</sup> *Cf.* already the interpretation of *nelede* by Eichner (2005, 20 n. 94 and 2006, 336) as dat.-loc. pl. and its connection with *nele* by Schürr 2007a, 31 (for further refs. see below).

<sup>142</sup> Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 144–146. *Cf.* earlier Schürr 2009, 159.

were located other important places, including probably the central market. A translation ‘acropolis’ or ‘fortress’ would probably best reflect the Lycian realities.

As for the formal side of the relationship between *nele* and *nelede*, the simplest possibility would be to take the final *-de* as an enclitic picking up the place name, i.e. *Zagaba: nele=de* and *Ētri: Tuminehi: nele=de* may be interpreted ‘(victory) at Zagaba/Lower Tumnessos, (up to/including) its acropolis’. This interpretation is quite likely, as the same construction is found with *epi=de* (cf. above) and *tarbi=de* (cf. below). Less likely, but still not quite excluded, would be an interpretation of *nelede* as a derivative of *nele* with a suffix *-d-*, which may render a *collective* meaning, i.e. ~ ‘fortifications’.<sup>143</sup> As for the interpretation of the plural *nele nele* after Tlos in section 5), it might represent a distributive variant of *nelede* referring to fortifications of Tlos. However, taking into consideration what was said above about the form *terñ*, it seems better to take *nele nele* as referring to *different* fortresses in the *territory* of Tlos, contrasted with the ‘city of Tlos’ (*terñ: Tlahñ*) itself. This correlates well also with the iterative form *qastte* (< *qã(n)*- ‘strike/attack’, cf. below) used in the clause.

As for *Malijehi* (gen. sg.) in section 3, its interpretation is suggested by the same line of the Greek text which mentions acropolises: σύν Αθηναίαι Πτολιπόρθωι ‘with (the help of) Athena, Sacker-of-Cities’.<sup>144</sup> Grammatically, genitive *Malijehi* is very probably connected with *hãtahe*, so it is actually a ‘*Malije*an victory’ which the author won at Patara.

## 6. Section 4: *ese ... tebe-/taba-* and *pddëneke*

4) *Xbane: ese: Trbbënimi: tebete: terñ se* <sup>45</sup>*Milasãñtrã: pddëneke: Xbãniye: izredi* <sup>46</sup>*ehbijedi: hãtahe:*

From section 4 on, the structure of the text becomes more complex and now besides toponyms it features also other actors. In the present section, there are two of them: *Trbbënimi* and *Milasãñtrã* (Μελήσανδρος). As for the latter, his role in the events was relatively clear from the beginning due to the brief report by Thucydides (2.69) according to which the Athenian general Melesander, after having come up (ἀναβάς) to Lycia, died there in battle losing also a part of the Athenian troops under his command. This agrees with the information provided in the second part of the clause: ‘of the victory ... and over Melesander at/in *pddëneke* of Kyaneiai with his (own) hand’. It is noteworthy that the indication ἀναβάς perfectly matches with the fact that Kyaneiai is located away from the coast on the foothills of the Lycian mountains.

The question is what is the role of *Trbbënimi* in the events, or, in other words, what is the exact meaning of verb *ese ... tebe-*. The verb was taken unanimously as indicating some sort of *defeat* of the *opponent*, ranging from ‘devincere’ to ‘humilier’ to ‘destroy’, ‘overwhelm’ and ‘conquer’.<sup>145</sup> Given the military context of the clause, such an interpretation, of course, does not look in any way strange. However, a military campaign does not consist *exclusively* of ‘fighting’ and ‘crushing’ an enemy, but may also involve joining forces with or providing support to allies – or parties able to pay for such a support – which would be especially the case with *small* military contingents of regional rulers, to which the author of the inscription belonged. In fact, there are several indications that the verb *ese ... tebe-* refers not to a destructive action, but to something quite opposite: that of *joining* forces with an ally.

<sup>143</sup> For a collective suffix *-(i)d-*, cf. *mahanahid-*, *prezzid-*, *tubehid-*, possibly also *\*esed-* (for it, see below).

<sup>144</sup> There is no firm evidence for the existence of a temple of Athena in Patara (cf. Schürr 2007b with fn. 17). It is noteworthy that Lycian coins with the head of Athena (M 240–247 in Mørkholm – Neumann 1978: 29–31) were issued in different Lycian cities (Xanthos, Patara, Pinara, Tlos, Telmessos, etc.).

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. and Neumann 2007, s.v. with further refs.

First of all, it is the meaning of the element *ese* with which the verb is combined in all its occurrences in the text and elsewhere.<sup>146</sup> Its meaning is not established with all certainty, but a consensus seems to emerge that it has a *comitative* function ‘(together) with’.<sup>147</sup> Indeed, this function is clearly suggested by the attestation of *ese* in the Letoon Trilingual (N320), 14–15: *me=xbaitē: zā: ese=Xesñtedi: qñtati: se=Pigrēi:* ‘the field (which) *Xesñtedi* ... and *Pigrēi* irrigated’ which corresponds to Greek (Il. 12–14) (ἀγρὸν) ὃν Κεσινδηλὶς καὶ Πιγρὴς κατεργάσατο ‘(the field) which Kesindelīs and Pigres cultivated’, even if the meaning of *qñtati* is not quite clear. The meaning is further supported by a likely genetic connection of *ese* with the conjunction *se* ‘and’ and, less directly, by a possibility to recognize a derivative of *ese* in the first part of the compound *esedēñnewi* ‘consanguineal descendent’ (\**esede-* being possibly a *collective* with the suffix *-d-*).<sup>148</sup> *Contra* Melchert,<sup>149</sup> *ese* may function not only as preverb, but also as a *preposition*.

The *comitative* function of *ese* strongly speaks against the interpretation of the verbal root *taba-/tebe-* as ‘defeat’ or the like: in contrast, it should render some *constructive* action *together with*. This conclusion may be supported by further observations. First, as the action of ‘defeating’ an enemy or a city is expressed in the *hātahe* passage by the final word itself, the other verbs of the clause should render only particular actions leading to the final defeat. Both in the *hātahe* passage and elsewhere one can identify, however, *enough* terms which render aggressive military actions, cf. *tub(e)i-* ‘strike’, *zxxa-* ‘fight’, *qā(n)-/qas-* ‘harass, hunt down’, *xlai-* ‘smite, kill’ (cf. below), so that there is no real necessity to look for further terms with comparable meaning. Second, the assumption of a *constructive* meaning for *ese ... tebe-* leads to a more cogent explanation of the structure of all four sections which feature the verb (in three cases in the *first* part of the clause) and at least *two* different actors (besides the author of the inscription): all of them may now be explained as describing the situation of *joining forces* with somebody in order to *defeat* somebody. Last but not least, the fourth attestation of the verb *ese ... tebāna* in section 8) appears in combination with Amorges (*Humrxxā*). It is known that Amorges, the satrap of Lydia who led a rebellion against Darius II, was defeated by Tissaphernes and ended up in Carian Iasos (Thuc. 8.28), after the capture of which by the Spartans he was finally delivered to the Persians. It is clear that the events referred to in section 8) have no direct connection with the final episode of Amorges’s career and should have taken place *earlier*. Thus, as a matter of fact, Amorges has not been *killed* by the author of the Xanthos trilingual and even the idea of an Amoros’s defeat by a Lycian would look rather odd, if one takes into account that Amorges was a satrap of Lydia and quite probably had at his disposal much more significant military forces than a Lycian dynast could afford.

In sum, there are good reasons to interpret *ese ... tebe-* as a verb rendering a *constructive* action *together with* somebody. The simplest assumption in the context would be that it means ‘join with’, which might indicate either a purely military action of ‘joining forces’ or have a more general

<sup>146</sup> The verb is attested also in TL 104b, 2–3: *ēke: ese: Perikle: tebete: Arttuñmparā* and TL 29, 10: *me=ñn=ese tebētē: abaqmāme: zexisxxaje*.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. and Neumann 2007, s.v. with further refs. It is unclear on what evidence Melchert bases the claim for a *telicizing* function of *ese*. All clear attestations of *ese* directly contradict it, showing that the element is a *preposition* which is combined as a complement first of all with animate indirect objects. Besides the three clear attestations in the *hātahe* passage with *tebe-* (*ese: Trbbēñimi: tebete; ese: Xerēi: tebete; ese: Humrxxā: tebāna*; the fourth attestation is indirect, cf. below) and one in TL 104b (*ese: Perikle: tebete*), note the clause in TL 21, 3–4: [...]*jimeh: tedi: ese Ijeri: Tlawā ddewite* ‘father of ... with Ijeri in Tlos dedicated’. The picture clearly implies that *ese* indicates the *indirect animated* object partaking in the action of the verb.

<sup>148</sup> It is fairly impossible to recognize in \**esed(e)-* the Luwian word for ‘blood’ (cf. *ašhar-* in Luwian), as it was sometimes claimed (see refs. in Melchert 2004, s.v. *esedēñnewi* and Neumann 2007, s.v. *esedēñnewi*). A derivation of \**esed(e)-* from *ese*, suggested already by Thomsen (1899, 60), is the only reasonable inner-linguistic alternative for Lycian and it makes a good sense defining the meaning of *esedēñnewi* as ‘co-descendant’ or ‘descendant of togetherness’. Cf. also PN *Ese-de-plēmi* (TL 114, 1; TL 85, 1 and TL 115, 1) or *Sede-plñmi* (TL 29, 8) contrasted with *plñm-adi* (instr. sg.) in TL 44b, 31.

<sup>149</sup> Melchert 2004, s.v.



sense ‘make an alliance with’. One may naturally connect the root *tebe-/taba-* with Hittite *dapi-* (*/tabi-/*) and *dapiant-* (*/tabiant-/*) ‘all, every, each, altogether’ assuming an underlying meaning ‘collect, gather, join’.<sup>150</sup> This interpretation significantly changes the perspective on the historical narrative of the inscription. Not only *Trbbēnīmi*, but also *Xerēi*, *Humrxxā* and a certain *Herikle* (cf. below) prove to be the allies of the author.<sup>151</sup> As the first two bear Lycian names, one may tentatively assume that there is some connection between the joint enterprises mentioned in sections 4)–6) and the statement of the Greek text (44c, 27) that he ‘gave a part of kingship to (his) kinsmen’ (συνγενέσι δῶκε μέρος βασιλείας), i.e. that *Trbbēnīmi* and *Xerēi* may be relatives of the author of the inscription (for the former see below).

The last element of the clause whose meaning is not quite clear is *pddēneke*. One usually considered the word as a combination of several elements, analyzing it either as *pddēne+ke*, seeing in *-ke* a connective, or *pddē-n+eke* and interpreting the first part either as ‘place’ or preverb *pddē* indicating a position in space (possibly ‘close to’, cf. above).<sup>152</sup> The word indeed looks like a derivative based on *pddē-*, but the separation of the preposition/adverb *pddē* is excluded by the fact that *pddēneke* clearly makes a single combination with *Xbānīje*, which is an *adjective* in *-ije-* based on *Xbāne*, and consequently *pddēneke* should be a noun. Interpretation of *-ke* as a connective is also quite unlikely, as *-ke* is not attested in this function elsewhere in Lycian and the grammatical connection of *\*pddēne Xbānīje* (e.g., as hypothetical ‘army of Kyaneiai’) with the preceding *Milasāñtrā* does not make any sense: the context makes it sufficiently clear that Milesander did not have allies in Lycia. If one would still separate *-ke*, the only possibility would be to see in it the element *-ke* seen in the indefinite pronouns *tī-ke* ‘someone’ and *tisñ-ke* (acc. sg.) ‘whatever’ and cognate with Hittite *-ki*.<sup>153</sup> However, it is unlikely that the element could be attached to something other than pronouns and anyway this analysis hardly sheds any light on the meaning of *pddēneke*. Consequently, it is preferable to take *pddēneke* as a single word, which most probably serves as an indication of *place*. Given the context, one may suggest that it means either ‘plain’ or ‘neighborhood/surroundings’. It is quite possible that the word is indeed a compound and contains in the second part *eke* attested elsewhere (TL 118, 7 and possibly TL 149, 14), whose meaning is, however, quite obscure. As a result, one may interpret the whole section 4 as: ‘of the victory with his (own) hand over Milesander in the neighborhood/on the plain of Kyaneiai, when he joined forces with *Trbbēnīmi* at Kyaneiai’.

## 7. Section 5: *qas-* and *tarbi=de*

5) *Tlāñ nele: nele: tarbi*<sup>47</sup>=*de: Xerēi: qastte terñ: Tlahñ: erbbedi: h[ā]*<sup>48</sup>*tahe:*

Section 5 is the first of two sections mentioning *Xerēi*. *Contra* Schürr,<sup>154</sup> it is absolutely impossible to take this name as that of the author of the inscription.<sup>155</sup> There is nothing in the context that might justify an urgent need to identify himself anew (after the initial identification at the beginning of the text) and, worse of that, to do this *twice* in two successive lines – and nowhere else in

<sup>150</sup> For the root see Tischler 1991–1994, s.v., cf. Kloekhorst 2008, s.v. Note *tabahaza: kumezija* in 44b, 53 which may be tentatively interpreted as ‘collected/joint offerings’.

<sup>151</sup> It is noteworthy that the proposed re-interpretation of the verb has an effect on the reconstruction of the history of Pericle of Limyra: TL 104b, 2–3 which reads *ēke: ese: Perikle: tebete: Arttuñmparā:* can now be interpreted as ‘when Pericle joined with Artumpara’ which disproves the perception of the two personages as enemies (for the reign of Pericle see Keen 1998, 148–170).

<sup>152</sup> See Melchert 2004, s.vv. *-ke* and *pddēn-*; Neumann 2007, s.v. *pddēneke*; Schürr 2009, 165–166.

<sup>153</sup> For a recent analysis of the Lycian pronouns see Sideltsev – Yakubovich 2016.

<sup>154</sup> See most recently Müseler – Schürr 2018, 383–388.

<sup>155</sup> For discussion of the identity of the author see, besides Müseler – Schürr 2018; Eichner 1993, 139–140 n. 117 (cf. 37–38 n. 115 for the Greek version) and Eichner 2006, 233–236, cf. Domingo Gygax – Tietz 2005. The two remaining options are *Xeriga* and *Merehi*, of which the former appears to be by far more likely (a more detailed discussion of the issue will be presented elsewhere).



the narrative part. Moreover, the clear parallelism of *ese: Trbbēnīmi: teβete* in section 5) and *ese: Xerēi: teβete* in 7) leaves no doubt that *Xerēi*, just like *Trbbēnīmi*, is the indirect object of the verb *ese ... teβe-*. Now, the interpretation of the verb as ‘join (forces) with’ establishes *Xerēi* as an ally of the author of the inscription. This interpretation agrees well with the contents of the present passage, which reports about a ‘victory over the Tloan (city) in battle’ ((*terñ*) *Tlahñ erbbedi: h[ā] tahe:*) to which *Xerēi* somehow contributed earlier, as implied by the clause *Tlāñ* (acc. sg.) ... *Xerēi* (nom.) *qastte terñ*. As for the meaning of the verb *qastte*, its general aggressive sense is clearly established by the correspondence *qasstu* ~ ἐπιτρ[ί]ψ[ε]ι ‘will crush, afflict’ in the bilingual TL 56 and is corroborated, besides the present context, by that of the curse formula in TL 150: <sup>6</sup>*m=ene: qastti: Malija* <sup>7</sup>*Wedrēñni: se itlehi: Trm̃mili* <sup>8</sup>*huwedri* ‘Malija of Rhodiapolis and all the Lycian spirits will afflict him’.<sup>156</sup> Furthermore, the appearance in similar contexts of the verb *qāñ-* (cf., e.g., TL 90, 5: *m=e[n]e: itlehi qāñti: Trm̃mili*) makes it likely that *qas-* is an iterative form of *qāñ-*, as suggested by Melchert,<sup>157</sup> despite the strange loss of nasalization. However, there are strong doubts that *qāñ-* and *qas-* mean ‘destroy’, as per Melchert, and that the root goes back to PIE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>en-* ‘strike’. Although there are no certain examples of the development of PIE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>* in either Luwian or Lycian,<sup>158</sup> it is highly unlikely that it might reflect as *q* in Lycian, whichever of two possible scenarios of its development one adopts. First, one may assume that the development of PIE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>* went in Luwic in the same way as PIE *\*g<sup>w</sup>* which weakened to *w*. This is ascertained by a number of good examples, cf. Lyc. and Luw. *wawa-* ‘cow/bull’ < PIE *\*g<sup>w</sup>ow-* or Luw. *wāna-* ‘woman’ < PIE *\*g<sup>w</sup>on-*. This possibility looks quite likely from the systemic point of view and seems to find certain support in the possibility to derive CLuw. *winal* ‘stick’ from PIE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>en-* ‘strike’, as proposed by Starke.<sup>159</sup> However, even if one assumes that *\*g<sup>wh</sup>* for some reason underwent devoicing and coincided with *\*k<sup>w</sup>* in Proto-Anatolian, the resulting root *\*k<sup>w</sup>en-/k<sup>w</sup>an-* would give in Lycian *\*ten-* or, under the assumption that zero-grade of the root was generalized, *\*kun-*.

In fact, the only absolutely certain clue for the origin of Lycian *q* supplied by the correspondence *Trqqñt-* = Luw. *Tarh̃unt(a)-*, suggests that Lyc. *qāñ-* should go back to PA *\*Hu(w)an(V)-*. Such a root is not attested, but the onset of the root suggests a possible connection with the Luwian verb *hui(ya)-* (HLuw. (PES<sub>2</sub>)*hu(wa)-ia-*) = Hitt. *huwai-/hui-* ‘to run’. This connection seems to be rather sensible under the assumption that Lyc. *qāñ-/qas-* represents a transitive (or causative) counterpart of Luw. *hui(ya)-* and means thus ‘cause to run’ > ‘drive, harass’. From a semantic point of view, the verb would make a better correspondence of the Greek ἐπιτριβω, which literally means ‘rub on the surface’ and designates thus a continuous action rather than such a *pointed* action as ‘strike’ or a *pointed* and *complete* (telic) action as ‘destroy’. A transitivity/causative suffix *\*-n-* is not attested either in Lycian or Luwian. The usual causative suffix well attested for Luwian is *-nu-* and one may suggest that *qāñ-* goes back to *\*qānu-* < *\*Hu(w)anu-*. This interpretation finds support in the passage TL 110, 3–5: *me=t-ēñi qanuwetī qla[h]i: eb[ij]ehi* ‘the Mother of the local temple will *qanuwe-*’, where *qanuwe-* corresponds to *qas-* found in an almost identical passage in TL 56, 4: *m=ene qasttu: ēñi: qlahi: ebijehi*. The proposed derivation explains, at least in part, the absence of nasal in the iterative form: it is not impossible that the iterative suffix *-s-* might have also transitivity/causative effect and thus simply *replaced* the suffix *-nu-* in *\*qānu-*. The

<sup>156</sup> For other contexts of *qas-* cf. Neumann 2007, s.v. *qas-*. The meaning of *itlehi* as ‘foederatus, belonging to a league’ (cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. and Neumann 2007, s.v. with further refs.) appears highly dubious. *Itlehi*, just like *Malija*, should represent a sort of divine entities, as seen also by Savelsberg (1878, 107 and 122), who interpreted them as ‘Landesgötter’, or as a Lycian counterpart of Greek ἡρώες, which was preferred by Heubeck (1982, 109–110) and now also by Schürr (2014a, 135), who adduced further Greek parallels. The latter interpretation (ἡρώες) appears all the more likely, as *itlehi* may be explained as a derivative from *atla*, which probably means not only ‘self’, but also ‘soul’ and ‘spirit’, resulting from vowel-harmonic change *\*etlehi-* > *itlehi-*.

<sup>157</sup> Melchert 2004, s.v. *qā(n)-*.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Melchert 1994, 254 and 303.

<sup>159</sup> Starke 1990, 313–316.

proposed explanation well agrees with the context of section 5: *Xerēi* should have only ‘prepared the ground’ for the later victory over Tlos ‘in battle’. In all probability, he ‘harassed’ it, i.e. ‘made repeated raids against’ the fortresses of Tlos, while only the intervention of the author of the inscription finally allowed the capital to be taken.

The only not quite clear element of the clause is *tarbide*. This is usually taken as 3sg. pret. of a verb *tarb(e)i-* ‘overpower, conquer’.<sup>160</sup> This interpretation is dubious in several respects. First, the established syntax of the clause clearly speaks against it: if a second verb would be intended, one would expect something like *\*xerēi: tarbide: se: qastte terñ*. Second, *qas-* already renders the sense of an aggressive action and a second verb of a comparable semantics would be redundant. Moreover, the interpretation of other forms based on the same stem (as *trbbetē* in 44a, 54 and *trbbeite* in 44c, 10) is dubious as well (for the first see below). The evidence of the present passage suggests a different interpretation.

There are three reasonably clear attestations of a *preposition trbbi* in military context. The first is found in 44c, 2–3: *se Parzza: Xbide: se Sp[part]alil[j]ahe: <sup>3</sup>trbbi: Atānas: zxxāte: terñ*: ‘when both the Persians at Kaunos and the Spartan(s) (contingent) fought *against* the Athenians’. The second is found in 44b, 14: *se=Nagurahi: Pu[nam]<sup>15</sup>[u]wahe: trbbi: Trusñ: se Tuburehi: Stt[ra]<sup>16</sup>[t]āni[da]he: trbbi: Ēñnei* which may be interpreted as ‘(the troops of) Nagurahi (under the leadership of) Punamuwa *against* Trysa and (the troops of) Tyberissos (under the leadership of) Stratanida *against* Ennei ...’.<sup>161</sup> It is noteworthy that the same preverb is attested in Hieroglyphic Luwian as *tarba* or *tarbi-wa* in the expression ‘step against, oppose (somebody)’.<sup>162</sup> Given this evidence, one may naturally interpret *tarbide* as a form of *trbbi* combined with the enclitic *=de*, which apparently picks up *nele nele*. This case sheds additional light on *epi=de* and *nele=de* discussed above: all three cases represent, as far as one can see, an element used in *postposition* to its head noun which is picked up with an enclitic *=de*. Accordingly, *tupeliya ... prulija epi=de* may be re-interpreted as *\*tupeliya ... epi prulije* (dat. pl.) and *zagaba: nele=de* as *\*nele zagabah* (gen. sg.). In all appearances, it represents a sort of analytic construction that allows fronting of some elements. As a result, the entire section can be now interpreted as: ‘of the victory over the Tloan (city) in battle, when (after) Xerēi (had) made repeated raids against fortresses of Tlos’.

## 8. Section 6: *hbāti: CII* and *uw[e] ñtepi*

6) *Medbijahē: ese: Xerēi: tebete: ʔer[ñ]* <sup>49</sup>*se Waxssepddimi: ēti: zehi: hbāti: CII: uw[e]* <sup>50</sup>*ñtepi: xlaina terñ hātahe:*

Section 6 ends, as every other section in the passage, with *hātahe* and has nothing to do with *Herikle* who belongs to the following section.<sup>163</sup> One may start from observations on the final damaged part of the line, which was probably the reason why one has paid so little attention to the interpretation of this curious section. Kalinka, following Fellows, read at the end of the line

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. and Neumann 2007, s.v.

<sup>161</sup> For the interpretation of the passage cf. Schürr 1998, 150, who interprets genitives of the personal names as ‘in alliance with’. The interpretation of *Ēñnei* as a toponym rather compellingly follows from the context.

<sup>162</sup> Cf., e.g. (PES<sub>2</sub>.PES)*tara/i-pa* (CRUS)*ta-* in BOROWSKI 1 §1; (“CORNU”) *tara/i-pa* CRUS-*i* in ALEPPO 2 §25; (SCALPRUM) *tara/i-pi* CRUS in CEKKE §22; *tara/i-pa* CRUS in KULULU 5 §17; *tara/i-pi-wa/i* CRUS in KARKAMIŠ A5 §13. It is not quite clear whether the preverb has a direct connection with the verb *tarbi-* which is sometimes used in similar but still not quite identical contexts (cf., e.g., KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §11: (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* | (“\*464”) *ha-tā-ma* |(PES<sub>2</sub>.PES) *tara/i-pi-i-tu* or KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §15: (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* |(CORNU) *ki-pu-tā-ti-i a-tā* |(PES<sub>2</sub>.PES) *tara/i-pi-tu-u*), but seems otherwise to mean ‘trample’ (e.g., in KARKAMIŠ A6 §11: |SUPER+*ra/i-* | (“PES<sub>2</sub>+PES”) *tara/i-pa-lā/i*). Given the variety of logograms used with *tarba*, the connection is at least not obvious.

<sup>163</sup> Thus *contra* Schürr 2009, 166–168.

*ule*, which is accepted in a recent discussion by Schürr;<sup>164</sup> Melchert dismissed this reading claiming instead either *un*[ or *um*].<sup>165</sup> Neither reading has led, however, to any sensible identification of the word. However, the excellent photo published by Schürr himself<sup>166</sup> suggests quite a different reading. The letter following O is only partly damaged and in the upper part one discerns *two horizontal strokes*, which are seen clearly enough to exclude any identification other than F.<sup>167</sup> Given the fact that the line contained probably only one more letter and the next line begins with a separate word (*ñtepi*), a likely restoration of *uw*[...] would be *uw*[*e*] which represents an element well-attested elsewhere (see below).<sup>168</sup>

The general sense of the passage is suggested by the numeral *CII* appearing in the middle of the clause. It was long ago compared with ἑπτὰ ‘seven’ in the Greek text which, if right, defines the clause as Lycian correspondence of the Greek clause (44c, 29): ἑπτὰ δὲ ὀπλίτας κτείνειν ἐν ἡμέραι Ἀρκάδας ἄνδρας ‘(the immortals granted him) to kill seven hoplites within one day, the Arcadian men’, as was suggested long ago and mostly accepted in more recent studies.<sup>169</sup> The doubts of Melchert<sup>170</sup> in the interpretation of *CII* as ‘seven’ are unfounded: the idea underlying the graphic representation of the first numeral, a *half-circle*, is essentially the same as that of the numeral ‘five’ (∟) – an *open* circuit – and its realization as a more angular or a more rounded shape was probably simply a technical matter.<sup>171</sup> Very close rounded forms of ‘five’ are found in other inscriptions, cf. TL 26, 14 and TL 107a, 1.<sup>172</sup> In contrast, the Lycian symbol for ‘10’ is O, i.e. a *closed* circuit. There is an obvious graphical logic in using a half-circle for ‘five’ and a full circle for ‘ten’.

Looking for the expected Lycian correspondence for ὀπλίτας, one usually proceeded from the syntax of modern European languages and found it, accordingly, in the word *following* the numeral, i.e. *\*ule*.<sup>173</sup> However, this leaves *ñtepi* ‘inside, within’ in the next line, which is followed by the verbal form *xlaina*, without a referent. In fact, the syntax of numerals in Lycian texts suggests rather that the noun defined by ‘7’ should precede it. Indeed, as far as the rather scarce evidence allows to judge, the nouns precede the numeral when they are in *nominative* or *accusative*, cf. *se tideimi*: *ehbi*: ∟ (TL 107, 1), *tideime ehbi*: O (TL 124, 11–13), *ada* III (TL 4, 5) or *adai* O– (TL 11, 3); this seems to be contrasted with the inverted position when the noun is in *locative* or *genitive*, cf. *IIII uhi* (TL 35, 1, loc.) and *OO– uhahi* (TL 40c, 9, gen.), although the evidence is too scarce to be sure that it was always the case.<sup>174</sup> Thus, there is a good reason to identify the Lycian correspondence of Greek ὀπλίτης in *hbāti* preceding the numeral.<sup>175</sup> This assumption finds support in the morphology of the word: a structural parallel to it may be found in *esbēt(i)*- ‘horseman, knight’

<sup>164</sup> Schürr 2009, 164 and 168.

<sup>165</sup> Melchert 2004, s.v. [*ule*].

<sup>166</sup> Schürr 2009, 167 Abb 3.

<sup>167</sup> This reading was now independently argued for also by Martínez Rodríguez (2021, 303–304). Moreover, as she pointed out, the letter was read as F already by Meriggi (1936, 279 with n. 6), who based his reading, however, only on the drawing (‘Kopie’) by Kalinka in TAM 1, 40. In fact, also Neumann (2007, s.v. *uwe*) considered this restoration as an option.

<sup>168</sup> Thus *contra* Martínez Rodríguez 2021, 304 who interprets *uwe* as the dat. pl. of *wawa-/uwa-* ‘cow’.

<sup>169</sup> Deecke 1888, 226–227, cf. Faucounau 1988, 165; Eichner 1993, 140 n. 120 or Schürr 2009, 174.

<sup>170</sup> Melchert 2004, s.v. [*ule*].

<sup>171</sup> The certain attestation of the numeral ‘five’ are found in five inscriptions: TL 6, 3; TL 26, 14; TL 107a, 1; TL 131, 4; TL 145, 5; cf. Frei 1976, 7 and 16 and Laroche in Metzger 1979, 100–101.

<sup>172</sup> See drawings in Frei 1976, 7, fig. 1 (variants of C nr. 3 and nr. 6).

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Borchhardt *et al.* 1997–1999, 36 with n. 88; Schürr 2009, 168a, and further refs. in Neumann 2007, s.v. :*u*[*le*].

<sup>174</sup> Cf. also examples cited in Martínez Rodríguez 2021, 304. The numerals are also heavily used in TL 26, 13–15, but the lines are broken at the end and the meaning of the nouns is too unclear, cf. <sup>13</sup>*arailise*: *IIII–: haqaduwehe*: *YII– t°*[...] <sup>14</sup>*ppebēñti*: *OOII– pagda*: *O<III–: purθ°*[...] <sup>15</sup>*mññātahi*: *OIII–: winbēte*: *OIII–*.

<sup>175</sup> Thus *contra* Martínez Rodríguez 2021, 299–300 who identifies in *hbāti* a verbal form (3pl. pres.) connecting its root with HLuw. *suwa-* ‘fill’. The root etymology cannot be correct in any case, as the Luwian root corresponds to Lyc. *huwe-* seen in *huwedri-* ‘all’ < *\*suwatar-* ‘fullness’ (cf. Melchert 2004, s.v.).

which represents a derivative of *esbe-* ‘horse’ with a suffix *-(e)nt-* having apparently a possessive function (probably < *\*-went-*).<sup>176</sup> Given this parallel, *hbāti* may be interpreted as based on *\*hba* (< *\*saba-*?) which might correspond to Greek ὄπλον ‘large shield’ or ‘heavy arms’ from which the name of ὀπλίται is derived. However, it is not excluded that *hbāt(i)-* means simply ‘infantry-man’, as opposed to *esbēt(i)-* ‘horseman, knight’.

Furthermore, the proposed analysis naturally suggests that *uṣ[e] ṇtepi* ((‘with)in *uwe*’) may correspond to Greek ἐν ἡμέραι – which is an essential detail of the feat – which means that *uwe* is either Lycian ‘day’ or a similar indication for a short period of time.<sup>177</sup> This interpretation seems to agree fairly well with other interpretable attestations of *uwe*, which remained so far without a convincing interpretation.<sup>178</sup> The only reasonably transparent context of *uwe* is found in the protasis of a curse formula of several funerary inscriptions from Limyra (also one from Myra, TL 92); the clearest one is TL 139, 3–4: *se uwe: ti hrppi tāti tike m=ēne tubidi h[p]pñter[us] māhāi:* ‘and *uwe* anyone will put somebody upon (i.e. ‘in addition’), (then) the *hppñterus*-gods (will) strike him’.<sup>179</sup> The syntax clearly suggests that *uwe* somehow should express *condition* or *time*, i.e. correspond to either ‘if’ or ‘when’. The latter possibility agrees well with the interpretation of *uwe* as an indication of time suggested by 44a, 49: a literary interpretation of *uwe* as ‘the day (when)’ is thinkable, although it represents quite probably already a frozen locative form used simply for ‘when’ (and, by extension, possibly for ‘if’ as well).

As for the verb of the clause *xlaina* (inf.), it should clearly correspond to Greek κτείνειν ‘kill’ of the Greek part and, as already seen by Schürr,<sup>180</sup> may plausibly be connected with Hittite *hulle-/hull-* ‘smash, defeat’. Formally, an even more exact match to *xlai-* is HLuw. verb *hu-la-ia-* attested in the ANKARA silver bowl with the same meaning ‘defeat’.<sup>181</sup> *Contra* Melchert and Serangeli,<sup>182</sup> the stem *xlai-* ‘defeat, smash’ has probably nothing to do either with *xal-* ‘exercise control’ or *asa-xla-za-* which is probably a derivative of the latter (cf. below). Lastly, the combination *ēti: zehi* is, as already recognized by Schürr,<sup>183</sup> should be an indication of the place of the fight and a connection with *za-* for which N320 suggests a correspondence ἀγρός ‘field’ seems very likely. The precise semantic distinction between *za-* and *zehi-*, which looks like a gen. adj. of the former, is not quite clear, but possibly concerns the size of the land in question.<sup>184</sup> As a result, the entire section

<sup>176</sup> A further parallel might be found in *padrāt(i)-* which, as noted above (n. 69), may in theory be interpreted as ‘shield-bearer’ (possibly = Greek πελαστής). For the suffix *-nt-* cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. who argues for its ‘possessive’ function, as contrasted to Hajnal’s interpretation of the suffix as ‘individualizing’. However, a possessive function is not typical for the *nt-* suffix in Anatolian (which is indeed rather individualizing) and the Lycian suffix may rather reflect the old Indo-European possessive suffix *\*-went-*. The disappearance of *-w-* is probably due to the contraction of the suffix and subsequent loss of *w* in a consonantal cluster: *\*-went-* > *\*-wnt-* > *\*-nt-/~t-*; for the simplification process cf. Lyc. *la-* ‘die’ < *\*wla-* (cf. HLuw. *wa/i-la-* and HLuw. *walant(i)-/ulant(i)-*); Lyc. ethnic suffix *-ñne-* < *\*wna/i-* < *-wana/i-*; or city name *Arñna-* < *\*Arwna-* < *\*Awrna-* < *Awarna-* (cun. <sup>URU</sup>*Awarna*). It is noteworthy that the forms *Tlāñ* and *Tlahñ* (TL 44a, 46–47), as contrasted with *Tlawā/i* (in 44b, 30 [possibly loc.] and elsewhere), represent, *contra* Melchert 2004, s.v., not a ‘real base stem’, but rather reflect the same process of the loss of *-w-* in a pre-consonantal position, as the form *Tlawā* is attested already in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC texts (cun. <sup>URU</sup>*T(a)lawā* and HLuw. *Tala-wa/i*(REGIO)), and it is hardly possible to assume that the toponym could exist synchronically in two different (non-extended and extended) forms.

<sup>177</sup> Note Faucounau’s (1988, 165) suggestion to see in *\*ule* a word for ‘day’.

<sup>178</sup> For previous suggestions see Neumann 2007, s.v., cf. also Lebrun 2006.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. further TL 128, 2: *se [l]ada: ti uwe hrppi tadi: tike:* ‘and *uwe* anybody put upon (my) wife somebody’; 106, 2: *hri=be=uwe=(a)lahadi=ti:* ‘(anybody) *uwe* replaces with somebody’; TL 118, 2: *se=uwe=ni: hrppi: tatu: tike:* ‘and let nobody *uwe* put upon (somebody)’ ... *me=uwe=hri: alaha[...]* ‘and *uwe* replaces...’; TL 92, 3: *[hr]ppi ladi ehbi hrpp[i]=uwe [...]*.

<sup>180</sup> Schürr 2009, 168 with n. 5.

<sup>181</sup> It is not excluded that the stem also makes part of the name *Huliya-zalma-nu* (‘*Huliya*-protection’) attested in a Western Anatolian context (with city Hāppuriya), for the text see Süel 2014, 934–935.

<sup>182</sup> Melchert 2004, s.v. *xla(i)-*; Serangeli 2015.

<sup>183</sup> Schürr 2009, 167–168, cf. also Martínez Rodríguez 2021, 300.

<sup>184</sup> One may suggest that the word *za-* (phonetically /tʰa/) represents a contracted form of *\*tasa-* which



can be interpreted as: ‘of the victory when he joined forces with *Xerēi* at *Medbijahe* and killed *Waxssepddimi* in the field (together with) seven hoplites within one day’.

## 9. Section 7: Pseudo-Heracles, *sehaxlaza-* and *pabra=ti*

7) *āka: Herikle*<sup>185</sup> *sehaxlaza: pabra=ti: Xbide: hrixñtawa*<sup>52</sup> *tahi: ese tabāna: terñ: Ijñā: Ijalusas*  
<sup>53</sup> *Krzzānase: hātahe:*

The discussion of the present section one may start with the name *Herikle*, a prominent – and a prominently misleading – feature of the text. The name was early taken to refer to the mythical Greek hero Heracles, which found a certain support in the fact that the name is preceded by *āka* which allows for an interpretation ‘like, as’: the combination was understood as a sort of literary topos used to underline the military prowess of the author of the inscription.<sup>185</sup> However, with the clarification of the syntax and the context of the *hātahe* passage, this interpretation proves to be fairly nonsensical. On the one hand, it is quite impossible to connect *āka: Herikle* with the feat of killing the seven hoplites, where it might seem at least distantly appropriate, since it is disproved not only by the fact of its appearance after *hātahe*, but also by the very syntax of the clause in section 6: as an adverbial group the virtual ‘like Heracles’ would be expected *before* the verb (*xlaina*). On the other hand, a comparison with Heracles does not make any obvious sense in the context of section 7 which deals with the *administrative* title (*se*)*haxlaza*, Kaunos, the Supreme (i.e. Persian) King (*hrixñtawa-*) and with a battle (possibly naval) against the Greeks of Ialysos at Chersonesos. Lastly, one may point out that the very fact of appearance of Heracles in a *Lycian* text under his *Greek* name would be quite odd: the Greek hero was identified with the Anatolian war god *Šanda-* whose cult is well attested in the southern parts of Anatolia until the Roman period and the name *Santas* was known even in Lydia, where it represents in all probability an *imported* name possibly concealing a figure similar to that of Greek Heracles.<sup>186</sup>

All these inconsistencies disappear, if one interprets *Herikle* as a name of a *person*, just like all other names in the *hātahe* passage.<sup>187</sup> The final part of the name (*-kle*) is quite reminiscent of Greek names ending in *-κλης* and it is not excluded that it is a Greek name connected with Heracles. However, even if so, it is dubious that it *exactly* corresponds to Greek *Ἡρακλῆς*. Although the name of Heracles is attested as a personal name and as such is found also in Anatolia, including one attestation in Tlos (imperial period),<sup>188</sup> it becomes popular only in the Roman period. Moreover, in Asia Minor it is found only in the Doric form *Ἡρακλᾶς*, for which one would expect in Lycian rather an *a*-stem *\*Herikla*, cf., for instance, *Pulenjda* in TL 6, 1 which corresponds to Doric *Ἀπολλωνίδας* rather than to Ionian *Ἀπολλωνίδης*. It seems more probable that the name, if indeed Greek, would reflect either of two usual names based on the name of Heracles, *Ἡράκλεος* or *Ἡρακλέων*, both of which are attested from the early period on.<sup>189</sup> For simplification of the final parts of Greek names in Lycian cf. *Ijeri* (TL 21, 3) or *\*Ijera* (N320, 4: *Ijeru*, acc. sg.) for *Ἰέρων* or *Pa[r]mna* for *Παρμένων* (-οντος) (TL 117).

corresponds to the first part of the Hieroglyphic Luwian *taskwira-* ((TERRA)*ta-sà-kwa/i+ra/i-*), whose final part was plausibly compared with Hitt. *kuera-* ‘field, land parcel’ < *kuer-* ‘cut’ (see Hawkins 2000, 393 with further refs.). This would plausibly explain the Luwian compound as ‘field-section, field-parcel’.

<sup>185</sup> See Neumann 2007, s.v. *Herikle* with further refs.

<sup>186</sup> For Anatolian *Šandaš* see Mastrocinque 2007 and Rutherford 2017 with further refs., cf. a brief summary in Hutter 2003, 228–229. For a discussion of the Lydian *Santas* see Oreshko forthcoming.

<sup>187</sup> It is noteworthy that this variant was already suggested by Ševoroškin (pers. comm. referred to in Neumann 2007, s.v.), the reasons of which remain unclear. The stance of Melchert (2004, s.v. *Herikle* and *Erikle*) is perplexing: he interprets *Herikle* of the Lycian text as the name of the mythical hero, but takes *Erikle* of the Lycian B text (44d, 6 and 17) – which *clearly* corresponds to *Herikle* – as the name of a person.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. LGPN V.A and V.B, s.v. *Ἡρακλᾶς*.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. LGPN V.A and V.B., s.vv.



However, it is quite possible that *Herikle* represents a genuine Anatolian name, either Lycian or Carian. On the one hand, there are two factors that speak against its perception as a Greek name. First, it is quite odd – although not entirely impossible – that a governor of *Carian* Kaunos installed by the *Persian* king (*cf.* below) bears a Greek name. Second, a rendering of Greek *a* of Ἡρακλῆς by Lycian *i* is not something for which one can present a ready explanation. On the other hand, in a number of clear cases, the Greek element *-κλῆς* is regularly rendered in Lycian with *-xle/i*, *cf.* *Ijetruxle* (TL 38, 3) = Ἰητροκλῆς; *Terssixle* (TL 149, 2) = Θερσικλῆς or Τερψικλῆς; *Ñtemuxlida* = Δεμοκλείδης in N312 (corr. Δημοκλείδης). The only other comparable case is *Perikle*, the name of a dynast of Limyra, which is usually thought to be a Lycian adoption of Greek Περικλῆς. However, this case is again quite suspicious: why a Lycian dynast of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC would take the name of the Athenian statesman who was active at least 30 years before he was born? This would be a rather strange step, given that Lycia was by his time for about 150 years under Persian cultural and political influence and the Lycians fought on the Persian side just *against* Athenians, of which the text of the Xanthos trilingual bears a clear witness. Moreover, not a single other Lycian dynast bears a Greek name.

In fact, both *Perikle* and *Herikle* can be explained as Anatolian names. Crucially, there are reasons to think that the element *-k(e)le-* was present in the Luwic languages of south-western Anatolia. One may point out, first of all, a form *hrkkeledi* /hrəkeleði/ (instr.) in N324, 11, which closely corresponds to *Herikle*, but hardly can be a personal name due to the case form. From a purely morphological point of view one may analyze it as *\*hrə-kele-ði* with *\*hrə-* going back to *hri* ‘up, on (top)’ (< *\*séri*, *cf.* CLuw. *šarri*) ‘on, up’. There are several other forms that contain the element *-kle-*, *cf.* *muni-klei-mē* attested in TL 107a, 2 as contrasted with *muneite* in TL 127, 2 and *muneita* in TL 44b, 20 and Lycian B *kllei-me* (*kllei-ma* in 44c, 45, *kllei-me* in 44d, 61 and *kllei-me-di* in 44c: 49 and 60. Lastly, one may point out a Carian name *Ursklēś* (E.Me 15). It is noteworthy that the tectal in this name is rendered with a different letter (*ḱ*) than in the case with *Lysiklas* which arguably renders Greek Λυσικλᾶς in the Kaunos bilingual (C.Ka 1). The first part of the name has no obvious correspondence in Greek but seems to find a close correspondence in Lycian *Urrs-m[ma]* (TL 113). Given this evidence, one may tentatively suggest that Lycian *-kle-* and Carian *-ḱle-* may represent *genuine* Anatolian reflexes of PIE *\*ḱley-* ‘hear’ > ‘fame’, with the retention of the tectal character of the stop in the position before *l*.<sup>190</sup> The first parts of the names *Heri-kle* and *Peri-kle* can also be unproblematically explained as Anatolian elements, reflecting respectively *\*séri* = Lyc. *hri* ‘up, on (top)’ and *\*péri-* = Lyc. *pri* ‘forth, in front’, *cf.* Luwian *pari(ya)*. Both elements are well attested in personal names, the first one being especially popular in Lycia, *cf.* *Hri-xñm[a]* (TL 89, 1–2 and 90, 1–2), *Hri-xttbili* (TL 22, 1), *Hr-ñmuwe* (TL 35, 10), *Hr-ppidube* (TL 59, 1), *Prija-buhāma* (TL 28, 2 and N356a) and *Prije-nube* (TL 25, 7) (vs. Luwian *Pariya-muwa* or *Pari-zidi*). It is noteworthy that this interpretation suggests that *Heri-kle* is a specifically Lycian name, as in Carian one would expect retention of the initial sibilant of *\*séri*, while in Lycian B, which stands phonetically closer to Carian than to Lycian, the name has the form *Erikle* and is thus the *adoption* of the Lycian *Heri-kle* with the loss of *h-*.

The re-interpretation of the name referent immediately affects the interpretation of two elements of the clause: *āka* and *(se)haxlaza*. Now, there is no necessity to ascribe to *āka* a sense ‘like, as’ and it may be naturally taken merely as a phonetic variant of conjunction *ēke* ‘when’, which is its usual meaning. It may seem redundant in view of the presence of *terñ* further in the clause. However, this redundancy can be naturally explained by the length of the indirect object group depending on *ese tebe-* which consists of an entire relative clause (*cf.* below). In other words, *ēke ... terñ* may be considered as two elements framing the part of the clause indicating time (and circumstances) of the military events reported in its second part. On the other hand, the identification of

<sup>190</sup> *Cf.* Luw. *K(u)rundiya-* < *\*ḱru-nt-* ‘horned’, for the *conditioned* twofold development of PIE *\*ḱ* in Luwian and Lycian see Melchert 2012.

*Herikle* as the name of a person calls for revision of the sequence which follows it. It was hitherto analyzed as *se haxlaza* and the noun was identified as a variant of the title attested in N320, 5 as *asaxlazu* (acc. sg.) where it corresponds to Greek ἐπιμελητής ‘governor’. However, there can be no doubt that in the present clause the title should refer to *Herikle* and, consequently, separation of *se* ‘end’ makes no sense. The question is now whether *sehaxlaza* is still the same as *asaxlazu* or something different. In theory, one cannot exclude that we are dealing with two different titles built as compounds that contain the root *xla-* in the second part, but different roots in the initial part. However, the phonetic similarity of both is still remarkable and it seems possible to explain the difference – which is, in fact, easier than it was in the case with the pair *asaxlazu* vs. *haxlaza*. Indeed, if a correspondence *asa-* vs. *ha-* can be in no natural way explained by the rules of Lycian phonetics,<sup>191</sup> the correspondence *seha-* vs. *asa-* allows for such an explanation. A comparison of the two forms suggests for the first element of the compound a pre-form *\*eseha-* or *\*asaha-*, of which the latter is probably a secondary one produced by a regressive vowel-harmonic change (cf. *ahatahi/ehetehi*). Then one can assume that *asaxlazu* and *sehaxlaza* reflect two different outcomes of a contraction process that took place in the long five-syllabic compound *\*asaha-xla-za*/*\*eseha-xla-za*: the former contracted *-aha-* to *a*, while the latter apocopated the initial *a*.<sup>192</sup>

A general sense of the title is suggested by its Greek correspondence ἐπιμελητής, literally ‘care-taker’, which has in Greek quite a broad range of meanings, but in the context of N320 may be interpreted as ‘city governor’ (cf. 4–5 *se(j)=Arñna*: *asaxlazu*: *Erttimeli* ‘and as *asxlaza* of Xanthos (he appointed) Artemelis’). As suggested by Melchert,<sup>193</sup> the final part of the compound may be connected to the verb *xal(a)-* which appears to be connected with an administrative rule. This sense is implied first all by TL 29, 12 which features ‘Lycia(ns)’ as the direct object of the verb (*Trñmisñ xalte*) and is further supported by TL 29, 5 which connects the verb with the term *wazzis-* (*wazzisñ*: *xalxxa*).<sup>194</sup> The administrative/controlling associations of the latter are made clear by 104a, 2–3 featuring a dating formula: *Lusñ[tr]e: ēti wazisse* which may be interpreted as ‘in the *wazzi*-ship of Lysander’ and indirectly supported by 44b, 13, which features ‘*wazzi*-ship of the army’ (*wazisñ [te]lējijehi*). The verb *xal(a)-* may have a meaning ‘control’ or simply ‘rule’. However it is, it is unlikely that either *xal(a)-* or the title has anything to do with *xlai-* ‘smash, defeat’ (= *hull(iy)a-*), as already discussed above.<sup>195</sup>

As for the first part of the title *\*asaha-xla-za*/*\*eseha-xla-za*, its connection with *ese* proposed by Carruba,<sup>196</sup> although formally possible, does not seem semantically especially illuminating. As *ese* can now likely be interpreted as ‘with’ (cf. above), the sense of the compound would be

<sup>191</sup> Cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. *haxlaza* and Neumann 2007, s.v.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. Carruba 1977, 283–284 who reconstructed *asaxlaza* as *\*asa-(h)axlaza*. However, the root in the second part is almost certainly *xala-* ‘rule, exercise control over’ (cf. below). It is not quite clear on what evidence Carruba based his claim of the loss of *h* in the initial or the medial position. Cross-linguistically, the process is certainly a trivial one (and sporadically attested also in Anatolia, cf., e.g. <sup>h</sup>*halentuwa/alanduwa*), but the Lycian corpus does not give many reasons to think that it was a usual phenomenon in Lycian. However, Greek evidence does suggest that Lycian *h* was realized as a very light breathing (lighter even than the Greek *spiritus asper*), cf. PN *Purihimete/i* = Πυριματις/Πυριβατης (TL 6 and TL 25 respectively), *Hla* = Λα (TL 56) or *Hlñmidewe* = Ελμιδαυαι (TL 139). For the apocope of the initial *e/a* cf., e.g., PN *Sedeplem̃mi* = *Esedeplēmi* (Ασεδεπλημος), *Eseimija* = *Seimija*, *Katamla* = *Ekatamla* (Εκατόμνας) or PN *Ahqqadi* in TL 36, 2 vs. *hqqdaime[d]i* in 44a, 37–38.

<sup>193</sup> Melchert 2004, s.v. *xal-*.

<sup>194</sup> The word *ñtepi* ‘(with)in’ which immediately precedes *wazzisñ* should be taken together with the preceding word of the text which is badly weathered. Two clear examples found in the Lycian corpus show that *ñtepi* functions, when used with an indirect object, as a *post-position*, cf. *uw[e] ñtepi* ‘within one day’ in 44a, 49–50 discussed above and *Trñmisñ: ñtepi: xñtawata: appte teri*: ‘when (Alexander) took authority in Lycia’ (or ‘among Lycians’) further in the present text (TL 29, 9). The latter context strongly suggests that the damaged word before *ñtepi* is the name of a place (possibly a toponym).

<sup>195</sup> Etymological ties of *xal(a)-* within and beyond Anatolian remain unclear. *Contra* Serangeli 2015, a connection with PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>el-* ‘feed, make grow’ and with Hitt. *halai-* ‘set in motion’ seems to me quite dubious.

<sup>196</sup> Carruba 1977, 284.

something like *co-regens*, which is hardly compatible with the function of a ‘city governor’. On general grounds, one would expect in the first part of the compound a term for the sphere which is controlled/ruled; however, it is not a ‘city’, which is *teteri-/teri-* in Lycian (cf. above, n. 129). A different interpretation may be tentatively suggested basing on Luwian evidence. The protective function of a deity in the standard Hieroglyphic Luwian curse formulas is rendered by the term hidden by the logogram LIS, which may appear either as a noun with the suffix *-al(l)a/i-* in combination with the verb ‘to be’ or as a denominative verb derived from it (e.g., KARKAMIŠ A11a §26: LIS-*la/i/u-za-tú*). The fullest phonetic form of the noun is found in MEHARDE §6 as LIS-*za-sa-li-* and, given that Luwian *s* corresponds to Lycian *h* and *z* may correspond to *s*, one may suggest that the word is based on the Luwian counterpart of Lycian *\*asaha-/eseha-* and its full phonetic reading is, accordingly, *\*azasal(l)a/i-*. Hawkins interprets the term as ‘prosecutor’,<sup>197</sup> but in the context of the curse formulas, translations like ‘guarantor’ or ‘one who is in charge of’ (~ ἐπιμελητής) would be no less appropriate. The administrative associations of the term *\*azasal(l)a/i-* are supported both by the title LIS.DOMINUS found on some Empire Period seals, which corresponds to GAL (LÚ.MEŠ) MUBARRI and designates some sort of legal officer, and by the form of the logogram LIS itself, which depicts ‘two profiles over a seal’ suggesting some legal and/or administrative associations.<sup>198</sup> One may note that a possible cognate of *\*eseha-* is found in TL 65, 17 and 25 in the form *esehi* (possibly nom. pl.). Curiously, it appears as the very last word of the inscription, which is the position in which LIS-*za-sa-li-* (or the verb based on it) appears in the curse formulas in Luwian inscriptions;<sup>199</sup> the final part of the parallel Greek text, although damaged, suggests that the respective part of the Lycian text was indeed a curse formula.<sup>200</sup> This connection, if right, would define the meaning of *\*eseha-xla-za-* roughly as ‘administration-ruler’ or the like.

As for the form *pabra=ti*, it was universally taken to be a final verbal form of 3sg.pres.<sup>201</sup> However, the present tense does not make much sense in the context, contradicting the fact that no other present forms are attested in the *hātahe* passage. Instead, one may separate the final *=ti*, interpreting it as a relative pronoun. This makes the syntax of the clause more transparent, as now *pabra=ti: Xbide: hrixñtawatahi:* can be taken as a relative clause characterizing *Herikle*: ‘who (was) *pabra-* of the Supreme King’. The context suggests that *pabra-* is a noun describing the relationship of *Herikle* to the Persian King. The simplest possibility would be to take it as ‘representative’, but a more specific meaning, for instance a military title, ‘general’ (στρατηγός) or the like, would also be thinkable. An alternative possibility is suggested by the form *pabla-* attested in TL 89: 4, which theoretically may be based on the same root. *Contra* usual perception,<sup>202</sup> the verb cannot mean ‘chase’, as it is connected with *tijāi* which can be interpreted as ‘penalties’ or simply as ‘payments’, as in all likelihood it is based on *ti-* ‘pay’. Consequently, *pabla-* denotes an action of providing payments. Then the verb can be well connected with Luwian *pabra-* which Melchert recently connected with PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-* ‘bear, carry’.<sup>203</sup> The noun *pabra-* can be interpreted as ‘tribute-bearing, tributary’. This interpretation allows in fact to take *pabra-* together with *sehaxlaza* and to interpret the combination as a ‘tributary city governor’. More evidence is needed, however, to decide between these possibilities.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. discussions in Hawkins 2000, 279 and 418.

<sup>198</sup> For LIS.DOMINUS and GAL (LÚ.MEŠ) MUBARRI see Hawkins in Herbordt 2005, 299–300 with further refs.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. Oreshko 2013, 379–380 with n. 88–90.

<sup>200</sup> The line is read by Kalinka as ....*sehi: Trñmili esehi*. However, it is not excluded that the broken word is *itlehi* as the ‘Lycian *itlehi* (spirits, cf. above)’ regularly appear in the curse formulas, cf., e.g., TL 88, 5: *itlehi tubeiti Trñmili huwedri*. If correct, this enhances the chances that Lycian *esehi* corresponds to HLuw. LIS-*za-sa-li-*. However, one may note that the possible parallelism of the clauses may suggest that *esehi* corresponds in a way to *huwedri* ‘all’ implying that the former may be a derivative of *ese*.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. and Neumann 2007, s.v.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. and Neumann 2007, s.v.

<sup>203</sup> Melchert 2016, 203–206.

Proceeding to the military part of the clause one may note that the indirect object of the verb *ese tabāna* can be nobody else than Herikle, which agrees well with the general historical context: as a governor of Kaunos connected with the Persian king, Herikle was a natural ally of a Lycian dynast under the Persian rule. As for the two toponyms and one ethnonym mentioned in the clause, *Ijānā* (acc. sg.), possibly collective, clearly represent the virtual object of the military action and, as *Ijalusas* is a Greek city, it would be natural to perceive *Ijānā Ijalusas* as a single unit, interpreting *Ijānā* in general as ‘Greeks’ rather than specifically as ‘Ionians’ (Ialysos was a Doric city). It is quite unlikely that *Ijalusas* is acc. pl., as it is difficult to reconcile this form with the syntax of the clause. No more likely is that it is simply a Lycian rendering of the nominative form of Greek Ἰαλυσός. However, a close parallel to the combination is found in *teteri: Arñnas* (nom.) in N320, 31–32 which corresponds to Greek Ἐάνθιοι. Given this correspondence and the form *Arñnase* in 44c, 19 one may interpret *Ijalusas* as a derivative of *Ijalusa-* with the ethnic suffix *-s-* corresponding to Luwian *-izza/i-*; the lack of any explicit indications of the case is due, as it seems, to its agreement with *Ijānā*.<sup>204</sup> Accordingly, *Ijānā Ijalusas* can be interpreted as ‘Ialysian Greek(s)’. As for *Krzz[ā]nase* (possibly loc.), it serves most probably as an indication of the place of the battle. As a result, the entire section may be translated as follows: ‘of the victory over the Ialysian Greek(s) at Chersonesos, when he joined with *Herikle*, the city governor, *pabra-* of the Supreme King at Kaunos’.

## 10. Section 8: *trbbetē*

8) *Mukale: tewēte: Sāma=*<sup>54</sup>*ti: trbbetē: Turaxssi: zxxāna terñ: es*<sup>55</sup>*e: Humrxxā: tebāna terñ: hātahe*

The geographical context of this section is one of the most specific and curious ones of the whole *hātahe* passage. One has long recognized that *Mukale* refers to Mount Mykale – a mountainous promontory halfway between Miletus and Ephesus – and *Sāma* to the island Samos lying just across the narrow strait. Given this geographical setting, the word between *Mukale* and *Sāma*, *tewēte*, could be naturally interpreted as ‘facing’,<sup>205</sup> i.e. ‘Mykale facing Samos’ (or vice versa). The last touch to this picture has been recently added by Thonemann and Burgin, who independently from each other proposed an identification of *Turaxssi* with Mount Thorax (Θώραξ) lying just to the north-east of Mykale (mod. Gürüş Dağ).<sup>206</sup> Now, the suggested re-interpretation of the verb *ese ... tebe-* clarifies the last ambiguous element of the clause, *trbbetē*, and the entire sequence of the events described.

The last part of the clause (*ese: Humrxxā: tebāna terñ*) refers to *joining forces* with Amorges, the Persian satrap of Lydia, as already discussed above; given the fact that this action appears in the text *after* the mention of a fighting (*zxxāna*), it was apparently an important if not crucial event which led to the victory. The question is who was the opponent of the author and Amorges. It is clear that it can be neither *Turaxssi* nor *Mukale* as both represent not political entities (cities or regions) but geographical features. As *Turaxssi* is mentioned immediately before *zxxāna*, it can be naturally identified as the place of the battle (‘at Thorax’). In contrast, Samos is both a geographical feature and political entity and in all probability, it was the *people* of Samos who

<sup>204</sup> Cf. Schürr (1998, 153), who takes the form to be acc. pl. Melchert (2004, s.v. *Arñnas-*) who interpreted it as ‘Xanthos’. For different ethnic suffixes cf. Eichner 2005, 36. The clearest case of the ethnicon in *-s* is found in N312: *Zemuris* = Ζήμερις. It may be further assumed for *Kerθθis* in TL 82; for *Medese* found in TL 29, 7 (‘Median(s)’) and for *Ijānisñ* in 44b, 27, which (*contra* Melchert’s [2004, s.v.] interpretation ‘Ionia’) should represent an ethnic name parallel to the following *Sppartazi: Atāna[zi]* (as well as preceding [...]*isñ*). Lastly, it is quite possible that *Trñmis-* ‘Lycia’ represents etymologically a similar derivative with suffix *-s-*. It is not excluded that both the forms on *-zi* and with *-s* belong to the same paradigm, but the origin of the formal difference is not quite clear.

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Melchert 2004, s.v.

<sup>206</sup> Thonemann 2009, 178; Burgin 2010.



fought against the author and Amorges at Thorax. However, *Sāma* itself cannot be taken as the direct object of *zxxāna* either syntactically or grammatically; semantically it is dubious either. Consequently, *trbbetē* can be only a *noun* in *accusative*.<sup>207</sup> The connection with the preposition *trbbi/tarbi* ‘against’ discussed above is quite obvious and the word can be interpreted accordingly as ‘opponent, enemy’. Morphologically, we are dealing probably with a *collective* noun, for which a likely formal parallel in Lycian would be *xāntawata-* ‘rule, kingship’; the suffix *\*-ta/e-* is either cognate with Luwian *-t(t)a-* or is a morphological variant of a simple dental suffix *-t/d-* cognate with Luwian *-id-* which is also attested in the formants with collective meaning.<sup>208</sup> Accordingly, the section may be translated as: ‘of the victory when he fought at Thorax the enemy which is from Samos – (an island) facing Mykale – when (after) he joined forces with Amorges’.

## 11. Final translation of the *hātahe* passage

Summarizing all the observations put forward above, one may propose the following final translation of the passage 44a, 44–55:

‘... (he made) writing(s) in Lycian ... script/language (and) writing(s) in Sol[ymian](?) script/language and (put them) onto the erected pillar(s):

- 1) ‘(the writing) of the victory with his (own) hand at the acropolis of the formidable Lagbos’;
- 2) ‘(the writing) of the victory at the acropolis of Lower Tymnessos’;
- 3) ‘(the writing) of the victory (with the help) of *Maliya* at Patara’;
- 4) ‘(the writing) of the victory with his (own) hand over Milesander in the neighborhood/on the plain of Kyaneiai, when he joined forces with *Trbbēnīmi* at Kyaneiai’;
- 5) ‘(the writing) of the victory over the Tloan (city) in battle, when (after) *Xerēi* made repeated raids against fortresses of Tlos’;
- 6) ‘(the writing) of the victory when he joined forces with *Xerēi* at *Medbijahe* and killed *Waxsēpddimi* in the field (together with) seven hoplites within one day’;
- 7) ‘(the writing) of the victory over the Ialysian Greek(s) at Chersonesos, when he joined forces with *Herikle*, the city governor, *pabra-* of the Supreme King at Kaunos’;
- 8) ‘(the writing) of the victory when he fought at Thorax (against) the enemy which is from Samos – (an island) facing Mykale – and when he joined forces with Amorges’.

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<sup>207</sup> Thus *contra* earlier perceptions as a verb, cf. Melchert 2004, s.v. *trbbe-* and Neumann 2007, s.v.

<sup>208</sup> For the Luwian suffixes cf. Melchert 2003, 196 and 198. However, the picture as presented there is not free of confusion and the question of dental suffixes in Luwic needs further clarification.



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# Worttrennung in den lykischen Inschriften

Annick Payne\*

\* – Universität Bern. Email: [annick.payne@arcor.de](mailto:annick.payne@arcor.de)

**Abstract:** This article discusses the different forms of word separation in Lycian inscriptions, framing patterns of graphic separation in a neuro-psychological context. A new approach is introduced which offers an explanation to inscriptions that have so far been deemed inconsistent or non-compliant with orthographic rules.

**Keywords:** Lycian inscriptions, word separation, neuro-psychology of writing

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## Vorbemerkungen zum lykischen Textcorpus

Das lykische Textcorpus<sup>1</sup> besteht mehrheitlich aus der Material- und Textgattung in Stein gemeißelter Grabinschriften. Obwohl man bezüglich der epigraphischen Praxis eine grundsätzliche Nähe erkennen kann, so gibt es doch Unterschiede in der Ausführung, die wenigstens teilweise auf den Status der Person/Autorität schließen lassen, welche die Inschrift hat anbringen lassen.<sup>2</sup> Dennoch lassen sich einige allgemeine Beobachtungen treffen, die sowohl auf mit geringer als auch besonders hoher Sorgfalt ausgestaltete Inschriften zutreffen.

Die lykische Alphabetschrift ist rechtsläufig,<sup>3</sup> typischerweise werden einzelne Zeilen untereinander angeordnet.<sup>4</sup> Die Zeilen sind oft lang und bemühen sich um regelmäßige Zeilenführung, dieses Ziel wird jedoch unterschiedlich gut erreicht.<sup>5</sup> Das Spektrum reicht von schief geratenen Zeilen mit ungleichmäßiger Buchstabenverteilung bis hin zur perfekten στοιχηδόν Anordnung,

<sup>1</sup> Basis der hier vorgelegten Studie sind die Inschriften TL 1–150 und N 301–326. Ausgeschlossen wurden innerhalb dieses Textcorpus die nachfolgend genannten Inschriften, da sie entweder zu kurz bzw. zu schlecht erhalten sind, um sinnvolle Aussagen zur Worttrennung zu ermöglichen, bzw. keine ausreichenden Abbildungen zur Verfügung standen: TL 2, TL 7, TL 18, TL 20, TL 23–24, TL 32, TL 34, TL 46, TL 54, TL 60, TL 64–65, TL 71, TL 74–76, TL 82, TL 93, TL 96–97, TL 125, TL 129–130, TL 134–135, TL 140–142, TL 146–148; N 304, N 307, N 309b, N 309d, N 311–312, N 313a–b, N 313d–m, N 318–319, N 321, N 323. In der statistischen Analyse wurden Inschriften, die dieselbe Nummer mit unterschiedlichen Buchstaben tragen, wie z.B. N 309a, N 309b, etc., jeweils als eigenständige Inschriften gezählt.

<sup>2</sup> Christiansen (2019) stellt aber fest, dass einfache Gräber häufig elaboratere Inschriften tragen als architektonisch beeindruckendere Gräber.

<sup>3</sup> Mit der möglichen Ausnahme der Inschrift N 332, einer Tonscherbe aus Avşar Tepesi; mit Neumann (2000, 183) könnte dieses Objekt boustrophedon beschrieben sein.

<sup>4</sup> Einige wenige Beispiele für Textanordnung in schmalen Kolumnen existieren: TL 124; N 301. In Betracht zu ziehen ist, dass der Materialträger die Anordnungsform beeinflusst haben könnte: weder der rechte Balken des Grabes TL 124 noch der Rücken der Statuette N 301 (Abb. in Michaelidis 1948, pl. II) bieten eine breite Schreibfläche. Nach Seyer – Kogler (2007, 133–134) lässt sich die Anbringung der Inschrift TL 124 am schmalen rechten Pfosten der Fassade als Versuch interpretieren, eine Verbindung zu dem rechts oberhalb gelegenen Sarkophag herzustellen.

<sup>5</sup> Hilfsmittel wie Zeilentrennungslinien begegnen selten (z.B. in der Inschrift TL 21).

in der Buchstaben vertikal wie horizontal in einem gleichmäßigen Raster angeordnet sind. Da dieser Stil im 5.–4. Jh. v. Chr. in griechischen Inschriften aus Athen verbreitet war, mögen die wenigen *στοιχηδόν* Inschriften Lykiens auf griechischen Einfluss zurückgehen.

Nicht in die Annahme eines allgemeinen Grundformates einbringen lässt sich das Zeilenende, das ohne erkennbares Muster sehr unterschiedlich gehandhabt wird: oft, aber nicht zwingend fallen Zeilenende und Wortende zusammen; wenn dies der Fall ist, so kann als zusätzliche Markierung noch das Worttrennungszeichen hinzukommen. Häufig werden Wörter jedoch auch über das Zeilenende hinaus in die nachfolgende Zeile fortgeführt – eine Markierung, die diese räumliche Trennung der zwei Wortteile entsprechend dem modernen Trennungsstrich indizieren würde, existierte nicht. Ebenfalls lässt sich kein Bemühen erkennen, in einem derartigen Fall Wörter an Morphemgrenzen zu trennen, das entscheidende Kriterium scheint vielmehr der verfügbare Platz gewesen zu sein.

Für eine bewusste Gestaltung der Inschriften spricht, dass gelegentlich Spuren von Emendationen und Schreibfehlern erkennbar sind, bei den meisten Inschriften scheinen Gestaltungswille und Ausführung übereinzustimmen. Daneben gibt es jedoch auch Beispiele für die Anbringung von Geschriebenem – wenigen Buchstaben oder auch ganzen Wörtern – außerhalb der vorgesehenen Schreibfläche. Meist wird hierbei direkt ober- bzw. unterhalb der eigentlichen Zeile weitergeschrieben, um möglichst große räumliche Nähe herzustellen.<sup>6</sup> Dieses Prinzip ist bis heute in handschriftlicher Praxis gängig und lässt bei Steininschriften auf mangelnde Planung der Inschrift schließen.

Das Thema Worttrennung in lykischen Inschriften ist in der Vergangenheit bereits von Recai Tekoğlu untersucht worden.<sup>7</sup> Der Fokus seiner Arbeit lag auf der Verwendung von Worttrennungszeichen als Markierung grammatischer bzw. semantischer Einheiten. Der vorliegende Artikel versteht sich als komplementär zu dieser Arbeit und wird einen anderen Aspekt untersuchen, nämlich die Frage nach einer graphischen Worttrennungstypologie, und wie deren Vertreter aus schriftpsychologischer Sicht zu bewerten sind.

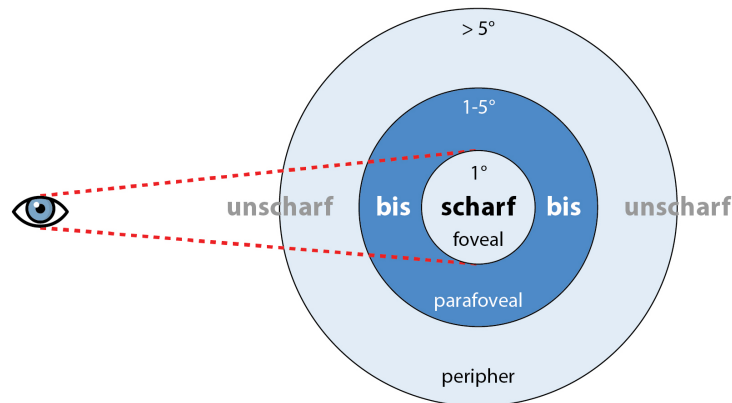
## Worttrennung als graphisches Phänomen

Das hier zu untersuchende Phänomen der Worttrennung sei als graphische Konvention definiert, welche die Grenze zwischen Wörtern innerhalb einer Zeile graphisch durch Sonderzeichen bzw. das Setzen eines Spatiums markiert; die gegensätzliche Praxis der *scriptio continua*, bei der Wortgrenzen unmarkiert bleiben, ist im Lykischen ebenfalls vertreten. Die lykische Schrift kennt verschiedene Markierungszeichen, am verbreitetsten ist der Doppelpunkt, deutlich seltener sind der einzelne Punkt, drei übereinanderstehende Punkte, die nach rechts gekrümmte Klammer und der Trennungsstrich.

Aus historischer Perspektive betrachtet steht die Worttrennung in den anatolischen Alphabetschriften im Kontext sowohl der Worttrennung durch Spatien, wie sie in Anatolien im 2. Jt. v. Chr. in der hethitischen Keilschrift praktiziert wurde, wie auch der (möglichen) Markierung von Wortanfang bzw. -ende, die die anatolische Hieroglyphenschrift im Zeitraum von max. 1500–700 v. Chr. auszeichnet. Ein Vergleich der unterschiedlichen, annähernd kontemporären anatolischen Alphabetschriften zeigt, dass die Konventionen zur Worttrennung jeweils

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. z.B. TL 113; N 303; N 309a. Von Interesse ist der Anfang der vierten Zeile der Inschrift N 309a, in der der letzte Buchstabe des ersten Wortes wohl versehentlich ausgelassen, sekundär unterhalb des vorletzten Buchstaben eingemeißelt wurde. Der Worttrenner (:) stand bereits hinter dem vermeintlich letzten, nach der Korrektur des nunmehr vorletzten Buchstabens und wurde mit einem weiteren Punkt nach unten ergänzt, sodass nun auch hinter dem letzten Buchstaben ein Interpunkt (:) zu erkennen ist, der aber durch die anfängliche Platzierung nun in einer ungewöhnlich hohen Position erscheint und sich den oberen Punkt mit dem zuerst gemeißelten Worttrenner teilt.

<sup>7</sup> Tekoğlu 2007.



**ABB. 1.** Das Sichtfeld (Zeichnung der Autorin).

lokal verankert waren, und in ihren Details nicht zwingend verallgemeinert werden können; allerdings sei vermerkt, dass alle anatolischen Alphabete Methoden zur Worttrennung kennen. Im weiteren Kontext antiker Alphabete sollte ferner berücksichtigt werden, dass es bereits in frühen Alphabetinschriften aus Kanaan Anzeichen für Worttrennung mithilfe von Punkten und Trennlinien gab, die mindestens bis ins 13. Jh. v. Chr. zurückdatieren.<sup>8</sup> Goldwasser sieht einen kausalen Zusammenhang zwischen der Markierung von Wortgrenzen und der Linearisierung früher alphabetischer Schriftlichkeit.<sup>9</sup>

Von großem Interesse wäre die Frage, warum die Verwender des lykischen Alphabets das Bedürfnis hatten, Wörter voneinander zu trennen. Da es leider keine antiken Quellen gibt, welche diese Frage beantworten würden, soll im Folgenden stattdessen der Versuch unternommen werden, die Wirkweise dieser Schreibkonvention auf den Leseprozess mithilfe neuropsychologischer Erkenntnisse zur Worttrennung darzustellen, in dem Bewusstsein, dass damit zwar keine ursächliche Motivation der antiken Schreiber nachgewiesen werden, aber vielleicht doch eine Teilantwort auf das Warum hinter dieser Schreibkonvention gegeben werden kann.

## Augenbewegungen beim Lesen

Um den Einfluss, den Worttrennung auf den Lesefluss hat, bewerten zu können, bedarf es eines Grundverständnisses der Augenbewegungen beim Lesen. Beim Lesen wechseln sich Fixationsphasen, während derer visuelle Information um den Fixationspunkt aufgenommen wird, und Bewegungsphasen (Sakkaden) zu dem nachfolgenden Fixationspunkt ab. Der Fixationspunkt fungiert gleichzeitig als Landeplatz einer Sakkade und als Startplatz der nachfolgenden Sakkade. Das Sichtfeld wird gewöhnlich in drei Bereiche von abnehmender Sehschärfe unterteilt: foveale Vision (1° zu jeder Seite des Fixationspunktes, ca. 6-8 Buchstaben), parafoveale Vision (bis zu 5° vom Fixationspunkt, mit asymmetrischer Verzerrung zugunsten der Leserichtung) und periphere Vision (jenseits parafovealer Vision). Während des Lesens bewegt sich das Augenpaar nur in relativer Synchronie, sodass die beiden Augen bei bis zu 47% der Fixationen unterschiedliche Buchstaben fixieren, die mehr als einen Buchstaben voneinander entfernt und gelegentlich sogar über Kreuz stehen,<sup>10</sup> vgl. [Abb. 1](#).

<sup>8</sup> Naveh (1973, 206) zufolge wurde Worttrennung seit den Anfängen der semitischen Schrift in der Mitte des 2. Jt. v. Chr. systematisch praktiziert, mit Ausnahme kurzer und informeller Inschriften.

<sup>9</sup> Goldwasser 2016, 150–151.

<sup>10</sup> Liversedge *et al.* 2006.

Während der Sakkaden ist die visuelle Sensibilität reduziert (sakkadische Suppression), sodass die Augenbewegung selbst nicht wahrgenommen werden und somit die Idee einer stabilen Umwelt gewährleistet bleibt.<sup>11</sup> Gleichfalls unterdrückt werden weitere kognitive Verarbeitungsprozesse wie die mentale Rotation, d.h. die Fähigkeit, visuelle Information im Geiste drehen zu können,<sup>12</sup> während jedoch die lexikalische Verarbeitung weiterhin erfolgt.<sup>13</sup>

Während phonologische, positionelle und orthographische Information sakkadenübergreifend integriert wird, trifft dies auf semantische Information nicht zu.<sup>14</sup> Die Länge einer Sakkade wird durch die Buchstaben, nicht durch den Blickwinkel bestimmt und beträgt im Durchschnitt 7–9 Buchstaben beim lautlosen Lesen, 6–7 beim Vorlesen.<sup>15</sup> Vorlesen verlangsamt den Leseprozess: da das Auge sich diesem Tempo anpassen muss, ist die Fixationszeit beim Vorlesen länger als beim leisen Lesen. Einzelne Sakkaden bewegen sich weitgehend vorwärts in Leserichtung, es gibt jedoch auch einen Anteil an rückwärts gerichteten Bewegungen (Regressionen), die dem Zweck dienen, das Textverständnis zu fördern. Hauptsächlich führen Regressionen zum vorausgegangenen Wort, können aber abhängig von der Textschwierigkeit auch weiter zurückgehen. Bei geübten Lesern beträgt die Regressionsrate ca. 10–15%.<sup>16</sup>

Die durchschnittliche Fixationszeit auf ein Einzelwort ist in einen Kontext mit dem Überlesen und der Refixierung von Wörtern zu stellen. Das Überlesen von Wörtern steht in starker Abhängigkeit zu Wortlänge und Kontext: sowohl kurze (Funktionswörter) und vorhersagbare Wörter werden häufig überlesen, nicht nur in Alphabetschriften, sondern auch beispielsweise im Chinesischen.<sup>17</sup> Die Häufigkeit von Wörtern spielt dagegen nur eine kleine Rolle für das Überlesen.<sup>18</sup> Überlesene Wörter werden dennoch im parafovealen Bereich verarbeitet.<sup>19</sup>

Refixationen treten v.a. auf, wenn die Landeposition einer neuen Fixation suboptimal, d.h. weit von der Wortmitte entfernt war.<sup>20</sup> Sakkadenlänge und Aufmerksamkeitsspanne sind abhängig von den Charakteristika unterschiedlicher Schriften. Die Aufmerksamkeitsspanne zeigt asymmetrische Verzerrung zugunsten der Leserichtung. Für Leser des Englischen hat sich zeigen lassen, dass die Aufmerksamkeitsspanne sich asymmetrisch auf ca. 3–4 Buchstaben zur Linken des Fixationspunktes und auf ca. 14–15 Buchstaben zur Rechten ausdehnt.<sup>21</sup> Die Spanne, innerhalb derer Wortidentifikation stattfindet, ist normalerweise kürzer und dehnt sich nur ca. 8 Buchstaben nach rechts aus.<sup>22</sup> Dass die asymmetrische Verzerrung die Leserichtung bevorzugt, zeigt das Beispiel des Hebräischen, dessen Texte im Gegensatz zu rechtsläufigen Schriften eine sinistroverse Bevorzugung hervorrufen.<sup>23</sup> Leser der chinesischen Schrift zeigen eine kürzere Aufmerksamkeitsspanne, nämlich 1 Schriftzeichen links des Fixationspunktes, 2–3 Schriftzeichen rechts davon, was vermutlich der höheren Informationsdichte logographischer Schreibungen geschuldet ist.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Bremmer *et al.* 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Irwin – Carlson-Radvansky 1996.

<sup>13</sup> Irwin 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Rayner 2009, 1467.

<sup>15</sup> Rayner 2009, 1460.

<sup>16</sup> Rayner 2009, 1460.

<sup>17</sup> Rayner 2009, 1471.

<sup>18</sup> Rayner 2009, 1471.

<sup>19</sup> Rayner – Morrison 1981.

<sup>20</sup> Rayner 2009, 1470.

<sup>21</sup> McConkie – Rayner 1976, 367–368; Underwood – McConkie 1985.

<sup>22</sup> Juhasz *et al.* 2008, 1561.

<sup>23</sup> Pollatsek *et al.* 1981.

<sup>24</sup> Chen – Tang 1998, 251–253.



Es scheint keine Korrelation zwischen Fixationszeit und Sakkadenlänge zu geben.<sup>25</sup> Beim Lesen von Alphabetschriften wird die Augenbewegung durch Abstandsinformation geleitet.<sup>26</sup> Vorhersagbarkeit und Häufigkeit von Wörtern beeinflussen wenigstens teilweise den Landeplatz einer Sakkade, während semantische Vorverarbeitung keinen Einfluss darauf hat.<sup>27</sup> Die im parafovealen Bereich erfasste Abstandsinformation trägt zur Wahl des anvisierten nachfolgenden Fixationspunktes bei. Der bevorzugte Betrachtungspunkt liegt mittig zwischen Wortanfang und Wortmitte, aber hängt auch vom vorausgegangenen Fixationsort ab: kurze Sakkaden verursachen eine dextroverse Dislokation, lange Sakkaden eine sinistroverse Dislokation.<sup>28</sup> Je weiter der Landeplatz vom optimalen Betrachtungspunkt entfernt ist, d.h. der Position von der das Wort am effizientesten erkannt werden kann, also der Wortmitte, umso wahrscheinlicher ist eine Refixation.

Es überrascht nicht, dass die Fixationszeit von der Wortschwierigkeit beeinflusst wird, die wiederum von Faktoren wie Häufigkeit, Vorhersagbarkeit, Bedeutungsvielfalt etc. abhängt.<sup>29</sup> Die Auswirkungen von Worthäufigkeit und Vorhersagbarkeit gelten ebenso für geübte Leser des Chinesischen.<sup>30</sup> Leser des Chinesischen und Hebräischen zeigen eine Fixationszeit, die mit der von Lesern des Englischen vergleichbar ist, allerdings sind die Sakkaden kürzer, nämlich ca. 2-3 Schriftzeichen im Chinesischen, 5-6 Buchstaben im Hebräischen.<sup>31</sup>

## Abstände im Text

Eine Reihe neuropsychologischer Experimente zeigt die positive Wirkung von Abständen im Fließtext, unabhängig davon, ob die Leser daran gewöhnt sind oder nicht.<sup>32</sup> Dies lässt sich u.a. am Beispiel der thailändischen Schrift zeigen, die normalerweise auf Abstände verzichtet: der ungewohnte Einschub von Abständen zwischen Wörtern führte bei Lesern des Thailändischen zu messbar höherem Lesetempo, obwohl diese Leser den für sie ungewohnten Text als schwieriger empfanden.<sup>33</sup> Interessanterweise suggerieren gegenwärtige Studien, dass es einen Unterschied für Abstände in phonographischen und logographischen (inkl. gemischt logographisch-phonetischen) Schriften gäbe. Für das Chinesische lässt sich nachweisen, dass der Einschub von Abständen zwischen Schriftzeichen disruptiv war, während der Einschub von Abständen zwischen Wörtern zwar nicht disruptiv war,<sup>34</sup> allerdings auch nicht das Lesetempo erhöhen konnte.<sup>35</sup> Besonders lehrreich sind die Beobachtungen zur japanischen Schrift: in rein syllabischer Schrift (Hiragana) zeigte der Einschub von Abständen zwischen Wörtern eine positive, allerdings deutlich kleinere Wirkung auf das Lesetempo als im Englischen – eine Verbesserung von 12% für Hiragana gegenüber bis zu 50% für das Englische –, doch diese Abstandswirkung konnte für gemischt logographisch-syllabische Schreibungen (Kanji-Hiragana) nicht repliziert werden.<sup>36</sup> Ein beitragender Faktor mag sein, dass der Wechsel zwischen Kanji und Hiragana Schriftzeichen bereits Informationen über Wortgrenzen enthält.<sup>37</sup> Hieraus lässt sich ableiten, dass die positive

<sup>25</sup> Rayner 2009, 1468.

<sup>26</sup> Epelboim – Booth – Steinman 1994; Rayner *et al.* 1998; Juhasz *et al.* 2008.

<sup>27</sup> Rayner 2009, 1470.

<sup>28</sup> Rayner 2009, 1470.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. Rayner 2009, 1472 mit Lit.

<sup>30</sup> Rayner 2009, 1472.

<sup>31</sup> Rayner 2009, 1461.

<sup>32</sup> Rayner 2009, 1470.

<sup>33</sup> Kohsom – Gobet 1997, 391, 393.

<sup>34</sup> Rayner 2009, 1470.

<sup>35</sup> Bai *et al.* 2008.

<sup>36</sup> Saino *et al.* 2007, 2582.

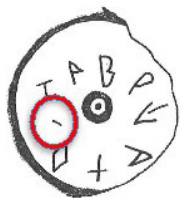
<sup>37</sup> Saino *et al.* 2007, 2577.

Wirkung von Abständen im Text nur für rein phonetische Schriften (alphabetisch, Abjad, syllabisch) verallgemeinert werden darf.

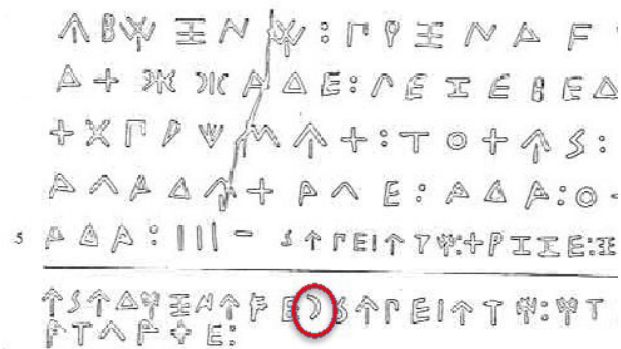
In alphabetischen Schriften spielt Abstandsinformation eine Rolle sowohl für die Worterkennung als auch für die Steuerung der Augenbewegung, und man hat nachweisen können, dass das Entfernen von Abstandsinformation das Lesetempo bei Alphabetschriften typischerweise um 40-50% verringert.<sup>38</sup> Die Wirkung ist besonders stark bei selten vorkommenden Wörtern. Wenn Abstände im Text fehlen (*scriptio continua*) verschiebt sich die Fixationsstelle auf den Wortanfang und entfernt sich damit weiter vom optimalen Betrachtungspunkt.<sup>39</sup> Sowohl Fixationszeit als auch Anzahl von Refixationen erhöhen sich in Folge.



TL 13, Pinara (E. Kalinka)



N 313c, Letoon  
(G. Neumann)



TL 36, Xanthos (E. Kalinka)



TL 54, Çukurbag (E. Kalinka)

**ABB. 2.** Worttrennungszeichen.

Kontrovers zu diskutieren sind die Ergebnisse einer Studie, der zufolge sich nur bescheidene Unterschiede zwischen Text mit und ohne Abständen, beim leisen Lesen wie beim Vorlesen zeigten: dies betreffe den Zeitpunkt der Augenbewegung, das Lesetempo, nicht aber das Textverständnis oder das Zurückkehren zu bereits gelesenen Textstellen; noch würden Abstände das Ziel der Augenbewegung beeinflussen.<sup>40</sup> Die Autoren dieser Studie schlossen, dass Abstände zwar die Worterkennung erleichtern könnten, aber kognitive und Wahrnehmungsfaktoren wichtiger für die Augenbewegung seien als visuelle Faktoren wie Abstände, Punctuation oder Großschreibung, deren Rolle in der bisherigen Literatur überbewertet worden sei.<sup>41</sup> Dieses Urteil ist allerdings stark interpretativ, da die Resultate der als bescheiden beschriebenen Verlangsamung des Lesetempos<sup>42</sup> in der Tat vergleichbar mit denen anderer Studien sind, die Ergebnisse am oberen Ende desselben Spektrums als signifikant reduziert deuten, d.h. ca. 40% beim Lesen von Absätzen, ca. 50% beim Lesen von Sätzen.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Rayner – Fischer – Pollatsek 1998, 1142–1143.

<sup>39</sup> Saino *et al.* 2007, 2756.

<sup>40</sup> Epelboim – Booth – Steinman 1994, 1735, 1756.

<sup>41</sup> Epelboim – Booth – Steinman 1994, 1747.

<sup>42</sup> Epelboim – Booth – Steinman (1994): 18–52% für unterschiedliche Leser.

<sup>43</sup> Rayner – Fischer – Pollatsek 1998, 1142.

Sowohl Epelboim und Kollegen wie auch deren Kritiker bekräftigen die fundamentale Rolle der Worterkennung für den Leseprozess. Ein Zusammenhang von Worterkennung und Abstandsinformation, wie ihn Rayner und Kollegen vorschlagen, wird indirekt auch von der Erkenntnis gestützt, dass Sprachvertrautheit eine signifikante Rolle dabei spiele, wie gut Leser mit *scriptio continua* zurechtkämen, denn das abstandslose Lesen in Fremdsprachen sei deutlich schwieriger.<sup>44</sup>

Andere Experimente zeigen eine stärkere positive Wirkung für Spatien als für andere Methoden der Markierung von Lexemgrenzen, wie beispielsweise das Flankieren durch den Buchstaben x.<sup>45</sup> Die Wahl eines alphabetischen Schriftzeichens (x) als Worttrennungszeichen erscheint allerdings ungeschickt, da der bekannte phonetische Lautwert dieses Buchstabens auch in der Rolle als umgedeutetes Worttrennungszeichen ein gewisses Maß an phonetischer Interferenz erwarten lässt. Dagegen konnte ein anderes Experiment,<sup>46</sup> welches die Verwendung eines nicht-Buchstabenzeichens (@) als Alternative zu Abständen im Text untersucht hat, eine ähnliche Wirkung von Textabständen und Worttrennung durch das Zeichen @ nachweisen. Daraus lässt sich folgern, dass Abstände und nicht-Buchstabenzeichen eine vergleichbare Rolle bei der Worttrennung in alphabetischen Schriften übernehmen können.

## Worttrennung in den lykischen Inschriften

Die Verwendung eines speziellen Markierungszeichens zur Worttrennung ist im Lykischen weit verbreitet. Seine Verwendung lässt Schlüsse zu, was der lykische Schreiber als Wort bzw. wort-ähnliche Einheit definiert hat. Es bleibt fraglich, ob eine Definition von Trennungszeichen als komplexe, verbindliche linguistische Unterscheidung von Wörtern hilfreich ist, um sich der Praxis der antiken Schreiber anzunähern. Etwas bescheidener wäre der Ansatz, über solche Markierungen Einheiten zu identifizieren, die vom lykischen Schreiber als freistehende, eigenständige sprachliche Komponenten empfunden wurden. Enklitika wurden normalerweise als Teil des Wortes, an das sie angefügt sind, verstanden, so werden z.B. Konjunktionen wie *me* ‘aber’, *se* ‘und’, *tibe* ‘oder’ häufig nicht als separat gekennzeichnet. Auch die Kombination von Präverb und Verb oder Präposition und Substantiv wurde häufig als eine Einheit aufgefasst. Tekoğlu zufolge sei es den Schreibern unklar gewesen, ob und wie ‘kleine Wörter’ wie Enklitika, Proklitika und Konjunktionen zu trennen seien.<sup>47</sup> Alternativ könnte man aus der mangelnden Einheitlichkeit auch auf ein Maß zulässiger Variation statt auf eine fehlende Kenntnis vorhandener Standardisierung schließen.

Nichtdestotrotz ist das Maß an Variation verhältnismäßig klein, und weist keine erkennbaren chronologischen oder geographischen Muster auf. Tekoğlu hat einige Unregelmäßigkeiten nachgewiesen, die er als Fehlen linguistischen Bewusstseins seitens des Schreibers deutet.<sup>48</sup> Hierunter gehören das Fehlen eines Worttrennungszeichens dort, wo es zu erwarten wäre (oft in bestimmten Textpositionen wie am Zeilenende), sowie unverständlicher Gebrauch dort, wo er nicht zu erwarten wäre, z.B. mitten im Wort oder zur Trennung von Enklitika, Proklitika und Konjunktionen, die normalerweise nicht getrennt werden. Es gibt sogar einige wenige Beispiele für den doppelten Gebrauch des Worttrennungszeichens (TL 41, TL 99, TL 114), ohne dass eine semantische Unterscheidung zur Normalverwendung feststellbar wäre. Ob aber doppelte Trennungszeichen *per se* als Schreibfehler zu gelten hätten, muss so lange fraglich bleiben, wie wir nicht in der Lage sind, nachzuweisen, dass irgendwelche der unten diskutierten Worttrennungspraktiken je bindend waren. Ebenfalls wäre vorstellbar, dass der verdoppelte

<sup>44</sup> Epelboim – Booth – Steinman 1994, 1746.

<sup>45</sup> Rayner – Fischer – Pollatsek 1998, 1137–1142; Rayner 2009, 1469.

<sup>46</sup> Yang – McConkie 2001, 3569, 3573.

<sup>47</sup> Tekoğlu 2007, 809.

<sup>48</sup> Tekoğlu 2007, 803.

Worttrenner eine zulässige, visuell stärker herausragende Permutation sei. Des Weiteren wäre es wünschenswert, am Original überprüfen zu können, ob es sich um bewusst eingemeißelte Punkte oder vielleicht auch nur um Beschädigungen der Steinoberfläche handelt; dies kann leider im Rahmen dieses Artikels nicht geleistet werden.

Wenn wir von Schreiberfehlern absehen, so mag der irreguläre Gebrauch bei ‘kleinen Wörtern’ darauf hindeuten, dass die Definition dessen, was ein Wort konstituiert, nicht allgemeingültig festgelegt, sondern durch den Sprachgebrauch bestimmt war und möglicherweise eine von Schreiber zu Schreiber andere Ausprägung hatte. Alternativ bietet sich der Blick auf den Text von graphischer Warte an.

In diesem Kontext erscheint ein von Paul Saenger<sup>49</sup> für mittelalterliche Manuskripte entwickeltes Konzept auch für die Diskussion lykischer Steininschriften fruchtbar. In Analogie zu einer Gartenpflegetechnik klassifiziert Saenger die Praxis, in unregelmäßiger Weise und/oder an Orten, die nicht mit Wort- oder Morphemgrenzen übereinstimmen, Abstände in einen Text einzufügen als „Belüftung“: wie man Löcher durch die Grasnarbe in den Boden drückt, um eine Rasenfläche zu belüften und somit das Graswachstum zu stärken, ebenso könne man auch Abstände in Texte einfügen, um die Augenbewegung zu unterstützen.

Saengers Konzept bezieht sich auf eine frühe, noch nicht standardisierte Phase des Einschubs von Abständen in Manuskripten, und kann, wie nachfolgend einige Beispiele zeigen werden, sinnvoll auf die Beschreibung der räumlichen Anordnung vieler lykischer Inschriften übertragen werden. Von großem Vorteil ist, dass eine anachronistische Wertung der Schreiberkompetenz unnötig wird, und somit eine neue Interpretation vormals als inkonsistent und inkompetent ge-deuteter Schreibpraktiken als vielmehr praktisch wie relativ konsistent ermöglicht – konsistent in dem Sinne, dass das verwendete Maß an Worttrennung zwar nicht linguistisch bedeutsam ist, aber ausreichende Unterstützung der Augenbewegung beim Lesen bietet.

## Typologie lykischer Worttrennung

Das Lykische zeigt unterschiedliche Praktiken zur Worttrennung, neben ungetrenntem Text (*scriptio continua*) kennt die Schrift die Trennung durch spezielle Markierungszeichen und/oder Spatien. Inschriften, die keine Markierungszeichen zur Worttrennung verwenden, sind entweder in *scriptio continua* geschrieben,<sup>50</sup> oder verwenden Spatien zur Worttrennung.<sup>51</sup> Als Worttrennungszeichen ist am häufigsten der Doppelpunkt belegt, seltener nur ein mittig angebrachter Punkt bzw. drei übereinanderstehende Trennungspunkte<sup>52</sup>; gelegentlich bezeugt ist die einzelne, nach links geöffnete Klammer,<sup>53</sup> der Trennungsstrich bildet die große Ausnahme.<sup>54</sup>

Entsprechend lassen sich die lykischen Inschriften ihrer Trennungspraxis nach wie folgt klassifizieren: 1. trennungslose Schreibung (*scriptio continua*); 2. getrennt durch Trennungspunkte; 3. getrennt durch Spatien und Trennungspunkte; 4. getrennt durch Spatien. Mit der Ausnahme

<sup>49</sup> Saenger 1997, 32.

<sup>50</sup> TL 1, TL 28, TL 91, TL 100, TL 116, TL 124, N 303, N 308.

<sup>51</sup> Gruppe (1): TL 3, TL 4, TL 47; Gruppe (2): TL 33, TL 35, TL 45, TL 51, TL 92. Gruppe (1) zeigt regelmäßige, Gruppe (2) unregelmäßige Verwendung von Spatien.

<sup>52</sup> TL 12, TL 13, TL 22, TL 54, N 301. Drei übereinanderstehende Punkte sind bereits in frühen kanaa-näischen Inschriften als Worttrennungszeichen belegt, z.B. auf dem Wasserkrug aus Lachisch (vgl. Goldwasser 2016, 153 und Abb. 20); archaisch-griechische Inschriften verwenden häufig 2-3 übereinanderstehende Punkte, belegt sind Variationen von 1 bis 10 Punkten (Guarducci 1967, 392).

<sup>53</sup> In TL 29 (Z. 4, 7, 8, 9) und TL 36 (Z. 6) könnte das Zeichen als alternativer Worttrenner interpretiert werden. In den Inschriften TL 44 und TL 55 dient die Klammer der Strophenunterteilung. Ebenfalls formt sie Bestandteil mehrerer lykischer Zahlzeichen. Die nach links geöffnete Klammer ist ebenfalls in archaisch-griechischen Inschriften bezeugt (Guarducci 1967, 392).

<sup>54</sup> TL 66, N 313c. Der einfache Trennungsstrich ist auf der Tell Nagila Scherbe und der Lachisch-Schüssel bezeugt (Naveh 1973, 206); ebenso auch in der archaisch-griechischen Schrift (Guarducci 1967, 392).



der zuerst genannten Kategorie bewegt sich das Phänomen der Worttrennung auf einem Kontinuum, das von „belüftetem“ bis zu regelmäßig getrenntem Text reicht. Regelmäßigkeit bezieht sich in diesem Kontext sowohl auf die Häufigkeit der vorhandenen Worttrennung als auch die linguistische Relevanz der Trennungsstelle, nicht aber auf die Größe der Trennungslücke bzw. das Größenverhältnis von Trennungs- zu Schriftzeichen. Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass lykische Inschriften nur selten ein hohes Maß an kunstvoller Ausgestaltung erkennen lassen, soll in diesem Kontext das Größenverhältnis von Lücken zwischen Buchstaben nicht überbewertet werden. Im Gegensatz zu dem Gros der Inschriften steht eine kleinere Anzahl, die einen deutlich formaleren Stil zeigt. Eine quantitative Analyse der veröffentlichten Inschriften, deren Erhaltungszustand ausreichend ist und die aus mehr als einem Wort bestehen, ergibt folgendes Muster, welches zeigt, dass sofern Spatien verwendet werden, „belüfteter“ Text verbreiteter ist als regelmäßige Abstände zwischen Wörtern. Interessanterweise trifft dies nicht auf die Trennung durch den Interpunkt zu, der überwiegend regelmäßig gesetzt wird. In Analogie soll aber auch bei der Worttrennung durch Interpunkt von „Belüftung“ gesprochen werden, wenn es sich um nicht vollständig regelmäßige Setzung des Trennungszeichens handelt; in allen Fällen ist der Text also dort belüftet, wo eine Markierung (Interpunkt/Spatium) gesetzt wird (vgl. [Tabelle. 1](#)).

**TABELLE 1.** Verteilungsmuster Worttrennung.

	Typologie	regelmäßig	belüftet
69,1%	Trennung durch Interpunkt	52,2%	16,9%
19,1%	Trennung durch Interpunkt und Spatium	1,5%	17,6%
5,9%	Trennung durch Spatium	2,2%	3,7%
5,9%	<i>scriptio continua</i>	5,9%	-

Das Zeilenende wird in den einzelnen Inschriften sehr unterschiedlich behandelt: hier können Interpunkte zur Markierung des Wortendes stehen oder fehlen, ohne dass sich ein erkennbares Muster ergibt. Belegt sind sowohl Zusammenfall von Zeilenende mit Wortende, als auch das (nicht markierte) Weiterführen eines Wortes über das Zeilenende hinaus. Ob im ersteren Fall zusätzlich ein Interpunkt das Wortende markiert oder dieser weggelassen wird, wird auch innerhalb einer Inschrift nicht konsistent gehandhabt. Die Tatsache, dass Wörter ohne weitere Markierung über das Zeilenende fortgeführt werden konnten, spricht vielleicht dafür, dass das Zeilenende lediglich eine physische Grenze darstellte, der man keine besondere Aufmerksamkeit zollte. Auf dieser Basis erscheint es für diese Untersuchung nicht sinnvoll, Worttrennung am Zeilenende separat von der Worttrennung innerhalb einer Zeile zu betrachten.

## Worttrennung durch Interpunkt

Die Trennung durch den Interpunkt ist die am häufigsten verwendete Praxis, die in über zwei Drittel (69,1%) aller Inschriften anzutreffen ist.<sup>55</sup> Als Beispiel für ein typisches, regelmäßiges Schriftbild kann die hier abgebildete Inschrift aus Sura gelten (Abb. 3).

Zahlenmäßig überwiegt eine regelmäßige Setzung des Interpunktes (52,2%). Unregelmäßige Verwendung des Interpunktes (16,9%)<sup>56</sup> ist meist weniger deutlich „belüftet“ als in den Kategorien,

<sup>55</sup> TL 9–10, TL 12, TL 25–27, TL 29–30, TL 36–37, TL 39, TL 40a–c, TL 48–50, TL 53, TL 55–57, TL 63, TL 66–69, TL 72–73, TL 77, TL 83–87, TL 90, TL 98, TL 101, TL 103–104, TL 107–108, TL 110–114, TL 117, TL 119–120, TL 122–123, TL 126, TL 128, TL 131–133, TL 137, TL 149–150, N 301–302, N 306, N 309a, N 310, N 314–316, N 320, N 322, N 324, N 326.

<sup>56</sup> TL 8, TL 13–14, TL 38, TL 44, TL 61, TL 78, TL 80, TL 89, TL 99, TL 105–106, TL 109, TL 115, TL 121, TL 127, TL 136, TL 138–139, TL 143, TL 145, N 309c, N 317.



die Spatien aufzeigen; das Spektrum reicht von nur gelegentlichem bis zu vermehrtem Auslassen des erwarteten Interpunktes. Ein interessantes Beispiel bietet die Inschrift TL 44, die in den auf Lykisch A (TL 44a–c.19) und Lykisch B (TL 44c.32–44d) geschriebenen Partien meist sehr regelmäßig den Interpunkt setzt, doch dort, wo er fehlt, häufen sich die Auslassungen meist über ein bis zwei Zeilen. Da der Interpunkt also nicht durchgängig verwendet wird, kann sein Gebrauch in diesen Fällen als dem „Belüftungsschema“ folgend bezeichnet werden.

↑θ ΨΞΝΨ:ΡΡΞΝΡΑΓ↓:Μ↑ΤΕ:ΡΡΞΝΡΑΓΑΤΨ:ΜΕΙΡ↑  
 +ΡΡΓΕΑΤΛΕ:↑+ΒΕ:§↑ΛΡΔΕ:§↑ΤΕΔΤΕΜ↑:↑+ΡΕΙ↑:  
 ↑θ ΨΞΝΨ:↑↓Τ↓:§↑ΛΡΔ↓:↑+ΡΡΓΕΙ↑Μ↑Ε:ΤΡΔΕ:ΤΕΚ  
 +ΡΨΜ↓:ΕΙΑ§↑:Ρ ΤΛΡ+Ε:Μ↑ΡΨΤΕ+↓↓↓ΡΤΕ:ΜΛΟ+Ε  
 , Μ↑ΔΕ:ΞΤ↑↓ΟΛΤΤΕ:↑ΡΧΜ↓:ΡΞΤΒΡ+Ε:ΞΤ↑ΝΨ:ΨΡΟΦ  
 ΜΕΙΡΡΤΕΙ↑↑↑:ΚΟΜ↑+Ε:ΡΔΡΕΙΨ:ΙΙ-:ΟΡΑΙΕΙΨΝ:ΨΑ  
 Μ↑Ν↑:ΡΔΔΨ:ΚΛΡ:§ ΧΜΑΤΕ:↑ΒΕ:§ ΟΡ↑ΙΕ

ΤΕΙ↑:Μ ΟΡ↓ΙΡ+:ΤΟ+Ψ§:ΜΛΟ+ΕΔΡΙΑ:§ ΟΡ↑ΙΕ  
 §↑ΔΡΔΨ:Ρ ΤΛΡ+ΡΨ+Ψ Ψ ΣΡΑΙΕΙΨ:Μ↑Τ↑:ΞΤΑΤ↓ΤΕ  
 ↑:ΤΕΚ↑:Μ↑Ν↑ΚΛΡ:ΜΑΔΤΤ↑ΒΕ:§ΟΡ↑ΙΕΣ↑ΔΡΔΨ  
 ΔΡΙΑ:ΔΔ↑ΕΡΞΤ↑ΨΕΙΨΡΕ:Τ↑ΡΧ ΜΛΟ+ΕΔΡΙΑ  
 , Ε:Μ↑Δ↑Τ↑ΡΨΚΟΜ↑ΙΣΡΕΙΕ:Ο+ΡΙΑΡΤ:ΤΟΦ↑ΡΕ↑  
 ΔΕ:Ψ:§↑↑ΡΕ+ΡΔΕΤΕ:Μ↑ΕΝ↑:ΚΟΜΠΙΡΤΕ'

TL 84, Sura (E. Kalinka)

**ABB. 3.** Worttrennung durch Interpunkt.

## Trennung durch Interpunkt und Spatium

Obwohl Interpunkt und Spatium dieselbe Aufgabe der Worttrennung übernehmen können, wie auch in den oben skizzierten neuropsychologischen Experimenten nachgewiesen werden konnte, ist ihr Verteilungsmuster in den lykischen Inschriften differenziert, sowohl ihre Verbreitung als auch das Verhältnis von regelmäßiger zu „belüfteter“ Verwendung betreffend. Von besonderem Interesse ist daher auch die Kombination beider Methoden. Die zweitgrößte Gruppe der lykischen Worttrennungstypologie besteht aus Texten, die Spatien mit dem Interpunkt verbinden (19,1%). Man könnte diese Gruppe auch als einen Sonderfall der ersten Kategorie, Trennung durch Interpunkt auffassen. Sie ist von vergleichbarer Größe wie die Gruppe, die unregelmäßig mit Interpunkt trennt.

Es folgt, dass der Interpunkt in 88,2% aller Inschriften Anwendung findet. Was die Anordnung von Spatien innerhalb der hier genannten Gruppe angeht, so lässt sich keine große Regelmäßigkeit feststellen. „Belüftete“ Texte sind im Vergleich zu regelmäßigen Abständen in großer Überzahl (17,6%),<sup>57</sup> was die winzige Gruppe regelmäßiger Setzungen (1,5%)<sup>58</sup> wie zufällig aussehen lässt. Das Spektrum dessen, was in dieser Gruppe als „belüftet“ zusammengefasst wird, ist relativ breit, darunter fällt sowohl die unregelmäßige Verbindung von Interpunkt und Spatium wie auch der unregelmäßige Wechsel zwischen beiden Trennungsmodalitäten. Entsprechend wirkt diese Gruppe von Inschriften heterogener als andere „belüftete“ Gruppen.

<sup>57</sup> TL 5–6, TL 11, TL 15–17, TL 19, TL 21–22, TL 31, TL 40d, TL 41–43, TL 52, TL 58, TL 62, TL 70, TL 81, TL 88, TL 94–95, TL 102, TL 118.

<sup>58</sup> TL 59, TL 144.



**ABB. 4.** Trennung mit Interpunkt und Spatien („belüftet“).

Die oben abgebildete Inschrift N 309d aus Myra (Abb. 4) zeigt neben regelmäßiger Verwendung des Interpunktes unregelmäßige Belüftung, die in beiden Fällen mitten ins Wort fällt (in der Umschrift sind beide, rechts wie links neben dem Spatium stehenden Buchstaben rot markiert). Anzumerken ist, dass das Spatium (Z. 10) mit einer Beschädigung der Steinoberfläche zusammenfällt, dies aber kaum als Kriterium für das Setzen eines Spatiums anzunehmen ist, da sich diese Beschädigung über mehrere Zeilen erstreckt und dort Buchstaben durchtrennt; gleiches gilt für das Spatium in Z. 14. Sollte die Beschädigung des Inschriftenträgers vor die Anbringung der Inschrift datieren, ist es in beiden Fällen höchst unwahrscheinlich dass der verhältnismäßig dünne Riss, der sich durch mehrere Zeilen und Buchstaben erzieht, die Spatien in Z. 10 und 14 kausal bedingt hat.<sup>59</sup> Wäre hier ohne Spatium geschrieben worden, so wäre das jeweils nächstfolgende Schriftzeichen durch den Riss deutlich weniger in Mitleidenschaft gezogen worden, als dies bei den Buchstaben, durch die sich der Riss zieht, der Fall ist. Während diese Spatien folglich keine Aufgabe in der Trennung von Wortgrenzen übernehmen haben können, fällt auf, dass sie im Zusammenspiel mit den Interpunkten zu einer sehr regelmäßigen Unterteilung des Textes in kürzere Buchstabengruppen im Sinne der „Belüftungstheorie“ führen.

Die unten abgebildete Inschrift TL 15 aus Pinara (Abb. 5) zeigt ebenfalls ein interessantes Muster, in dem sie innerhalb der Zeile nur Spatien verwendet, und zwar sowohl dort, wo dies mit Wortgrenzen zusammenfällt (gelb markiert) als auch dort, wo sich das Spatium nur als „Belüftung“ verstehen lässt (rosa markiert).<sup>60</sup> Das Zeilenende wird dagegen konsistent mit dem üblicheren Worttrennungszeichen, dem Interpunkt markiert.

<sup>59</sup> Anders sieht es dagegen mit der deutlich tieferen und breiteren Rille links außen (Z. 19–20) aus, die tatsächlich die leichte Verschiebung nach rechts der beiden Zeilenanfänge bedingt haben könnte.

<sup>60</sup> Die Inschrift zeigt auf dem freundlich von Birgit Christiansen zur Verfügung gestelltem Foto vielfache Beschädigung durch Risse und Löcher. Beschädigungen durch größere Löcher finden sich auf mehreren hier als Spatien eingezeichneten Stellen, aber auch vielfach anderenorts, teilweise beschädigen sie Buchstaben. Des Weiteren sind Risse sichtbar, die sich ebenfalls z.T. durch einzelne Buchstaben ziehen. Ob diese Schäden wenigstens teilweise vor die Anbringung der Inschrift datieren, lässt sich anhand des Fotos nicht entscheiden, da aber beide Arten von Schäden mit Buchstabenteilen zusammenfallen, ist meiner Ansicht nach der freigelassene Platz unabhängig von den Beschädigungen zu interpretieren. Zudem spricht die Erosion einer größeren Stelle inmitten der Inschrift, die dort den Text ausgelöscht hat, eher dafür, dass es sich um sekundäre Schäden handelt.



TL 15, Pinara (E. Kalinka)

1 'eb'ěññē **prñnaw**[ã m=...] prñnawatē:

2 'p'ddax**ñta** xebe°[....]°h tideimi:

3 hrppi ladi **ehbi** [se ti]deime:

**ABB. 5.** Worttrennung mit Spatium und Interpunkt am Zeilenende („belüftet“).



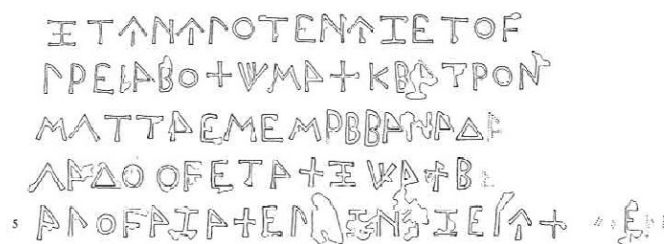
TL 114, Limyra (E. Kalinka)

1 esedeplēmeje: me=j=adē: tesi: miñ\

2 awahai: xupa: ehbi: se=i=ne: epñ: puñtē

3 me=i: [a]wahi: tesi: aladahali -)

**ABB. 6.** Trennung durch Spatium und Interpunkt (regelmäßig).



TL 28, Tlos (E. Kalinka)

1 ñte=ne putinezi tuw[etē.....]

2 prijabuhāmah kbatru n°[.....]

3 mlttaimi mrbbanada[.....]

4 ladu uwitahñ xahb[u/ã.....]

5 apuwazahi p[r]ñnezijeh[i] .°n.[

**ABB. 7.** *scriptio continua*.

Den beiden zuletzt diskutierten Inschriften lassen sich aber auch sehr regelmäßige Kombinationen von Spatium und Interpunkt gegenüberstellen, wie z.B. in der Inschrift TL 144 aus Limyra (Abb. 6). Regelmäßigkeit, wie oben festgelegt, schließt die Größenverhältnisse von Spatium zu Interpunkt nicht mit ein, sondern bezieht sich ausschließlich auf Häufigkeit und linguistische Trennungsstelle.

### ***Scriptio continua***

Das Schreiben ohne Worttrennung (*scriptio continua*, vgl. Abb. 7) wird nur von einem kleinen Teil (5,9 %) der lykischen Inschriften praktiziert.<sup>61</sup> Selbst für diese Praxis ist es nicht möglich, sie als Lokaltradition eines oder weniger Fundorte zu interpretieren, da sich Beispiele aus allen größeren Schriftzentren mit der Ausnahme von Pinara finden. Ob sich die *scriptio continua* unter griechischem Einfluss verbreitete, ist fraglich, dagegen scheint zu sprechen, dass die bilingualen lykisch-griechischen Inschriften stets klar zwischen den Schriftpraktiken der beiden Alphabete trennen und im Normalfall die Worttrennungspraktiken der Einzelschriften aufzeigen (s.u.); die wenigen Ausnahmen hierzu zeigen häufiger einen Einfluss der lykischen Schrift auf die griechische als umgekehrt.<sup>62</sup>

### **Worttrennung durch Spatien**

Die Trennung durch Spatien ohne zusätzliche Interpunkte (Abb. 8) bildet eine marginale Kategorie im Corpus der lykischen Inschriften. Auch unter diesen wenigen Beispielen nimmt „belüfteter“ Text<sup>63</sup> einen höheren Stellenwert als regelmäßige Trennung<sup>64</sup> durch Spatien ein.

### **Worttrennung in Stoichedon-Inschriften**

Ein spezielles, nur selten bezeugtes Format ordnet den Text in einem imaginären Raster an, in dem die einzelnen Buchstaben entlang vertikaler wie horizontaler Achsen justiert sind, d.h. in gleichmäßigen Abständen über wie nebeneinander stehen (στοιχηδόν, vgl. Abb. 9).<sup>65</sup> Diese Form der Buchstabenanordnung spricht für ein höheres Maß an Ausgestaltungswillen und fällt in den längeren Inschriften wie der Trilingue vom Letoon (N 320) oder der Xanthosstele (TL 44) mit einem höheren Status der Inschrift zusammen.

Wie die obigen Abbildungen zeigen, sind zwei unterschiedliche Ansätze für die Worttrennung im Stoichedon-Format bezeugt: Entweder werden nur die Buchstaben im imaginären Raster angeordnet, der Interpunkt dagegen wird zwischen diese im Raster angeordneten Buchstaben eingefügt, wie das Beispiel der Inschrift N 302 zeigt. Alternativ wird dem Interpunkt selbst eine Rasterstelle zugewiesen, wie in der Inschrift TL 115 aus Limyra.

### **Worttrennung in mehrsprachigen Inschriften**

Die meisten mehrsprachigen Inschriften sind bilingual lykisch-griechisch, wobei weiterhin zwischen im Ganzen mehrsprachigen und nur teilweise mehrsprachigen Texten unterschieden werden kann; eine berühmte dreisprachige Inschrift liegt in der lykisch-griechisch-aramäischen Trilingue vom Letoon-Heiligtum vor. Im Allgemeinen ergibt sich folgendes Bild: sofern Erhaltungszustand und Textlänge ein Urteil zulassen,<sup>66</sup> verwenden die unterschiedlichen

<sup>61</sup> TL 1, TL 28, TL 91, TL 100, TL 116, TL 124, N 303, N 308.

<sup>62</sup> Nur TL 23 zeigt *scriptio continua* in beiden Textvarianten (lykisch, griechisch); dagegen zeigen TL 134 und TL 143 Worttrennung in beiden Textvarianten.

<sup>63</sup> TL 33, TL 35, TL 45, TL 51, TL 92.

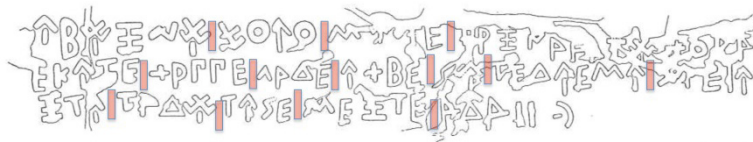
<sup>64</sup> TL 3–4, TL 47.

<sup>65</sup> Vgl. TL 44; TL 115; N 302; N 309; N 320.

<sup>66</sup> Schwer zu beurteilen: TL 23, N 312, N 319; der griechische Teil von TL 70 enthält nur ein Wort.



Sprachen jeweils die für diese Sprache normalerweise verwendete Schrift mit den entsprechenden Worttrennungspraktiken, ein irgendwie gearteter Einfluss der Schriftpraxis aus einer Schrift auf eine andere ist in fast allen Fällen auszuschließen. Für die griechischen Versionen bilingualer lykischer Inschriften bedeutet dies, dass sie fast immer in *scriptio continua* geschrieben sind.<sup>67</sup> Anders nur wenige Inschriften, die in der griechischen Version regelmäßig Spatien setzen, entsprechend dem doppelten Trennungspunkt der lykischen Version.<sup>68</sup> Eine Sonderstellung nimmt die Trilingue N 320 ein, die den griechischen Text mit Spatien „belüftet“.



TL 47, Xanthos (E. Kalinka)

1 eběññē xupu m=ʿē=tʿi [p]rñnaʿwʿ[a]ʿtʿē hura  
 2 ikezi hrppi ladi ehbi se tideime s=e=ije  
 3 ñte tadē tesi miñti ada || - )

**ABB. 8.** Worttrennung durch Spatien.



N 302, Korydalla (G. Neumann)



TL 115, Limyra (E. Kalinka)

**ABB. 9.** Stoichedon-Inschriften mit Interpunkt.

Dagegen ist der aramäische Text der Trilingue in *scriptio continua* geschrieben, der lykische trennt regelmäßig mit dem doppelten Interpunkt. Nur eine Inschrift zeigt in beiden Sprach- und Schriftversionen dieselbe Trennungspraxis, nämlich den Verzicht einer Worttrennung im Lykischen wie im Griechischen.<sup>69</sup> Da aber *scriptio continua* auch in einsprachig lykischen Inschriften bezeugt ist, kann nicht entschieden werden, ob die Verwendung in dieser Inschrift unter Einfluss der griechischen Textvariante zum Tragen kam.

<sup>67</sup> TL 6, TL 44–45, TL 56, TL 72, TL 117, N 302, N 320.

<sup>68</sup> TL 25; TL 134; TL 143.

<sup>69</sup> TL 45. Möglicherweise auch TL 23?



## Schlussbemerkungen

Die Untersuchung lykischer Worttrennung als graphisches Ereignis führt zu einer Typologie, die zwischen unterschiedlichen Markierungszeichen (Interpunkt – Spatium – beides – keines) in regelmäßiger wie unregelmäßiger Setzung unterscheidet. Eine Unterscheidung in chronologische oder geographische Verbreitungsmuster ist nach derzeitigem Kenntnisstand nicht möglich.

Für die unregelmäßige Markierung der Worttrennung bietet sich mit dem zur Beschreibung mittelalterlicher Manuskripte von Paul Saenger entwickelten „Belüftungsschema“ ein neuer Ansatz, der eine Diskussion ermöglicht, die nicht in einem Werturteil zur Schreiberkompetenz münden muss, sondern eine neutralere, beschreibende Position der graphischen Textanordnung ermöglicht. Eine mögliche Erklärung, warum Text sinnvoll unregelmäßig „belüftet“ wurde, bietet ein Verständnis der Mechanik des Lesens auf der Basis von medizinischer und neuropsychologischer Forschung. Es muss aber betont werden, dass eine solche graphozentrische Analyse der Worttrennungspraxis komplementär zur linguistischen Analyse zu verstehen ist, und nicht zum Ziel hat, diese zu ersetzen. Ob und gegebenenfalls wie linguistische und graphische Komponenten in der Schreibpraxis zusammenfallen, bedarf weiterer Untersuchung.

## Danksagung

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# Die Deutung von lykisch *terñ* und ihre Konsequenz für die Kriegspolitik Lykiens


David Sasseville\*

\* – Philipps-Universität Marburg. Email: [dvdsasseville@web.de](mailto:dvdsasseville@web.de)

**Abstract:** In the present paper, it is argued that the Lycian word *terñ* previously interpreted as a substantive is in fact a conjunction. A syntactic analysis of the word across the corpus reveals that it is restricted to the position after the finite or, if applicable, non-finite verb. Afterwards, a passage of the inscription on the inscribed pillar of Xanthus, in which *terñ* is attested several times, is reinterpreted accordingly. The new syntactic and grammatical interpretation of the passage has contextual consequences regarding the political history of Lycia during the Peloponnesian War. Therefore, a new translation of TL 44a.41–55 shedding a different light on the relationship between the Lycian king Gergis, son of Harpagos, and the Lycian dynasts Trbbēnīmi and Xerēi is offered and then discussed within the historical frame.

**Keywords:** the inscribed pillar of Xanthus, Thucydides, Gergis, temporal conjunction, syntax

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## 1. Forschungsgeschichte

Aufgrund zahlreicher Namen, die man bereits im 19. Jh. identifizieren konnte, wurde ein Teil des Inhalts des Xanthos-Pfeilers militärisch gedeutet. Von Wilhelm Deecke wurde der entsprechende Abschnitt mit dem Peloponnesischen Krieg in Verbindung gebracht.<sup>1</sup> Verschiedene Ethnika, z.B. Athener, Ionier, Spartaner und Perser, konnten innerhalb des lykischen Texts erkannt werden. Auch Eigennamen sind nicht verborgen geblieben. Zum Beispiel wurde lykisch *milasāñtra-* mit dem griechischen Feldherrn Μελέσανδρος, der vom Geschichtsschreiber Thukydides überliefert wird, gleichgesetzt. Ferner setzte man lykisch *humrxxa-* mit dem Rebellen Ἀμόργης gleich, der ebenfalls von Thukydides genannt wird. Man vermutete daher schon, dass bestimmte Passagen des Xanthos-Pfeilers Ereignisse des Peloponnesischen Krieges schildern.

Das lykische Wort *terñ*, das hier betrachtet wird, kommt in diesen militärischen Passagen mehrfach vor. Gemäß dem Kontext deutete Deecke dieses Wort als ‚das Heer‘ und übersetzte den folgenden Satz in dieser Weise:<sup>2</sup>

*ese trbbēnīmi : tebete : terñ se milasāñtrā* (TL 44a.44–45)

‚und Trbbēnīmi schlägt das Heer und Melesandros‘

<sup>1</sup> Deecke 1888, 827–828.

<sup>2</sup> Deecke 1888, 827–828; 1889, 186–187.

Seine Deutung schien überzeugend und wurde von weiteren Wissenschaftlern übernommen.<sup>3</sup> Sogar in der heutigen Literatur, mehr als einhundert Jahre später, begegnet man dieser Deutung von lykisch *terñ* noch immer.<sup>4</sup>

Holger Pedersen widmete sich in seinem Werk *Lykisch und Hittitisch* dem Wort *terñ*.<sup>5</sup> Seines Erachtens war die Grundbedeutung von *terñ* nicht ‚das Heer‘, sondern ‚der Teil‘. Die Bedeutung ‚das Heer‘ sei sekundär entstanden. Man vergleiche für die semantische Entwicklung das deutsche Wort ‚Schar‘, das zu ‚scheren‘ gehört, oder ‚Heeresabteilung‘. Aus diesen Beobachtungen schloss er lyk. *terñ* an der hethitischen Wurzel *kwer-* wie im Verb *kwerzi* ‚er schneidet‘ und im Substantive *kwera-* ‚das Feld‘ bzw. ‚das abgegrenzte Feldstück‘.<sup>6</sup> Aus phonologischer Perspektive gibt es keine Einwände gegen diese Etymologie, vorausgesetzt, dass der semantische Ansatz stimmt.

In seinem Wörterbuch wies Melchert zu Recht darauf hin, dass die Bedeutung ‚das Heer‘ für manche Belege unmöglich ist.<sup>7</sup> Deshalb entschied er sich für die Bedeutung ‚Gebiet‘ wie heth. *kuera-* ‚das Feld‘. Der iterative Ausdruck *tere tere* mit feststehender Bedeutung ‚in jedem Gebiet, überall‘ bringt dafür eindeutige Evidenz. Ein Lexem *tere-*, das ‚das Gebiet‘ bedeutet, kann schließlich angenommen werden. Allerdings muss hier zugegeben werden, dass diese Bedeutung nicht für jeden Beleg von *terñ* in der militärischen Passage des Xanthos-Pfeilers passend ist. Ob die Form *terñ* zum Lexem *tere-* ‚das Gebiet‘ gehört, soll im Folgenden näher untersucht werden.

## 2. Die syntaktische Analyse

Nach einer syntaktischen Untersuchung des Wortes *terñ* ergibt sich die Beobachtung, dass seine syntaktische Stellung feststeht; es ist auf die Stellung nach dem Verb beschränkt:

*tebete : terñ* (TL 44a.44, 48), *sñ[mat]e terñ* (TL 44b.12), *ese : terñ* (TL 44b.36),<sup>8</sup> *zxxâte : terñ* (TL 44c.3), *qastte terñ* (TL 44a.47), *xitē (e)pi : terñ m-* (TL 84.4).<sup>9</sup>

In einem Satz mit einem finiten Verb und einem Infinitiv, z.B. *pabrati ... tabāna* ‚er gab den Auftrag, X zu besiegen‘, finden wir *terñ* nicht nach dem finiten Verb, sondern nach dem Infinitiv:

*pabrati... tabāna : terñ* (TL 44a.52), *hbāti... xlaina terñ* (TL 44a.50), *trbbetē... zxxāna terñ* (TL 44a.54).

Wie festgestellt werden kann, ist *terñ* auf dieselbe Stellung im Satz beschränkt. Diese Regel ist bemerkenswert. Im Lykischen gibt es bestimmte Wortarten, die an die Stelle nach dem Verb gebunden sind. Zum Beispiel gibt es Konjunktionen wie die lokale *teli* ‚wo‘:<sup>10</sup>

*qastte teli* ‚wo er zerstörte‘ (TL 29.3), *sttāti : teli* ‚wo sie stehen‘ (TL 44b.35), *siñēni teli* ‚wo er liegt‘ (TL 58.3, N 309d.10–11), *[si]xani teli* ‚wo ich liege‘ (TL 128.2), *sttati teli* ‚wo sie steht‘ (N 320.17).

Dann gibt es die Konjunktion *teri*, die temporal gedeutet worden ist:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Bugge 1897, 31–32; Meriggi 1929, 417.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Schürr 2012, 117.

<sup>5</sup> Pedersen 1945, 49–50.

<sup>6</sup> Ebenfalls Laroche 1967, 57–59; Carruba 1978, 165.

<sup>7</sup> Melchert 2004, 65.

<sup>8</sup> Das Wort *ese* wird in diesem Fall nicht als Präverb gedeutet, sondern als 3. Person Singular Präteritum des Verbs ‚sein‘.

<sup>9</sup> In diesem Beispiel steht das Präverb *epi* zwischen dem Verb und dem Wort *terñ*. Der auslautende Nasal *-ñ* anstatt *-ñ* könnte an das folgende Wort, das mit *m-* beginnt, assimiliert worden sein.

<sup>10</sup> Carruba 1978, 177–179; Melchert 2004, 62; Neumann 2007, 345–346.

<sup>11</sup> Carruba 1978, 175–177; Melchert 2004, 63; Neumann 2007, 348.



*pijetē teri* ‚als er gab‘ (TL 35.3), *sñmate teri* ‚als er verpflichtete‘ (TL 29.4, 7, 17), *erite teri* ‚als er erhöhte‘ (TL 29.9), *apptte teri* ‚als er empfing‘ (TL 29.9).

Diese Beobachtungen sprechen dafür, dass Lykisch *terñ* wie *teli* und *teri* eine Konjunktion ist. Obwohl Substantive in der Funktion eines direkten Objekts durchaus nach dem Verb stehen können, sind sie nicht an diese Stelle gebunden. Die hohe Anzahl an Belegen von *terñ* kombiniert mit der beschränkten Stellung spricht entscheidend gegen die Deutung von *terñ* als Substantiv.<sup>12</sup> Das Wort gehört schließlich nicht zum Wort *tere* ‚den Gebieten‘. Im Folgenden soll durch eine kontextuelle Analyse untersucht werden, was für eine Funktion lyk. *terñ* hat.

### 3. Neue syntaktische Deutung der Passage TL 44a.41–55

Die ausgewählte Passage gehört zum Xanthos-Pfeiler, der zu Ehren des Königs Gergis, Sohn des Harpagos, errichtet worden ist.<sup>13</sup> In den Zeilen 41 bis 55 der Seite A findet sich eine Schilderung der militärischen Feldzüge des Königs Gergis, in denen er die Kriegsbeute gesammelt hat. Die bisherigen Übersetzer dieser Passage deuten das Wort *terñ* als direktes Objekt des Satzes, was laut der vorliegenden Untersuchung nicht mehr möglich ist. In einem Satz wie *ese : trbbēnimi : tebete : terñ se milasāñtrā* hat man aufgrund der Deutung, dass *terñ* direktes Objekt war, sehen wollen, dass der Lykier Trbbēnimi Subjekt des Satzes war. Das heißt, dass Trbbēnimi gemäß bisheriger Übersetzung derjenige gewesen wäre, der das Besiegen vollführt. Was die zwei angenommenen direkten Objekte anbelangt, d.h. das Heer und Melesandros, ist es aus pragmatischer Sicht unerwartet, dass das Heer vor dem Feldherrn genannt wird. Man würde stattdessen erwarten, dass der Feldherr Melesandros vorgestellt wird, nämlich ‚Melesandros und sein Heer‘. Schließlich sprechen sowohl die Syntax als auch die Pragmatik gegen die Deutung von *terñ* als Substantiv.<sup>14</sup>

Die Zugehörigkeit des Namens *trbbēnime/i-* zum Paradigma der *i*-Mutation bedeutet, dass man den Nominativ und Akkusativ Singular nicht unterscheiden kann, weshalb sein Kasus aus der Syntax oder aus dem Kontext gedeutet werden muss. Durch die neue Feststellung, dass *terñ* kein direktes Objekt mehr ist, sondern eine Konjunktion, braucht man ein neues direktes Objekt für die betroffenen Sätze. Im Beispielsatz *ese : trbbēnimi : tebete : terñ se milasāñtrā* ist Trbbēnimi letztendlich das direkte Objekt in Verbindung mit dem Namen Melesandros. Der Name wird also nicht mehr als Nominativ gedeutet, sondern als Akkusativ, was zur Interpretation führt, dass Trbbēnimi und Melesandros zusammen besiegt worden sind. Die gleiche Analyse mit dem gleichen Fazit kann auf den parallelen Satz *ese : xerēi : tebete : ter[ñ] se waxssepddimi* übertragen werden. Auch hier werden beide, Xerēi und Waxssepddimi, besiegt.

Ob die Konjunktion *terñ* temporal, kausal oder lokal ist, muss aus dem Kontext erschlossen werden. Der syntaktische Aufbau der Passage wird im Folgenden erklärt. Der vollständige lykische Text, die Übersetzung und die Erläuterungen zur Deutung mancher Lexeme werden erst am Schluss im sprachlichen Kommentar vorgestellt. Zuerst haben wir in unserer Passage einen

<sup>12</sup> Eichner (2005, 31 Anm. 167) deutet lyk. *terñ* ebenfalls als temporale Konjunktion, indem er das Wort etymologisch mit der hieroglyphen-luwischen Konjunktion *kwa/i+ra/i* vergleicht. Er bietet dem Leser allerdings keine synchrone Untersuchung an. Auch Carruba (1978, 177–179) hatte die Vermutung, dass *terñ* aufgrund seiner phonologischen Ähnlichkeit mit *teri* und *teli* ein Adverb sein könnte. Das Wort *terñ* wird hier etymologisch auf die pronominale Wurzel *\*kwo-* + *\*-r-* + *\*-im* zurückgeführt. Der Stamm *ter-* (< *\*kwo-*) ist in keilschrift-luwisch *ku-wa-a-ri* bezeugt. Die pronominale Endung *\*-im* ist auch in kluw. *ku-wa-a-ti-in* belegt. Es besteht also im Luwischen keine genaue Entsprechung zu lyk. *terñ*. In Anbetracht des Nebeneinanders von luw. *ku-wa-a-ti* und *ku-wa-a-ti-in* kann man annehmen, dass die Lykier auch ein *\*kwo-im* neben *\*kwo-i* gebildet haben, d.h. *terñ* (mit Synkope) neben *teri*.

<sup>13</sup> Für eine Diskussion über die umstrittene Identität des verehrten Herrschers des Xanthos-Pfeilers s. Domingo Gygax – Tietz 2005 mit weiterführender Literatur. Für die Genealogie von Gergis s. zuletzt Thonemann 2009, 169.

<sup>14</sup> In TL 44c.3 beispielsweise müsste man durch die Annahme von *terñ* als direktes Objekt von einer asyndetischen Konstruktion mit dem Stadtnamen Athens ausgehen, d.h. *trbbi : atānas : zxxāte : terñ* ‚sie kämpften gegen Athen, das Heer‘. Durch die Annahme von *terñ* als Konjunktion lässt sich die Grammatik dieser Passage ebenfalls verbessern.



Hauptsatz: *prulija zagaba nelede hātahe* ‚Die Kriegsbeute (ist) in Zagaba auf dem Markplatz in Ehre des Kriegsgottes (aufgestellt)‘.<sup>15</sup> Innerhalb dieses Hauptsatzes findet sich ein eingebauter Relativsatz: *epi=de izredi zēñ=tija ehbijedi* ‚die (scil. Kriegsbeute) durch seine eigenen Hände errungen worden ist‘. Dann folgen zwei weitere Hauptsätze. Die drei Hauptsätze insgesamt entsprechen den drei folgenden Nebensätzen. Jeder Nebensatz hängt vom Relativsatz ab und wird mit der Konjunktion *terñ* eingeleitet, z.B. *xbane ese trbbēnimi tebete terñ se milasāñtrā pddēn(e) eke xbānije izredi ehbijedi hātahe* ‚als er Trbbēnimi und Melesandros in Kyaneai auf dem kyaneischen Flachland mit eigenen Händen in Ehre des Kriegsgottes besiegte‘. Der Nebensatz vermittelt den Zeitpunkt, an dem Gergis die Kriegsbeute gesammelt hat. Darauf aufbauend wird hier eine temporale Funktion für *terñ* angesetzt.<sup>16</sup> Der vollständige Satz lautet folgendermaßen:

‚Die Kriegsbeute, die durch seine eigenen Hände errungen worden ist, als er Trbbēnimi und Melesandros in Kyaneai auf dem kyaneischen Flachland mit eigenen Händen in Ehre des Kriegsgottes besiegte, (ist) in Zagaba auf der Agora in Ehre des Kriegsgottes (aufgestellt).‘

Was die gesamte Passage unübersichtlich macht, ist die Reihenfolge sowohl von mehreren Orten, an denen die Kriegsbeute aufgestellt ist, als auch von mehreren Schlachten, in denen sie gesammelt wurde. Wie hier gezeigt, entspricht der erste Nebensatz dem ersten Hauptsatz der Reihenfolge. Der zweite Nebensatz entspricht dem zweiten Hauptsatz:

‚(Die Kriegsbeute, die durch seine eigenen Hände errungen worden ist), als er (um) Tlos (herum) Siedlung nach Siedlung überrannte (und) Xerēi, den Tloer, in der Schlacht in Ehre des Kriegsgottes wiederholt schlug, ist in Nieder-Tymnessos auf der Agora in Ehre des Kriegsgottes (aufgestellt).‘

Der dritte Nebensatz, in dem Gergis das Subjekt ist, und der vierte Nebensatz, in dem seine Gegner Subjekte sind, entsprechen dem dritten Hauptsatz:

‚(Die Kriegsbeute, die durch seine eigenen Hände errungen worden ist), als er Xerēi und Waxesepddimi im weinfarbenen (Meer) innerhalb eines Tages in Ehre des Kriegsgottes besiegte, als sie vermochten, über zwölf Schiffe die Oberhand zu haben, (ist) in Patara im Temenos der Malija in Ehre des Kriegsgottes (aufgestellt).‘

Danach folgen zwei weitere Nebensätze, die Schlachten beschreiben, die nicht in Lykien, sondern an der Westküste Kleinasiens stattgefunden haben. Die Orte, an denen die Kriegsbeute für diese Schlachten aufgestellt worden ist, werden erst am Anfang der Seite B der Inschrift erwähnt: *ebei kbija prulija ēti pddāti ijāna=tija* ‚Hier innerhalb des Bezirks ist die andere Kriegsbeute, die griechisch<sup>17</sup> ist.‘ Die Kriegsbeute, die König Gergis an der Westküste Kleinasiens auf griechischem Boden gesammelt hat, befindet sich also in Xanthos, wo der Pfeiler steht. Damit ist der syntaktische Aufbau der Passage geklärt. Die neue grammatische und syntaktische Deutung des Kontexts hat Konsequenzen für die Kriegspolitik Lykiens, die unten in Teil 4 des Aufsatzes erläutert werden.

### 3.1. Übersetzung von TL 44a.41–55

[pr]ulija epi=de : izredi : zēñ=tija : ehbijedi : (41–42)

‚Die Kriegsbeute, die durch seine eigenen Hände errungen worden ist,

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. Melchert 2002, 249.

<sup>16</sup> Die Emendation von *terñ* zu *teri*<sup>l</sup> (TL 44b.12), die Schürr (2007, 122) vorschlägt, um einen temporalen Nebensatz zu erhalten, ist nicht mehr nötig.

<sup>17</sup> Die lykische Bezeichnung *ijāna* und ihre Derivate beziehen sich nicht nur auf das Gebiet Ioniens, das man aus griechischer Sicht kennt, sondern auf die Griechen im Allgemeinen. S. weiter unten.

*zagaba : nelede : hātahe : (42)*

(ist) in Zagaba<sup>18</sup> auf der Agora in Ehre des Kriegsgottes,

*ētri : tuminehi : nelede : hātahe (42–43)*

in Nieder-Tymnessos auf der Agora in Ehre des Kriegsgottes,

*pttara : malijehi : hātahe : (43–44)*

in Patara im Temenos der Malija in Ehre des Kriegsgottes,

*xbane : ese : trbbēnimi : tebete : terñ se milasāñtrā : pddēn(e) eke : xbānije : izredi ehbijedi : hātahe : (44–46)*

als er Trbbēnimi und Melesandros in Kyaneai auf dem kyaneischen Flachland mit eigenen Händen in Ehre des Kriegsgottes besiegte,

*tlāñ nele : nele : tarbide : xerēi : qastte terñ : tlahñ : erbbedi : h[ā]tahe : (46–48)*

als er (um) Tlos (herum) Siedlung nach Siedlung überrannte (und) Xerēi, den Tloer, in der Schlacht in Ehre des Kriegsgottes wiederholt schlug,

*medbijahē : ese : xerē i : tebete : ter[ñ] se waxsseppddimi : ēti : zehi : hbāti : 12<sup>19</sup> : ul[e]<sup>20</sup> ñtepi : xlaina terñ hātahe (48–50)*

als er Xerēi und Waxsseppddimi im weinfarbenen (Meer) innerhalb eines Tages in Ehre des Kriegsgottes besiegte, als sie vermochten, über zwölf Schiffe die Oberhand zu haben,

*āka : herikle (50)*

genauso wie (bei) Herakles,

*se haxlaza : pabrati : xbide : hrixñtawatahi : ese tabāna : terñ : ijānā : ijalusasī krzzānase : hātahe (51–53)*

als (ihm) der Gouverneur<sup>21</sup> der Oberherrschaft in Kaunos den Auftrag gab, den Griechen aus (der Stadt) Ialysos auf der Chersones in Ehre des Kriegsgottes zu besiegen,

*mukale : tewēte : sāma=ti : trbbetē : turaxssi : zxxāna terñ : ese : humrxxā : tebāna terñ : hātahe (53–55)*

als er den Thorax am Mykale(-Gebirge), der Samos gegenüber (liegt), bestieg, um einen Kampf zu liefern (und) um Amorges in Ehre des Kriegsgottes zu besiegen.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.2. Sprachlicher Kommentar

***zēñ=tija*:** Die Zergliederung der Sequenz *zēñtija* in Partizip *zēñ* + Relativpronomen *=tija* folgt Schürr.<sup>22</sup> Die Endung des Partizips ist apokopiert worden, d.h. *\*zēma* > *zēñ*. Da die Kriegsbeute Subjekt des Partizips ist und die Handlung durch die Hände des Königs ausgeführt wird, ergibt sich gemäß dem Kontext die Bedeutung ‚sammeln, erringen‘ für das Verb *ze-*.

<sup>18</sup> Für die Identifikation des Ortsnamens Zagaba mit dem Namen Lagbe s. Kolb – Tietz 2001, 355 mit weiterführender Literatur.

<sup>19</sup> Für die Korrektur der Zahl von 7 zu 12 s. Melchert 2004, 76, vgl. Thonemann 2009, 176. Entgegen Schürr 2009, 167–168 ist diese Passage fern von der griechischen Aussage zu halten, dass Gergis an einem Tag sieben arkadische Hopliten vernichtet hat (TL 44c.29).

<sup>20</sup> Das Wort *ule* war im 19. Jh. noch erhalten (s. Schmidt 1868, Tafel VII.1; Deecke 1889, 227), weshalb wir hier die damalige Lesung behalten (entgegen Melchert 2004, 76).

<sup>21</sup> Der Gouverneur von Kaunos war vermutlich Hystaspes, s. Thonemann 2009, 176–177.

<sup>22</sup> Schürr 2009, 163.

***hātahe*:** Melchert schlägt vor, dass der anatolische Kriegsgott Sanda im Lykischen als *hāta-* tradiert wird.<sup>23</sup> Wie er zutreffend erklärt, muss *hāta-*, der Kriegsgott, der Rezipient jeder in der Passage ausgeführten Handlung sein. Nur die Form auf *-he*, die vom Autor als Genitiv Singular gedeutet wird, bleibt problematisch.<sup>24</sup> Deshalb wird *hātahe* hier als *Adjektivum genitivale* im Dativ Plural gedeutet. Dieses Adjektiv modifiziert ein Substantiv, das weggelassen wurde. Dieses Substantiv dürfte im Plural ‚Ehre‘ heißen und könnte in der Redewendung erodiert worden sein, d.h. *X-e hātahe* ‚in Ehre des Kriegsgottes‘ → *hātahe* ‚in (Ehre) des Kriegsgottes‘.

***ese... tebete*:** Das Verb *tebe*-(ti) ‚besiegen‘ ist immer mit dem Präverb *ese* bezeugt und nimmt regelmäßig eine Person als direktes Objekt.

***eke*:** Das Wort *eke* scheint auch in TL 118.7 bezeugt zu sein, wobei der unklare Kontext zur Semantik des Wortes nicht beiträgt. Es kann für die Passage TL 44a.45 gemäß dem Kontext als Postposition mit der Bedeutung ‚auf‘ gedeutet werden, d.h. *pddēn(e) eke : xbānije* ‚auf dem kyanaischen Flachland‘.<sup>25</sup> Andererseits erwähnt Melchert<sup>26</sup> die sehr attraktive Möglichkeit, dass *pddēneke* ein einziges Wort ist. Dieses wäre entweder mit einem Suffix *-eke/i-* gebildet oder ein Kompositum mit zweitem Glied *eke/i-*. Er verweist auf den Ort *udreki* (TL 26.21), der die gleiche Sequenz enthalten würde. Das Thema bedarf weiterer Untersuchung.

***xerēi... tlahñ*:** Das Ethnikon wird vom Personennamen durch weitere lexikalische Elemente im Satz getrennt; vgl. *izredi... ehbijedi* (TL 44a.41). Die Akkusativkonstruktion *xerēi... tlahñ* ‚den Xerēi von Tlos‘ bedeutet in dem Fall nicht, dass Xerēi in Tlos geboren wurde, sondern dass er über die Stadt Tlos regierte. Wir finden ähnliche Bezeichnungen auf den Münzen; vgl. *xerēi arñnahe* ‚Xerēi von Xanthos‘ (M 224), *xerēi telebehihe* ‚Xerēi von Telmessos‘ (M 227). Für die Veränderung der Endung *-h(e)* → *-hñ* bei Eigennamen in einer Akkusativkonstruktion sei hier *murazahe : tideimi* ‚der Sohn des Muraza‘ (TL 2.2) mit *urtaqijahñ : kbatru* ‚die Tochter (Akk.) des Urtaqija‘ (TL 25.6) verglichen.

***medbijahe*:** Im Vergleich zu den anderen Hauptsätzen erwartet man an der ersten Stelle im Satz den Ort, wo der Kampf stattgefunden hat. Schürr schlägt einen überzeugenden etymologischen Anschluss an das keilschrift-luwische Adjektiv *madduwi(ya)-* ‚zum Wein gehörig‘ vor.<sup>27</sup> Das lykische Wort *medbij-ahe* ist dann mit dem Suffix des *Adjektivum genitivale* erweitert, was auf ein mit *-a-* substantiviertes Adjektiv, d.h. *\*medbi(je)-* → *\*medbija-*, hinweist.<sup>28</sup> Dadurch, dass die Kriegsbeute, die bei dieser Schlacht errungen worden sind, in der Küstenstadt Patara aufgestellt worden ist, könnte sich *medbijahe* als Dativ-Lokativ Plural auf das Meer beziehen beziehungsweise auf das „weinfarbene“ Meer. Der griechische Autor Homer verwendet denselben Ausdruck, um das Meer zu beschreiben, vgl. ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ ‚im weinfarbenen Meer‘ (Il. 23.316). Folglich wird *medbijahe* provisorisch mit ‚im weinfarbenen (Meer)‘ übersetzt.

***ēti zehi*:** Obwohl der Inhalt der Zeile TL 44a.49–50 nicht mehr mit der Referenz des griechischen Epigramms, in der sieben arkadische Hopliten von Gergis innerhalb eines Tages getötet

<sup>23</sup> Melchert 2002.

<sup>24</sup> Melchert 2002, 250–251.

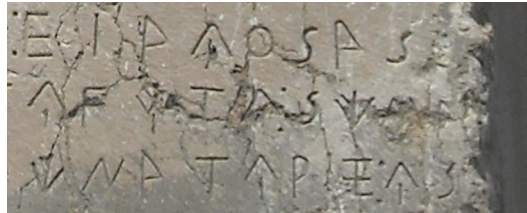
<sup>25</sup> Entgegen Melchert 2004, 31.

<sup>26</sup> Freundlicher Hinweis.

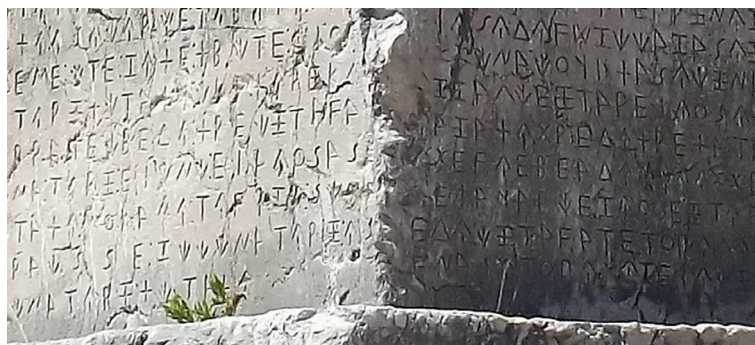
<sup>27</sup> Schürr 2009, 166.

<sup>28</sup> Es sei hier auf die Verfehlung von Čops Gesetz in *\*medbi(je)-* (< *\*médhuijo-*) anstatt *\*metbi(je)-* hingewiesen, das für die lykische Sprache noch nicht eindeutig erwiesen ist. Falls dieses Gesetz auch für das Lykische gelten soll, dann könnte man die Verfehlung auf folgender Weise erklären: Da dieses Gesetz in geschlossener Silbe nicht auftritt, wäre die frühere Gestalt des Suffixes in diesem Fall als *\*-ijo-*, d.h. *\*médh.ɸi.ijo-*, anzusetzen und nicht als *\*-jo-*, d.h. *\*\*mé.dhu.ijo-*. Andererseits soll darauf hingewiesen werden, dass die Syllabifizierung einer Sequenz *VTRV* im Indogermanischen allgemein unstabil ist. Das keilschrift-luwische Wort *āduwāl(i)-* ‚böse‘ zeigt z.B. eine andere Syllabifizierung, d.h. *\*h<sub>1</sub>é.duol-*. Ich bedanke mich bei Craig Melchert für diesen freundlichen Hinweis über die silbische Struktur und ihr Verhältnis zu Čops Gesetz.

wurden (TL 44c.29), gleichzusetzen ist, bleibt die Deutung von Deecke, dass *ēti zehi* eine temporale Angabe mit der Bedeutung ‚innerhalb eines Tages‘ ist,<sup>29</sup> die beste. Der präpositionale Satz *ēti zehi* kann mit *ēti uhi* ‚innerhalb eines Jahres‘ in der Inschrift N 324.15 verglichen werden, die zur Zeit von Deecke noch nicht entdeckt war.<sup>30</sup>



**ABB. 1.** TL 44a Ende der Zeile 52–54 (Aufnahme des Autors, Xanthos, August 2015).



**ABB. 2.** TL 44a–b Ende (Aufnahme von Katrin Euler, mit freundlicher Genehmigung).

**hbāti:** Da der Infinitiv *xlaina* von einem finiten Verb abhängen muss, muss das Wort *hbāti* als Verb in der 3. Person Plural Präsens gedeutet werden.<sup>31</sup> Die Subjekte des Verbs sind Xerēi und Waxesepddimi, die im vorherigen Satz erwähnt werden. Es soll darauf hingewiesen werden, dass jedes Mal, wenn Gergis nicht das Subjekt in dieser Passage ist, das Verb im Präsens anstatt des Präteritums steht; vgl. *haxlaza pabrati* (Zeile 51–53). Was die Bedeutung des Verbs *hba*-(ti) angeht, wird es hier mit dem lykischen Verb *sfa*-, das in der imperfektiven Form *fa-sfēni*-(ti) ‚besitzen, als Vermögen haben‘ bezeugt ist, gleichgesetzt und mit ‚können, vermögen‘ übersetzt.

**ule:** Dieses Wort ist ein Substantiv im Dativ-Lokativ Plural, dessen Bedeutung sich aus dem Kontext heraus entschlüsseln lässt. Es stellt etwas in Anzahl von zwölf dar, das Xerēi und Waxesepddimi besessen haben und das Gergis innerhalb eines Tages vernichten konnte. Da es sich allem Anschein nach in diesem Satz um eine Seeschlacht handelt, sollte sich *ule* auf die Schiffe der zwei lykischen Rebellen beziehen. Dieses Wort wird hier provisorisch mit ‚Schiffe‘ übersetzt.

**ijalusasi:** Eine neue Lesung des Wortes *ijalusasi*, das bis jetzt als *ijaeusas* gelesen worden ist, wird hier vorgestellt. Der vierte Buchstabe des Wortes wurde aufgrund des senkrechten Striches in der Mitte als *e* gelesen, obwohl er dann sehr krumm sein müsste. Zudem gehen im Vergleich zu den anderen Buchstaben *e* dieser Passage die äußeren schrägen Striche nie so weit nach unten

<sup>29</sup> Deecke 1889, 227.

<sup>30</sup> Das Lexeme *zehe/i* ‚Tag‘ kann als substantiviertes *Adjektivum genitivale* gedeutet werden, das aus dem Substantive *za*- c. ‚Zuteilung, Anteil‘ abgeleitet ist. Für einen semantischen Vergleich sei auf das deutsche Wort *Zeit* hingewiesen, das aus dem urindogermanischen *Nomen actionis* \**dh<sub>2</sub>i-ti-* ‚Zuteilung‘ zurückzuführen ist, dessen verbale Basis in altindisch *dāyate* ‚teilen, zuteilen‘ und griechisch *δαίωμα* ‚teilen‘ fortgesetzt ist (Kroonen 2013, 516).

<sup>31</sup> Entgegen Schürr 2009, 168.



wie hier. Falls der Strich vom Schnitzer gemacht wurde, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass er nicht intendiert war. Was die Lesung mit *l* weiter unterstützt, ist die Identifikation mit dem Ortsnamen Ἰαλύσος, eine Stadt auf der Insel Rhodos.<sup>32</sup> Der Buchstabe wird deshalb als *l'* gelesen.<sup>33</sup> Nach dem zweiten *s* kann man hier einen leicht verwitterten Buchstaben *i* sehen, der, wie das vorherige *s*, kleiner als die anderen Buchstaben eingeritzt wurde. Dieser steht genau über dem letzten Buchstaben der beiden Zeilen darunter. Das Wort wird also als *ijal'usası* gelesen.

Da das Verb *tebete* in unserer Passage immer eine Person als direktes Objekt verlangt, erwartet man für *ijānā ijalusasi* ebenfalls eine Person als direktes Objekt. Melchert<sup>34</sup> verweist auf die Möglichkeit, *ijalusasi* morphologisch als Ethnikon zu deuten, d.h. *ijalusasi(je)*- ‚der (Mann) aus Ialysos‘.<sup>35</sup> Die Sequenz *ijānā ijalusasi* wird also mit ‚den Griechen aus (der Stadt) Ialysos‘ übersetzt.<sup>36</sup>

**trbbetē:** Die Nasalisierung des auslautenden Vokals in der Endung bedeutet, dass das Verb transitiv ist. Das einzige mögliche direkte Objekt des Satzes ist *turaxssi*, der Name des Berges,<sup>37</sup> der unmittelbar nach dem Verb steht. Die Bedeutung ‚betreten, besteigen‘ ergibt sich aus dem Kontext. Aus etymologischer Sicht wird es hier als Basis des Iterativums *tarb(e)i*-(di) ‚wiederholt (be)treten‘ → ‚trampeln, überrennen‘ gedeutet, was weitere Evidenz für den semantischen Ansatz bringt. Laut Adiegos Gesetz, dass nasalisierte Verben am Anfang des Satzes nach einer proklitischen Partikelkette stehen müssen,<sup>38</sup> soll *trbbetē* den Satz einleiten. Wie der Leser bemerkt, findet sich die lokale Angabe Mykale mit dem Relativsatz, der sich auf die Lage des Gebirges bezieht, vor dem Verb, was im Konflikt mit dem Gesetz Adiegos stehen würde. Es handelt sich in dem Fall hingegen um einen temporalen Nebensatz, der mit *terñ* eingeleitet wird, und nicht um einen Hauptsatz. Deshalb sind hier die Konjunktionen *me* und *se* nicht zu erwarten, was die Nasalisierungsregeln modifizieren könnte. An dieser Stelle sei nur erwähnt, dass das direkte Objekt dem Verb nachgestellt ist, d.h. *trbbetē turaxssi*. In den vorherigen temporalen Nebensätzen ist das direkte Objekt vorangestellt, z.B. *trbbēnimi tebete* (TL 44a.44), *tlāñ ... tarbide* (TL 44a.46–47), und die Nasalisierung fehlt. Die Regeln für die Nebensätze können schließlich anders als die der Hauptsätze sein.

#### 4. Konsequenzen für die Kriegspolitik Lykiens

Die oben analysierte Passage schildert Ereignisse des Peloponnesischen Krieges, der im ausgehenden 5. Jh. v. Chr. stattgefunden hat. Dieser Krieg ist eine Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem Attischen Seebund und dem Peloponnesischen Bund. Zu Beginn des Krieges um 430/29 v. Chr. wurde der athenische Feldherr Melesandros mit Truppen nach Lykien gesandt (Thuk. II 69), zuerst um Geld aufzutreiben, dann um zu verhindern, dass die Seeräuber der Peloponnesier die Fahrt der Lastschiffe hemmen, die vom Hafen Phaselis in Ost-Lykien herkommen würden. Wir erfahren vom Geschichtsschreiber Thukydides, dass Melesandros mit einem Heer, das sowohl

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. Schürr 2009, 169.

<sup>33</sup> Schürr (2009, 169) emendiert ebenfalls zu *l'*.

<sup>34</sup> Freundlicher Hinweis.

<sup>35</sup> Für die Derivation des Suffixes *-i(je)*- von Ortsnamen vgl. *trēmili(je)*- ‚lykisch‘ (TL 65.20, TL 44d.62), *xbāni(je)*- ‚kyaneisch‘ (TL 44a.45). Der Personennamen *xakbija*- c. (TL 80.1) stellt sicherlich denselben morphologischen Prozess nun mit einer Substantivierung des Adjektivs mit dem Suffix *-a*- c.; *xākbi* (Ortsname: Kandyba) → *xākbi(je)*- ‚aus Kandyba‘ → *xākbi(ja)*- ‚der (Mann) aus Kandyba‘. Der Schwund der Nasalisierung im Namen *xakbija*- kommt mitunter im Namen der Stadt vor; vgl. *xeriga xakbih* (M 253).

<sup>36</sup> Diese Deutung spricht dafür, dass das lykische Wort *ijāna*- ‚Grieche‘ bedeutet und nicht bloß ‚Ionier‘, da Rhodos ein dorisches Gebiet ist. Ich möchte mich bei Winfried Held ganz herzlich bedanken, der zu einem besseren Verständnis des Ethnikons *ijāna*- beigetragen hat.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. Thonemann 2009, 178; Burgin 2010.

<sup>38</sup> Adiegos 2015, 23.



aus Athenern als auch aus deren Verbündeten bestand, gescheitert und ums Leben gekommen ist.

Was in Lykien genau geschehen ist, fehlt bei der griechischen Überlieferung. Einige Informationen sind jedoch dem Xanthos-Pfeiler zu entnehmen. Aufgrund der vorherigen grammatischen Analyse haben moderne Historiker behauptet, dass der ost-lykische Dynast Trbbēnīmi für den lykischen König Gergis, Sohn des Harpagos, gegen Melesandros in Kyaneai gekämpft hätte. Durch die neue grammatische Deutung, erfahren wir nun, dass sich Trbbēnīmi dem athenischen Feldherrn Melesandros angeschlossen und mit ihm die Schlacht gegen Gergis verloren hat.<sup>39</sup> Die Verbündeten von Melesandros, über den Thukydides schreibt, sind also Trbbēnīmi und seine lykischen Truppen gewesen.<sup>40</sup> Wir schließen daraus, dass das ost-lykische Gebiet, das vom Dynast Trbbēnīmi regiert wurde, Athen unterstützte. Weitere Evidenz für die Position des Dynasten und seine Bevorzugung Athens findet sich darin, dass dieser der Vater des Perikle, eines späteren ost-lykischen Dynasten war.<sup>41</sup> Er hat also seinen Sohn nach dem berühmten athenischen Feldherrn Perikles benannt.

Die zweite Schlacht, die vom lykischen König Gergis geführt worden ist, richtete sich gegen den lykischen Dynasten Xerēi und die Stadt Tlos. Es wird in der Passage nicht erklärt, warum sich Xerēi gegen Gergis aufgelehnt hat. Dennoch wurde eine Feindschaft zwischen den beiden Dynasten bereits von Bryce und Bousquet erwogen,<sup>42</sup> da Arbina, der Sohn des Gergis, später die Städte Telmessos, Pinara und Xanthos, wo Xerēi Münzen geprägt hat, eroberte.<sup>43</sup> Die Ikonographie der Münzen des Dynasten Xerēi zeigt seine Vorliebe für die Perser, weshalb wir in seinem Fall nicht mit derselben Motivation rechnen dürfen, wie im Fall von Trbbēnīmi.<sup>44</sup> Obwohl die Gründe noch unbekannt sind, ist dieser Streit zwischen Gergis und Arbina einerseits und Xerēi andererseits eine gute Quelle für die Entsendung Artuṃparas nach Lykien:

„It is also possible that some internal problem in Lycia about which we are uninformed prompted Artaxerxes to install an overseer (*scil.* Artuṃpara). Rivalry or disputes among the many Lycian dynasts whose names are known from the coins would be a good potential source of discord.“<sup>45</sup>

Ferner bleibt es unsicher, in welcher Beziehung Gergis und Xerēi zueinanderstanden, aber selbst eine enge Verwandtschaft würde die beiden Männer nicht davon abhalten, um den Machtwillen gegen einander aufzutreten.<sup>46</sup>

Wenn die Entschlüsselung der Zeilen 48–50 richtig ist, hat die dritte Schlacht des lykischen Königs auf dem Meer stattgefunden, wo derselbe Xerēi, der den vorherigen Krieg überlebt hat,

<sup>39</sup> Entgegen der bisherigen Forschungsliteratur, vgl. Bryce 1986, 107, 109; Keen 1998, 131–132; Cau 1999, 27–29; Schürr 2009, 163–167. Wenn diese Schlacht tatsächlich auf dem Heroon von Trysa dargestellt ist, kann man jetzt mit dem Bild des Königs Gergis als siegreicher Anführer rechnen; vgl. Landskron 2015, 302. Hingegen dürfte Trbbēnīmi dort nicht auf der Seite der Sieger dargestellt sein. Ferner wäre die Zuweisung des Heroons an Trbbēnīmi, den Verlierer dieser Schlacht, sehr unwahrscheinlich (entgegen Kolb 2008, 157–158).

<sup>40</sup> Für die genaue Identität des Melesandros; vgl. Zimmermann 1992, 38–39.

<sup>41</sup> Wir vertreten die Auffassung von Zimmermann 1992, 38–42, dass es nur einen ost-lykischen Dynast namens Trbbēnīmi gab, vgl. Keen 1998, 156–157; Landskron 2015, 354 Anm. 38 mit weiterführender Literatur.

<sup>42</sup> Bryce 1983, 37; Bousquet 1992, 177.

<sup>43</sup> Diese Information ist uns durch Inschriften aus Xanthos überliefert, die auf Griechisch verfasst sind, s. Bousquet 1992. Zum Thema der Feindschaft vgl. Keen 1998, 144–145.

<sup>44</sup> Für die persische Ikonographie des Portraits auf den Münzen des Xerēi s. Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 79–85.

<sup>45</sup> Moysey 1989, 132.

<sup>46</sup> Zum Thema der Verwandtschaft zwischen Gergis und Xerēi s. Keen 1998, 144 mit weiterführender Literatur.

und Waxesepddimi von König Gergis besiegt worden sind.<sup>47</sup> In dieser Passage erfährt man, dass die beiden lykischen Dynasten über Schiffe die Oberhand hatten, von denen zwölf innerhalb eines Tages von Gergis vernichtet worden sind. Es wird an der Stelle auf Herakles verwiesen, was sicherlich eine Anspielung auf die heroischen Taten des griechischen Helden ist. Die Vernichtung der zwölf Schiffe innerhalb eines Tages wird mit den zwölf Taten des Herakles verglichen.

Die Schlachten, die bis jetzt erwähnt worden sind, fanden in Lykien statt. Die Dynasten anderer lykischer Städte haben sich gegen den lykischen König Gergis aufgelehnt. Dies zeigt uns, dass Lykien während des Peloponnesischen Krieges destabilisiert war. Während sich Trbbēnīmi den Athenern anschließen wollte, war König Gergis dagegen. Laut einer anderen Passage auf dem Xanthos-Pfeiler stand Gergis in enger Verbindung mit dem persischen Satrapen Tissaphernes in Sardes (TL 44c.1–19). Der lykische König blieb also den Persern treu und ließ sich nicht von Athen überzeugen. Es ist weiterhin zu vermuten, dass Gergis während der Auseinandersetzung mit dem untreuen lykischen Dynasten Hilfe von den Persern bekommen hat, denen er seine Siege zu verdanken hatte.

Die folgenden Schlachten (TL 44a.51–55) fanden nicht mehr in Lykien statt, sondern an der Westküste Kleinasiens. In diesen Fällen wurde Gergis von der karischen Oberherrschaft in Kaunos damit beauftragt, zuerst gegen den Griechen aus Ialysos auf der Chersones, und danach gegen den Rebellen Amorges, den Sohn des Pissouthnes, in der Mykale zu kämpfen.<sup>48</sup> In beiden Fällen wird Gergis als Sieger bezeichnet und dies beendet die Erzählung über die Herkunft der durch den König errungenen Kriegsbeute. Entgegen Thonemann<sup>49</sup> müssen die folgenden Ereignisse, die auf den Seiten B und C des Pfeilers geschildert werden, nicht chronologisch zu denen der Seite A passen. Möglicherweise kehrt der Text zu einigen Kriegen und Perioden zurück, um zusätzliche Informationen zu liefern. Weiterhin müssen die drei geschilderten Schlachten in Lykien nicht chronologisch zu denen an der Westküste Kleinasiens passen. Es wird von der Struktur her deutlich, dass der Schreiber zuerst die Schlachten in Lykien nennen wollte und dann die auf griechischem Gebiet – unabhängig davon, ob sie früher oder später stattfanden.

## 5. Fazit

Im vorliegenden Aufsatz wurde das lykische Wort *terñ* behandelt, dessen Bedeutung bisher umstritten war. Nach einer syntaktischen Analyse wurde dieses Wort als Konjunktion gedeutet, die immer nach dem finiten oder, falls vorhanden, infiniten Verb steht. Eine kontextuelle Analyse einer Passage auf dem Xanthos-Pfeiler, auf dem die neu gewonnene Konjunktion belegt ist, führte zur Zuordnung einer temporalen Funktion für lyk. *terñ*. Folglich mussten manche Sätze mit der Konjunktion innerhalb der untersuchten Passage grammatisch neu gedeutet werden. Dies führte ferner zu neuen historischen Erkenntnissen, die die lykische politische Situation während des Peloponnesischen Krieges erhellen.

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<sup>47</sup> Zu den Münzen mit dem Namen Waxesepddimi s. Schürr 2009, 167 und Adiego in diesem Band.

<sup>48</sup> Entgegen Thonemann 2009, 177–178.

<sup>49</sup> Thonemann 2009, 174.

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# Überlegungen zu lykischen Inschriften bei Kadyanda


Diether Schürr\*

\* – Independent scholar. Email: [diether.schuerr@gmx.net](mailto:diether.schuerr@gmx.net)

**Abstract:** Kadyanda has so far yielded five Lycian inscriptions, four of them unusual. Three are treated here: TL 32a as an example of a false friend (*ladā* is not *lada*), TL 34 for the reconstruction of the beginning, and TL 35 for the extraordinary dating formula and its syntactic embedding, reinforcing its dating to 282/281 BC.

**Keywords:** Kadyanda, Lycian inscriptions, possession formula, building formula, dating formula

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Bei Kadyanda gibt es drei Felsgräber, einen Grabpfeiler und eine kleine Steinplatte mit lykischen Inschriften (TL 31–35),<sup>1</sup> von denen vier aus verschiedenen Gründen außergewöhnlich sind; nur die erste ist konventionell: Bauformel mit Widmung und eine Variante der westlykischen Gebührenformel. TL 33 bietet auch eine Bauformel, aber hier ist der Ort, an dem sie angebracht ist, atypisch: in das Kampf-Relief, das die rechte Seitenwand des Grabhauses schmückt, hineingeschrieben, rechts vom Kopf des Reiters.<sup>2</sup> Die übrigen Inschriften werden hier teilweise besprochen. Es geht in allen Fällen um ungewöhnliche Formulierungen, die aber gleichwohl nicht völlig isoliert sind, wie im Vergleich deutlich wird.

## 1. Ein falscher Freund (TL 32a)

Der völlig zusammengebrochene doppelstöckige Grabbau des Zzala hat ungewöhnlicherweise nur Namen-Beischriften zu den Reliefs, mit einer Ausnahme: Auf der Eingangsseite des Unterbaus stand oben in der Mitte *Zzalahe: ladā* (TL 32a), was nicht „Des Zzala Frau“ bedeuten kann,<sup>3</sup> auch wenn diese auf der Schiebetür rechts abgebildet gewesen sein sollte wie Σαλας = *Zzala* (TL 32b) selbst auf der Scheintür links. Ihr Name sollte dann auch auf der Tür beigeschrieben gewesen sein; nach den Beischriften des Gelagefrieses auf der Nordseite war er Σηο (TL 32o) = *Ssewa* (TL 32p), wenn da mit Neumann Ehepaare dargestellt sind.<sup>4</sup> Da ein Akk. Sg. von *lada* ‚Gattin‘ hier

<sup>1</sup> Lykische Inschriften werden mit TL nach Kalinka 1901 angeführt, außer TL 29 (Tekoğlu 2006), TL 33 (Borchhardt – Neumann 1968) und TL 74c (Neumann 1985); mit N nach Neumann 1979, außer N 318 (Bousquet 1992, 191–192).

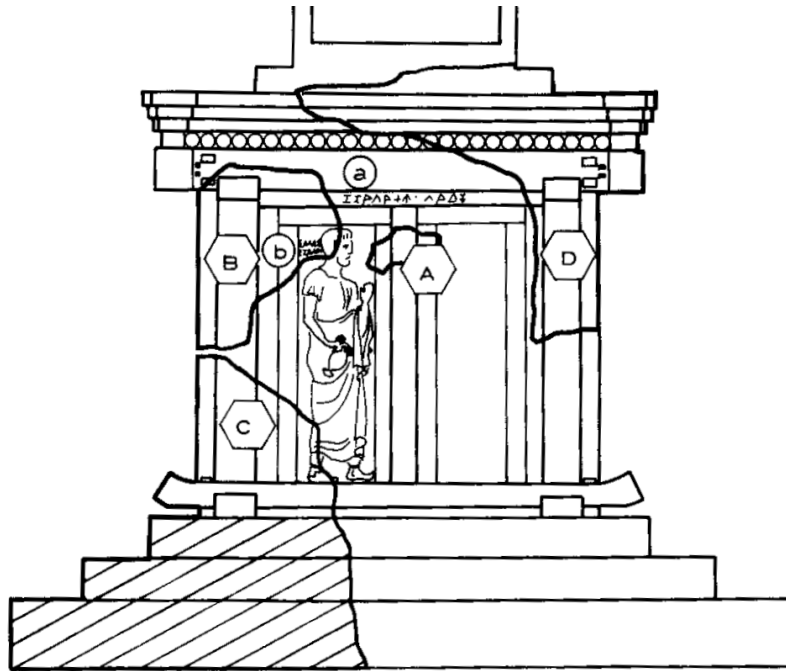
<sup>2</sup> S. Borchhardt – Neumann 1968, 219 Abb. 35 und die Neulesung 221–223.

<sup>3</sup> Neumann 2007, 180 bemerkt, es sei „zweifelloso“ *lada* „zu lesen – nicht *ladā*! –, da auch alle anderen Beischriften dieses Reliefs [sic!] den Nom. Sg. aufweisen“. Aber das setzt eben den Glauben voraus, daß es sich um eine Beischrift handelt, ohne zu beachten, wo die Inschrift angebracht ist.

<sup>4</sup> Borchhardt – Neumann 1968, 198. Dafür spricht das Fehlen von -ς bei der griechischen Namenform, wie auch bei Κπαρᾶω (k) und Εἰδασσαλα (v). Bei Σηο kommt dazu die Entgegennahme eines kleinen Kindes.



sinnlos wäre – allenfalls käme der Dativ *ladi* in Frage, so daß es sich um eine Grabwidmung ohne Bauformel handeln würde –, muß es sich um einen Nom. Sg. n. handeln, der den Unterbau oder eher das ganze Grab bezeichnet. Vergleichbare Neutra sind *hr̥mā* TL 84 und 149 und *zu̥mā*, nur TL 91 statt *zu̥mē*, dazu *χθᾱ* TL 44b, 38 (vollständig)<sup>5</sup> und *Ɑθᾱ* N 325, 7,<sup>6</sup> Plural *χθᾱna* TL 44b, 58, und m. E. *kumā* in TL 44a, 28.<sup>7</sup>



**ABB. 1.** Die rekonstruierte Grabfront (nach Borchhardt – Neumann 1968, Abb. 2a nach 176). Mit Jürgen Borchhardts freundlicher Erlaubnis. Kurioserweise stehen auf der den TL beigegebenen Zeichnung der Grabfront die Namen des Erbauers vor statt hinter dem Kopf, wie schon beim Entdecker Fellows 1841, 117.

Dabei könnte es sich um eine Ableitung von *la*<sup>-1</sup> ‚be dead‘<sup>8</sup> handeln, so daß *ladā* etwa ‚Totenhaus‘ bedeuten würde. Es wäre aber auch eine Ableitung von dem Verb *la*<sup>-2</sup> möglich, für das Melchert ‚release, grant‘ vermutet (mit Fragezeichen).<sup>9</sup> Eine vergleichbare Grabbezeichnung ist *ñtata*- von *ñte-ta*- ‚hinlegen‘, allerdings ohne Suffix gebildet. Mit einem dentalen Suffix ist *pijata*- ‚(Ab-)Gabe‘ von *pije*- ‚geben‘ gebildet.<sup>10</sup> Da die 3. P. Sg. Präs. von *la*<sup>-1</sup> *lati* ist, sollte man aber analog *pijata*- *\*lata*- erwarten. Von *la*<sup>-2</sup> könnte eine 3. P. Sg. Prät. *lade* TL 44, c, 55 und d, 22 sowie 65 belegt sein, so daß man *\*lada*- erwarten könnte. Der Sinn von *ladā* könnte dann etwa ‚(Hinter-)Lassenschaft‘ sein.

Vergleichbare Bildungen mit *-d-* sind aber fast nur in griechischer Lautform belegt, und sie scheinen nicht von Verben abgeleitet: *hr̥māda* N 320a, 14 (Akk. Pl. n.), ONN wie Αρσαδα, das in Arsa Köy weiterlebt (*\*HrzzadV* ‚obere Position habend‘?<sup>11</sup>), die allerdings im Lykischen nicht auf *-a*

<sup>5</sup> S. Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 141.

<sup>6</sup> Bousquet 1992, 186.

<sup>7</sup> Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 135 Anm. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Melchert 2004, 34.

<sup>9</sup> Melchert 2004, 34 und 119.

<sup>10</sup> Bei *ñtata*-ist eine solche Bildung nun unwahrscheinlich geworden, weil der Beleg *ñtadē* in TL 42b entfällt: Nach einer Skizze Kalinkas von 1908 ist *ñttadē* zu lesen (Adiego 2014), und der erste Ansatz zu der Inschrift (a) hatte die Pluralform *ñtetāt*, so daß es sich sicher nur um versehentliche Auslassung eines Vokals handelt. Daher wird in N 320a, 13 besser *liñtātē*, d. h. eine sonst nicht belegte Verbform, abzutrennen sein.

<sup>11</sup> Schürr 2009, 111.

enden mußten, aber auch PNN wie Κτασαδας (\**Xddazada* ‚Sklaven habend‘?<sup>12</sup>). Der Name des Graberbauers in TL 42 ist nach einer Skizze Kalinkas eher *Tuwala* als *Tuwada* zu lesen.<sup>13</sup> Zu der Verbform *sebedi* TL 44c, 54 könnte aber *Sebeda* TL 55, 4 = Σεβεδα und im 18.–19. Jh. Port *Sevedo*<sup>14</sup> gehören.

Eine Alternative wäre theoretisch, daß damit nur der Unterbau als ‚Frauengemach‘ bezeichnet wäre. Aber das ist kaum wahrscheinlich: Soweit Inschriften darüber Auskunft geben, war der Unterbau für ‚Hausgenossen‘ gedacht.

Die Grabbezeichnung *Zzalahe*: *ladā* ist nicht völlig ungewöhnlich, sondern einer der seltenen Fälle, wo statt der üblichen Bauformeln eine Besitzformel erscheint. Bloß mit dem Genitiv eines Namens bezeichnet sind Gräber in Limyra: TL 129 (*Hlah*), TL 130 (*Ddepñneweh*), TL 141 (*Midah*), in Myra: N 309a<sup>15</sup> (*Ddepñneweh*) neben weiteren Inschriften, in Kyaneai: TL 69 (*Ipresida*Δ, aber mit Filiation und Titel), und in Doppelinschriften griechisch in Kyaneai: TL 70 (Σπιγασα), in Limyra: TL 134 (Μασα, aber danach Name seiner Frau im Nom.), in Korydalla: N 302 (Σαπια, mit Patronym). In Limyra folgt außerdem auf TL 115 die spätere Inschrift Φοίνικος Τυρίω. Vor allem das Nebeneinander von TL 69 und 70 legt nahe, daß dabei der griechische Usus ins Lykische übernommen wurde.

Mit Grabbezeichnung wie in TL 32a gibt es eine solche Besitzerangabe sonst nur zweimal in Limyra:

TL 100 *ebe χupa me-Tibeija*, m. E. „Dieses Grab nun (ist das) \*des Tibeija“. Es ist ja gänzlich unwahrscheinlich, daß *Tibeija* hier ein mit *χupa* kongruierendes Adjektiv ist, wie das Melchert angenommen hatte.<sup>16</sup> Zu erwarten wäre dann nicht die Endung *-a*, als ob *χupa* ein Femininum wäre. Da Genitive ohne *-h* auch sonst belegt sind, ist es plausibler, das auch hier anzunehmen. Zugrundeliegen dürfte der Name Τίβειος,<sup>17</sup> sonst nur außerhalb Lykiens belegt.

TL 148 *Zru[t?]eh se-Mutah χupa ebāhā*, m. E. „Des Zru[t?]e und des/der Muta, das Grab dieser“. Das kommt TL 32a am nächsten, aber die Beifügung von *ebāhā* ist merkwürdig. Vgl. jedoch TL 54 in Phellos, mit *tukedri*: *ebēhē* „Statuen dieser“ beginnend, und TL 74c in Hoyran, mit *[.]dabehē* beginnend: „Relief dieser“? Da TL 86 *Semuteh* belegt ist, könnte man auch *Semutah* lesen und das als Patronym verstehen, so daß *ebāhā* hinzugefügt worden sein könnte, um klarzumachen, daß es sich um einen zweiten Grabbesitzer handelt.

Im Unterschied zu allen verglichenen Inschriften, bei denen auffällt, daß sie nur in Zentral- und Ostlykien vorkommen, ist in TL 32a der Genitiv auf *-he* verwendet. Daß hier eine sonst nicht belegte Grabbezeichnung erscheint, hat auch Parallelen: In Limyra ist ein Grabbau von ungewöhnlicher Form als *tisēni* bezeichnet (TL 118). Die Grabinschrift TL 54a<sup>18</sup> an einem Grabhaus hat vor *adē* ‚machte‘ nur *ē[.]ma*, also weder Demonstrativpronomen noch *me-*. Beide Bezeichnungen sind undurchsichtig.

## 2. Rekonstruktion einer Bauherrenformel (TL 34)

Daß Grabpfeiler Inschriften haben, ist die große Ausnahme: lykische Inschriften sind TL 44 in Xanthos (rundum), TL 50 ebenfalls in Xanthos (nur eine Gebührenformel und m. E. auch nicht

<sup>12</sup> Schürr 2016, 30 im Anschluß an Lebrun.

<sup>13</sup> Adiego 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Schürr 2005, 150.

<sup>15</sup> N 309b nach Neumann 1979; hier der Neubezeichnung durch Eichner 1993, 236 folgend.

<sup>16</sup> Melchert 1992, 48 Anm. 16 und noch 2004, 105.

<sup>17</sup> Eichner *apud* Seyer 2006, 725 Anm. 44.

<sup>18</sup> Neben der Nische mit TL 54, auf die gleiche Person bezogen. S. Schürr *demnächst* und Christiansen 2019, 79–80.

mehr anzunehmen) und TL 34 unweit der Straße, die von Üzümlü nach Süden führt. Der 1892 noch aufrechtstehende Pfeiler<sup>19</sup> liegt heute zerbrochen neben der Basis.



**ABB. 2.** Faksimile von TL 34, 1–3 (nach Kalinka 1901).

Kalinka las den Beginn der sehr schlecht erhaltenen Inschrift so:

. b . . . [i] . . d . alaha tuwa  
 . atije [t]e . . [z] . la sseweh  
 t[i]deimi

Das am Beginn, wohl als zweites Zeichen, erhaltene *b* spricht entschieden für eine Form des Demonstrativpronomens, mit dem die meisten Inschriften beginnen, und daher scheint die Annahme plausibel, daß die Inschrift dem üblichen Muster von Grabinschriften folgt. Da *-alaha* Nom./Akk. Pl. n. sein wird, sollte man *ebei**ja* erwarten wie TL 26 (vor *erublija*), TL 40d (vor *χruwata*), TL 117 und N 303 (vor *e/arawazija*), also ein Zeichen mehr, als Kalinka annahm. In *i/w . . d . alaha* wäre also die Bezeichnung des Pfeilers zu sehen, vermutlich ein Nomen und ein Adjectivum genitivale: *i/w . . d[a] alaha*, vgl. *alasi* TL 44d, 36, oder *i/w . . d . a laha* oder *(a)laha*?

In TL 44a, 1 ist der Grabpfeiler mit dem Lehnwort *[stta]lā*<sup>20</sup> bezeichnet wie c, 21 mit *στήλην*, aber es sollte auch eine genuin lykische Bezeichnung für diese speziell lykischen Grabmonumente gegeben haben, die hier vorliegen könnte. In *tuwa[.]a* könnte man den Namen *Tuwala* wie in TL 42 (s. o.) vermuten, zumal das folgende *tije[t]e* wie eine Verbform aussieht. Dann ist auf jeden Fall der Name *Zzala* oder ein Kompositum wie *Idazzala* = *Εἰδασσαλα* (TL 32v wohl Frauenname, aber in N 306 wohl Name des Vaters) anzunehmen, der „des Ssewe- Sohn“ ist. Die Namen gleichen sicher nicht zufällig denen des Bauherrn von TL 32 und seiner mutmaßlichen Frau, und es ist naheliegend, daß es sich um einen (gemeinsamen?) Vorfahren handelt. Falls das Verb *tije[t]e* wäre, dürfte einer der beiden Personennamen im Dativ stehen. Aber ein Verb *tije-* ist nicht bekannt, während eine Form des Verbs *tuwe-* hier naheliegend ist – vergleiche:

*Xer[ēi: ñte: sttalā:]tuwete: ti ebēññē*  
 „Cher[ēi], der diese [Stele hin]stellte“ (TL 44a, 18–19);<sup>21</sup>

*ebeis: tukedris: m[e-ñte?]-tuwetē: Xssbezē*  
 „Diese Statuen n[un hin]stellte X.“ (TL 25a);

*ebēññē: tezi: me-’ne: tuwetē: Xudaliḡ*  
 „Diesen Sarkophag, nun ihn stellte X.“ (TL 72);

*[ebeis hlñ?]mis tuwete Arssāma*

<sup>19</sup> Krickls Photo, auf dem die Zeichnung in den TL beruht, findet sich bei Başgelen 2005, 71, während das Photo Başgelen 2005, 236 den Zustand im April 2005 zeigt. Inzwischen ist auch noch die Basis unterwühlt (letzter Besuch am 27.9.2016).

<sup>20</sup> Laroche 1974, 144–146.

<sup>21</sup> Schürr 2007, 31.

„[Diese Sound]sos stellte Arssama“ (N 318).

Im letzten Fall fehlt ebenfalls der übliche Einschub von *me-* plus enklitische Elemente und die Endnasalisierung des Verbs.

Demnach dürfte *tuwa[χ]a*, ‚ich errichtete‘ zu ergänzen sein.<sup>22</sup> Eine Bauherreninschrift in Ich-Form ist sonst nur vom Pajawa-Sarkophag in Xanthos bekannt (wo sie aber nicht die einzige ist):

*erawazija: ebe[ij]a: me-prñnawaχã* (usw., TL 40c, 7–8)

„Diese *erawazija* nun baute ich“.

Die postulierte Verbform dürfte noch einmal belegt sein, in TL 29, 15. Kalinka las da . . . . . *amas turak se ije*, und *:turaχ:* hat sowohl „Arkwrights Copie“ wie „Kalinkas Abklatschlesung“, die Kalinka 1901 wiedergibt, aber *:tuwaχ:* die Abschrift Heberdeys in den Wiener Scheden und auch das von Kalinka publizierte Faksimile Heberdeys. Schürr hat „eindeutig *w*. Wohl für *\*tuwaχa* ‚ich errichtete‘“,<sup>23</sup> gefolgt von Melchert,<sup>24</sup> aber Tekoğlu wieder *turaχ*.<sup>25</sup> Dazu wären nur *Turaχssi* TL 44a, 54 und die Ableitung *Turaχssali* TL 44c, 47–48 zu vergleichen, die Form bliebe unklar. In letzterem hat bereits Arkwright die Entsprechung von Θυρξεύς bei Pausanias gesehen, einen Beinamen des Apollon bei Kyaneai, in ersterem Burgin und Thonemann voneinander unabhängig den Berg Θώραξ bei Magnesia am Mäander,<sup>26</sup> aufgrund meiner Gleichsetzung der damit verbundenen Schlacht mit der Niederlage des Lysikles am Hügel Sandios 428 v. Chr.<sup>27</sup> Aber ein Zusammenhang mit diesem Exonym ist in TL 29 nicht erkennbar.

Zu dem vorausgehenden *]amas* kann *tamas* TL 35, 15 und 17 verglichen werden. Melchert nimmt dafür ‚house, building‘ im Akk. Sg. an,<sup>28</sup> und dazu würde „ich errichtete“ gut passen, vgl. auch *t[a/ã]mã: aχa* TL 44c, 14–15, „ein *tama* machte ich“. Zur Apokope läßt sich *alyãnalaχ* TL 44c, 60 vergleichen, wo eine zu *nalau* 1. P. Sg. Präs. (TL 128) gehörige Verbform vorliegen wird.<sup>29</sup>

Der Beginn der Pfeilerinschrift dürfte also so zu rekonstruieren sein:

*[e]b[eija] i/w[. ]d[.]alaha: tuwa-*

*[χ]a tijete[. Z]z[a]la: Sseweh*

*tideimi*

„Diese (zu *ala-* gehörige?) Soundso errichtete ich ... Zzala, des Ssewe- Sohn“.

Daß zwischen Verb und Name ein Wort steht, ist auch ungewöhnlich; es könnte sich um einen Titel des Erbauers handeln, theoretisch auch um eine Widmung im Dativ (Pl.?), falls *tijete* vollständig wäre.

### 3. Eine atypische Datierungsformel (TL 35)

Die Steinplatte wurde als „Stiegenstufe“ verbaut in der Moschee von Üzümlü angetroffen und ist heute leider nicht mehr aufzufinden. Die Inschrift ist schon deswegen bemerkenswert, weil es sich nicht um eine Grabinschrift handelt. Außerdem beginnt sie mit einer atypischen Datierungsformel.

<sup>22</sup> Schürr 2012, 30 Anm. 47.

<sup>23</sup> Schürr 2001, 135. Nochmalige Überprüfung des Zeichens am 14.04.2018 hat bestätigt, daß nur *w* gelesen werden kann; die beiden Querstriche verbindet kein Bogen, sondern trennt eine Erhebung.

<sup>24</sup> Melchert 2004, 74.

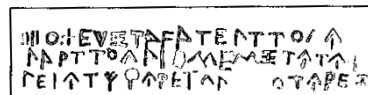
<sup>25</sup> Tekoğlu 2006.

<sup>26</sup> Burgin 2010 und Thonemann 2009.

<sup>27</sup> Schürr 1998, 154.

<sup>28</sup> Melchert 2004, 60.

<sup>29</sup> Schürr 2005, 143.



**ABB. 3.** Faksimile von TL 35, 1–3 (nach Kalinka 1901).

Es ist wohl so abzutrennen und zu berichtigen:

III *uhi χñtawati Pttule* ([I]IIIo hi Kalinka)  
*parttu Laj[.]mi Mñtete* (parttulaj . mi Kalinka)  
*pijetē-[t]eri* ([p]eri Kalinka)  
 „Vier Jahre (waren dem) König Pttule,  
 als den *parttu* Laj[.]mi, des Mñteti (Sohn), gab“.<sup>30</sup>

Der sich so ergebende Nebensatz entspricht in der Wortstellung

*hlñmi-de: Alaxssāñtra: erite-teri* (TL 29, 9)  
 „als einen *hlñmi -de* Alexander erhob“,

allerdings ist die Endnasalierung des Verbs unerwartet,<sup>31</sup> selbst wenn man nicht die Konjunktion *-teri* annehmen wollte. Bemerkenswerterweise gibt es eine solche irreguläre Nasalierung auch in TL 33: *Uzeblēmi prñnawatē*.<sup>32</sup> Das Grab des Uzeblemi ist aber sicher erheblich älter: 2. Viertel des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.,<sup>33</sup> während TL 35 ausgesprochen späte Zeichenformen aufweist.<sup>34</sup>

Zur Abtrennung von *parttu* (Akk. Sg.) vergleiche die Ableitung *partta[lā]* Z. 14 und *parttalā* Z.16; eine Lautvariante *parttula* wäre unmotiviert.

Die Datierung nach Königsjahren ist in den lykischen Inschriften singulär, und auch syntaktisch ist diese Datierung einmalig. Die Datierungsformel einer Reihe von Grabinschriften besteht einfach aus einer adverbialen Bestimmung, z. B.

*ēnē: Arpp{p}axuhe: χñtawata:* (TL 77)  
 „unter des Arppaxu Herrschaft“.

Später gibt es auch Temporalsätze:

*Trñmisñ: χñtewete-ter[i]* <sup>3</sup>*Arttuñpara* (TL 11)  
*Trñmisñ: χñtawat[e-teri Arttuñpara?* (TL 26, 2)  
 „als Lykien regierte Arttumbara“;

*Trñmisñ: ñtepi: χñtawata: ap<a>tte-teri*  
 (TL 29, 9, an den bereits zitierten Satz anschließend)<sup>35</sup>  
 „als er Lykien in die Herrschaft aufnahm“;

<sup>30</sup> Gehrisch 2018, 48 machte daraus: „(1) Im vierten Jahr der Herrschaft des Priesters, (2) meine Grabkammer, (Sohn) des Mñtete. (3) Er brachte auf dem Gebiet“ (usw.).

<sup>31</sup> S. auch Adiego 2015, 22–23. Andere Hypothesen bei Goldstein 2014.

<sup>32</sup> *Uzebeñmi* auch nach Borchhardt – Neumann 1968, 221–222, was nach Photos korrigiert ist. Für diese danke ich Heiner Eichner. *Uzeblēmi* hat auch Neumann 2007, 414–415 nach Arkwright.

<sup>33</sup> Nach Borchhardt – Neumann 1968, 238.

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. Chart 2: Letter-forms of datable Lycian inscriptions bei Rix 2015, Anhang.

<sup>35</sup> Zur Korrektur der irregulären Schreibung *apptte* vergleiche *epatte* in TL 40d.



*Trm̃mis*[:?] *Z*[. . .] <sup>5</sup>*uwete*: *teri* (TL 40c)

„als Lykien [den] *Z*... anerkannte (?)“;<sup>36</sup>

und mit einer satzeinleitenden Konjunktion in TL 104b unter einem Schlachtreief und in der lykischen Version der Trilingue vom Letoon:

*ēke*: *ese*: *Perikle tebete*: *Arttuṃparā* (usw.)

„als nieder Perikle warf den Arttumbara“<sup>37</sup>

*ēke*: *Trm̃misñ*: *χssaḡrapazate*: *Pigesere* (usw.; N 320a, 1–2)

„Als Lykien satrapierte Pixodaros“.

Letzteres ist der einzige andere Fall, in dem eine Datierungsformel am Beginn einer Inschrift steht.

Außerdem gibt es noch in einer der Inschriften des Pajawa-Sarkophags die Angabe

*O uhahi*: *hiti*: *ahāmadi*: *arñnadi* (TL 40c, 9–10)

„10jährig *hiti* mit/durch xanthische(r) *ahāma*“;<sup>38</sup>

Vermutlich ist das ein Amt, das Pajawa zehn Jahre lang innehatte.

Abweichend von allen diesen Belegen hat die Datierung in TL 35 die Form eines Hauptsatzes ohne Kopula, dem ein Temporalsatz folgt, umgekehrt wie N 320a. Mit diesem Hauptsatz vergleichbar sind Gebührenformeln wie

*miñti*: *ada*: II- (TL 2)

„Der Mindis (Dat. Sg.) 2,5 *ada* (Nom. Pl. n.)“;

nur in umgekehrter Reihenfolge.

Und es ist die einzige Formel, in der statt *χñtawata* oder *χñta/ewete* das Nomen agentis *χñtawati* erscheint. Außerdem fällt auf, daß *Trm̃mis* ‚Lykien‘ fehlt, das von Arttumbara bis Alexander erscheint. Das spricht für einen König, der nicht nur Lykien beherrschte. Eine Datierung nach Königsjahren hat sonst nur die Trilingue vom Letoon, aber nur in der aramäischen Version, wo freilich die Angabe des Monats vorausgeht:

„Au mois des Siwân de l’an un du roi Artaxerxès“;<sup>39</sup>

Das alles spricht wohl für die Datierung der Inschrift nach einem der Ptolemäer, wie schon lange angenommen, und wahrscheinlich nach Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos,<sup>40</sup> weil eine Inschrift von Telmessos<sup>41</sup> ebenfalls aus seinem vierten Jahr (282/281 v. Chr.) stammt. Man sollte für Ptolemaios zwar \**Pttulemeija* analog *Eḡeteija* (TL 123) für Hekataios erwarten, aber eine verkürzte Namenform, die in Lykien gängig war, wäre denkbar. Die Formulierung der Datierung ist allerdings ganz anders:

<sup>36</sup> Schürr 2012, 27–28.

<sup>37</sup> Schürr 2012, 20.

<sup>38</sup> Schürr 2012, 27–28, 30.

<sup>39</sup> Dupont-Sommer 1979, 137.

<sup>40</sup> Vergleiche die ausführliche Behandlung bei Rix 2015, 295–306, die entschieden für diese Datierung eintritt; Fig. 22 ist Heberdeys Skizze der Inschrift wiedergegeben. Wörle 2012, 363 erwägt auch eine Datierung unter Ptolemaios I. 302/301 v. Chr.

<sup>41</sup> Wörle 1978.

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἔτους τετάρτου μηνὸς Δίου

„Als regierte Ptolemaios, (Sohn) des Ptolemaios im vierten Jahr, im Monat Dios“.

Wenn sich die Datierungen trotz dieser Unterschiede auf das gleiche Jahr beziehen, würde also der schriftliche Gebrauch der lykischen Sprache zumindest in Kadyanda noch ein halbes Jahrhundert nach der Eroberung durch Alexander angedauert haben. Daß TL 29 in Tlos, wo Alexander erwähnt wird, nicht die jüngste Inschrift sein dürfte, ist einleuchtend. Gestützt wird das Hineinreichen der lykischen Inschriften noch ins frühe 3. Jh. v. Chr. nun durch die Funde in einem nicht geplünderten Felsgrab mit lykischer Inschrift in Tlos, die nicht vor 300 v. Chr. zurückreichen.<sup>42</sup>

*Pttule* kommt zwar auch TL 65 vor, aber da spricht nichts für einen Herrschernamen, so daß diese Inschrift nicht so spät sein muß, wie Rix annimmt.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Işın – Yıldız 2017, 93 und 105.

<sup>43</sup> Rix 2015, 306–310.

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# Once again on the etymology of the Lycian personal name *Trbbēnime/i-*


Matilde Serangeli\*

\* – Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Email: [matilde.serangeli@uni-jena.de](mailto:matilde.serangeli@uni-jena.de)

**Abstract:** This paper deals with the etymology of the Lycian PN *Trbbēnime/i-*. It will be argued that it is composed of elements of Indo-European origin. Reference will be made to formal and semantic parallels from Anatolian languages of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC and from other Indo-European languages.

**Keywords:** Lycian coins, compounds, onomastics, Indo-European phraseology

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## 1. Introduction

Reading, word-formation and etymology of the Lycian personal name *Trbbēnime/i-* are still unclear. Besides Eichner's interpretation as 'Re<sup>o</sup>natus' from *\*Trbb(i)<sup>o</sup>(a)nimi*, which is based on his reconstruction of a possible original reading *Trbbānimi*, no further proposal has been advanced.<sup>1</sup>

The goal of this paper is twofold. First, I will present and discuss the problems concerning the reading of this name and the identification of its bearer(s) in the Lycian documentation (§2). Second, I will suggest a new interpretation for this name based on the more diffused reading *Trbbēnimi*, which was no doubt the name of a ruler living in ca. 430 BC for which no variant *Trbbānimi* is attested, and which must be separated from a later figure bearing the same name that shows a variant *Trbbānimi*. In my view, this new etymology fits better the military class to which both Lycian individuals belong, and, more importantly, it allows us to identify cognates for both elements of the compound in Lycian as well as in other Anatolian languages (§3.1–2). Last but not least, the combination of the elements of the compound finds parallels in both composition and phraseology outside Anatolian (§3.3). All this would suggest that *Trbbēnimi* may be an Anatolian creation based on a well-known Indo-European compositional structure and a diffused semantic pattern. Future studies on the topic may offer further parallels from other Indo-European branches (§4).

## 2. Lycian *Trbbēnimi* and *Trbbānimi*

The earliest attestations of the personal name *Trbbēnimi* date back to the Xanthos Stele (TL 44a.44, 44b.11<sup>?</sup>): a ruler of Limyra bearing this name is mentioned in the context of the 430/429

<sup>1</sup> The personal name *Trbbēnime/i-* and its variant *Trbbānime/i-* will be written *Trbbēnimi* and *Trbbānimi* unless the indication of the *i*-mutation will be relevant to explain the hypothesis advanced in this paper. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. I follow the standard abbreviations: PN for personal name, DN for divine name, GN for geographical name.



BC military campaign led by the *strategos* Melesandros against the anti-Athenian coalition in Lycia, in which the Athenians were defeated (Thuc. 2.69).<sup>2</sup> The name *Trbbēnīmi* also occurs in the epitaphs of Xuwata (TL 135.1) and, in its variant *Trbbēnēmi*, of Krustti (TL 128.1) from Limyra, in which the grave owners are defined as ‘*tideri* of *T*’, i.e., they are related to a certain *Trbbēnīmi* by a relationship of some kind.<sup>3</sup> In the same period, i.e. the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, a ruler named *Trbbēnīmi* issued several coins in Limyra (*T. zēmuh* / *zēm* ‘Zemuri (= Limyra)’).<sup>4</sup> This *Trbbēnīmi* may be the predecessor of Perikle<sup>5</sup> or even contemporaneous with him and may be the same mentioned in the two epitaphs.<sup>6</sup>

Besides *Trbbēnīmi*/*Trbbēnēmi*, which always occur either with the sign ✧ <ē> or its variant ♡ at- tested only on coins, there is evidence for a third form, *Trbbānīmi*, which has been suggested for ten coins so far and which is written with the signs ≡ and ♡, i.e. variants of <ā>.<sup>7</sup> Both signs for <ā> are known from inscriptions that are contemporaneous with the coins issued by the mint of *Trbbēnīmi*, and they occur interchangeably in the first decade of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC in the same inscription (N 325) or later even in the same word (N 320, 337 BC).<sup>8</sup> The variant ≡ disappeared shortly

<sup>2</sup> Whether he participated in this campaign on the Lycian or rather Greek side remains unclear. The question rests basically on the interpretation of *Trbbēnīmi* as a nominative or accusative singular, and of the word *terñ* as an accusative singular meaning ‘army’ (Deecke 1889, 186–187) or ‘field’ (Pedersen 1945, 49–50), or rather as a temporal conjunction ‘when’ as proposed by D. Sasseville elsewhere in this volume. As a consequence, the standard view sees *Trbbēnīmi* as responsible for the Athenian defeat, while according to Sasseville’s interpretation *Trbbēnīmi* would rather be an ally of the Athenian *strategos* Melesandros. Should the latter interpretation prove correct, it would profoundly change *Trbbēnīmi*’s role in that campaign and Limyra’s role in the Peloponnesian War overall: *xbane : ese : trbbēnīmi : tebete : terñ se milasāñtrā : pddēn(e) eke : xbāñje : izredi ehbjedi : hātahe* ‘Als er Trbbēnīmi und Melesandros in Kyaneai auf dem kyaneischen Flachland mit eigenen Händen in Ehre des Kriegsgottes besiegte’ TL 44a.44–46 (transl. D. Sasseville).

<sup>3</sup> The word *tidere/i-* most likely means ‘*collacteus*’ from \**tide*° and \*°*are/i-* (with Neumann 1993, 37–38). However, this does not mean automatically that we are dealing with foster-brothers (*vel sim.*) or more in general with individuals who have been fed by the same woman. One should bear in mind that it is not uncommon, nowadays just like in antiquity, to use kinship terminology to define social groups of different kinds; see, e.g., English *confraternity* that for sure does not indicate any sort of kinship relationship. Thus, the expression ‘*collacteus* of *T*’ does not speak automatically for kinship ties nor does it offer a chronological frame for the life period of the *Trbbēnīmi* mentioned in these two inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> Coins: *Trbbēnīmi* M 143, *Trbbēnim* (apocopated), *Trbbēn* / *trb* (shortened) in M 142 b, M 144 a; as ruler of Limyra (with *zēmuh* or *zēm* ‘Zemuri’) M 142a–b, M 144a. As for the reading of the name *Trbbēnīmi* as *Trbbānīmi* in M 141 a–j see the discussion below in this paper.

<sup>5</sup> Rix 2015, 77.

<sup>6</sup> The kind of relationship between the two is unclear. For a kinship relationship see Landskron 2015, 353, 376 with previous literature. However, it seems conceivable that they were chronologically closer than previously thought. First, they likely shared the same mint: three planchets have been re-struck on coins from Cyprus, and have been used to strike coins for both *Trbbēnīmi* and *Perikle*. Second, a single die seems to have struck in the same period coins of both *Trbbēnīmi* and *Perikle*, thus without having been used with a precise chronological succession. This suggests that they might have been contemporaneous to each other although the implications of such a possibility are not clear (Vismara 2018, 33 with n. 58, with reference to the pair of dies in Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 10 d12 and a1).

<sup>7</sup> So far, ≡ has been identified only on six coins of different provenience, while ♡ is attested on four coins from private collections; see Babelon 1910, 323 (No. 475) for the former, and single examples from private collections for both the former and the latter group (Anelli 2019, 55–56 with fig. 5 and 6). Possibly, a group of third staters from the Podalia Hoard issued by *Trbbēnīmi* himself should be added to the group with ♡ <ā>, for which initially a reading ♡ <ē> was suggested. The different letter used for the expected <ē> in this group was already noted by Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 9 nos. 157–253 (= M 141a–j), but later omitted in Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, 32 and n. 141c. This explains why no Lycian dictionary nowadays mentions it. The question has been revived by Eichner 1983, 50 n. 10 who first suggested a reading <ā> with a phonetic value for it, most recently followed by Anelli 2019, 62. His reading has been also taken in consideration by Vismara 2018, esp. 30, who adds two specimens from the antiquities market that were likely struck by the same pair of dies of the Podalia Hoard identified by Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, d9–p17 nos. 192–219.

<sup>8</sup> Adiego 2012, 94.

after, with  $\mathbb{V}$  becoming in the second part of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC the only sign for <ā>.<sup>9</sup> Thus, it seems difficult to deny that a form *Trbbānīmi* besides *Trbbēnīmi* did exist.<sup>10</sup> It follows that both *Trbbēnīmi* and *Trbbānīmi* were attested at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, although *Trbbānīmi* only on coins and in alternation with the more diffused *Trbbēnīmi*.

Two main issues remain open: whether the ruler mentioned in the Xanthos Stele is the same individual as the ruler of Limyra that issued coins at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, and whether we are dealing with a phonetic variant of the same personal name.

As for the first issue, the ruler mentioned in the Xanthos Stele and the one attested on coins are most likely two different individuals: the Greco-Lycian campaign (430/429 BC) and the coins' issue (ca. 400–375 BC) are quite distant in time from each other. In that case, only the second *Trbbēnīmi* issued coins, since its production is typologically and technically so uniform that it does not suggest two different issuing authorities.<sup>11</sup> However, this consideration is surely valid for those coins for which it can be established whether they have been struck by the same mint. Instead, our poor knowledge of other coins bearing this name does not allow us to establish that. A thorough numismatic analysis of the whole group of coins of *Trbbēnīmi*/*Trbbānīmi* remains therefore a desideratum. This is an extremely important point, in my view, because this could shed a different light on the distribution of *Trbbēnīmi* and *Trbbānīmi* on coins issued by the same person. This leads us to the second issue, which is trickier. Different from the variants *Trbbēnīmi*/*Trbbēnēmi*, which may be explained easily by vowel assimilation, to my knowledge *Trbbānīmi* cannot be explained from *Trbbēnīmi* by any Lycian phonetic rule.<sup>12</sup> In order to explain these data at least three scenarios are possible.

First, since  $\mathbb{V}$  <ē> and  $\mathbb{V}$  <ā> have an extremely similar shape and also indicate similar sounds (nasalised vowels), the two signs may have been confused and, at some point, used interchangeably. Later, for this reason, this name might have been occasionally written with the variant  $\mathbb{V}$ , which most likely shares its origin with  $\mathbb{V}$ , both developing from  $\mathbb{V}$ .<sup>13</sup> I consider this a conceivable possibility, but I am not aware of any parallel in Lycian that may validate such a confusion: most of <ā> / <ē> alternations may be explained in terms of umlaut. However, some of them have instead no clear explanation, for which see the discussion below.<sup>14</sup>

This leads us to the second scenario. If the alternation is to be explained in terms of umlaut, then *Trbbānīmi* would be the original form. *Trbbēnīmi* would reflect an umlauted form with shift from /a<sup>n</sup>\_i/ to /e<sup>n</sup>\_i/ as cautiously suggested by Eichner.<sup>15</sup> Most recently, Anelli remarked this possibility,<sup>16</sup> after her identification of new coins with both <ā> variants (see above in this paragraph and n. 7). Eichner advanced the hypothesis that *Trbbēnīmi* may be a compound consisting of a preverb or preposition *trbb(i)*° ‘against, re-’ as its first element and °ēnime/i- from °ānime/i-, i.e. a participle of a postulated Lycian verb \*aniḡa-, as its second element. As cognates to Lyc. \*aniḡa- he mentions Hitt. *aniḡa*-<sup>mi</sup> ‘to work; to carry out, to produce’ and Luw. *ān(n)i(ḡ)a*- ‘id.’.<sup>17</sup> Based on this analysis,

<sup>9</sup> Rix 2015, 85.

<sup>10</sup> With Anelli 2019.

<sup>11</sup> Vismara 2018, 30 n. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Lyc. DN *Trbbāmara* is the only other case in which *trbbē*° becomes *trbbā*°, but this is due to assimilation to the following /a/.

<sup>13</sup> From  $\mathbb{V}$ , for which see Rix 2015, 85, 93. Moreover, both variants of <ā> apparently developed in those decades, thus maybe incrementing the confusion.

<sup>14</sup> A purely graphic variant would require that <ā> and <ē> alternate in Lycian in the same word both reflecting the same phonetic value.

<sup>15</sup> Eichner 1983, 50.

<sup>16</sup> Anelli 2019, esp. 62.

<sup>17</sup> See Kloekhorst 2008, 179–181 for an overview of the unclear aspects of the reconstruction of these forms like the origin of the double nasal (*contra* the explanation by means of Čop's Law in Melchert 1993, 17) and the colour of the laryngeal \**h*<sub>1</sub>/\**h*<sub>3</sub> in case it is cognate with Lat. *onus* ‘load’ and Skr. *ānas*- ‘cart’. For

Eichner interprets *Trbbēnīmi* as ‘the reborn one’, comparing Lat. *Reⁿatus*. Tentatively, the Lycian GN *Trebenna* could be added to this group: it would reflect the same structure as *Trbbēnīmi* and it could mean ‘the re-built (scil. place)’,<sup>18</sup> but see below for further considerations on this name.

Although Eichner’s interpretation is attractive, a Lycian verb *\*anije-* remains unattested. Furthermore, neither do the corresponding Luwian and Hittite forms mean ‘to give birth’ nor does any Anatolian language show any parallel for the meaning ‘*re-nasci*’.<sup>19</sup> That being said, we may turn to other directions.

We might consider the possibility that the alternance *Trbbēnīmi/Trbbānīmi* may not be due to umlaut /a\_i/ > /e\_i/. Different from other types of umlaut attested in Lycian, this one does not show any consistent pattern, as it does not appear in several nominal and verbal forms where we would expect it. This difference is usually explained as a strategy to maintain the morphological intelligibility of a given paradigm, as is the case with the genitival adjective nom. sg. *Malijahi* (TL44c.5) and not *\*Malijehi* from the divine name *Malija-* ‘Athena’. However, this may also be the result of a restitution process, as was already briefly suggested by Hajnal.<sup>20</sup> Either way, both features have been put in connection with its later appearance in Lycian if compared with other more established Lycian umlaut types.<sup>21</sup> In my view, these factors open the discussion for further considerations: if this umlaut was not consistent, and *e/i*-forms could in some cases have been changed back to *a/i*-forms, one could doubt whether all Lycian *a/i*- and *e/i*-pairs should be defined as real umlauted forms. Only a study of the oscillation between the signs <a>/<ā> and <e>/<ē> and their phonetic correspondences on inscriptions and coins (together with the identification of the mint for all coins), as well as a thorough study of the Lycian umlaut types could shed some light on this topic. On this occasion, I will limit myself to mention those aspects that, in my view, should be treated more accurately before assuming that the oscillation *Trbbēnīmi/Trbbānīmi* must be the result of *e/i*-umlaut.

As suggested above, it is not unthinkable that the signs for <ē> and <ā> were confused, as the two nasal sounds may overlap in pronunciation. This is possibly reflected, too, in Greek renderings of this name, which show both <ε> and <η> for Lyc. <ē> and <ā>,<sup>22</sup> whereas Lyc. <a> mostly corresponds to Gk. <α> (and in some cases <ο>). However, Lycian <a> is also rendered with <η>, especially in those cases in which Lyc. /a/ originates from *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>* and, therefore, most likely reflects [æ] (see, e.g., 3.sg. *tadi* from the verb *ta-* ‘to put’ from PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*). Furthermore, hypercorrected forms cannot be excluded either, since a restitution process for the *e/i*-forms is conceivable – although far from being assured. Following this possibility, cases like the name *Trbbāmara* from *Trbbēⁿmara* (with *ⁿmara* from *mere-* ‘law’) might have influenced the restitution of <ā> in *Trbbāⁿnīmi*. Last but not least, if this is commonly accepted as a more recent umlaut, it seems to me difficult to explain the possible relationship between *Trbbēnīmi/Trbbānīmi* and the place name *Trebenna*. Following Eichner’s hypothesis on *Trbbānīmi*, the only possible reconstruction for *Trebenna* seems to me the following: The first element of the compound would show a vocalisation *treb(i)ⁿ* (instead of *Trbb(i)ⁿ*), which most likely speaks for a different accentuation that in turn may also explain the second element of the compound by means of a double syncope. Then,

a reconstruction *\*h<sub>1</sub>one-īé/ó-* ‘move a load’, i.e. a denominative in *ⁿiia-* from *ⁿe-īé/ó-* see Eichner 1978, 161 n. 71.

<sup>18</sup> Heiner Eichner, pers. comm.

<sup>19</sup> Compare the occurrences in HED 1, 66–71 and the semantic analysis in Kloekhorst 2008, 179. A meaning ‘to plant (a seed)’ does occur with vegetables (HED 1, 66).

<sup>20</sup> Hajnal 1995, 89.

<sup>21</sup> Hajnal 1995, 81–89.

<sup>22</sup> See Greek (Lycia) Τρεβημις, Τρεβεμις, Τριβημις, Τερβημις (KPN §1600-4, 5, 7, 8) (~ Pisid. *Terbemi* Abydos, Egypt), Τρεβηνις (KPN §1600-10). It is of some interest that precisely the Greek name Μελήσανδρος (see above §2) is rendered in Lycian as *Milasāntra*, that is with <a>; however, note that this is a Greek and not a Lycian name.

the assimilation of the two nasals would have occurred. This means that the second element of the compound, if related with *Trbb°ānīmi*, should be reconstructed as follows: \**°anna* < \**°anma* < \**°anima* < \**°ani(ia)ma*. The main problem, besides the double syncope, is that we should assume that the *e/i*-umlaut has occurred quite early in order to justify the syncope. Unfortunately, this is exactly the opposite of what one would expect from a late umlaut like this one.<sup>23</sup> Instead, if we think of *Trebenna* as having a first element *trebe°* without any umlaut, the reconstruction seems more consistent with our knowledge of this specific umlaut.

That being said, too many aspects are still uncertain to assume that the existence of a variant *Trbbānīmi* excludes that *Trbbēnīmi* is the original form of this name. In the next paragraph, I will suggest this possible alternative scenario, i.e. that *Trbbēnīmi* is the original form. I will put forward a new interpretation for it as ‘(the one) who sends (troops) against (the enemy)’ or ‘(the one) who turns himself against (the enemy/toward the battle)’. This etymological interpretation seems preferable: not only are the elements of the compound independently attested in Lycian but the collocation that may be reflected in *Trbbēnīmi* is well attested in the Hittite phraseology; moreover, the semantic pattern on which this personal name is built occurs outside the Anatolian branch, as shown by synonymous roots and parallel compositional structures.

### 3. A new etymology

Lyc. *Trbbēnīme/i-* might be analysed as *Trbbē°nīme/i-*, a compound with the preverb/preposition Lyc. *trbbi/trbbē* ‘against’ as its first element and an \**-Vīme/i-* participle as its second element. The second element *°nīme/i* could be the syncopated form of an unattested Lycian participle \**nījeme/i*. For a parallel syncope see *°πμμ* corresponding to *pījeme/i* from *pije-* ‘to give’, frequently employed in the Anatolian onomastics.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, on the one hand Lyc. \**nījeme/i* intuitively recalls Lyc. B *nēnījeti*, which may be the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. of a verb *nēnīje-*, i.e. likely the corresponding reduplicated form of the unattested base verb of \**nījeme/i*. On the other hand, Lyc. B *nēnīje-* may be a cognate of Hitt. *nanna-/nanni-<sup>hhi</sup>* ‘to drive’ and tentatively also of CLuw. *nanna-* (meaning unclear), and *nana-* ‘to lead’,<sup>25</sup> which may, in turn, represent the reduplicated form of Hitt. *nē-(a)ri*, *nai-/ni<sup>hhi</sup>* ‘to send, to turn (someone/something), to turn oneself’ from PIE \**neǵH-* ‘to lead’.<sup>26</sup> Based on these data, two scenarios will be presented in §3.1–2: first, *Trbbēnīmi* may originate from \*‘who sends/turns X against Y’ (transitive), whence a possible interpretation as ‘(the one) who sends/turns X (e.g. the army/people) against Y (e.g. the enemy)’; second, it might hide a meaning \*‘(the one) who turns (himself) against (scil. someone else)’ (intransitive), hence \*‘who turns (himself) against (e.g., the enemy)’. As often mentioned above in this paper, both the *Trbbēnīmi* of the Xanthos Stele and the one who issued coins a few decades later were rulers. This means that both belong to a sort of military aristocracy, for which such a name seems conceivable to me.

As a general remark, note that: (a) a preposition or a preverb as the first element of a compound is well-attested in the Lycian onomastics, see *Epñ°xuxa*, *Hri°xñma*, *Hrppi°duba*; (b) the combination of a preverb with an adjective or a past participle is well-attested in other Anatolian languages as well; see Lyc. *Un°uwēme/i-* ‘well regarded’ TL 62.1,<sup>27</sup> and possibly also Car. *Šar°uśol-* ‘super-/hyper-blessed’<sup>28</sup> and Cib. *Σρονμῖς* < \**ser-uwammi-*? ‘highly regarded’.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See the same explanation for similar cases offered by Hajnal 1995, 82–83.

<sup>24</sup> On this possibility see briefly already Neumann 2007, 372.

<sup>25</sup> See Starke 1990, 333 n. 1181 and Melchert 1993, 154.

<sup>26</sup> LIV<sup>2</sup> 450–451.

<sup>27</sup> Schürr 2009, 104.

<sup>28</sup> For the form see Adiego 2007, 418, 431.

<sup>29</sup> Schürr 2009, 100. As regards the Carian PN, a meaning ‘super-/hyper-blessed’ suggested by Melchert 2013, 42 is not supported by textual evidence, for which see Simon 2020. The abbreviation Cib. is used here for Cibyrtis.



### 3.1 First element of the compound: *trbbē*

Lyc. *trbbē*° ‘against’ (most likely not *trbbi* in this case)<sup>30</sup> is attested in the Lycian DN *Trbbāmara* \*‘law against X’ → ‘prohibition’ (umlaut *e\_a* > *a\_a*), where °*mara-* is the result of umlaut from *mere-* ‘law’, and probably also in PN *Trbbule*, for which see the Greek corresponding Τρεβε-λυσις.<sup>31</sup>

Formally, both Lyc. *trbbi* (2×) and *trbbē* (1×, TL 44a.23) may be prepositions reflecting different cases of a root noun \**trep-* ‘step’. Lyc. *trbbi* might reflect loc. sg. \**trepī*, for which compare HLuw. *tarpi* ‘against, aggressively’; Lyc. *trbbē*, possibly an endingless loc. \**trep-en-Ø*, for which one may compare HLuw. *tarpa* (1×).<sup>32</sup> It is also possible, on a Luwic level, that *trbbē* reflects \**trbbe* + *en*, that is, a compound with \*°*en(i)* ‘in’ as second element, as has been recently proposed for the Lycian local adverb *pddē* ‘in front, before’ that is a functional equivalent of Hitt. *pēran* and Luw. *parran(n)i* and for *ñtewē* ‘opposite, against’.<sup>33</sup> Following this reconstruction *trbbe*° would represent a dative or a locative in -*e*, for which compare the s-stem dative in -*e* of unclear origin (see, e.g., *tehluse* of unclear meaning).

Help in defining the semantics of Lyc. *trbbi* is offered by comparing the following two passages. In the first passage *trbbi* appears together with the accusative *atānas* ‘Athens’ meaning ‘against Athens’.<sup>34</sup>

TL 44c.3

*trbbi: atānas: zxxāte: terñ*

‘when they battled against Athens’

In the second passage, the verb *trbbe-* ‘to oppose, to take up arms against’ appears in a very similar context:<sup>35</sup>

TL 44a.53–55

*mukale: tewēt[e]: sāma=ti: trbbetē: turaxssi: zxxāna terñ: ese: humrxxā: tebāna terñ: hātahe*

‘when he went (\*made a step?) against Turaxssi at Mykale in front of Samos to launch the battle and to defeat Amorges *hātahe*’<sup>36</sup>

The comparison between these two passages is significant because Lyc. *trbbi/trbbē* is etymologically related to the verb *trbbe-*. The latter belongs to a group of Lycian verbs that may be traced back to PIE \**trep-* ‘to step’ or \**trep-* ‘to turn’, although both formal and semantic aspects are still controversial. In what follows I recall the cases that are relevant to our purpose.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>30</sup> A form *trbbi* ‘id.’ is unlikely here since an umlaut \**i\_a* > *e\_a* is unattested in Lycian (pace Neumann 1979b, 262).

<sup>31</sup> KPN §1600-2; Neumann 1979a, 25; 1979b, 262; Melchert 2004, 69.

<sup>32</sup> As a possible parallel, see Lyc. *A epñ* ‘behind, afterwards’ and *epi* ‘above, upon’ that may reflect an endingless locative \**h<sub>1</sub>op-(e)n-Ø* and a locative \**h<sub>1</sub>op(i)*, respectively; cf. HLuw. *apan* (see adv. POST-na versus POST-ni ‘in future, afterwards’), Hitt. *āpan* ‘afterwards’ (García Ramón 2012, 66). Tentatively, another cognate may be identified in Lyc. B *epe*(°) ‘back, backwards’ (1×, TL 55.5), for which see Hitt. *āppa*, from the instrumental \**h<sub>1</sub>op-oh<sub>1</sub>*.

<sup>33</sup> Boroday – Yakubovich 2018, 17–18.

<sup>34</sup> And not a postposition with gen., pace Neumann 2007, 372. Compare also *trbbi: trusñ* ‘against Trysa’ TL 44b.15, showing the same function (Eichner 1993, 145 n. 131).

<sup>35</sup> I tentatively accept the suggestion of Sasseville (in this volume) to interpret *terñ* ‘when’ as a conjunction. Should the previous interpretation of *terñ* as ‘field’ be proven correct, my interpretation of *trbbe-* would work anyway. See above n. 2.

<sup>36</sup> Pace Schürr 1998, 154 (*trbbe* or *trbb(e)i* ‘support’ [with a positive meaning]).

<sup>37</sup> For details on the following Lycian verbal formations see Serangeli 2018, 132–133, 185–187. See also the recent verbal classification by Sasseville 2020, 234–235, 377–378.



(a) *trbb-* ‘to step, stand (up) (against), destroy’ (root-verb, consonant class): TL 44c.37 *laKra* : *trbbdi* : *Xeriga* ‘Steinmale’ stürzt Xeriga um’;<sup>38</sup> TL 44d.27 *muni* : *trbbdi* : *tasñtuwadi* : *mēmrezñ* : *trppali* ‘and he steps against the *trppali* of the *mēmrezi*’;

(b) *tarb(e)i-* \*‘to take a step (against sb./sth.) → to attack (sb.), to defeat (sb.)’ ((e)i-class, with lenition),<sup>39</sup> see 3sg. pret. *tarbide* (1×), transitive (acc.sg. *tlāñ* ‘Tlos’): TL 44a.46–47 *pddē=n=eke* : *xbē[n]ije* : *izredi ehbijedi* : *hātahe* : *tlāñ nele* : *nele* : *tarbide* ‘and (he) *tarbide* (defeated?) Tlos at any place with his troops (of the hand-to-hand-fight)<sup>7</sup> in front of the *eki*, the Kyaneaian *hātahe*’;<sup>40</sup>

(c) \**trbb(e)i-* \*‘to step against/to act as an enemy’ → ‘to be hostile (to sb.)’ (intransitive, see the dat.-loc. pl. *esbēte* in the passage below), tentatively a denominative derived from \**trbbe* ‘enemy’, for which see below in this paragraph.<sup>41</sup> This verb is attested only once and in a very obscure passage; any translation is, therefore, provisional. However, *trbbeite* is clearly recognizable as a verb: *se ddewe* : *sttati mē urublijē* : *mei ti* : *puweti* : *azzalā* : *ddeu trbbeite mē* : *esbēte* : *xñtawatedi* : *unabāñme* ‘and a *ddewe* stands as a memorial/monument and on it *azzalā* inscribes, how they *trbbeite* (were hostile to?) the *unabāñme* riders/heroes together with the king’ (TL 44c.9–10);<sup>42</sup>

(d) *trbbe-* ‘to make a step against someone’; see 3sg. pret. *trbbetē* (2×);<sup>43</sup> *mukale* : *tewēt[e]* : *sāma=ti* : *trbbetē* : *turaxssi* : *zxxāna terñ* : *ese* : *humrxxā* : *tebāna terñ* : *hātahe* ‘when he stepped against Turaxssi at Mykale in front of Samos to launch the battle and to defeat Amorges *hātahe*’ (TL 44a. 53–55).

It may be noticed that double verbal formations like Lyc. *trbbe*, *trbb(e)i* ‘to step (against someone)’ are very common in Anatolian: see the corresponding Luwian double formations *tarpa* and *tarp(a)i* ‘to clump, step (on)’ (neutral meaning), and compare as double formation HLuw. *tarzi* ~ *tarz(a)i* ‘to turn’.<sup>44</sup>

As for nominal forms, an adjective *trbbeli* ‘hostile?’ (TL 65.11, N324.12) is also attested; following Diether Schürr see also the collective TL 106.2, 131.5 *tawa trbbala hati* ‘they shall cast eyes on’.<sup>45</sup> In my view, *trbbeli-* may be a derivative of an estem \**trbbe/i* ‘enemy’ of which both *trbbi* and *trbbē* might be fossilized case forms (see above §2).

However, it is also possible that all these verbal forms go back to PIE \**trep-* ‘to turn’ since both semantics and morphology are not decisive to make a distinction between \**trep-* ‘to step’ and \**trep-* ‘to turn’. The Lycian verbs mentioned right above would then be explained as follows: Lyc. *trbb-* \*‘one overturns X (i.e., the stones)’ → ‘one destroys X’, *tarb(e)i-* \*‘one turns to attack’, \*‘one turns back → one defeats (the troops), \**trbb(e)i-* \*‘one turns on someone’ → ‘one becomes hostile’. Compare CLuw. *tarpanalli-* ‘ritual substitute’ (from \*‘the one that turns away [evil]’), but also ‘turncoat’, ‘rebel’.<sup>46</sup> In that case, it seems conceivable that HLuw. *tarp(a)i* ‘to plough’<sup>47</sup> and

<sup>38</sup> Eichner 1993, 145.

<sup>39</sup> It is maybe a causative/iterative form \**trop-ēje/o-* (with *a*-anaptyxis, Hajnal 1995, 146), type *CoC-ēje/o-* → *CóC-ēje/o-*.

<sup>40</sup> Reading as *pddē=n=eke* and interpretation of *pddē* as ‘in front of’ by Schürr 2010, 152.

<sup>41</sup> Type *C(o)C-e-īje/o-* → *C(o)C-ēje/o-*, cf. OInd. denom. \**a-yāti* → \**áyati* after the iteratives.

<sup>42</sup> It may be noted that only the verbal form *trbbeite* is in the preterite. Therefore, it may be suggested that the narration of past events written on the stele begins with *trbbeite*, see TL 44c.9 *ddewe sttati mē* versus TL 44c.10 *ddeu trbbeite mē*.

<sup>43</sup> This formation remains unclear. Tentatively, a stative Proto-Anat. \**trép-o-* < IE \**trép-or* → them. *trbb-e-te* (Hajnal 1995, 146).

<sup>44</sup> Hawkins 2000, 126–127; Rieken 2004, 465–466.

<sup>45</sup> Melchert 2004, 69.

<sup>46</sup> By either etymology, it should be noted that \**r\_p* becomes \**r\_b[v]* in Lycian. I thank H. Craig Melchert (pers. comm.) for this point and for the fruitful discussion on the two roots \**trep-*.

<sup>47</sup> Morpurgo Davies 1986.

maybe *tarpai* ‘to substitute’ (and iter. *tarpašša* ‘to substitute’<sup>48</sup>) continues PIE *\*trep* ‘to turn’ too, for which compare Hitt. *teripp<sup>mi</sup>* ‘to plough’, OInd *TRAP* ‘be ashamed’, Gk. *τρέπω*, Lat. *trepō* ‘turn’.

This would imply that both Indo-European roots (*\*trep* ‘to step’, *\*trep* ‘to turn’) were attested in the Luwic languages, but that they would be phonetically indistinguishable. Either way, a meaning ‘against’ for Lyc. *trbbi/trbbē* may be taken as certain.<sup>49</sup>

### 3.2 Second element of the compound: *°nimi-*

Lyc. *°nimi* (*°nemi*) is attested a few times in the Lycian onomastics: see PN *Tuti°nimi* (TL 122)<sup>50</sup> with first element *tuti°*, cf. HLuw. *Tutaya-?* ((DEUS)*tutaiasa*, JISR EL HADID line 2)<sup>51</sup> as well as *Xluwā°nimi* (TL 67.1)<sup>52</sup> with first element *xluwā°*; cf. Hitt. *Halwa°ziti?*,<sup>53</sup> see *°κλοα* in *Ιδα°κλοα*.<sup>54</sup> However, this second element remains semantically and formally unclear so that it is still not possible to suggest a meaning for these PNs.

As briefly anticipated above (§3), Lyc. *°nimi* may be the syncopated form of a participle *\*nijeme/i* on the type *°πιμι* ← *pijemi* from *pije-* ‘to give’: see N302.2 *Mahanepijemi* from *maha(na)* and *pijemi* ‘given by the gods’, and Gk. Lyc. *Μαναπιμιος*. Should this hypothesis be correct, the following terms are good Luwic candidates for cognates to *°nimi*/*\*nijeme/i*: (i) Lyc. B *nēnijeti* (trans., 1×, *asānāmla xumala=de nēnijeti* TL 44d.65), which may correspond to Hitt. *nanna-/nanni<sup>-hhi</sup>* ‘to drive, to draw, to ride in an animal-drawn vehicle’, likely a *-anna/i*-formation to Hitt. *nē<sup>-(a)ri</sup>*, *nai-/°ni<sup>-hhi</sup>* ‘to lead; to turn’ (PIE *\*neǵH-*);<sup>55</sup> (ii) CLuw. *nana-* ‘to lead’;<sup>56</sup> (iii) the noun *niniḡal* (n.) ‘cradle’ ← *\*“Gerät, mit dem man (das Kind) hin- und herlenkt”*,<sup>57</sup> and (iv) the noun *niniḡama/i-* ‘twisted-spined bread’.<sup>58</sup> As briefly mentioned in the previous paragraph, two questions arise. First, the precise phonetic and morphological details of *\*ni(je)-* must remain an open question for now. Tentatively, because Lycian *-i-* may be traced back to *\*-eǵ-* (see Lyc. 3sg. pres. *sijēni/sitēni* likely from *\*keǵor/keǵtor*) *°nimi*, as the syncopated form of *\*nijēme/i-*, may easily go back to *\*neǵHommo/i-* (see Hitt. 3pl. pres. *nēanzi* ‘they lead, guide, send’ from *\*néǵH-e-* to *\*PIE \*neǵH-*).<sup>59</sup>

<sup>48</sup> With Starke 1990, 233–234 and n. 796.

<sup>49</sup> Given the possibility sketched also for *\*trep-* ‘to turn’, one should probably not exclude a meaning ‘back’ either. This throws us back to Eichner’s hypothesis of comparing *trbbi* with Lat. *re°*.

<sup>50</sup> KPN §1584-2.

<sup>51</sup> Hawkins 2000, 379.

<sup>52</sup> KPN §627.

<sup>53</sup> Laroche 1966, No. 262.

<sup>54</sup> KPN §451-6.

<sup>55</sup> It may be noticed that the geminate in Hitt. *nanna-/nanni<sup>-hhi</sup>* cannot find an explanation if we assume for it a reduplicated form. Therefore, an explanation as a durative-iterative stem in *-anni/a-* seems to me the best explanation so far (with Melchert 1998, 416). However, it is true that the expected *anna/i*-formation of *nē<sup>-(a)ri</sup>*, *nai-/°ni<sup>-hhi</sup>* is *\*niḡanna/i-* and that this form is not attested.

<sup>56</sup> Melchert 1993, 154 with ref.

<sup>57</sup> Starke 1987, 252–253 and 1990, 330–333.

<sup>58</sup> Melchert 1993, 158. Even still disputed, HLuw. CRUS.CRUS(-)*niyasha-* (KARKAMIŠ A11b §16) may be added to the dossier, for which a meaning ‘procession’ (as a ‘leading’?) (Starke 1990, 331) and recently ‘relocation’ (Yakubovich, *ACLT* s.v.) has been advanced. The assumption of a reduplicated form *\*naniya-* as basis of CRUS.CRUS(-)*niyasha-* (with double writing of the logogram) cannot be supported by any parallel so far (pace Starke 1990, 331 and n. 1173). Should the meaning ‘procession’ be validated, Luwian would show a known typological parallel to Gk. *πέμπω* ‘to send, guide’ and the noun *πομπή* ‘procession’. More complicated is the situation of Lyc. *Natri* ‘Apollo’, whose interpretation as ‘the leading one’ (possibly from *\*naiatar(i)-*, cf. Ved. *netar-* ‘leader’) remains just an attractive hypothesis facing serious phonological problems. See an overview of the current state of research in Neumann 2007, 235.

<sup>59</sup> LIV<sup>2</sup> 450 with ref. However, should Lyc. B *nēnijeti* be related to Hitt. *nanna-/nanni<sup>-hhi</sup>* and both be recognized as reduplicated forms as Kloekhorst 2008, 600 suggests, the Hittite 3pl. pres. *nannianzi* (OS) (and the derivative *penna-/penni<sup>-hhi</sup>* ‘to drive (there)’, 3pl. pres. *pennianzi*) may reveal a 3pl. pres. *\*nianzi* for Hitt. *nē<sup>-(a)ri</sup>*, *nai-/°ni<sup>-hhi</sup>*, which may be useful to explain Lyc. *nēni(je)-* and *\*ni(je)-*. Should *\*ni(je)-* represent a zero grade, it may be the result of an influence from the plural form with expected zero-grade as shown

While Hitt. *nē*-(a)ri, *nai*-/∗*ni*-<sup>hhi</sup> (and its derivatives) is widely attested and its semantics assured, it should be noted that the Luwian terms do not reveal any attestation in military context, and a meaning ‘to lead’ is assured in only one CLuwian text (KUB 54.3, 17<sup>60</sup>); the Lycian terms are attested in only very fragmentary or unclear texts.<sup>61</sup> With this discrepancy between the Hittite and the Luwian material, it may be helpful to look at collocations outside Lycian and Luwian, too. Hitt. *nē*-(a)ri, *nai*-/∗*ni*-<sup>hhi</sup> (and derivatives) appears together with the preposition *p(a)rā* ‘toward, forth’ frequently in a military context, which may support the hypothesis that a military connotation is hidden behind the PN Lycian *Trbbēnimi* and the Lycian B verb *nēni(je)*-.<sup>62</sup>

(a) [SEND someone/troops – to ATTACK]:

HKM 46 rev. 15–17

*man=kan* <sup>DUTU</sup>*š* *BĒLIYA BĒLU* *kuinki parā naitti man=a KUR-i* <sup>LÚ</sup>*KÚR ŪL dammišḫaizzi*

‘Were you, my lord, to send some commander, the enemy would not wreak havoc in the land.’<sup>63</sup>

HKM 36 obv. 5

*nu=wa=mu=kan* *ERÍN*<sup>MES</sup> *parā nai*

‘Despatch troops to me!’<sup>64</sup>

HKM 36 obv. 13–14

*n=ašta k[aš]ma apedani KUR-e* <sup>LÚ</sup>*E[N MADGALT]I parā neḫhun*

‘Look, to that land I have despatched a border commander.’

KBo 5.6 i 32–33 (emended from KUB 31.7 obv. 4)

<sup>1</sup>*Uraḫannin=ma=kan . . . INA KUR* <sup>URU</sup>*Kašula GUL-a[hḫuḫanzi parā] naešta*

‘He despatched *U.* to *K.* in order to attack.’

(b) [SEND troops – against PEOPLE – in BATTLE]:

KUB 14.1 obv. 61 (MH/MS)

*n[ašt]a* <sup>m</sup>*Kišnapilin* *ERÍN*<sup>MES</sup> *ANŠE.KUR.RA*<sup>HLA</sup> *ana* <sup>m</sup>*Attariššija menaḫḫanda zaḫḫija parā naiš*

‘He sent *K.*, infantry, (and) chariotry against *A.* in battle.’

(c) [OBJECT<sub>subj</sub> – TURN toward]

KBo 15.10 ii 5–6

*nu* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*TUKUL-ŠU parā neanza eštu*

‘Let his weapon point straight ahead (i.e., be battle-ready)!’

by the Hittite corresponding reduplicated form. However, the lack of an explanation for the double nasal both in Hittite *nanna*-/∗*nanni*-<sup>hhi</sup> and (eventually) Lycian *nēni(je)*- remains an issue for this hypothesis.

<sup>60</sup> See Melchert 1993, 154.

<sup>61</sup> Serangeli 2018, 221–222.

<sup>62</sup> Translations based on CHD N, 347–364 and HED 7, 17–20.

<sup>63</sup> Alp 1991, 200.

<sup>64</sup> As further attestation, see also HKM 36 rev. 35–36 *nu=war=an=kan INA* <sup>URU</sup>*Išaš parā neḫhun* ‘I sent it [scil. the army] to *I.*’

KUB 57.63 ii 4–5

*nu=šmaš parā neįantan tarḫuilin* <sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠUKUR *paiš*

‘He gave them a battle-ready, valiant spear (saying: ‘Let the hostile foreign lands perish by the land of Labarna!’).’

Hitt. *nanniye-* also offers a similar meaning, see:

KBo 25.54 i 13–14 + KBo 20.20 obv. 3–4

*nu=šmaš= ...[2 <sup>GIŠ</sup>m]ariuš kuttanaza=šmit ki ... nannianzi*

‘They drive two *māri*-spears ... from their shoulders (to the battle/enemies).’

From these examples it is clear that Hitt. *nē*-(a)ri, *nai*-/(\**ni*)-<sup>bhi</sup> and its derivatives are not only attested in a military context, but they also show, among others,<sup>65</sup> a precise collocation, with little variations, i.e. ‘to send or to lead troops to someone for help in battle.’ Example (b) is particularly relevant to this paper, due to the fact that Hitt. *menaḫḫanda* ‘in front of/against’<sup>66</sup> perfectly matches the semantics of Luw. *tarpi/tarpa* and Lyc. *trbbi/trbbe* ‘against’, which has no cognate in the Hittite prepositions/preverbs.<sup>67</sup> It seems possible to me that the absence of a military context for Lyc. \**nēniye-* and CLuw. *nana-* may be due to lack of attestations. Therefore, it cannot be excluded *a priori* that this verb was used in military contexts.

Should this hypothesis be correct, *Trbbēnimi* could hide a meaning ‘the one who sends (tentatively: troops?) against (scil. the enemy)’ or the like. This interpretation would imply that the participle *°nimi* has been used transitively here. This is unusual for transitive verbs although well-known cases of this kind are attested in the Luwic languages: see, e.g., HLuw. EDERE-*ta-ma/i-* ‘having eaten’ and the *ant*-participle Hitt. *adant-* ‘(having) eaten’. However, one could notice that the *ma/i*-participle of this verb is usually attested intransitively in the sense ‘turned (toward)’ (physically and metaphorically).<sup>68</sup> This is also the case of example (c) above, in which the weapon itself is the subject of the clause: the weapon *points forward*, which means that it is *battle-ready*. Intransitive examples with human beings as subjects are also attested in Hittite,<sup>69</sup> but not in a military context. Thus, they are not mentioned here. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that the participle is here used intransitively; *Trbbēnimi* would then mean ‘the one who turns against/toward (tentatively: the enemy/battle)’ or the like. However, this interpretation may be less preferable since apparently there is no attestation of this verb (intransitive) with a preverb which may be a good parallel to the structure and meaning of the Lycian compound.<sup>70</sup>

Either way, the identification of a second element *°nimi* allows us to reconstruct a collocation in Lycian that has a strong parallel in Hittite, and that is missing in the other Anatolian languages, likely due to lack of attestations. In Lycian, it has been adapted to the Lycian vocabulary, using *trbbi* instead of other preposition(s) unknown to Lycian.

<sup>65</sup> See CHD N, 347–364.

<sup>66</sup> Nikolaev 2010.

<sup>67</sup> Lyc. *ntewe* also reflects *menaḫḫanda* but rather in the sense of ‘in front of’.

<sup>68</sup> Among others, see CHD N, esp. 352.

<sup>69</sup> CHD N, 355, 357.

<sup>70</sup> Hitt. *nē*-(a)ri, *nai*-/(\**ni*)-<sup>bhi</sup> is also attested with *edi* or *katta* with a meaning ‘to defect, to desert’ from \*‘to turn (against someone) / \*‘to turn (from an allegiance)’ (CHD N, 349, 355–356). This may lead to the attractive, but still highly speculative interpretation of *Trbbēnimi* as ‘the rebel, the deserter’ from \*‘the one who turns against so.’ which would be particularly fitting in case *Trbbēnimi* will be proved to have participated in the military campaign on the Greek side against the Lycians (see above §2 and n. 2). Of course, in that case one would need to postulate that the military leader would receive this name as a nickname after the campaign. Although both options are formally possible, the collocation of *nē*-(a)ri, *nai*-/(\**ni*)-<sup>bhi</sup> with *p(a)ra* and especially with *menaḫḫanda* is, in my view, more compelling to make a comparison with Lyc. *trbbi*.

### 3.3. Semantic parallels outside Anatolian

Names carrying a military connotation are very common in Indo-European. I am not aware of a precise correspondence to the structure of *Trbbēnīmi* outside Anatolian, but some compounds showing the same semantic patterns illustrated above may be mentioned.

(a) *Trbbēnīmi* as ‘who turns/sends (army/people) against (the enemy)’: see the Greek PN Λάτροπος ‘who turns/directs the people towards/against X’ (Argos, 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *SEG* XVII 152) in which *τρός* is corradical of the verb *τρέπω* ‘to turn, to direct’ that functions as a synonym of Hitt. *nē<sup>-(a)ri</sup>*, *nai-/ni<sup>-hhi</sup>*, while Λά<sup>o</sup> reflects λαός ‘people/army’, that is, the object that is possibly missing in the Lycian name. The meaning of this collocation is also supported by Greek phraseology, but with the synonymous δῆμος ‘people’ and out of a military context: see, e.g., Pind. *Pyth.* 1.70 δᾶμον γεραίρων τράποι σύμφωνον ἐς ἡσυχίαν ‘(the man who is himself the leader...) may bring honour to the people and turn them towards harmonious peace’.<sup>71</sup>

(b) *Trbbēnīmi* as ‘who turns towards/against (the army/enemy)’: Compare the very similar collocation [RUSH - upon/against PEOPLE] and/or [COME - towards/upon/against PEOPLE] that may be seen in the Mycenaean MN *e-ti-ra-wo* /*Erti<sup>o</sup>lāwoi*/ (dat.) (PY Cn 655.9, 131.10) from *e-ti-ra-wo* /*Erti<sup>o</sup>lāwos*/ which is reflected (by the inversion of the elements of the compound) in the alphabetic PN Λᾶ<sup>o</sup>έρτης (Hom.+). The first element Λᾶ<sup>o</sup> clearly reflects λαός ‘people’, while the second element *έρτης* might be etymologically related either with the aor. ἔρετο ‘rushed headlong at’ (Hsch. *ἔρετο· ὠρμήθη*) or with ἔρχεσθαι ‘to advance’.<sup>72</sup>

As an example of a verbal compound with a preverb as its first element, as is the case with *Trbbēnīmi*, see Myc. MN *e-pi-do-ro-mo* (TH, Fq 118, among other occurrences), corresponding to alphabetic Gk. Ἐπίδρομος (Athens, 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC+) ‘who runs over/attacks’. This name derives from ἐπίδρομος meaning ‘running over’ and, in a poetic context, ‘offensive, aggressive (from \*who attacks)’; this is built by a preposition ἐπι<sup>o</sup> ‘over’ and the agentive *δρομος* ‘runner’ (with secondary accent shift as expected in PNs). This meaning is assured by the verb ἐπιδραμεῖν ‘to attack (by feet)’ (*Il.* 4.542 and 18.527). The simple form without a preposition is also attested in Greek, see the PN Myc. *do-ro-me-u* /*Dromēus*/ (PY An 209.4), corresponding to alphabetic Gk. Δρομεύς (see also Δρομέας, Δρόμων, Δρομάς).<sup>73</sup>

For the purpose of this paper it is sufficient to have shown that semantic and syntactical parallels to both the compositional structures that have been advanced for *Trbbēnīmi* may be found outside Anatolian. The analysis has not been extended to Indo-European branches other than Greek; however, given that the suggested meaning reflects one of the essential features of the culture that has been reconstructed for the Proto-Indo-European speaking peoples, that is, the military aspect, I am confident that further good parallels can be found in other Indo-European branches as well.<sup>74</sup>

## 4. Conclusions

As a result of the present study, a new interpretation may be taken into consideration for *Trbbēnīmi*: it may be analysed as *Trbbē<sup>o</sup>nīmi*, namely a verbal compound with a preposition Lyc. *trbbi/trbbē* ‘against’ as first element and *nīmi* as second element, i.e., the syncopated form of an unattested Lycian participle *\*nijemi* likely related to Lyc. B *nēnīje-* of unclear meaning. This would imply that *Trbbēnīmi* is the original form among the variants *Trbbānīmi*, *Trbbēnīmi*, and *Trbbēnemi*.

<sup>71</sup> I warmly thank José Luis García Ramón for having shared his material on this name with me.

<sup>72</sup> For this interpretation of Λᾶ<sup>o</sup>έρτης and MN *e-ti-ra-wo* see the convincing explanation of García Ramón 2017, 169–173.

<sup>73</sup> García Ramón 2006, 41–42.

<sup>74</sup> Actually, given the wide diffusion of military epithets and names in many cultures in antiquity, it would not be surprising at all to find the same semantic pattern in non-IE languages as well.



On the strength of the collocations [SEND troops – against PEOPLE – in BATTLE] (transitive) and [OBJECT/PERSON<sub>Subject</sub> – TURN toward] (intransitive) that are attested for Hittite *nē<sup>-(a)ri</sup>*, *nai-/\*ni<sup>-hhi</sup>* ‘to lead, to send, to turn’, which possibly is a cognate of *°nimi*, two proposals have been advanced for *Trbbē°nimi*: ‘who sends (scil. troops, *vel sim.*) against (scil. the enemy, *vel sim.*)’ or ‘who turns against (scil. the enemy, *vel sim.*)’. In my view, at the moment, it is impossible to choose between these two possibilities.

Compounds with a military connotation describing the action of attacking the enemy in battle are well-known with synonymic roots in the Indo-European onomastics. See, e.g., Gk. MN Λάτροπος ‘who turns/directs the people toward/against X’ (trans.), and Myc. MN *e-pi-do-ro-mo* (alphabetic Gk. Ἐπίδρομος) ‘who runs over/attacks’ and *e-ti-ra-wo* /*Erti°lāwos*/ ‘who rushes upon/against the people’ or ‘who comes towards/upon/against the people’ (intrans.).

In conclusion, the semantics of *Trbbēnimi* may reflect the social class from which its bearers stem, i.e. a military aristocracy; this possibility would perfectly work both for the *Trbbēnimi* who participated in the Greco-Athenian military campaign and for the ruler who issued coins a few decades later.

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# Hinduwa: Kindye oder Kandyba?


Zsolt Simon\*

\* – Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Email: [zsltsimon@gmail.com](mailto:zsltsimon@gmail.com)

**Abstract:** This paper argues that the linguistically impeccable identification of Hinduwa with Kindye is excluded by geography and the identification of Hinduwa with Kandyba is problematic both linguistically and geographically. Only a third settlement that must be close to Tlos fits the attested geographical information.

**Keywords:** Lycian geography, Hittite geography, Lukka, Hinduwa, Kindye, Kandyba

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Die Identifizierung der ausschließlich aus dem Madduwatta-Text bekannten Siedlung namens Hinduwa ist ein alter Zankapfel in der Hethitologie. Abgesehen von zwei isolierten und unmöglichen Vorschlägen<sup>1</sup> identifiziert eine Gruppe der Forscher Hinduwa mit der karischen Siedlung von Kindye.<sup>2</sup> Die andere Gruppe der Forscher identifiziert sie dagegen mit der lykischen Siedlung von Kandyba.<sup>3</sup> Die Frage kann offenbar nur mithilfe der bekannten Methodologie entschieden werden, die eine sowohl sprachwissenschaftlich als auch geographisch adäquate Gleichsetzung verlangt. Die ersten beiden Abschnitte sind der kritischen Besprechung dieser Gleichsetzungen gewidmet (§1–2), denen ein neuer Vorschlag folgt (§3).

## 1. Die sprachwissenschaftliche Beurteilung

Kindye ist die griechische Wiedergabe eines karischen Toponyms, das auch in einem kari-schen ethnischen Adjektiv, *kiδbsiś* (E.Me 15, Gen.), belegt ist.<sup>4</sup> Obwohl Schürr dieses Adjektiv als Patronym auffasst<sup>5</sup> und Adiego vorsichtig vorschlägt, dass sich auch *kδusiś* (E.Ab 35, Gen.) als ethnisches Adjektiv auf diese Siedlung beziehen kann,<sup>6</sup> betreffen diese Diskussionen unser

<sup>1</sup> Der eine stammt von Cornelius (1973, 267 mit Anm. 58), der Hinduwa mit Knidos identifizierte und glaubte, dieser Vorschlag sei „linguistisch ohne Bedenken“, obwohl die dazu nötige Metathese *in > ni* völlig willkürlich ist. Der andere ist die Hypothese von Forlanini – Marazzi (1986, Tav. XVI Punkt 7: in der Nähe von Burdur), die geographisch nicht möglich ist, s. unten.

<sup>2</sup> Zgusta 1984, §518-1 (vorsichtig); Freu 1987, 150 (vorsichtig, vgl. auch 1980, 317); Hajnal 1998, 90; Starke 1997, 449; 1998 (Karte); 1999; 2002; so früher auch ich: Simon 2008, 460.

<sup>3</sup> Garstang – Gurney 1959, 80 (denen sich Bryce 1974, 399; Melchert 2004, 81 und Lebrun 2015, 45 anschließen); Güterbock 1983, 134 (vorsichtig); Hailer 1999 (mit Fragezeichen); Bryce 2009, 145 („perhaps“), 312 (mit Fragezeichen); Gander 2010, 189, 212 („vielleicht“); 2017, 267; Schürr 2010, 9; Bryce – Birkett-Rees 2016, 116 (mit Fragezeichen). Neumann 2007, 113 erwähnt nur die Identifizierung mit Kandyba und Klengel 1999, 115 erwähnt nur diese Identifizierung und die von Forlanini – Marazzi 1986 (vgl. oben), sie nehmen allerdings keine Stellung.

<sup>4</sup> Hajnal 1998, 90, dem sich auch Adiego 2007, 255 (mit Fragezeichen), 269, 373; 2010, 165–166; 2013, 21 (vgl. auch 2004, 310, noch mit Fragezeichen) anschließt.

<sup>5</sup> Schürr 1991–1993, 170; 1996, 152; 2001, 105; 2003, 71.

<sup>6</sup> Adiego 2007, 69. Er bestimmt es allerdings als Personennamen (2007, 372).



Problem nicht, weil sowohl die griechische Form (Kindye) als auch die vorgeschlagenen kari-schen Formen (\**Kiḡb-* und ggf. \**Kḡu-*) die regelmäßige Fortsetzung von Hinduwa darstellen können: (\*)-*nd-* erscheint in den karischen Inschriften bekanntlich als <ḡ>,<sup>7</sup> die Synkope der Vokale ist ebenfalls gut belegt, -*w-* wird zu /b/ in nachkonsonantischer Stellung<sup>8</sup> und ein anlautendes <k> kann in allen Interpretationen der karischen Laryngalreflexe den anlautenden Laryngal fortsetzen.<sup>9</sup>

(1) *Hindwa* > \**Kiḡb-* oder *Hinduwa* > \**Kḡu-* → *Kindye*<sup>10</sup>

Kandyba<sup>11</sup> stellt ebenfalls die griechische Wiedergabe eines lokalen, diesmal lykischen Toponyms dar, das als *Xākbi-* (im Lykischen A) bzw. *Xāzbi-* (im Lykischen B) belegt ist.<sup>12</sup> Obwohl die Anzahl der Forscher, die die Gleichsetzung Kandybas mit Hinduwa unterstützen, relativ groß ist (vgl. oben), versuchte nur Schürr, die offenbare phonologische Diskrepanz beider Namen zu erklären, alle andere Befürworter ließen dieses Problem einfach außer Acht.<sup>13</sup> *Xākbi-* setzt eine frühere form \**HandwV-* fort, dies steht ohne Zweifel fest. Schürr<sup>14</sup> schlägt einer Idee von Heiner Eichner folgend eine proto-lykische Ausgangsform \**Hēnduwa-* vor, die einerseits, „mit luwischem Lautersatz“ zu Hinduwa führt,<sup>15</sup> und andererseits, durch Umlaut zu \**HānduwV-*, danach durch Synkope und mit dem Wandel \*-*dw-* > -*kb-* regelmäßig zu *Xākbi-* führt (nach Schürr handelt es sich bei der milyischen Form *Xāzbi-* um eine Verschreibung von \**Xātbi-*, die aus paläographischer Sicht nicht unmöglich ist<sup>16</sup>). Wenn man in Betracht zieht, dass die Lesung mit /u/ und daher die Annahme der nicht datierbaren Synkope wegen der Umlautregel, nach der der Wandel \**é* > \**a* auch durch eine nachfolgende /a/ verursacht werden konnte,<sup>17</sup> nicht nötig ist, besteht kein Problem mit der relativen Chronologie, da der Umlaut ur- bzw. gemeinlykisch<sup>18</sup> und der Wandel \*-*dw-* > -*kb-* dagegen schon dialektal ist.<sup>19</sup> Voraussetzung für die Richtigkeit dieser Hypothese ist noch, dass die spätbronzezeitlichen Formen der lykischen Toponyme noch keine Spuren dieses Wandel zeigen dürfen und dies scheint, soweit das karge Material dies beurteilen lässt, der Fall zu sein: obwohl die meisten Ortsnamen aus dieser Sicht nicht aussagekräftig sind (Awarna-, Patara/i-, Pinala/i-, Talawa-), zeigt *Kuwalapašši-* > *Telebehi-*,<sup>20</sup> dass der Umlaut noch nicht vollzogen ist. Glaubt man dagegen, dass *Kuwalapašši-* nur die hethitisierte oder luwisierte Form von \**K<sup>w</sup>elebehi-* darstellt, bekommt man einen unmittelbaren Beweis dafür, dass \**Hēnduwa-* nicht als Hinduwa übernommen werden konnte.

<sup>7</sup> Adiego 2007, 260.

<sup>8</sup> Simon 2008, 460, s. jetzt ausführlich Schürr 2019, 12, vgl. schon Schürr 2003; 2010, 28.

<sup>9</sup> Schürr 2001, 97–99; Adiego 2007, 260; Kloekhorst 2008, 145; 2018, 73; Simon 2011; Brosch 2016.

<sup>10</sup> Schürr 2010, 28 Anm. 131 fragt sich, warum der Wandel *w* > *b* in Kindye ausgeblieben ist (er schlägt die abweichende Stellung der Betonung [„kindú“, mit Fragezeichen] vor). Im Falle von *Hindwa* > \**Kiḡb-* musste die griechische Entlehnung dem karischen Lautwandel vorangehen. Im Falle von *Hinduwa* > \**Kḡu-* liegt die Antwort in der nachvokalischen Stellung des /w/. Man beachte, dass die Belege beide Interpretationen erlauben, vgl. <sup>URU</sup>*Hi-in-du-wa-an* (KUB 14.1 Vs. 68) und <sup>URU</sup>*Hi-in-du-wa* (KUB 14.1 Vs. 67, 68, 70), s. RGTC 6/1, 110.

<sup>11</sup> Zgusta 1984, §428.

<sup>12</sup> Melchert 2004, 81, 135; Neumann 2007, 113. Der Vollständigkeit zuliebe muss erwähnt werden, dass Keen 1998, 143 Anm. 57 diese Identifizierung anhand von numismatischen Angaben bezweifelt, welche allerdings nicht zwingend beweiskräftig sind.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. noch Gander 2010, 189: „sprachlich schwieriger“.

<sup>14</sup> Schürr 2003, 71 Anm. 6; 2010, 9.

<sup>15</sup> Eichner *apud* Schürr 2003, 71 Anm. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Schürr 2010, 9; 2014, 751.

<sup>17</sup> Melchert 1994, 296–297; Hajnal 1995, 77–80, beide mit Lit.

<sup>18</sup> Hajnal 1995, 80.

<sup>19</sup> Melchert 1994, 302.

<sup>20</sup> Schürr 2010, 11–12; 2014, 748–749 mit Lit.; vgl. allerdings Gander 2010, 189–190.



Obwohl die Herleitung des lykischen Toponyms aus *\*Héduwa-* daher regelmäßig ist, ist dies nicht der Fall bei Hinduwa. Nichts begründet die luwische Vermittlung des Namens: man kennt Hinduwa nur aus dem auf Hethitisch verfassten Madduwatta-Text (CTH 147), weshalb man eine hethitisierte Form erwartet, die ebenfalls *†Henduwa-* lauten würde (wenn nicht *†Handuwa-*, vgl. oben). Obschon der Text in die früheste Großreichszeit (er wurde während der Herrschaft von Arnuwanda I. geschrieben und bezieht sich oft auf Ereignisse während der Herrschaft seines Vorgängers, Tudḫaliya I/II.), d.h. in die Zeit der Anfänge der hethitisch-luwischen Zweisprachigkeit und in die Zeit der meisten luwischen Einflüsse auf das Hethitische, datiert, zeigten die Forschungen von Yakubovich, dass das Luwische zu dieser Zeit, obwohl es schon den Status der Umgangssprache erreicht hatte, in dem offiziellen Sprachgebrauch noch nicht erschien und nicht erscheinen konnte, weil die Prestigesprache noch das Hethitische war,<sup>21</sup> weshalb man keine luwisierten Formen in einem offiziellen Text, wie dem Madduwatta-Text, erwartet.

Als Zwischenfazit kann festgestellt werden, dass Kindye eine einwandfreie Fortsetzung von Hinduwa darstellen kann und die Herleitung Kandybas aus Hinduwa dagegen die willkürliche Annahme der luwischen Übermittlung braucht.

## 2. Die geographische Beurteilung

Selbstverständlich reicht die sprachwissenschaftliche Beurteilung an sich noch nicht aus, die Gleichsetzung von zwei Toponymen behaupten zu können: sie müssen auch aus geographischer Sicht identisch sein. Damit beginnen die schwierigen Probleme. Seit Anfang der Forschung wurde nämlich beobachtet, dass der einzige Text, in dem Hinduwa vorkommt, die sog. Anklageschrift gegen Madduwatta, Hinduwa mit Talawa, d.h. Tlos, assoziiert, weshalb eine Identifizierung mit Kindye, das in der Nähe von Halikarnass liegt, abzulehnen und eine Identifizierung mit Kandyba vorzuziehen ist.<sup>22</sup> Es handelt sich um die folgende Textstelle (KUB 14.1 + KBo 19.38 Vs. 66–72):

§13 „<sup>(66)</sup>Weiter aber begann Dalawa Feindschaft, und Madduwatta schrieb folgendermaßen an Kišnapili [den Feldherrn der hethitischen Truppen – Zs. S.]: ‚Ich werde zu einem Überfall <sup>(67)</sup>nach Dalawa ausziehen, [ihr aber] gehet nach Hinduwa. Ich werde Dalawa überfallen, und infolgedessen werden Truppen von Dalawa nach Hinduwa <sup>(68)</sup>nicht zu Hilfe kommen; so werdet ihr Hinduwa vernichten‘. Und Kišnapili führte Truppen nach Hinduwa zum Kampf.

§14 <sup>(69)</sup>Und Madduwatta zog daraufhin nach Dalawa keineswegs zum Kampf, vielmehr schrieb er an die Leute von Dalawa hinab: <sup>(70)</sup>‚Ḫatti-Truppen sind gerade nach Hinduwa zum Kampf ausgezogen. Verlegt ihnen den Weg und überfallt sie!‘ <sup>(71)</sup>Und da führten sie Truppen von Dalawa vor auf den Weg; und sie kamen, verlegten unseren Truppen den Weg und hoben sie auf. <sup>(72)</sup>Da schlugen sie den Kišnapili und den Partaḫulla; Madduwatta aber lachte höhnisch über sie.“<sup>23</sup>

Anhand dieser Textstelle ist es eindeutig, dass Hinduwa trotz der identischen Namen nicht mit Kindye identifiziert werden kann: die Idee an sich, dass Truppen von Tlos zu Hilfe von Kindye kommen, ist seltsam, wenn man die geographische Entfernung berücksichtigt. Und in Anbetracht der Lage von Tlos, kann man gewiss ausschließen, dass Truppen von Tlos den Weg der nach Kindye marschierenden Truppen verlegen könnten.<sup>24</sup> Dass es daher mindestens zwei Hinduwas in Südanatolien gab, überrascht einen nicht, wenn man bedenkt, dass es gerade in dieser Region zahlreiche homonyme Siedlungen gibt. Wiederum der Vollständigkeit zuliebe erwähne ich hier,

<sup>21</sup> Yakubovich 2010, 260–272 mit Lit.

<sup>22</sup> Götze 1928, 154 (nur die Ablehnung); Bryce 1974, 399; Güterbock 1983, 134 (der sich zu Kindye nicht äußert); Schürr 2003, 71 Anm. 6; Gander 2017, 267.

<sup>23</sup> Übersetzung nach Götze 1928, 17, 19 (mit geringfügiger Modernisierung).

<sup>24</sup> Für beide Argumente s. Gander 2010, 189, vgl. auch 213.

dass gerade diese Überlegungen die Identifikation mit Knidos ausschließen, obwohl Cornelius glaubte, diese Identifikation sei „geographisch (...) ohne Bedenken“.<sup>25</sup>

Was die Identifizierung mit Kandyba betrifft, verursachen zwei Umstände Probleme: Einerseits muss Hinduwa in der Nähe von Tlos liegen, sonst hätten die Truppen von Tlos nach Hinduwa nicht zu Hilfe kommen können.<sup>26</sup> Allein Schürr<sup>27</sup> hat allerdings darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass Kandyba nicht „only a few miles“ entfernt von Tlos liegt, wie Garstang und Gurney behaupteten,<sup>28</sup> sondern in einer Entfernung von etwa 90 km von Tlos,<sup>29</sup> d.h. ein Marsch von ungefähr zwei-drei Tagen, wenn nicht mehr. Macht es Sinn, unter solchen Umständen Truppen zu Hilfe zu schicken? Kandyba scheint daher einfach zu weit weg zu liegen. Es gilt auch zu beachten, wie Gander darauf hinweist,<sup>30</sup> dass es zur römischen Zeit und später keine direkte Verbindung zwischen Tlos und Kandyba gab, weil die höchsten Gipfel der Akdağlar dazwischen liegen. Ebenso ist zu berücksichtigen, dass mehrere Siedlungen entlang bzw. in der Nähe des Weges zwischen Tlos und Kandyba lagen (z. B. Pinara und Xanthos), weshalb es eigentlich keinen Sinn macht, dass die Truppen von Tlos und nicht die Truppen von Pinara oder Xanthos Kandyba zu Hilfe kommen.

Andererseits ist auch die Koordination der Truppen problematisch. Die Truppen Madduwattas und Kišnapilis bewegen sich offenbar nicht zusammen, sonst hätte Madduwatta gesagt, dass Kišnapili nach Hinduwa *weitergehen* soll (falls die hethitischen Truppen vom Norden angegriffen haben, was als wahrscheinlich gilt<sup>31</sup>). Kišnapili musste sich jedenfalls schon in der Umgebung von Hinduwa befinden, um siegreich überfallen zu können. Da Dalawa zu dieser Zeit ebenfalls verfeindet war, würde dies, wenn man auf die Karte blickt, bedeuten, dass auch eine feindliche Stadt, nämlich Tlos, im Rücken der Truppen von Kišnapili liegt (zur Richtung des hethitischen Angriffs s. oben), mit anderen Worten hätte der hethitische Feldherr sich freiwillig in eine Falle gelockt. Obwohl solche strategischen Genien in der Weltgeschichte nicht unbekannt sind, gehe ich davon aus, dass Kišnapili kein Hannibal war und daher keine feindlichen Stützpunkte hinter sich gelassen hat. Dies macht also die Identifizierung von Hinduwa mit Kandyba sehr problematisch. Hier muss auch die Rekonstruktion Schürrs erwähnt werden.<sup>32</sup> Er schlägt vor, Madduwatta habe im Norden von Tlos (etwa in Kibyratis) gesessen, Kišnapili dagegen habe sich weiter östlich in Milyas, etwa um Elmalı aufgehalten und die beiden marschierten zu beiden Seiten der Akdağlar und die Truppen von Tlos hätten den Weg Kišnapilis quer durch das Gebirge abschneiden können. Diese Rekonstruktion löst zwar das strategische Problem, lässt aber das Problem der Entfernung von Kindyba im Falle des Zuhilfekommens nach einem Notruf ungelöst. Zudem ist auch die Entfernung zwischen Tlos und dem angeblichen Weg zwischen Elmalı und Kindyba beträchtlich, was zusammen mit geographisch ungünstigen Umständen (die Gipfel der Akdağlar) m.E. einen Schlag quer durch das Gebirge unplausibel macht, geschweige denn dass dies aus geographischen Gründen nicht den gewöhnlichen Weg der Invasion darstellt, da die Truppen beim ländlichen Angriff von Nordwesten, d.h. aus der Richtung von Telmessos angegriffen haben.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cornelius 1973, 267 Anm. 58.

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. Gander 2010, 82, 89, 185.

<sup>27</sup> Schürr 2010, 9.

<sup>28</sup> Garstang – Gurney 1959, 80.

<sup>29</sup> Güterbock 1983, 134.

<sup>30</sup> Gander 2010, 189 mit Lit.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. die einschlägigen Untersuchungen Ganders (2014, 384–391).

<sup>32</sup> Schürr 2010, 9.

<sup>33</sup> Gander 2014, 384–391; vgl. auch Schürr 2010, 16, 23. Nur der Vollständigkeit zuliebe erwähne ich schließlich den Vorschlag von Forlanini und Marazzi (1986, Tav. XVI Punkt 7), dass Hinduwa in der Nähe von Burdur lag, weil sie (zu jener Zeit) Millawanda mit der Milyas identifiziert haben. Burdur liegt natürlich so weit von unserer Region entfernt, dass es kaum eine Lösung darstellen kann.

Als zweites Zwischenfazit kann also festgestellt werden, dass die Geographie die Identifizierung Hinduwas mit Kindye ausschließt und sowohl sprachwissenschaftliche als auch geographische Gründe gegen die Identifizierung Hinduwas mit Kandyba sprechen.

### 3. Ein Vorschlag

Wenn die Geographie Kindye ausschließt, und die Sprachwissenschaft und Geographie Kandyba unwahrscheinlich machen, bleibt die einzige Möglichkeit, dass es sich bei Hinduwa um eine dritte Siedlung handelt. Obwohl sich diese Siedlung anhand der zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen und mangels identifizierter Fortsetzung in der Eisenzeit nicht genau lokalisieren lässt, kann man über ihre Lokalisierung dennoch einiges sagen:<sup>34</sup> sie muss in der Nähe von Tlos, und zwar nicht mehr als etwa ein Tagesmarsch (maximal 40–50 km) entfernt liegen. Die Siedlung soll sozusagen der unmittelbare Nachbar von Tlos sein, sonst ergibt die Möglichkeit der militärischen Hilfe seitens Tlos nicht viel Sinn. Da sowohl Madduwatta als auch die Hethiter vermutlich von Westen aus angegriffen haben, und zwar ungefähr aus der gleichen Richtung, liegt Hinduwa entweder nördlich oder südlich von Tlos. Eine solche Lokalisierung würde zu allen Informationen des Madduwatta-Textes passen.

### 4. Fazit

Obwohl eine Identifizierung Hinduwas mit Kindye sprachwissenschaftlich einwandfrei wäre, wird dies durch die Geographie ausgeschlossen. Die Identifizierung Hinduwas mit Kandyba muss sowohl aus sprachwissenschaftlicher als auch aus geographischer Sicht als sehr problematisch gelten. Zu den geographischen Angaben passt nur eine Siedlung Hinduwa in der Nähe von Tlos, vermutlich nördlich oder südlich davon.

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Ich bedanke mich bei Bärbel Ruhl für die Korrektur meines Deutsch.

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<sup>34</sup> Freu (1980, 317) spekuliert ob der Flussname Indos, die „Grenze“ zwischen den karischen und lykischen Regionen den Namen von Hinduwa fortsetzen kann, was aus der Sicht der Lokalisierung ausgesprochen hilfreich wäre. Dies ist aber kaum wahrscheinlich, weil der anlautende Laryngal sowohl im Karischen als auch im Lykischen bewahrt worden ist (zum Karischen vgl. oben, zum Lykischen s. Melchert 1994, 305–307; Zinko 2002; Kloekhorst 2008, 124–125, 145; 2018, 71–72).

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<sup>1</sup> Radner 2013, 443.

<sup>2</sup> Radner 2013, 445–447, fig. 22.1–22.2; Fales 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Radner 2008; 2009a, 181, 190; 2009b.

<sup>4</sup> Radner – van Koppen 2009, 95–101.

<sup>5</sup> Radner *et al.* 2014, 141–145, 147–151.

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**Fig. 2.** Details of the inscription (Durand 2005, 7).

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