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

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 4th 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 4th 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.

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.[1]

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.[2]

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.[3] The latter has been interpreted as a loan from Greek (equivalent to the Greek reflexive pronoun ἑαυτῷ) 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 4th century BCE).[4]

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.[5]

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.[6]

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.

---

[1] See, e.g. Hülden 2006, 18–21, 44–50, 102–106; Seyer 2006 and 2009; Kuban 2012, 120–123 (all with further literature).

[2] For the use or absence of word dividers as a possible dating criterion see Christiansen 2020.

[3] See the detailed study by Jenniges – Swiggers 2000 and subsequently also Rix 2015, 113–115.

[4] 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 4th century BCE at the earliest. For a sceptical view see Rix 2015, 108–113.

[5] See, e.g., also Laroche 1979, 54; Seyer 2006, 720 and Eichner *apud* Seyer 2006, 720 n. 7; Rix 2015, 74.

[6] 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.[7] 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 5th or last quarter of the 5th 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,[8] TL 35 might date in the 4th 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 5th to the beginning of the 4th century BCE all stem from Western Lycia (especially Xanthos and the nearby Letôon) and Central Lycia. Inscriptions dating from the first half of the 4th 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 4th 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.

---

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

[8]   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.[9] 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 5th or the first quarter of the 4th 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 4th century.[10]

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 5th to the first quarter of the 4th 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.[11]

3. Previous studies

Fundamental studies on palaeographic dating have been published by Bryce, Laroche and Rix.[12] 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[13] 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[14] 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.[15] Laroche examines the variants of the letters <a>, <ã>, <b>, <ẽ>, <θ>, <k>, <n>, <p> and <x>.[16] In her in-depth study, Rix discusses the development of all letters of the Lycian alphabet in general.[17] 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[18] is based on 11 inscriptions. These are TL 77 (Harpagos); TL 43 (Xeriga); TL 44 (Xeriga and Xerẽi); TL 67, TL 83, TL 103–104 (all Perikle); TL 40 and TL 61

---

9   *Cf.*, e.g., TL 44; N 311, N 320, N 324–325.
10   For a detailed examination see further below.
11   See Christiansen forthcoming.
12   Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979, 54–56; Rix 2015.
13   Bryce 1976.
14   Rix 2015.
15   Bryce 1976.
16   Laroche 1979, 54–56.
17   Rix 2015.
18   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).[19]

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 Xerẽi); 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);[20] N 318 (Arssãma / 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 (Trbbẽnimi); TL 11 (Arttum̃para); TL 104 (Perikle) and TL 61 (Autophradates).

Rix[21] 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 Xerẽi); N 324–325 and N 311 (Erbina); TL 135 and TL 128 (Trbbẽnimi); TL 11 (Arttupara); 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 5th 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 5th century.[22] Other scholars, such as, e.g. Bryce and Kolb[23] consider a dating of Arppaxu's/Harpagos's reign to the last quarter or end of the 5th century as more likely.

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

> "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."

---

[19] Bryce 1976 erroneously 451/450–444/443.

[20] 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.

[21] Rix 2015.

[22] Thus, e.g., Keen 1998, 117; Borchhardt 2000, 108 with n. 255; Seyer 2004, 226 with n. 21; Hülden 2006, 108 with n. 461; Rix 2015, 75.

[23] Bryce 1982, 332; 1986, 46 and Kolb 2018, 317–319.

[24] Rix 2015, 119–131.

[25] 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.[26] 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 5th century.[27] Kolb comments on Seyer's assumption in the following way:[28]

> "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.[29] 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 5th 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 Xerẽi)

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 Xerẽi.[30] A further hypothesis was brought forward by Domingo Gygax and Tietz.[31] 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 Xerẽi.[32]

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 Gygax and Tietz[33] unlikely.[34] More recently, Lotz argued on the basis of the stoichedon writing of the Lycian inscriptions that the pillar was commissioned by Xerẽi.[35]

---

[26] Seyer 2004, 221–236.

[27] For an extensive discussion of the reliability of the formula as a dating criterion, see Christiansen forthcoming.

[28] Kolb 2018, 319.

[29] 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 5th century as more likely.

[30] For overviews of the research see Domingo Gygax – Tietz 2005, 91 and Lotz 2017, 141–143.

[31] Domingo Gygax – Tietz 2005.

[32] See Domingo Gygax – Tietz 2005, 97.

[33] Domingo Gygax – Tietz 2005, 93.

[34] See Dönmez in Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 130.

[35] Lotz 2017.

The same applies to Müseler and Schürr,[36] whose argumentation is further based on numismatic and historical observations. In contrast to Domingo Gygax and Tietz,[37] they assume that TL 44b 58–60 does not refer to Darius II and Artarxerxes II, but to Darius I and Artaxerxes I.[38]

TL 128 and TL 135 (Trbbẽnimi)

The author of TL 128 and TL 135 refers to himself as *tideri* of Trbbẽnimi. From this Rix concludes that both inscriptions probably date earlier than the ones referring to Perikle.[39] Although this hypothesis is not unlikely, it is based on several debatable assumptions. First, it remains unclear whether the name Trbbẽnimi 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, Trbbẽnimi would have been politically active for a very long period, namely from about 430 to 380.[40] Third, it is uncertain whether *tideri* is to be translated by 'collacteus(?) / collactea(?)'.[41] 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 4th century BCE.[42] Whether the inscription dates from the post-hecatomnid period, as Rix claims,[43] 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 <ẽ> and according to the edition of Neumann[44] 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.[45]

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.

---

[36] Müseler – Schürr 2018.

[37] Domingo Gygax – Tietz 2005.

[38] See Müseler – Schürr 2018, 390–392.

[39] Rix 2015, 189.

[40] See, e.g., Bryce 1986, 47; Thonemann 2009, 175; Rix 2015, 189 with n. 364.

[41] See Neumann 2007, 360 with further literature.

[42] Cf. Wörrle 1991, 218–224.

[43] Rix 2015, 82–83 and chart 2.

[44] Neumann 1979.

[45] 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,[46] 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 <ẽ>, 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 <ã> than <a>. If so, the verb *prñnawate* 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 <ẽ> in *ẽnẽ* is, however, ⅄, whereas the second form is Ⅴ (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[47] 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.[48] Thus, it cannot be decided whether the drawing and transliteration of Kalinka[49] 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,[50] the word *uhi* 'year' is preceded by four strokes ||||| 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 (|||) and the name is to be interpreted as Pttuḷuṃe (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.[51]

If the text was really authored by king Ptolemy, it remains uncertain whether he was Ptolemy I or II.[52] If the text was issued in the 4th (or 3rd) year of Ptolemy I, it would date from 302/301 (or 303/302); if it was issued in the 4th (or 3rd) 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 3rd century BCE.[53]

---

[46] My special thanks go to Diether Schürr for discussing with me the reading of the text after visiting the tomb in June 2018.

[47] Kalinka 1901, 32.

[48] For a photo of the sketch see Rix 2015, Fig. 22.

[49] Kalinka 1901, 32.

[50] Kalinka 1901, 32.

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

[52] For detailed discussions see Wörrle 2012, 363 and Rix 2015, 295–311 with further literature.

[53] 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 ⋎, ⋎ and ⋎ are most frequent. Also ↓, ↓, ↓ and ↓ are often encountered, while ⋔, ⋔, ⋔, ⋔, ⊬ 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 ⋎. He considers the form ℳ , which is only attested in TL 55, as "almost identical to ⋎" and not as a distinct variant.[54] Variants are, according to Bryce, ⋎ and ⋎, which are also quite frequent, as well as the rarer forms ⋎, ⋏, ⋎, ⋎, ⋏. With regard to their chronological distribution, Bryce states that in the older inscriptions only ⋎ is attested, while the variant ⋎ 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 ⋎ and ⋎ 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.[55] Another important observation is that the older variant ⋎ 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[56] is not a comprehensive analysis either. In contrast to the study by Bryce,[57] 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

---

54 Bryce 1976, 168–169.
55 Bryce 1976, 170.
56 Laroche 1979.
57 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,[58] 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.[59] 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.[60] 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.[61]

In the following, I will discuss the alleged developments of the individual letters as described by Bryce, Laroche and Rix in detail.[62]

5.1 The letter <a>

According to Laroche, <a> undergoes the following development: ▷ → ▷ → ▷.[63] Rix lists the letter among the diagnostic sign forms in her chart 2.[64] 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.[65] Thus, for the inscriptions from the reigns of Harpagos, Xeriga, Xerẽi and Erbbina, she lists exclusively the form ▷. For TL 128 and TL 135, which both refer to Trbbẽnimi, she gives the form ▷, whereas she lists the forms ▷, ▷, and ▷ among the signs appearing in inscriptions dating from the reign of Perikle. For TL 64 (Mizrppata) she notes the variant ▷, which appears only in a few inscriptions, and the more frequent variant ▷. For all other inscriptions dating after the reign of Perikle, she lists only the variants ▷ and ▷.

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[66] 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

---

[58]   Bryce 1976 and Laroche 1979.

[59]   Rix 2015, Chart 2.

[60]   Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979, 54–56; Rix 2015.

[61]   Rix 2015, Chart 2.

[62]   Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979, 54–56; Rix 2015.

[63]   Laroche 1979, 56.

[64]   Rix 2015.

[65]   Laroche 1979, 56.

[66]   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 Xerẽi (*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[67] could not identify a chronological development of <ã> nor a clear regional distribution of its variants. According to Laroche,[68] however, <ã> undergoes the following changes: ᴪ → ᴪ → ᴪ. Similarly, Rix[69] identifies ᴪ as the earliest variant which was probably invented by "a single individual or group of individuals".[70] She notes that the form is attested in TL 77 (Harpagos) and on coins of Θibãnuwa where some slight variations can also be found (ᴪ and ᴪ). Already in TL 43 (Xeriga), however, another variant is to be found, namely ᴪ, which she classifies as a forerunner of ᴪ, that for the first time appears in N 325 (Erbbina).

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

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

Evaluation: Since in the oldest inscriptions the variants ᴪ and ᴪ appear, Rix is probably right in assuming that these are the oldest variants. In contrast to Rix's claim,[74] it should be noted that in TL 44 (Xeriga) not only ᴪ is attested, but also ᴪ and ᴪ. 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 Erbbina from the first decades of the 4th century show exclusively ᴪ and ᴪ. In N 325 they are attested side by side (see Fig. 5), but N 324 has only ᴪ (see Fig. 6). TL 11

---

67 Bryce 1976, 168.
68 Laroche 1979, 56.
69 Rix 2015, 84−92.
70 Rix 2015, 84.
71 Rix 2015, 91.
72 Rix 2015, 91−92.
73 Rix 2015, 92.
74 Rix 2015, 85.

from the reign of Arttũmpara (until approx. 370) shows only Ⅴ. So far we have only considered the variants of <ã> 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 Trbbẽnimi (approx. 430–380/70?). The inscriptions in which the tomb builder calls himself *tideri* of Trbbẽnimi (TL 128 and TL 135) show Ⅴ and the damaged form Ⅴ. In the inscriptions dating from the reign of Perikle the variants Ⅴ and Ⅴ, which are already known from earlier inscriptions, are found. In addition, Ⅴ, Ⅴ and Ⅴ appear. In the inscriptions dating from the reign of Autophradates (approx. 360/350), Ⅴ and Ⅴ are attested.

In the inscriptions which definitely or likely date from the second half of the 4th century, mostly Ⅴ and Ⅴ are attested. N 320 (Letôon) and TL 29 (Tlos) both show Ⅴ and Ⅴ (or sim.); TL 99 (Limyra) has Ⅴ, TL 35 (Üsümlü) has Ⅴ and Ⅴ.

Conclusion: The variants Ⅴ and Ⅴ might indeed be considered as the oldest variants of <ã>. However, since Ⅴ and Ⅴ are already attested in inscriptions dating from the reign of Erbbina, the variants of <ã> 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 4th century if it only shows the variant Ⅴ and "if other letter forms do not contradict this" is in my view dubious. On the contrary, the fact that both Ⅴ and Ⅴ appear together in several inscriptions dated by their contents speaks against this hypothesis. The form Ⅴ, which is attested in N 325 (Erbbina), is listed by Laroche as the youngest variant of the letter.[75] The inscription N 320, however, makes it clear that it is not a variant of <ã> but of <ẽ>. For the reasons see the following discussion of the variants of <ẽ>.

In sum, the following distribution pattern can be observed for the variants of <ã> in the inscriptions which can be dated by means of their contents:

1. Oldest variants Ⅴ and Ⅴ: for the first time attested in TL 77 (Harpagos) and on coins of Θibãnuwa, which show also Ⅴ. At least kept in use until the reign of Perikle (*cf.* the attestation in TL 83).

2. Ⅴ attested for the first time in TL 43 (Xeriga); at least kept in use until the reign of Autophradates (TL 40).

3. Ⅴ attested for the first time in TL 44 (Xeriga and Xerẽi).

4. Ⅴ attested for the first time in N 324 and N 325 (Erbbina, see Fig. 5–6).

5. Ⅴ attested for the first time in N 325 (Erbbina, see Fig. 6).

6. Ⅴ attested for the first time in TL 103 (Perikle).

7. Ⅴ attested for the first time in TL 133 (Perikle).

5.3 The letter <ẽ>

It has already been stated by Bryce that the variant of <ẽ> with crossed arms (Ⅴ) is the oldest one.[76] According to Bryce, it was replaced by Ⅴ from the time of Perikle onwards and afterwards also by other variants such as Ⅴ.[77] 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 Letôon remained unknown. When they were found, it turned out that

75   Laroche 1979, 56.
76   Bryce 1976, 169–170.
77   Bryce 1976, 169–170.

the later variants were already in use in the first decades of the 4th century. Thus, we have one attestation of ⟨Ψ⟩ in N 324 (*cf.* in *tubedẽ* in line 13). In N 325 we find the variant ⟨ᛦ⟩ along with the older form (see Figs. 5–6). Laroche listed this form as a variant of <ã> instead of <ẽ>.[78] 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, <ã> is written with ⟨ᛦ⟩, ⟨ᛦ⟩ or similar , whereas <ẽ> is written in TL 39 and TL 149 with ⟨ᛉ⟩, and in TL 56 with ⟨Ψ⟩ (or similar).

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

A variant similar to ⟨Ψ⟩ is attested in N 315 dating from the time of Mizrppata. Here the letter is rendered as ⟨ᛦ⟩ and possibly also as ⟨ᛣ⟩. In TL 104 dating from the time of Perikle, the older variant ⟨ᛉ⟩ appears together with the variant ⟨ᛦ⟩ which is very similar to ⟨Ψ⟩. 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 ⟨Ψ⟩. 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.[79] 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."[80]

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

Conclusion: The overall picture is quite similar to the one for <ã>: As already stated by Bryce,[81] 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 4th century and inscriptions dating to the second half of the 4th 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: ⊢ → ⊬.[82] By contrast, Bryce and Rix do not list the letter among the diagnostic signs.[83] 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 (⊬). In TL 44 the letter appears both with slightly curved and without curved

---

[78] Laroche 1979, 55–56.

[79] See also Rix 2015, 88.

[80] *Cf.*, e.g Rix 2015, 88 and 93.

[81] Bryce 1976, 170.

[82] Laroche 1979, 56.

[83] Bryce 1979 and Rix 2015.

strokes (ᴋ and ᴋ). 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 (ᴋ, see Fig. 5). TL 128 and TL 135 (both referring to Trbbẽnimi) show the variant with pointed oblique strokes (ᴋ). In the inscriptions from the time of Perikle both variants appear, in TL 61 (Autophradates) the letter is carved with curved oblique strokes (ᴋ). In TL 29 and TL 35, which date with high probability to the second half of the 4th century or later, the letter is always written with pointed oblique strokes (ᴋ).

5.5 The letter <n>

According to Laroche, the letter shows the following development: ⋏ → ⋏ → ⋏ .[84] Similarly, Rix maintains that the letter developed from ⋏ or ⋏ "to a form which, in its most idiosyncratic form, became ⋏ or similar".[85] While she emphasizes that the old forms were still in use in the second half of the 4th century, she claims that the attestation of ⋏ in an inscription "may indicate a date in the second half of the fourth century, often towards its end".[86] By and large, this hypothesis seems quite likely. Among the inscriptions which can be dated by means of their content, ⋏ 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 ⋏ and ⋏ are attested. By contrast, TL 35 shows exclusively ⋏.

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 4th century.

First of all, due to the unclear reading of the text, the dating of TL 35 in the 4th 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 ⋏ only came into use in the second half of the 4th century. Above all, it should be noted that similar variants are already attested in the reign of Erbbina. The form ⋏ 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,[87] 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 Kızılca. 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 4th century.

---

[84] Laroche 1979, 56.

[85] Rix 2015, 100.

[86] Rix 2015, 101.

[87] Rix 2015.

5.6 The letter <p>

According to Laroche, <p> shows the following development: ⌐ →⌐ → ⌐.[88] Similarly, Rix argues that the form with the square head ⌐ is the oldest version, originating in the Greek letter Π.[89] The form with the curved head ⌐ and the one with the hooked head ⌐ are in her view slightly younger. As the youngest variant she identifies the one with the head formed only by an oblique stroke ⌐. The letter forms depicted in chart 2 of Rix's study[90] 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 Trbbẽnimi. 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 ⌐ 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 4th century BCE.

5.7 The letter <s>

According to Rix,[91] 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: ʃ " is attested.[92] Other later variants are, according to Rix , ʃ and ʃ.[93] 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 (ʃ and similarly ʃ). 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 4th century and possibly later show some peculiar variants (ʃ, ʃ, ʃ) 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,[94] the letter shows the following development: ⊻ → ⊻ →⊻. Rix maintains that the Lycians borrowed different variants from the Greek alphabet.[95] Among them was ⊻, which is the oldest variant used in Greek epichoric alphabets, but also ⊻ and ⊻, that appear

---

[88]   Laroche 1979, 56.

[89]   Rix 2015, 99.

[90]   Rix 2015.

[91]   Rix 2015, 101–103.

[92]   Rix 2015, 102.

[93]   Rix 2015, 102.

[94]   Laroche 1979, 56.

[95]   Rix 2015, 97–99.

already in inscriptions dating from the 6th century. From the fact that all three variants are already attested in inscriptions dating back to the period from Harpagos to Xeriga and Xerẽi (TL 77, N 310, TL 44) Rix concludes that they had been borrowed simultaneously from the Greek alphabet.[96] However, since ⱴ appears in only a few of the inscriptions datable by means of content, Rix believes that it soon fell out of use.[97] 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 ⱴ and ⱴ, Rix claims that they are to be regarded as younger variants.[98] 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".[99] According to Rix, the same is true for the dedications of Erbbina N 324 and N 325.[100] The fact that the older form is still attested in formal inscriptions from the second half of the 4th 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.[101] This applies especially for sites "where the later form was particularly common (for example, at Tlos)".[102] Inscriptions that show both the older and the younger variants might in Rix's view, however, also date from an earlier period.[103]

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 ⱴ are likely to be among the earliest inscriptions at the site.[104] The fact that ⱴ 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 ⱴ and ⱴ 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"[105] cannot be maintained. In addition, it should be noted that in TL 29 apart from ⱴ, the form ⱴ, which is closer to the older version of the letter, also appears.

5.9 The letter <θ>

For <θ> Laroche suggests the following development: ꜱc → X,[106] whereas Rix[107] 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)c is attested, whereas TL 44 shows)c as well as X. N 325 has both a variant that is more elongated

---

[96] Rix 2015, 98.
[97] Rix 2015, 98.
[98] Rix 2015, 98.
[99] Rix 2015, 98.
[100] Rix 2015, 98.
[101] Rix 2015, 99.
[102] Rix 2015, 99.
[103] Rix 2015, 98.
[104] Rix 2015, 98.
[105] Rix 2015, 99.
[106] Laroche 1979, 56.
[107] Rix 2015.

(〇〈) and a variant that is slightly more compact (〇〈). TL 83 (Perikle) shows 〉〈, N 320 (Pixodaros) 〉〈. In TL 29 the letter is represented by an elongated and less curved form (〇〇). 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 4th 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 Xerẽi). 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 <ã> and <ẽ> 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 4th 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.[108]

---

[108] Christiansen forthcoming.

Bibliography

Borchhardt, J. 2000: Dynasten und Beamte in Lykien während der persischen und attischen Herrschaft. In: Dittmann, R. – Hrouda, B. – Löw, U. – Matthiae, P. – Mayer-Opificius, R. – Thürwächter, S. (eds.): *Variatio delectat. Iran und der Westen. Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer.* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 272) Münster, 73–140.

Borchhardt, J. – Eichner, H. – Kogler, L. – Pesditschek, M. – Seyer, M. 2004: Grabherr und Stifter. Die Grabmäler des Hrixm̃ma in Myra, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 73, 15–52. https://doi.org/10.1553/oejh73s31

Bourgarel, A. – Metzger, H. 1992: Les deux bases d'Arbinas. In: Metzger, H. (ed.): *Fouilles de Xanthos 9.* Paris, 150–154.

Briant, P. 1998: Cités et satrapies dans l'Empire achéménide. Xanthos et Pixôdaros. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 142/1, 305–347. https://doi.org/10.3406/crai.1998.15864

Bryce, T. R. 1976: The Lycian *ẽ* Variants as a Dating Criterion for the Lycian Texts. *Kadmos* 15, 168–170. https://doi.org/10.1515/kadmos-1976-0209

Bryce, T. R. 1982: A Ruling Dynasty in Lycia. *Klio* 64, 329–337. https://doi.org/10.1524/klio.1982.64.12.329

Bryce, T. R. 1986: *The Lycians. A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great 1. The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources.* Copenhagen.

Christiansen, B. 2020: Eine neue lykisch-griechische Bilingue aus Tlos. Eine Dedikation oder Ehreninschrift der Polis von Tlos? In: Zimmermann, M. (ed.): *Das Xanthostal in archaisch-klassischer Zeit. Eine archäologisch-historische Bestandsaufnahme.* (Die hellenistische Polis als Lebensform 7) Göttingen, 262–272. https://doi.org/10.13109/9783946317616.262

Christiansen, B. forthcoming: Linguistic and Archaeological Criteria for Dating Lycian Tombs and Tomb Inscriptions. A critical re-evaluation of former approaches. In: Payne, A. – Velhartická, S. – Wintjes, J. (eds.): *Beyond all Boundaries. Anatolia in the 1st Millennium B.C.* (OBO) Leuven.

Domingo Gygax, M. – Tietz, W. 2005: "He Who of All Mankind Set up the Most Numerous Trophies to Zeus". The Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos Reconsidered. *Anatolian Studies* 55, 89–98. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0066154600000661

Dönmez, A. – Schürr, D. 2015: Zum Agora-Pfeiler in Xanthos IV. *Kadmos* 54, 119–149. https://doi.org/10.1515/kadmos-2015-0007

Funke, P. 2008: Integration und Herrschaft. In: Kottsieper, I. – Schmitt, R. – Wöhrle, J. (eds.): *Berührungspunkte. Studien zur Sozial- und Religionsgeschichte Israels und seiner Umwelt. Festschrift für Rainer Albertz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag.* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 350) Münster, 603–612.

Hülden, O. 2006: *Gräber und Grabtypen im Bergland von Yavu (Zentrallykien). Studien zur antiken Grabkultur in Lykien.* (Antiquitas 3/45) Bonn.

Jenniges, W. – Swiggers, P. 2000: The Lycian Shift *ã > u* and Its Implications for the Study of the Epigraphic Materials. In: Arbeitman, Y. (ed.): *The Asia Minor Connexion: Studies on the Pre-Greek Languages in Memory of Charles Carter.* (Orbis Supplementa 13) Leuven, 107–121.

Kalinka, E. 1901: *Tituli Asiae Minoris. Conlecti et editi auspiciis. Caesareae Academia Litterarum Vindobonensis 1. Tituli Lyciae. Lingua Lycia conscripti.* Vindobona.

Keen, A. G. 1998: *Dynastic Lycia. A Political History of the Lycians and their Relations with foreign Powers, c. 545-362 B.C.* (Mnemosyne Supplementum 178) Leiden – Boston – Köln. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004351523

Kolb, F. 2018: *Lykien. Geschichte einer antiken Landschaft.* Darmstadt.

Kolb, F. – Tietz, W. 2001: Zagaba. Münzprägung und politische Geographie in Zentrallykien. *Chiron* 31, 347–416.

Kuban, Z. 2012: *Die Nekropolen von Limyra. Bauhistorische Studien zur klassischen Epoche.* (Forschungen in Limyra 4) Wien.

Laroche, E. 1979: L'inscription Lycienne. In: Metzger, H. (ed.): *Fouilles de Xanthos VI. La stèle trilingue du Létôon.* Paris, 49–127.

Lotz, H. 2017: Xerẽi, der Errichter des Inschriftenpfeilers von Xanthos. *Kadmos* 56, 139–172. https://doi.org/10.1515/kadmos-2017-0007

Metzger, H. (ed.) 1992: *Fouilles de Xanthos 9/2. Planches.* Paris.

Müseler, W. – Schürr, D. 2018: Zur Chronologie in den Inschriften auf dem Agora-Pfeiler von Xanthos (TL 44), den betroffenen Dynasten und ihren Münzen. *Klio* 100, 381–406. https://doi.org/10.1515/klio-2018-0101

Neumann, G. 1979: *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901.* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosphisch-historische Klasse Denkschriften 135 = Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 7) Wien.

Neumann, G. 2007: *Glossar des Lykischen. Überarbeitet und zum Druck gebracht von Johann Tischler.* (Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 21) Wiesbaden.

Rix, E. M. 2016: *Tombs and Territories. The Epigraphic Culture of Lycia, c. 450-197 BC.* Unpublished PhD dissertation. (University of Oxford). Oxford.

Schürr, D. 2012: Der lykische Dynast Arttumbara und seine Anhänger. *Klio* 94, 18–44. https://doi.org/10.1524/klio.2012.0002

Seyer, M. 2004: Ein bemerkenswerter Bau in Zentrallykien. Überlegungen zu dem Grabmal des Ñθurigaxã in Çindam. *Österreichische Jahreshefte* 73, 221–236. https://doi.org/10.1553/oejh73s221

Seyer, M. 2006: Überlegungen zur Chronologie lykischer Felsgräber aus klassischer Zeit. In: Dörtlük, K. – Varkivanç, B. – Kahya, T. – des Courtils, J. – Doğan-Alparslan, M. – Boyraz, R. (eds.): *III. Uluslararası Likya Sempozyumu. Sempozyum Bildirileri II. The IIIrd International Symposium on Lycia. Symposium Proceedings II.* Antalya, 719–734.

Seyer, M. 2009: Zur Ausstattung der Kammern lykischer Felsgräber. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 59, 51–82.

Storme, B. 2014: The Beginning of the Lycian and Greek Versions of the Létôon Trilingual. Syntax and Semantics. *Historische Sprachforschung* 127, 125–140. https://doi.org/10.13109/hisp.2014.127.1.125

Thonemann, P. 2009: Lycia, Athens and Amorges. In: Ma, J. – Papazarkadas, N. – Parker, R. (eds.): *Interpreting the Athenian Empire.* Oxford – Bristol, 176–194.

Weeden, M. 2011: *Hittite Logograms and Hittite Scholarship.* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 54) Wiesbaden.

Wörrle, M. 1991: Epigraphische Forschungen zur Geschichte Lykiens IV. *Chiron* 21, 204–239.

Wörrle, M. 2012: Anfang und Ende von Limyras ptolemäischer Zeit. In: Seyer, M. (ed.): *40 Jahre Grabung Limyra. Akten des internationalen Symposions Wien, 3.-5. Dezember 2009.* (Forschungen in Limyra 6) Wien, 359–369.

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): *ẽnẽ arpp<p>axuhe xñtawata* 'under the reign of Arppaxu'	Bryce 1976; Rix 2015
	N 310 (Phellos, Central Lycia)	Dating formula (line 4): *ẽ[nẽ] arppaxuhe xñtạ[w]ata* '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 Xerẽi. Both inscriptions stem from Central Lycia (Çindam and Phellos). Period of reign debated: middle or last quarter of the 5th century (for different views see further below).			
Xeriga	TL 43 (Xanthos, Western Lycia)	Dating formula (line 2): *ẽnẽ xñtawata xer[i]xehe* '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 Xerẽi	TL 44 (Xanthos, Western Lycia)	Various references to Xeriga (44a.10; 44c.37; 44d.8.19.45.53–54), Xerẽi (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 Xerẽi. The dating of the pillar is highly debated. According to Domingo Gygax and Tietz,[109] the *terminus post quem* 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): *[erb]bina(j)=ẽne ubete ertẽmi [xer]igah tideimi se(j)=upẽneh* '[Erb]bina, son of [Xer]iga and Upẽni 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 Letôon near Xanthos, all elaborate in their design.			
Mizrppata / Miθrapata	TL 64 (Isinda, Central Lycia)	Line 2: *ẽnẽ xñtawa]t[a] mizrppataḥe* 'under the reign of Mizrppata'	Rix 2015
	N 315 (Seyret, Central Lycia)	Line 2: *ẽnẽ: xñtawwa[ta]: ṃịẓrppataḥe* 'under the reign of Mizrppata'	
→ Two inscriptions from the reign of Mizrppata / Miθrapata, ruler of Central Lycia until approx. 380 BCE.[110] See the discussion further below.			

---

[109] Domingo Gygax − Tietz 2005.

[110] 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
Trbbẽnimi	TL 128 (Limyra, Eastern Lycia)	Tomb owner refers to himself as *Krustti tr̥bbẽnemeh tideri* 'Krustti, collacteus(?) of Trbbẽnimi' (line 1)	Rix 2015
	TL 135 (Limyra, Eastern Lycia)	Tomb owner refers to himself or herself as *[.]uwata trbbẽnimeh tideri* '[.]uwata, collacteus(?) / collactea(?) of Trbbẽnimi' (line 1)	
→ Two inscriptions referring to a certain Trbbẽnimi. If this is the dynast who is also mentioned in TL 44, the inscription presumably dates to the first two decades of the 4th century. Trbbẽnimi was between approx. 430–380 politically active, for some time he was contemporaneous with Perikle (but some scholars assume that there was a second Trbbẽnimi). If *tideri* 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.			
Arttum̃para	TL 11 (Pinara, Western Lycia)	Reference to the reign of Arttum̃para (lines 2–3): *x̣ñtewete ter[i] arttum̃para* 'when Arttum̃para ruled in Lycia'	Bryce 1976; Rix 2015
→ One inscription from Western Lycia (Pinara, Xanthos valley) referring to Arttum̃para, dynast until approx. 370, successor of Erbbina in Western Lycia, in Central Lycia presumably successor of Miθrapata / Mizrppata, defeated about 370 by Perikle.[111]			
Perikle	TL 67 (Timiusa, Central Lycia)	Dating formula (lines 2–3): *ẽṇẽ periklehe x̃ntawata* 'under the rulership of Perikle'	Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979; Rix 2015
	TL 83 (Arneai, Central Lycia)	Dating formula (lines 5–6): *ẽnẽ peri[klehe] x̣ñtawata* 'under the rulership of Perikle'	
	TL 103 (Limyra, Eastern Lycia, same tomb as the one bearing TL 104)	Dating formula (line 3): *ẽnẽ periklehe x̃ntawata* 'under the rulership of Perikle	
	TL 104 (Limyra, Eastern Lycia, same tomb as the one bearing TL 103)	Reference to victory over Arttum̃para (lines 2–4): *ẽke ese perikle tebete arttum̃para se m̃parahe telẽzij*ẽ 'when Perikle defeated Arttum̃para and the army(?) of (Arttu)m̃para(?)'	Bryce 1976; Rix 2015
	TL 133 (Limyra, Eastern Lycia)	Tomb owner X̃ñtlapãne refers to himself as *Perikleh mahinaza* 'offering priest of Perikle' (lines 1–2)	Laroche 1979; Rix 2015
	N 314 (Kızılca, Northern Lycia)	Dating formula (lines 7–8): *[ẽ]ti: x̃ñtawata [p]eriklehe* '[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): *wat[aprd]ata xssadrapa*	Bryce 1976; Rix 2015
	TL 61 (Phellos, Central Lycia)	Dating formula (line 2): *ẽnẽ x̃ñtawata wataprddatehe* 'under the reign of Autophradates'	

---

111 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.[112]			
Pixodaros	TL 45 (Xanthos, Western Lycia)	Pixodaros = author of the inscription: Lycian lines 1–2 *pixe[s]ere kat[amla]h* ≈ Greek lines 1-2 Πιξώδαρος Ἑκ[α]τόμν[ου]	Bryce 1976; Laroche 1979; Rix 2015
	N 320a (Letoôn near Xanthos, Western Lycia)	Dating formula (lines 1–2): *ẽke: trm̃misñ: xssaθrapazate: pigesere: katamlah: tideimi* 'after Pixodaros, son of Katamla, became satrap of Lycia'	Laroche 1979; Rix 2015
→ Two inscriptions from Western Lycia (Xanthos and nearby Letôn) 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.[113] Whereas Funke focused on the relative chronology of the events,[114] Storme[115] 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.[116]			
Purihimeti, son of Masasi (likely second half of 4th 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 4th 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 4th c. is more likely, an earlier date cannot be excluded.[117]			
Arssãma (Arsames II?)	N 318 (Letoôn near Xanthos)	Lines 1–2: *[......]mis tuwete arssãma 2 [....] emleh tideimi [...]* '[...]... built Arssãma, son of [....]emle/i'	Laroche 1979
→ One inscription on a stele which according to the text was erected by a certain Arssãma. 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 4th c. and suggests that Arsames might be an official at the Hekatomnid court.[118] 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.			

---

[112] Thus also Laroche 1979, 54–56 and Rix 2015, differently Bryce (1976, 169): "after 390".
[113] Funke 2008 and Storme 2014.
[114] Funke 2008.
[115] Storme 2014, 132–135.
[116] Briant 1998, 323. For the dating of N 320 and further literature see also Rix 2015, 242 with n. 474.
[117] See the detailed commentary by Wörrle 1991, 223–224.
[118] Rix 2015, 264.

Ruler	Text and location	Indication of date of origin	Studies considering the respective dating formula
Alexander the Great	TL 29 (Tlos, Western Lycia)	Reference to the reign of Alexander (line 9): ... *alaxssa*[*ñ*]*tra*: ... *teri trm̃misñ: ñtepi: xñtawata: apptte* '... Alexander ... when he brought Lycia under (his) rule', further references to Arttum̃para 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).			
Pttule = Ptolemy I or II?	TL 35 (Üsümlü, Western Lycia)	(Line 1): I?III *uhi xñtawati pttule* '4th year of king Pttule'[119] or, rather: III *uhi xñtawati pttuḷuṃ*?['3rd year of king Pttulum[e?]'[120]	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.			

---

[119] Thus according to the drawing in Kalinka 1901, 32.

[120] 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.

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

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

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				TL 43, TL 44		
430						
420						
410						
400				N 311		
390				N 324, N 325		
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
				TL 77 N 310		**440**
					TL 128?, TL 135?	**430**
						420
						410
						400
						390
			TL 64 N 315			**380**
	TL 83	TL 67			TL 103, TL 104 TL 133	**370**
						360
TL 61						**350**
					TL 99	**340**
						330
						320
						310
						300
						290
						280

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

Number	Ruler, location, date	a	ã	ẽ	k	n	p	s	θ	x
Harpagos (middle or last quarter of 5ᵗʰ c.)										
TL 77	Harpagos, Çindam	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	-	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	-	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	-	(letter form)
N 310	Harpagos, Phellos	(letter form)	-	(letter form)	-	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	-	(letter form)
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	(letter form)	-	(letter form)	-	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	-	(letter form)
Xeriga (second half/last quarter of 5ᵗʰ, beginning of 4ᵗʰ c.)										
TL 43	Xeriga, Xanthos	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	-	-	(letter form)
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	-	(letter form)	(letter form)	-	-	(letter form)
Xeriga and Xerẽi, TL 44, Xanthos pillar inscription, end of 5ᵗʰ / beginning of 4ᵗʰ c., according to some authors TL 44c and d (Lycian B and Greek epigram) might have been composed about 20 years earlier than TL 44a and TL 44b. Palaeographically, however, the inscription appears quite uniform, and large differences in letter forms cannot be recognized.										
TL 44a		(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)
TL 44b		(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)	(letter form)

Number	Ruler, location, date	a	ã	ẽ	k	n	p	s	θ	x
TL 44c	Xeriga and Xerẽi								-	
TL 44d	Xeriga and Xerẽi								-	
TL 44 as a whole	Xeriga and Xerẽi									
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)				-				-	
Erbinna (first decades of 4th c.)										
N 324	Erbinna, Letôon								-	-
N 325	Erbinna, Letôon				-					
	N 324–325, (Rix 2015, Chart 2)			, once	-				-	
N 311(a)	Erbinna, Letôon	-			-				-	
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)		-		-			(b)	-	
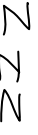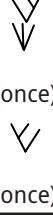
a Neither the original nor a photograph or squeeze are available to me. The letter forms are therefore copied from Bourgarel – Metzger 1992, 150 fig. 1. Rix's (2015, Chart 2) drawings might be more correct, but from the drawing of Bourgarel – Metzger (1992, 150 fig. 1) and the photograph in Metzger 1992, pl. 76 fig. 2 this cannot be decided.

b Not clear.

Number	Ruler, location, date	a	ã	ẽ	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[a], possibly a second Mizrppata who ruled after 360 (due to letter forms and alleged acc. sg. *xupu* in N 315).										
TL 64	Mizrppata, Isinda		-	-	-			-	-	-
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)		-	-	-				-	-
TL 315	Mizrppata, Seyret		-	(?)	-			-	-	
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)				-					
Trbbẽnimi (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 Trbbẽnimi), note that in TL 135 and TL 128 the tomb owner refers to himself/herself as *tṛbbẽnemeh tideri* 'coll acteus(?) / collactea(?) of Trbbẽnimi										
TL 135	Trbbẽnimi, Limyra								-	-
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)				-		-		-	-
TL 128	Trbbẽnimi, Limyra									
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)				-				-	
Arttum̃para (dynast until approx. 370)										
TL 11	Arttum̃para, Pinara				-				-	
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)				-				-	
Perikle (approx. 380–360/350)										
TL 103	Perikle, Limyra									
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)									

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

Number	Ruler, location, date	a	ã	ẽ	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	ã	ẽ	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)		(a)							
TL 45	Pixodaros, Letôon, (337)									
	Rix (2015, Chart 2)									(once) / (once)

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

Number	Ruler, location, date	a	ã	ẽ	k	n	p	s	θ	x
Purihimeti, son of Masasa, probably second half of 4th 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 2	line 1 / - / line 2	line 1 / - / line 2	-	line 1 / line 2	line 1 / line 2	line 1 / 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 Pttuḷuṃ[…] (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).
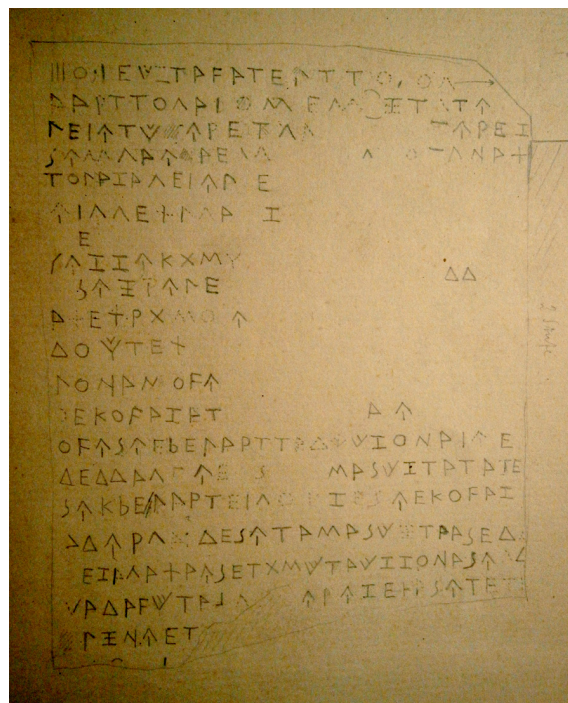
FIG. 4. Sketch from Heberdey's notebook (Lykien 1898, Heberdey I), in the 'Schedensammlung' of the 'Working Group Epigraphy' of the Austrian Academy of Science in Vienna, Rix 2015, fig. 22).
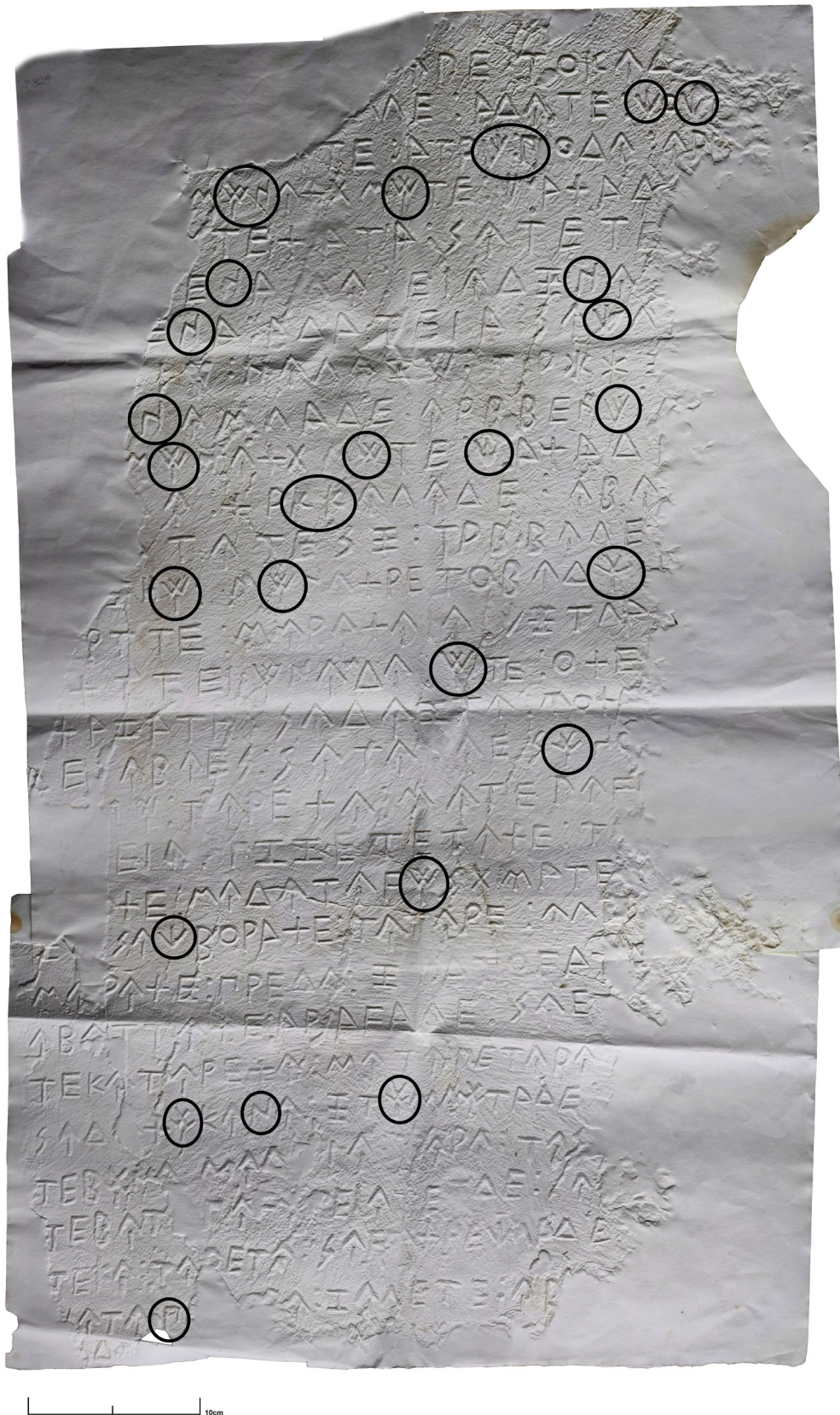
FIG. 5. Photo of a paper squeeze of N 324 (paper squeeze: Recai Tekoğlu, 'Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions' project Vienna; photo: Miriam Kehl, Januar 2016).
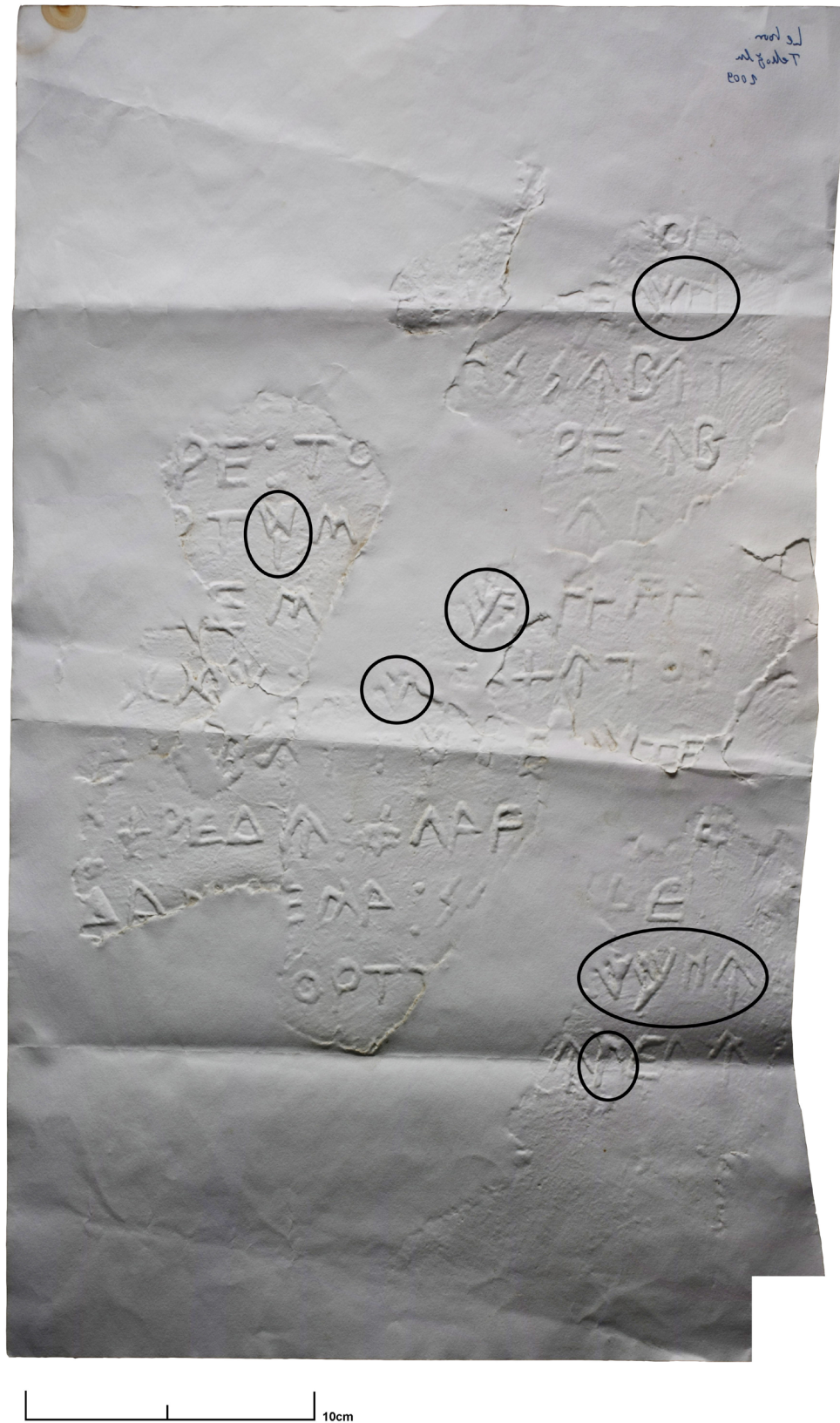
FIG. 6. Photo of a paper squeeze of N 325 (paper squeeze: Recai Tekoğlu, 'Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions' project Vienna, photo: Miriam Kehl, Januar 2016).

HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW

HUNGARIAN
ASSYRIOLOGICAL
REVIEW

CONTENTS

Hungarian Assyriological Review
volume 2, issue 1, 2021

Vorwort

Zsolt Simon*

* – Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Email: 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.