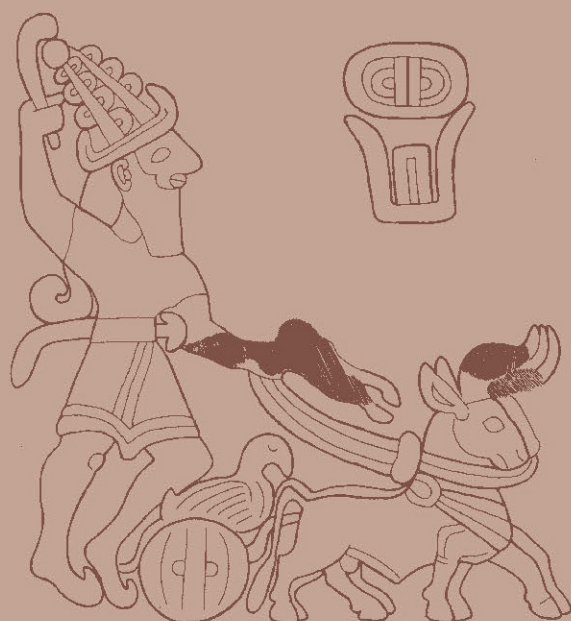


# Luwic dialects and Anatolian

## Inheritance and diffusion

Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, José Virgilio García Trabazo, Mariona Vernet,  
Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach, Elena Martínez Rodríguez (eds.)





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BARCINO MONOGRAPHICA ORIENTALIA

Volume 12

Series Anatolica et Indogermanica 1

2019



Institut del Pròxim Orient Antic (IPOA)  
Facultat de Filologia  
Universitat de Barcelona

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Edicions

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Adolf Florensa, s/n

08028 Barcelona

Tel.: 934 035 430

Fax: 934 035 531

[www.publicacions.ub.edu](http://www.publicacions.ub.edu)

[comercial.edicions@ub.edu](mailto:comercial.edicions@ub.edu)



#### EDITION

Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies (IPOA),

Faculty of Philology, University of Barcelona

#### DIRECTORS

Adelina Millet Albà and Ignasi-Xavier Adiego

(IPOA, University of Barcelona)

#### COVER ILLUSTRATION

Drawing of the Storm god Tarhunza in his chariot, copied

(J. D. Hawkins) from an orthostat. Anatolian Civilisations Museum,  
Ankara.

ISBN

978-84-9168-414-5

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## Editions of Lycian Inscriptions not Included in Melchert's Corpus from 2001

Birgit Christiansen  
*Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*

The purpose of the present article is to provide editions of all inscriptions and fragments of inscriptions that are neither included in Neumann 1979 nor the online corpus published by Melchert in 2001.<sup>1</sup> As far as possible or appropriate, the texts will be presented in transliteration, translation, and commentaries. This applies both to the inscriptions that have already been published by other scholars and to those that I have been entrusted with for publication.

### § 1. *The current state of publication*

After the edition of the so far known Lycian stone inscriptions by Ernst Kalinka in 1901 (numbers TL 1 – TL 150) Günter Neumann published in 1979 a preliminary edition of the inscriptions which had come to light since then. For some reason, he decided not to continue with the numbering of Kalinka, but to start with the number N 300.

1. I would like to thank Patrick Baker, Craig Melchert, Diether Schürr and Recai Tekoğlu for helpful information and comments. Furthermore, my thanks go to Heiner Eichner, Martin Seyer and the other members of the TL project who made it possible for me to work on the Lycian original texts and use the photographs and paper squeezes taken on the various campaigns of the project.

After Neumann's publication several other inscriptions have been found. In addition, some fragments came to light which are related to, or could be joined with previously published texts. A couple of these texts have been published in various places. Transliterations of most of them are provided in the online corpus of Melchert published in 2001, which, however, is not a critical edition, but a preliminary collection of texts in transliteration.

A new critical edition was set as the goal of the Viennese Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions Project (TL project) which was founded by the classical archaeologist Jürgen Borchhardt and has been carried out since 1999 in cooperation with Heiner Eichner, who was in charge of the linguistic-philological analysis of the texts. From 2007–2010 the project was led by Martin Seyer, with me and Heiner Eichner being responsible for the linguistic-philological treatment of the inscriptions.

As the publication of the corpus has been delayed for various reasons, it seems reasonable to present a preliminary collection of texts not yet included in Melchert's corpus from 2001. To facilitate research, the previously assigned text numbers will be retained and continued. The following texts will be included:

Text no.	Location	Publication and further information
I. Inscriptions already edited		
1. N 44g	Xanthos	New fragment to TL 44 complementing TL 44a.32–40 and TL 44b.31–43. Edition: Schürr in Dönmez – Schürr 2015: 132–146.
2. N 46 a and b	Xanthos	Two small stone fragments complementing TL 46. Drawings of the two fragments by George Scharf had already been published by Pierre Demargne (1962: pl. 1). An indirect join of N 46a based on Scharf's drawing has then been made by Emmanuel Laroche (1974: 140 with fig. 4). Both fragments have been rediscovered by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault on July 25, 2005 in the north necropolis of Xanthos. A first edition with improved readings and a new reconstruction of TL 46 will be provided in the present article.
3. TL 54a	Phellos	One-line inscription on a house tomb in Phellos (tomb 96). Edition: Diether Schürr (preprint). The inscription is related to TL 54 located above a niche next to the house tomb which has already been edited by Kalinka (1901: 53). For a new improved edition of this inscription

		which is now referred to as TL 54b see Schürr (preprint). In the present article, both inscriptions will be discussed and presented in tracings.
4. TL 72	Kyaneai	Extended text of the bilingual Lycian-Greek sarcophagus inscription TL 72 partially published by Kalinka (1901: 63). Edition: Neumann – Zimmermann 2003: 187–192. For a new interpretation see Schürr 2013: 257–260 and the discussion in the present article.
5. N 319	Letôon, near Xanthos	Bilingual Lycian-Aramaic (or originally trilingual Lycian-Aramaic-Greek) text on a stone fragment. Edition of the Aramaic version: Dupont-Sommer 1979: 172–174; first edition of the preserved Lycian text Christiansen in the present volume.
6. N 324 and N 325 fragments a–m	Letôon, near Xanthos	Twelve fragments complementing N 324. Edition: Bousquet 1992: 186–187 and pl. 77–178.
7. N 331	Avşar Tepesi	Graffito on a sherd of clay. Edition: Neumann 2000: 183–184, pl. 3,2.
8. N 332	Korba	Three-line tomb inscription. Edition: Neumann 2000: 84–85, pl. 25,1.
9. N 333	Tlos	Eleven-line offering inscription on an altar. Edition: Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 104–106 with fig. 1–3; with improved readings Christiansen in the present article.
10. N 334	Tlos	Thirteen-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 106–107 with fig. 4–6; with improved readings Christiansen in the present article.
11. N 335	Asartaş / Olympos	Two-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. First edition: Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 107–108 with fig. 7–8.
12. N 336	Pinara	Six-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Kogler in Kogler – Seyer 2007: 109–121.
13. N 337	Limyra	Fourteen-line commemorative inscription on a stone block. Edition: Christiansen 2012: 141–153.
14. N 338	Limyra	Three-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Christiansen in the present article.

15. N 339	Limyra	One-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Christiansen in the present article.
16. N 340a and b	Limyra	Remains of an inscription engraved on two stone fragments belonging to the same monument (presumably a stela). Edition: Christiansen in the present article.
17. N 341	Xanthos	Partly erased five-line Lycian inscription and a later Greek epitaph on two fragments of a rock-cut tomb (Inv. no. 2002-13). Edition of the Lycian inscription: Christiansen in the present article. See also Christiansen 2020a: 203–205 with fig. 69–71. For the Greek text see Baker – Thériault 2003: 433.
18. N 342a and b	Tlos	Two inscriptions on a rock-cut tomb with N 342a consisting of two and N 342b consisting of four lines. Edition: Korkut – Tekoğlu 2019: 169–188.
19. N 343	Tlos	Bilingual Lycian-Greek text on a stone fragment with two incomplete Lycian and two incomplete Greek lines preserved. Edition: Christiansen 2020b: 262–272.
20. N 344	Xanthos	Two-line Lycian inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Christiansen in the present article. See also Christiansen 2020a: 204–205 with fig. 72–74.
21. N 345		Currently unassigned (see the remarks in section II, paragraph 21).
22. N 346	Limyra	Fragmentary inscription on a sherd of clay. Edition: Christiansen in the present article.
23. N 347	Xanthos	Fragmentary one-line inscription on a stone block consisting of two fully and one partly preserved letter. Edition: Christiansen in the present article.
24. N 351	Beykonak	Two-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Tekoğlu in Seyer – Tekoğlu 2009: 217–226 with fig. 6. Tracing: Christiansen in the present article.
25. N 352	Tlos	Fragment of a tomb inscription. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 1.
26. N 353	Tlos	Fragment of a tomb inscription. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 2.

EDITIONS OF LYCIAN INSCRIPTIONS NOT INCLUDED IN MELCHERT'S CORPUS

27. N 354	Tlos	Fragment of an inscription of unclear contents. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 (without transliteration) and pl. 3.
28. N 355	Zindan	Fragment of an inscription of unclear contents. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 4.
29. N 356a and b	Tlos	Two inscriptions on a marble block which are mostly parallel to each other and TL 28. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 63–68 and pl. 5–7; for a new reading and interpretation see Christiansen in the present article.
30. N 357	Tlos	Two-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 65 with pl. 8.
<b>II. Still unpublished inscriptions</b>		
31. N 348	Aloanda, near Pinara	Twelve-line inscription of religious content on a fragmentarily preserved rectangular limestone block discovered by Fatih Onur and Eda Şahin. Edition: Recai Tekoğlu (forthcoming in the journal <i>Gephyra</i> ).
32. N 349	Araxa	Inscription on a rock-cut tomb (re)discovered by Max Gander in March 2013. As noted by Diether Schürr (personal communication) it is likely the same tomb that had already been discovered by Charles Fellows (Fellows 1841: 123) without giving any details or a transliteration of the text. A photo of the tomb has been published by Akyürek Şahin et al. 2017, 208 Fig. 5. Edition: Recai Tekoğlu (forthcoming in the journal <i>Gephyra</i> ).
33. N 350	Patara	Inscription on a sarcophagus. Edition: Recai Tekoğlu in preparation.
34. Numbers not yet assigned	Patara	Several inscriptions found by Erkan Dünder. Edition by Recai Tekoğlu in preparation.
N 358ff. not yet assigned		

§ 2. *The texts*

## I. Inscriptions already edited

## I.1. N 44g

In addition to the eight fragments of the Xanthos pillar found in 1950, the three fragments found in 1952, and one further fragment discovered in 1956, a new fragment came to light in 2013. It was found in the rectangular room east of the Western Agora's north-eastern corner room. The object is a 0.42 m high corner piece inscribed with Lycian text on both outer faces. The fragment complements TL 44a at the beginning of lines 32–37 and TL 44b at the end of lines 36–43. Furthermore, a direct join could be made with the fragment  $\Xi$  207 (N 44f) which complements the ends of TL 44b lines 32–36. The new fragment is now registered as N 44g. For a detailed edition of the text see Schürr in Dönmez – Schürr 2015: 132–146. In the following the restored passages of TL 44 will be given in transliteration:

left:

1' .

2' : *eh*3' *ze*4' *xu*5' *je*6' *me*

right:

1' [.]i.

2' *trq*3' *dāi*4' *ñte*5' *ija*6' *māñ/ṃ*7' *ija*8' *jě.a*

TL 44a 32–40:

32 *azijedi: ēñne xistte: wawadra: [...]* .

33 *mē: zbetē: me uwadraxi: ese: przzē[...]: eh*

34 *etehi: axā: ara: nelede: arñna: me=ti p[rz]ze*

35 *axā: trñmile: izredi: pededi: ñterez[i?] xu-*

36 *base: tupa: esbedi: hēmenedi: trñmil[i]je-*

37 *di: se medezedi: padrātahedi: hqqdaimē-*

38 *[d]i: se mṛbbēñedi: tupelijā: trñmilis[ñ?]*

39 *[.. qa]kadunimi: puwejeññ: tupelijā: se[.]*

40 *[...] qakadunimi: puwejeññ se irijēñm*

TL 44b 31–36 restored by Ξ 207 and the newly discovered fragment:

31 *[.....]taddi: plñmaddi: se qehññedi: pd-*

32 *[.]i[... ]edi: sersseizijedi: se ukehezi[j<sup>2</sup>]*

33 *edi: [.]ēpartaisedi: truwepeijadi: ter[. ?]*

34 *elā[i<sup>2</sup>]: se=urublijedi: pri: trqqas: hexis*

35 *ñta[.]mmezezi:<sup>2</sup> erbbi: sttāti: teli qehñ-*

36 *[n]iñmejese<sup>3</sup> terñ: punerebe: se=be pibere*

37 *trqqas=ppe: asati: xñtawatā: tuwi: se=be*

38 *dāinē: arawazija: ñtewē: n=emu: se xθθā*

39 *ñte=be dewē emu: kumezeiti=ti: me=(e)rawaz-*

40 *ija ade: tuminehi: mlatraza: tixzzidi*

41 *māñ/ñahñmāta: qarazutazi: tezi: aruwāt-*

42 *ija tukedri: se=j=eti: puwēi: se=j=urubli-*

43 *jē: ade: xurzide: se tukedri: atrā: tehlu[se]*

## I. 2. N 46a and b (Xanthos)

Description: two small stone fragments belonging to the inscription on the lion sarcophagus TL 46. The fragments were found by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault on July 25, 2005 in the north necropolis of Xanthos, on the slope of the acropolis. They were lying on the ground very close to a set of three tombs of which some were engraved with Greek inscriptions. However, an affiliation to these tombs could not be established. Since the fragments could not be assigned to

2. According to Schürr in Dönmez – Schürr 2015: 139 the second <ez> is to be regarded as a dittography and thus to be obliterated.

3. Schürr 2015: 139 suggests to insert *tebeti* after *ese*.

any other known monument either they were regarded as Lycian *novae* without any affiliation to an already known inscription.

During the preparation of the present article it turned out that both fragments were already depicted by George Scharf, Charles Fellows' draughtsman, in his sketchbook from 1844 among a group of uninscribed fragments decorated with reliefs, all belonging to the lion sarcophagus with TL 46.<sup>4</sup> The corresponding pages with the sketches made on March 9, 1844, were reproduced by Pierre Demargne (1962: pl. I) in an essay on the lion sarcophagus of Xanthos. Fellows and Scharf most probably found the fragments in the immediate vicinity of the lion sarcophagus engraved with TL 46, so that the affiliation of the fragments was not in question. The reason why the agreement of the fragments found by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault with the fragments drawn by Scharf in 1844 was first not recognized was due to the fact that Scharf drew the characters in line 1 of N 46a not as <kr> but as <kk> and that he depicted N 46b upside down (fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Drawing by George Scharf of the two fragments belonging to TL 46 (at the top N 46b, at the bottom N 46a depicted upside down). In: Demargne 1962: pl. 1.

Furthermore, the identity was obscured because the fragments were found by Baker and Thériault at a distance of about 75 m from the sarcophagus (fig. 2). However, due to the border between lines 1 and 2, the matching arrangement of the letters and the otherwise identical text there can be no doubt that N 46b matches the fragment drawn by Scharf with the remains of three lines.

4. I am indebted to Diether Schürr for drawing my attention to the agreement.





Fig. 2: The location of the lion sarcophagus (marked ●) and the findspot of the two fragments (marked ■). Photo: Mathieu Rocheleau taken on July 28, 2005 in the framework of the “Mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos-Létôon”.

The affiliation of N 46a to TL 46 and the agreement with the second fragment drawn by Scharf was at first more difficult to recognize. The main reason for this was that Scharf drew the fragment upside down (fig. 1). Moreover, the fragment does not show an edge between line 1 and 2 as is the case with N 46b and the part of TL 46 published by Kalinka (1901: 50). However, a closer examination revealed that N46a adjoins the remains of the first line drawn by Kalinka directly at the top. Line 1 of N46a is thus the remainder of the first line of the whole inscription. Accordingly, TL 46 is not a four-line inscription as previously assumed, but a five-line inscription.

## N 46a

Description: N 46a is a small fragment with the remains of two lines of Lycian text preserved. Line 1' shows <ñ> followed by an oblique stroke which is likely to be interpreted as the left part of <n>. If one assumes a standard inscription beginning with a building formula, the letters might have been part of the verb *prñnawatē*. In this case, approx. 16–19 letters and one or two word dividers would have to be restored before <ñn>, which in terms of space is possible too. If we assume that the first line started at the height of the left edge of the deepened field, there would even be space for up to 29 signs. If one further supposes that line 1, like the following lines, reached to the edge of the sarcophagus chest, there is enough space for the remaining five letters of the verb.

Of line 2' only one letter that is broken off at the bottom has survived. Preserved are an upper horizontal and a vertical stroke. If the fragment immediately joins the upper break edge of TL 46 published by Kalinka (1901: 50), the lower horizontal line at the upper edge of TL 46 forms the lower part of the letter, which is then to be identified as <z>. Unfortunately, the join cannot be checked on the monument itself because the part to which the fragment adjoins is no longer preserved.

Dimensions of the stone fragment: height: 18.5 x 17.5 x max. 10 cm; letter height: 4.0 – 4.8 cm; distance between the letters in line 1: 0.7 cm; line spacing: 2.8 – 4.3 cm.

Documentation: Drawing by George Scharf from 1844, first published by Pierre Demargne (1962: pl. 1 with the fragment depicted upside down). Photo of the original stone fragment: July 28, 2005 by Mathieu Rocheleau (fig. 3); paper squeeze made by Patrick Baker photographed by Mathieu Rocheleau on January 26, 2006, both within the framework of the “Mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos-Létôon”. Autopsy: July 31, 2009.



Fig. 3: Photo of N 46a (Mathieu Rocheleau, July 28, 2005 in the framework of the “Mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos-Létôon”).

Transliteration:

1' [— —]ññ[— —]

2' [— —]z[— —]

N 46b

N 46b is a small fragment consisting of the remains of three lines. As mentioned above, it was found together with N 46a by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault on July 25, 2005 in the north necropolis of Xanthos. A drawing by George Scharf was first published by Pierre Demargne (1962: pl. 1). Laroche (1974: 140 with fig. 4) then made a proposal regarding the placement of the fragment in relation to the already known text of TL 46 engraved on the lion sarcophagus. Since Laroche only knew the fragment through Scharf's drawing, he depicted the characters of line 1 as <kk> instead of <kr>. The same applies to all subsequent publications such as Melchert (2001) and Christiansen (2020a: 201–202).

Documentation: Drawing by George Scharf from 1844 published by Pierre Demargne (1962: pl. 1). Photo by Mathieu Rocheleau from July 28, 2005) (fig. 4); paper squeeze made by Patrick Baker, photographed by Mathieu Rocheleau on January 26, 2006, both within the framework of the “Mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos-Létôon”. Autopsy: July 31, 2009.

Dimensions: object: height: ca. 28 cm; width ca. 24 cm; thickness ca. 14.5 cm; inscribed surface: ca. 21.0 x 21.5 cm; distance between lines 1 and 2: 4.3 – 5.0 cm; distance between lines 2 and 3: 3.0 – 4.0 cm; letter height: ca. 3.0 – 5.2 cm; distance between the letters within the lines: 2.0 – 2.6 cm.



Fig. 4: Photo of N 46b (Mathieu Rocheleau, July 28, 2005 in the framework of the “Mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos-Létôon”)

Transliteration:

1' [— —]kr[— —]

2' [— —]eim[— —]

3' [— —]mi[— —]

Commentary: Line 1': As already mentioned, line 1' of N 46b likely equals line 2 of the whole inscription. The two letters which are still preserved of N 46b line 1' are <k> and <r> (and not, as formerly believed due to Scharf's drawing <k> and <k>). In the case of a standard tomb with a building formula, they were likely part of the patronymic. Personal names beginning with <kr> are quite common in Lycian. Attested are *Krbbe*[s<sup>3</sup>]e (N 312.4), *Krehēnube* (TL 52.1), *Krupsse* (TL 25.2), *Krustti* (TL 128.1), and *Krzzubi* (TL 83.5).<sup>5</sup> In the gap between <kr> and <ma> or <la> approx. 3 or 4 letters are missing, which then might have been part of the patronymic as well. Principally possible, but because of the preceding letter sequence less likely, is a title such as *kumaza* "priest". The space between the left edge of the deepened field and the first preserved letters of N 46b allows for about 16 letters. Accordingly, there could have been a title or another designation between the tomb owner's name and the patronymic. But it is also conceivable that the verb *prñnawatē* extended to the beginning of line 2.

Line 2': Line 2' of N 46b is separated from line 1' by a border which is also visible in Scharf's drawing and the one published by Kalinka (1901: 50). The space between the left edge of the deepened field and the first preserved letters of N 46b line 2' allows for about 14 letters maximum. The letter sequence <eim> is presumably part of the dative pl. (or, less likely, the dative sg.) of the word *tideime/i* "child".

The position of N 46b cannot exactly be determined. If the restoration [*tid*]eim[*i se xa*]hba is correct, the fragment is probably to be placed approximately as indicated in the reconstruction drawing (fig. 5).<sup>6</sup> Hence, line 3 of TL 46 is probably to be restored as follows: [*hrppi ladi se tid*]eim[*i se xa*]hba ehb[*i*] or ehb[*ije*] as has already been suggested by Melchert (2001). In the first case, *xahba* would be a dat. sg., in the second case a dat. pl.

Line 3': From line 3' of N 46b two partly broken letters are still preserved. Basically, the first letter could be interpreted as <d>, <m> or <l> and the second as <i> or <w>. In the present context, however, they are likely to be interpreted as the first two letters of the word *miñti* (see already Laroche 1974: 140). Thus, due to the following word *aladaha*[*i*] and the space available in front of the two letters of N 46b, it is likely that the line is to be restored by a typical *ada* formula [*se=ije ñta tadē tesī*] mī[ñ]ti: *aladaha*[*i*] followed by the word *ada* and a number sign which

5. \**Krñna* in the coin legend M 228 is to be read *Arñna* and thus not to be regarded as a personal name. See Schürr 2012: 21.

6. If the restoration is correct, the distance between the restored <ñ> and the preceding and following letter of the word *miñti* is quite large, but within the spectrum of the other letter spacings.



<sup>(1-2)</sup>[This tomb has built ..., son of] *Kr*[...]/*maz*[- - - (ca. 1-6 letters)] <sup>(3)</sup>[for wife and chil]dre[n and the gran]dchild/[gran]dchildren <sup>(4)</sup>[And they established under oath] with the *Mi*[*ndis*] for the allocation(?) <sup>(5)</sup>[(an amount of)] 10(?) [*ada*].

### I. 3. A new inscription belonging to TL 54 (Phellos)

Kalinka's edition lists under TL 54 an inscription from Phellos, which is located above a niche in the rock face right next to a rock-cut house tomb (tomb 96). While the latter was already documented in 1812, it was only in 1971 that Jürgen Borchhardt discovered that the house tomb itself bears an inscription on the upper crossbeam.<sup>11</sup>

Since Borchhardt regarded the inscription as illegible, he and his team did not document it. Diether Schürr, however, presented a first edition of the text.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, he made significant progress in the reading of the niche inscription. Based on photos which he kindly made available to me, I made tracings of both inscriptions (fig. 7 and 8). In a few points my interpretation differs from his, but for the most part my examination has confirmed it. The following transliterations are based on my drawings. Deviations from Schürr's reading are noted in the commentary. As suggested by Schürr, the inscription on the upper crossbeam is listed under the siglum TL 54a whereas the inscription above the niche is listed under the siglum TL 54b.

#### TL 54a

Description and measurements: One-line inscription on the upper crossbeam of the rock-cut house tomb 96 of Phellos. The text starts very close to the left edge and ends after 1.74 m. On the right side, 66 cm is left free. The distance to the upper border is 2.5 – 3 cm. Since the crossbar is badly damaged, the inscription is very difficult to read. Most characters are, however, clearly identifiable. The average letter height is 3 cm.<sup>13</sup>

longer exists today). However, the reading was checked against the paper squeeze made by Heberdey in 1895 which today is kept in the "Arbeitsgruppe Epigraphik" of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna.

11. See Schürr (preprint) for further information.

12. Schürr (preprint).

13. For a more detailed description see Schürr (preprint).



Fig. 6: Tracing of TL 54 based on a photograph made by Diether Schürr (Birgit Christiansen, September 27, 2019).

Morphem-analytic transliteration:

*ē..a=j=adē: xudalijē: aḅuruwētehō: zzim[a]za: murāza[hō:] tideimi*

Translation:

The *ē..a* made Xudalijē, the *zzimaza* of Aburuwēte, son of Murāza.

Commentary: Due to damage of the stone, the reading of the two letters following <ē> at the beginning of the line remains unsure. Schürr (preprint) suggests the reading *ē[.]ma*. However, I cannot identify the <m> with certainty, the traces could also be due to damage of the stone. Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that only one letter is to be restored between the initial <ē> and <ajadē>. The word divider following the personal name *Xudalijē*, which in Schürr's transliteration is put in brackets, is still identifiable on the photo. The first four letters of the name *Aburuwēte* are partly broken and not clearly recognizable. However, the reading as <abur> can be verified on the basis of TL 54b. The same is true for the other letters marked by a dot or put in brackets. The <r> in the patronymic *Murāza* looks rather like <p>, but since it is partly broken the shape cannot be fully determined. The word *zzimaza* is also known from TL 120 as the title of the tomb owner's wife. In the present inscription, however, it is the tomb builder who is referred to by this title.

Dating criteria: The inscription does not contain any significant dating criteria. Remarkable is the relatively rare variant of <x>, which is already attested in TL 76 dating from the reign of Harpagos.<sup>14</sup>

14. See Christiansen (in press).



## TL 54b

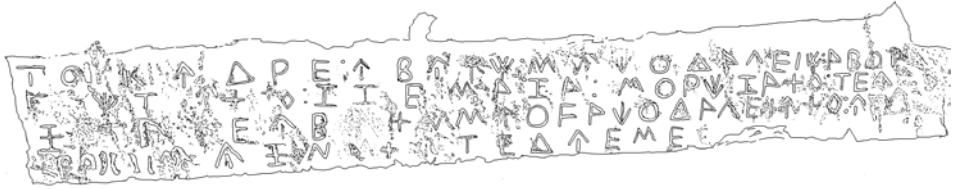


Fig. 7: Tracing of TL 54b based on a photograph made by Diether Schürr  
(Birgit Christiansen, September 27, 2019).

## Transliteration:

- 1 *tukedri: ebehẽ: mę xudalijẽ: abur[u-]*
- 2 *wẽtẽh̃: zzimaza: murãzah̃: tid̃[eimi]*
- 3 *ñ..[.]i<sup>15</sup> eb[ẽ]hm̃<sup>16</sup> mę uwa: xudalijeh̃: epd[...]<sup>17</sup>*
- 4 *wuqqmeñn[e]h̃[̃?] tideimi*

## Tentative translation:

(1–2) The statues of these (are/represent) Xudalijẽ, the *zzimaza* of Abur[u]wẽte, so[n] of Murãza, the ... of these. And Uwa(?), ... of Xudalije, son of Wuqqmeñne(??)

Commentary: Due to the uncertain reading and the ambiguity of some forms, the interpretation of the inscription remains uncertain. In the following, the key issues will be discussed and possible interpretations will be given.

Line 1: The form *tukedri* in line 1 might either be interpreted as an acc. sg. (Melchert 2004: 73) or a nom. pl. (Schürr preprint) depending on whether the word at the beginning of line 3 is to be interpreted as a 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. of the verb *ñta-* “he places inside” (Melchert 2001 and 2004: 45) and thus a transitive verb or another form (Schürr preprint).

Schürr (preprint) argues that *tukedri* must be a nom. pl. due to the following gen. pl. *ebehẽ*. Consequently, two persons represented by the statues should be listed in the following. This reasoning is plausible, although other options cannot be ruled out. Alternatively, the gen. pl. *ebehẽ* might refer to the building complex or the surroundings to which the statues belong as it is likely to be the case in N

15. The reading of the word is unsure. For more detailed information see the commentary.

16. Likely to be amended to <ẽ>.

17. The reading of the letters following <e> is very unsure. See the commentary below.

338 which will be discussed further below. Also in some other inscriptions, the gen. pl. of *ebe*- “this” might be explained in this way. An example can be found in N 314, where no group of people is mentioned to which *ebehē* in the curse formula *m=ene tubidi eti ebehē xaxakba* could refer. If *eti* is to be translated as “father” (see, e.g., Melchert 2004: 19, Christiansen 2020a: 230) the phrase might rather mean “the father of these surroundings” than “their father”.<sup>18</sup>

Also in TL 149.3–4 the relation of *ebehē* in the following phrase remains unsure: *me=i=ne ñtawātā pibijeti: tere ebehē* “and they do not regularly give access(?) to the district of these (i.e. “their district” or “the district belonging to the surroundings/the building complex”);<sup>19</sup> In TL 148, however, the gen. pl. *ebāhā* undoubtedly denotes the two tomb owners (or tomb occupants): *zru[.]ēh se[mut]ah xupa ebāhā* “the one of Zru[.]e (and) of Se[mut]a – the tomb of those (i.e. their tomb)”.<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that the personal names in TL 148 are mentioned in the genitive case, whereas this is not the case in the present inscription. Consequently, it cannot be excluded that *ebehē* in the present inscription refers to the building complex to which the statues belong rather than to the individuals represented by them.

Line 3: As already mentioned, the reading of the letters at the beginning of line 3 remains obscure. Instead of *ñtadi* and thus a 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. of the transitive verb *ñta-* as has been suggested by Melchert (2001) it might rather be a noun describing the aforementioned person. A similar situation exists with *ñteri* in TL 142 which is apparently used as a title.

The last letter preceding the conjunction *me* appears to be an erroneously written <*m*>, which is to be amended to <*ē*>. According to Schürr (preprint), the personal name following *mē uwa* is spelled *xudaliġā[?]h*. The photos, however, show rather <*e*> instead of <*ā*>.

The reading of the letters following <*e*> at the end of the line is very unsure. Instead of <*epd*> the sequence might also be interpreted as <*epl*> or, as has been suggested by Kalinka (1901: 53) <*erd*>.

Line 4: The reading of the first four letters at the beginning of line 4 remains unsure as well. As pointed out by Schürr (preprint) it is likely to be a personal name in the genitive. The reading *Wuqqmeñneh* proposed here is only tentative.

18. See, e.g., Christiansen 2020a: 230.

19. For a treatment of the inscription see Christiansen 2020a: 224–227.

20. Or rather *zru[.]ēh se [mut]ah* ... “the one of Zru[.]e and of [Mut]a”. For the putative personal name Semuta see Melchert 2004: 103.

Dating criteria: The inscription does not show any significant dating criteria. All letter variants are already attested in inscriptions from the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

#### I. 4. TL 72 (Kyaneai)

Through renewed investigations of the sarcophagus with the Lycian-Greek bilingual text TL 72 in 1990 and 1994, further parts of both the Lycian and the Greek inscription came to light. Since Melchert's corpus from 2001 refers only to the edition of Neumann and Zimmermann (2003: 187–192 with tables 28–31) without providing a transliteration of the extended text, the inscription will be presented here in its entirety. In addition, a new interpretation by Schürr (2013: 257–260) for the end of the Lycian version will be included.

TL 72a (beginning of the inscription on the north side of the sarcophagus)  
*ebēññē: tezi: m=ēne: ñte: tuwetē: xudali[j]ē: murāzah[◇] tideimi: hrppidem[–  
 – –]*<sup>21</sup>

TL 72b (continuation of the text on the east and west side of the sarcophagus):  
 [– – –]maza: se=ije [...].adi tike: mētē: m=ēne mahāi: tubeiti: nelez.[– – –]

#### Translation:

This sepulchral monument (or: sarcophagus)<sup>22</sup> has erected Xudalijē, child of Murāza, ... of Hrppidem[...(?)].<sup>23</sup> And whoever does harm to it, the gods of the Agora will destroy him.

The Greek text runs as follows:

21. For *hrppidem*[...] see the commentary.

22. According to Neumann (2007: 355), the equation of *tezi* in TL 72 with Greek *μνημα* demonstrates that its meaning is not “sarcophagus, coffin” (or similar), as Melchert (2004: 64) assumes, but “Denkmal, Andenken, wobei man sich Jemandes erinnert”. His objection against Melchert's interpretation is, however, not convincing since *μνημα* does not only mean “monument, memorial”, but also “a building or mound in memory of the dead, tomb or coffin” (cf. Liddell – Scott 1996: 962). In the Greek inscriptions from Lycia, it is used as a general term for burial monuments, referring to sarcophagi, rock-cut tombs, and tomb pillars (see, e.g., Schweyer 2002: 21). The general meaning of *tezi/tezi* seems to be “container for accommodating a dead person or their remains”. This might be sarcophagi as in TL 72 and TL 78, but also coffins or urns.

23. For the translation of *hrppidem*[...] see the commentary.

τόδε : τ[ὸ μνη]μα Κυδαλιη[ς] : ἔ[στ]ησ[ε] ἐ[α]υτῶι : Μορωζα υἱὸς καὶ ὅστις τι  
αὐτὸν ἀδικήσαι: οἱ θεοὶ ἀπολέσειαν : οἱ ἀγοραῖοι

Translation:

This [to]mb/[sepul]chral monument has [ere]cted for himself Kudalijē, son of Muraza. And whoever damages it – the gods of the Agora may destroy him!

Commentary:

Neumann in Neumann – Zimmermann 2003: 189–190 assumes that TL 72a ends with a beneficiary clause introduced by *hrppi* “for” followed by a word of which only the first three letters <dem> are preserved.<sup>24</sup> He considers that *hrppi dem*[ could be an equivalent to Greek ἐαυτῶι, but notes at the same time that a word stem *dem-* is not otherwise attested. Furthermore, it should be noted that Greek ἐαυτῶι otherwise equals Lycian (*hrppi*) *atli* (*ehbi*).<sup>25</sup>

Melchert (2001), on the other hand, suggested analysing the sequence as *hrppi=de=m*[e. A new interpretation was then proposed by Schürr (2013: 257–260). In his opinion, *hrppi* is not to be interpreted as the preposition “for”, but as the first component of a personal name. To support his hypothesis, he refers to several personal names rendered in Greek with *hrppide-* as first component such as Ερπιδηνις (or, rather Ἐρπιδηνις). Although other options cannot be completely ruled out, Schürr’s interpretation is indeed compelling. The partly broken name might then have been followed by a term of relationship such as *tuhes* “nephew” or a title.

#### I. 5. N 319 (Letôon)

Description: N 319 is a bilingual (or even a trilingual) text on a fragment of a stone block found in the Letôon, near Xanthos. One side shows the remains of five lines of the Aramaic version, on the other side the beginnings of four lines of the Lycian version are preserved. The stone block is kept in the Letôon depot under the inventory number L. 5743.<sup>26</sup> An edition of the Aramaic version has been published by Dupont-Sommer (1979: 172–174). The Lycian version is only mentioned by Dupont-Sommer (1979: 172) and Neumann (1979: 43), but a transliteration has

24. For the same segmentation see already Kalinka 1901: 63.

25. Cf. TL 23 and TL 117.

26. This number is also given in Neumann 1979: 43. Dupont-Sommer (1979: 172) lists the text erroneously as L. 2743.

not yet been published. In Melchert's corpus of 2001 the text is omitted. Although only a few letters are preserved, a transliteration will be given below.



Fig. 8: Photo of the Aramean version of N 319 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 9: Photo of the Lycian version of N 319 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 10: Tracing of the Lycian text of N 319 (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

Transliteration:

1' *h*![- - -]

2' *ij*[- - -]

3' *eb*[- - -]

4' *d*[- - -]

Commentary: The first letter of line 1' is probably an <*h*> or, less likely, a <*t*> followed by a partly preserved <*l*>. Except for <*b*>, which is partly broken at the bottom, all letters of lines 2'–4' are fully preserved. Due to the small amount of preserved letters, correlations between the Lycian and Aramaic versions cannot be established.

I. 6. Fragments a–m complementing N 324 and N 325 (Letôon, near Xanthos)

During the Xanthos campaigns, twelve small fragments belonging to the statue base inscribed with N 324 and N 325 have been discovered. Their exact positioning on the base remains unclear so far. Edition: Bousquet 1992: 186–187 and pl. 77–178.

Fragment a (part of 6121)

1' [- - -]*u*: *a*<sup>27</sup>[- - -]

2' [- - -]*hbi*: *dde*[- - -]

3' [- - -]*ti*: *mene*[- - -]

27. The letter is partly broken but can be identified clearly as <*a*>.

- 4' [---]zadãke[---]  
 5' [---]he: xñta[wata? ---]  
 6' [---]etẽ: pi[---]  
 7' [---]i: hã[---]

Fragment b (part of 6299)

- 1' [---]i: mē[---]  
 2' [---]upije: [---]  
 3' [---]: meid[---]  
 4' [---]iē[---]

Fragment c (part of 6072; left edge)

- 1' ma[---]  
 2' xñ[ta ---]  
 3' s[---]

Fragment d (part of 6121)

- 1' [---]dde: [---]  
 bottom vacat

Fragment e (part of 6121)

- 1' [---]ēd[---]  
 2' [---]idehā[---]  
 bottom vacat

Fragment f (part of 6121)

- 1' [---]h[---]  
 2' [---]eñt[---]  
 3' [---]tisñ[---]

Fragment g (part of 6072)

- 1' [---]et[---]  
 2' [---]ube[te? ---]  
 3' [---]hh[---]

Fragment h (part of 6121)

- 1' [---]eñ[---]  
 2' [---]ta: [---]

## Fragment j (part of 6121)

1' [---]: [---]

2' [---]be[---]

## Fragment k (part of 6121)

1' [---].[---]

2' [---]dde[---]

3' [---]ijeh[---]

4' [---]: seb[---]

## Fragment l (part of 6121)

1' [---].e[---]

## Fragment m (part of 6121; right edge)

1' [---]ę vacat

2' [---]i vacat

## I. 7. N 331 (Avşar Tepesi)

Description: Graffito on a sherd of clay which probably once belonged to an Attic vessel (presumably a crater). Findspot: “Dynastic tomb”. Dimensions: height: 6.3 cm; width: 6.3 cm, depth: 0.7 cm. The remains of three lines of the text are still preserved. Originally, however, the inscription likely consisted of at least one further line. Edition: Neumann 2000: 183–184, pl. 3,2.

## Transliteration:

1' [---]he.tēi[---]

2' [---]ēnñe[---]

3' [---]tise.[---]

## I. 8. N 332 (Korba)

Description: Tomb inscription on a chamosorion. Edition: Neumann 2000: 84–85, pl. 25,1.

## Transliteration:

1 [e]bēññē: t̥.zi: m=ene ñte tuwet[e]

2 ęwe..xaj hrppi=je=me=i ttadi tike: mej=

3 eti: tubidi: ebuθis: se mahāi: lātāi se heledi



Translation:

<sup>(1)</sup>This sarcophagus has set up <sup>(2a)</sup>Ewe... (If someone) places someone in addition/on top <sup>(2b-3)</sup>then the father(?) Ebuθis will strike him – and the gods of the dead(?) and (of) *heledi*.<sup>28</sup>

I. 9. N 333 (Tlos)

Description: Inscription on a small altar found by Havva İşkan Işık during a survey in 1999. Edition: Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 104–106 with fig. 1–3.



Fig. 11 Photo of N 333 obverse (Havva İşkan Işık, August 1999).

28. For the translation of *eti* as “father” and alternative suggestions see Christiansen 2020a: 230 with note 264.

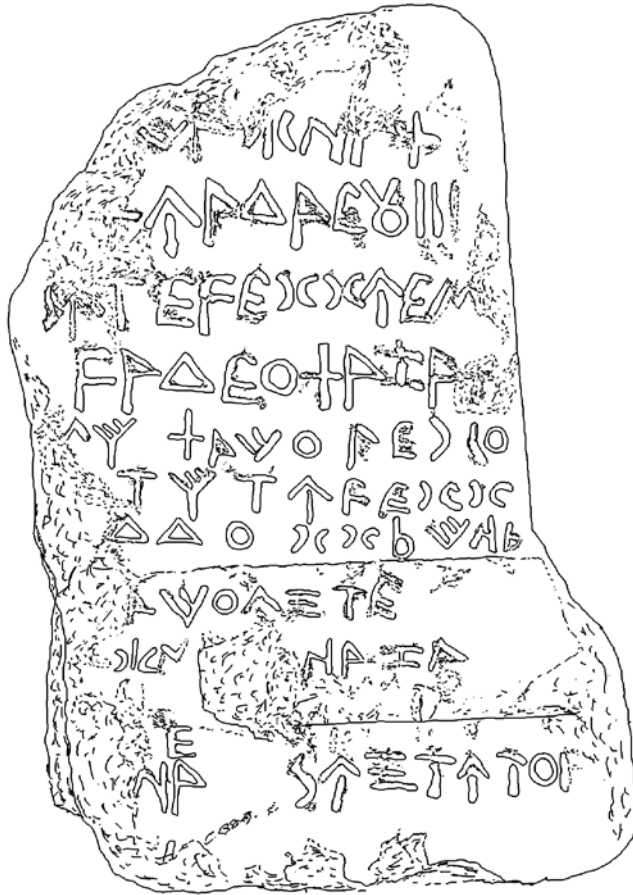


Fig. 12a: Tracing of N 333 obverse (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

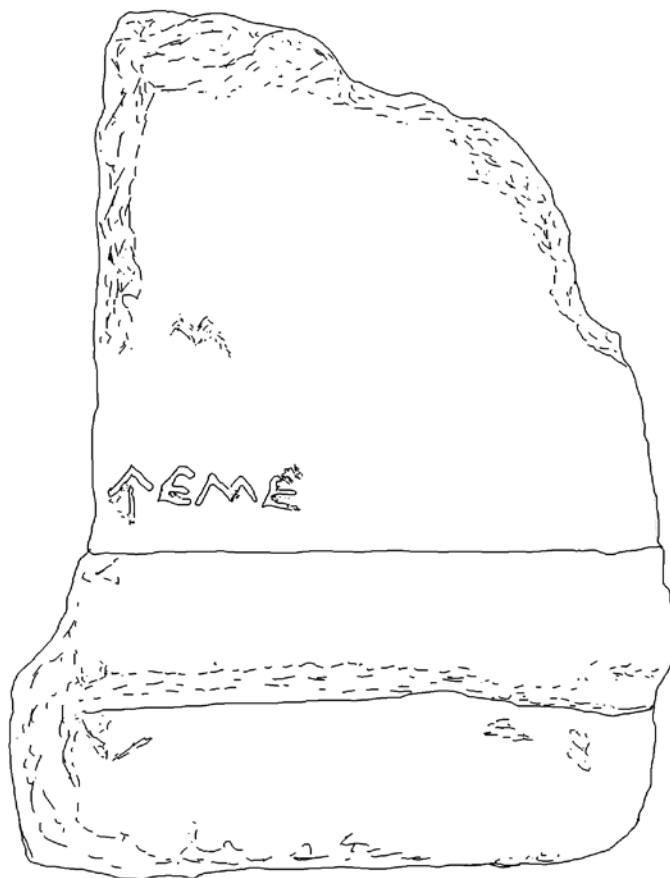


Fig. 12b: Tracing of N 333 reverse (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

Transliteration:

- 1 [..]ḫaḡṇaḥ
- 2 [..]ḫe adai ö ||<sup>29</sup>
- 3 [s]e' ṭiwiθθeim-
- 4 [i u]wadi uhaḡa[t]

29. Or, as per Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107) |||? See the commentary for further information.

- 5 [a]mēhaxupīθ<sup>30</sup>u-  
 6a [...]tē tewiθθ-  
 6b -eimi<sup>31</sup>  
 7 [...]ddu θθbānb<sup>32</sup>  
 8 [...]axulñti  
 9 q.<sup>33</sup>[...]naza  
 10 [---].i[---]  
 11 [---]na se ñte tuw[e---]

Translation:

(1-2) To [...]xaqna's [...]..<sup>32</sup> ð 2(?) ada.<sup>33</sup> (3-5a) [An]d<sup>34</sup> to Tiwiθθeimi with a cow yearly ...<sup>(5b-11a)</sup> And [...] .. Tewiθθeimi [...].. θθbānb<sup>32</sup> ...[...] ... [...]..<sup>(11b)</sup> and [they?] plac[e] inside [...].

Commentary: Line 2: Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107) restores [tu]he at the beginning of the line. Although this reading is plausible, other possibilities cannot be ruled out. According to Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107), the two vertical strokes at the end of the line are followed by a further one. However, since the surface of the stone is severely damaged, it is in my view not possible to determine with certainty whether the traces are the remains of a chiseled vertical stroke or due to damage of the stone. Interestingly, the preceding sign which is reproduced in the transliteration as ð (for the correct form see the photo and tracing of the inscription) is also attested on coins from Tlos (see, e.g., Müseler 2019: 42). As the preceding word *adai* suggests it is very likely to be interpreted as a number sign in the present inscription. Whether the same applies to the coins remains unclear.<sup>34</sup>

Line 5: Instead of <θu> Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107) suggests the reading *se* followed by <u> although the traces look rather like <θu>. The word boundaries and the analysis remain unclear.

Line 7: According to Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107), the sequence <du> is preceded by an <a> rather than a <d>. Consequently, he restores at the beginning of the line [se l<sup>3</sup>]adu. The first preserved letter is, however, rather a <d> than an <a>.

30. For the reading see the commentary.

31. The letter sequence is written on the reverse of the monument.

32. Maybe as per Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 106) [neph]ew.

33. Or, ð 3 *ada*.

34. Cf. Müseler 2019: 42 who speaks of a “linear sign”.

At the end of the line Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 107) reads <i> instead of <b> (*θθbāni*), but in my view <b> matches the traces better.

Line 9: Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 104) suggests the reading ]xqx[...]. However, only <q> is clearly visible on the photo. Before it, there are no remains of a letter recognizable to me. The traces behind <q> could also be interpreted as <n> which, however, is unlikely behind <q>.

#### I. 10. N 334 (Tlos)

Description: Inscription on a rock-cut tomb. Edition: Tekoğlu, 2002–2003: 106–107 with fig. 4–6; with improved readings and a discussion Christiansen 2020a: 192–193 with fig. 45–47.

##### Transliteration:

- 1 *ipresida*
- 2 *ajēta..dē*
- 3 *h armana-*
- 4 *zah; tidei-*
- 5 *mi: ikuweh*
- 6 *tedi: še prñ-*
- 7 *[n]ēzijeħ<i>: hrpp-*
- 8 *[i] ladi ehbi sē*
- 9 *tideime*
- 10 *šej=aitē aw-*
- 11 *qhāi ala-*
- 12 *dahali ada*
- 13 ||

##### Translation:

<sup>(1–7a)</sup>Ipresida, child of Ajēta..dē (and?) of Armanaza, father and household member of Ikuwe, <sup>(7b–9)</sup>for his wife and the children. <sup>(10–13)</sup>And the undertakers(?)<sup>35</sup> made the allocation(?): (an amount) of 2 ada (have been established for it).

35. For *awahāi* see Christiansen 2020a: 286–187 with further literature.



Fig. 13: N 334 (photograph: Ludwig Fliesser, August 2007).

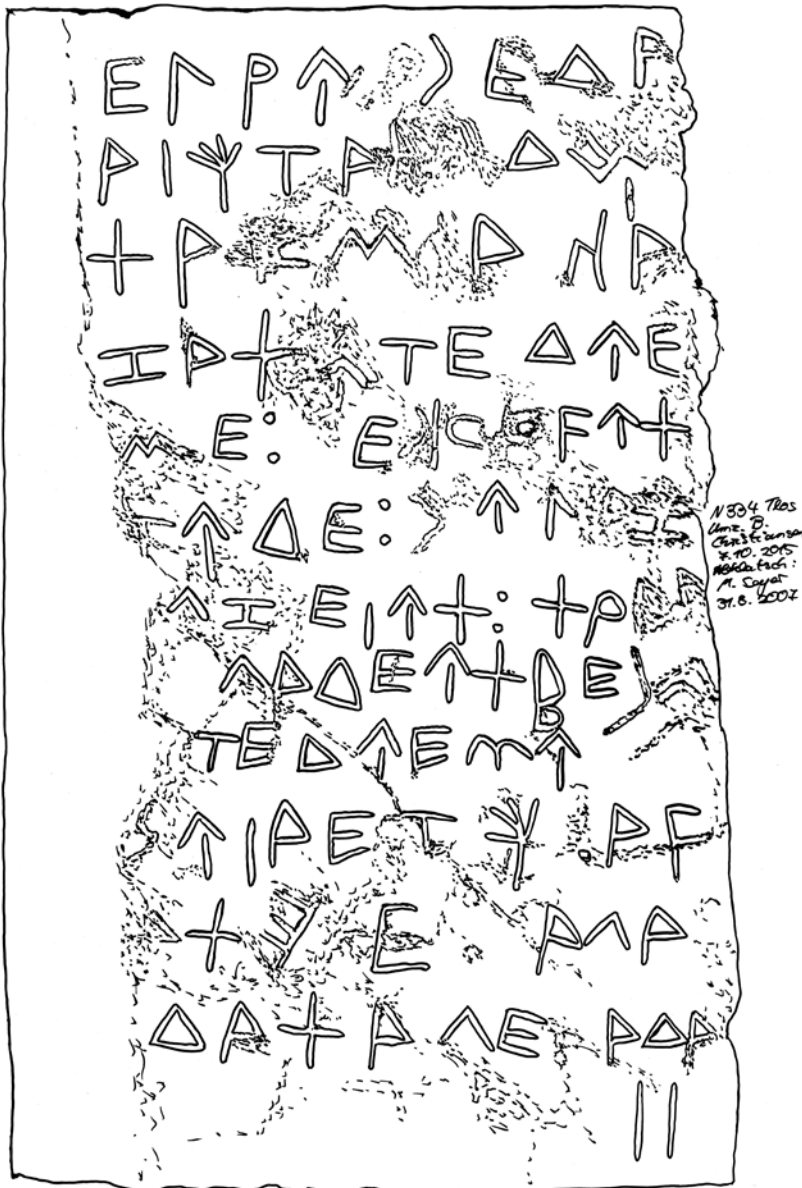


Fig. 14: Tracing of N 334 (Birgit Christiansen, October 2015) based on a paper squeeze (Martin Seyer, August 2007).

## I. 11. N 335 (Asartaş/Olympos)

Description: Two-line inscription on a rock-cut tomb. First Edition: Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 107–108 with fig. 7–8.

1 [ebēññē]: xupā: m=e=ti: prñnawatē: p'ē'r'epññi (vacat?)

2 – – – hanah tideimi

Translation:

<sup>(1)</sup>[This] tomb has built Perepñni(?), <sup>(2)</sup>son of [...]hana(?).

Commentary:

The beginning and end of both lines are heavily weathered. At the beginning of line 1 the demonstrative pronoun *ebēññe* is likely to be restored, which is apparently followed by *xupā* (see also Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 108). As for the name of the tomb builder, only the reading of the letter sequence <epñ> and the final <i> are quite safe while the remaining letters cannot be clearly determined (cf. also Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 108 who suggests the reading [.]e[.]epññ.i[.]). Aside from Perepñni, other readings such as Petepñni, Erepñni or Etepñni seem possible, too. The form apparently consists of the element *epñ* “afterwards”. Similar to *epññēne/i* “younger brother” the name possibly refers to the birth order (cf. also *epñte* “thereafter”, and *perepñ* “furthermore” or sim.). In line 2, the word *tideimi* is clearly visible (contra Tekoğlu 2002–2003: 108 who transliterates *tideime* although his drawing in fig. 8 shows *tideimi*). The preserved traces of the preceding letters suggest a reading <hanah> or <tanah>. Consequently, line 2 probably did not contain a dedication formula, as assumed by Tekoğlu (2002–2003: 108), but only a patronymic followed by the nom. sg. of *tideime/i*.





Fig. 15: Photo of N 335 (photograph: Regina Hügli, August 2005).



Fig. 16: Tracing of N 335 (Birgit Christiansen, August 2019) based on the photograph by Regina Hügli, August 2005.

## I. 12. N 336 (Pinara)

Description: six-line inscription on a one-storey rock-cut tomb situated in the southeast of the so-called mountain necropolis. Lines 1–3 are engraved on the upper crossbeam of the main structure, lines 4 and 5 on the outer frame of the door opening. Line 6, which is hardly recognizable, is engraved on the inner door frame. Edition: Kogler – Seyer 2007: 109–121.

Transliteration:

1 *ebēñni*: *x[upa m=e]ne prñnatā*:

2 *eseuwesa sp* – – –: *hrppi*:

3 – – –: *hri tātu ti*-

4 *ke kbi*: – – – *easa: tike: mah-*

5 *āna*:

6 *ar*[- – -]

Translation:

<sup>(1–3a)</sup>This t[omb has built?! Eseuwesa(?) ... for ... <sup>(3b–4a)</sup>And they should not place anyone else on top (or: in addition). <sup>(4b–6)</sup> ... anyone/anything for the gods ...

## I. 13. N 337 (Limyra)

Description: Fourteen-line inscription on a stone block. The right edge of the inscribed side is preserved with max. 1–3 characters broken away in some lines. The left edge is broken off, the original line length remains therefore unclear. Particularly the content of lines 7 and 8 suggests, however, that on the left side only little text has broken away. The upper edge of the inscribed side is worked, so that probably the first partially preserved line is the beginning of the text. The lower edge is broken away, but on contextual grounds it is probable that line 14 is very close to the original end of the text (cf. Fig. 4). Edition: Christiansen 2012: 141–153.

Dimensions: stone block: max. 45.6 x 33.8 x 34.4 cm. Letter height: ca. 1.1–2.5 cm; line spacing: average 1.3 cm.

1 [- – -] *t]eteri* *[x]ux[r]ñm[e/i]*

2 [- – -] *zi: ñtep: erēpl[.]*

- 3 [---]ane: me ñtejewẽ<sup>36</sup>  
 4 [---]plm̃<sup>7</sup>ñmadi xuxrñmezi  
 5 [---]: ãti weti: km̃mã[ta]  
 6 [---]: pride: xuxrñme[zi?]  
 7 [---]: xugahi: se: xñna[hi]  
 8 [hi---te]θθi: se=j=ẽnehi: me=i=n[i/e]  
 9 [---]: teteri xuxrñmezi  
 10 [---]ti: ñneti: plm̃madi (vacat)  
 11 [---]ða ñte=ije sm̃mãti (vacat)  
 12 [---]re: qehñniñmẽ<sup>37</sup> (vacat)  
 13 [---]ma=j=adi: tike (vacat)  
 14 [---]... zed̃i

Tentative translation:

<sup>(1)</sup>[... the ci]ty [X]ux[r]m̃m[e]<sup>38</sup> <sup>(2)</sup>[...] among(?) the power[ful(?)] <sup>(3-4)</sup>[...] and [...] of the sites(?) [with the descen]dants(?) the inhabitats of the city Xuxrñme <sup>(5)</sup>[...] how ma[n]y(?) ... there are] <sup>(6)</sup>[...] in front(?) of the [inhabitants of] the city Xuxrñme <sup>(7)</sup>[...] of the grandfather and grandmo[ther] <sup>(8)</sup>[...] of the [fa]ther and mother and <sup>(9)</sup>[...] the inhabitants of the city Xuxrñme <sup>(10)</sup>[...] who x-ses with the descendants(?) <sup>(11)</sup>[...] therein/in which they oblige(?) <sup>(12)</sup>[...] the acquired areas/territory(?) <sup>(13)</sup>[...] whoever does <sup>(14)</sup>[...] delivers regularly [...].

36. The analysis of the letter sequence is unclear. For an analysis as a gen. pl. of a noun such as “places” see Christiansen 2012: 145 with note 21 and further literature. For an alternative analysis as ñte=je=wẽ see Melchert 2004: 19 and 45 with further literature.

37. With the new fragment N 44g a further attestation is now to be found in TL 44b.25. See Schürr in Dönmez – Schürr 2015: 140.

38. Or: “[the inhabitants/citizens of the ci]ty [X]ux[r]m̃m[e]”.

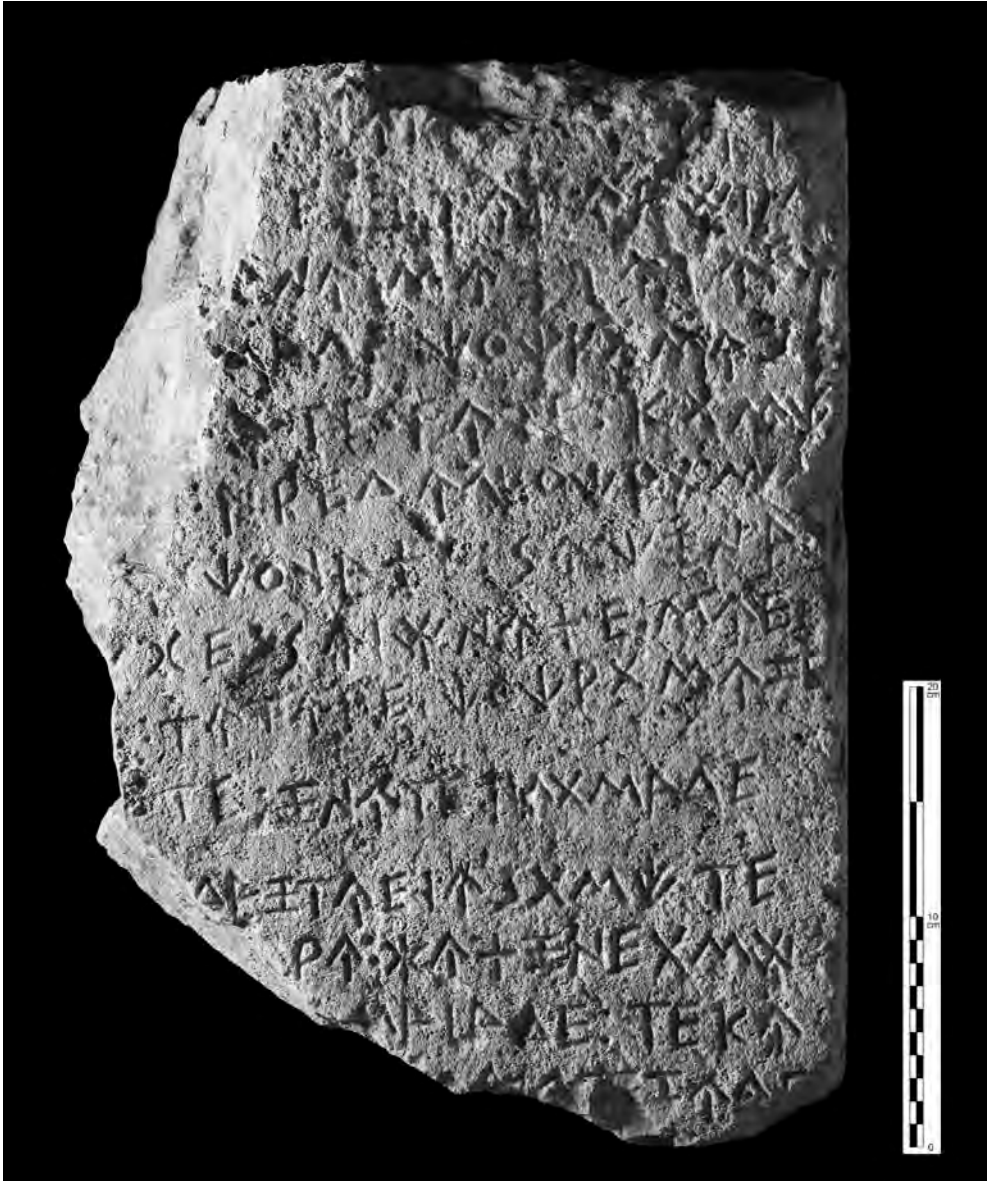


Fig. 17: Photo of N 337 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).

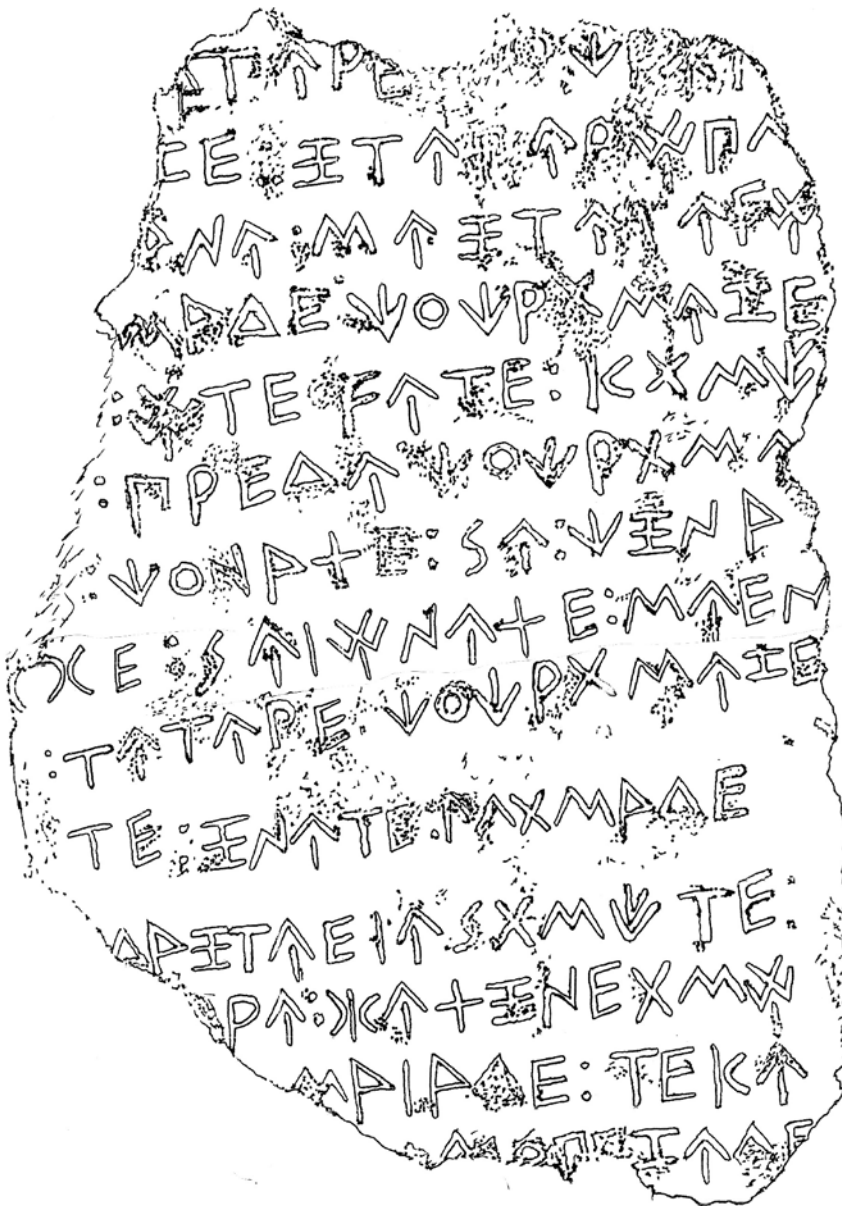


Fig. 18: Tracing of N 337 (Birgit Christiansen, December 12, 2009).

## 1. 14. N 338 (Limyra)

Description: Three-line inscription engraved on a one-storey rock-cut tomb with one door, situated in necropolis II in Limyra (tomb II/100). It was found during the campaign of the TL project in 1999 by Peter Ruggendorfer and Martina Pesditschek. The inscription is engraved on the upper cross-beam below the imitation of wooden structure. The text is heavily weathered and only partly readable. Some characters can be identified with relative certainty, others remain uncertain or are completely unreadable.

Dimensions: Inscribed surface: ca. 42.0 x 8.0 cm; letter height: 1.2 – 2.7 cm; distance between the letters within a line: ca. -0.3 (overlapping letters) – 1.0 cm; distance between lines 1 and 2: 0.1 – 0.7 cm; distance between lines 2 and 3: 0.6 – 1.2 cm.



Fig. 19: Photo of N 338 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 20: Tracing of N 338 (Birgit Christiansen, August 2019).

Transliteration:

- 1 *ebēñ[ne]: xupu m=e=ti prññawatē: zzidubi:*
- 2 *e[....]eī[...]. ṭideimi: hrppi ladi ehbi*
- 3 *[-----]..e..e: e.ã.*

Translation:

- <sup>(1)</sup>Thi[s] tomb built Zzidubi(?), <sup>(2)</sup>son of ..., for his wife <sup>(3)</sup>[...] ...

Commentary: Although the beginning of line 2 and the entire line 3 are almost illegible, some observations can be made about the text. The preserved parts show that it is a standard tomb inscription. It very likely begins with the demonstrative pronoun *ebēñne*, of which, however, only the first two letters are identifiable with relative certainty. It is succeeded by the designation of the tomb in the accusative singular ending in *-u*. Following the conjunction *me*, the denasalized enclitic accusative pronoun *-e*, and the reflexive particles *-ti*, we find the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular preterite of the verb *prñnawa-* and the name of the grave owner. The letters, and among them especially the third one, are not clearly identifiable, but a reading

*Zzidubi* seems quite likely. At the beginning of line 2 a patronymic might be restored which is succeeded by *tideimi*. It is followed by the usual beneficiary clause *hrppi ladi ehbi* “for his wife”. Since line 3 is almost illegible, it remains unclear whether other persons were named as beneficiaries or whether the text was continued in another manner.

Dating criteria: As far as the poor state of preservation allows an assessment, the text does not contain any letter variants suggesting a dating into the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The inscription shows the younger variant of <*p*> consisting of a vertical and oblique stroke, and maybe also the younger variant of <*x*> with the vertical line in the center shifted to the left. Yet, since these variants in Eastern Lycia are already attested in inscriptions from the reign of Perikle and in Western Lycia even appear in one of Erbbina’s inscriptions (N 325), they cannot be regarded as evidence of a late date of origin.<sup>39</sup>

More informative might be the accusative ending in *-u* which becomes more frequent over time. However, since it is already attested in inscriptions from the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, it is also no proof of late dating either.<sup>40</sup>

#### I 15. N 339 (Limyra)

One-line inscription engraved on a one-storey rock-cut tomb with one door, situated in necropolis V in Limyra (tomb V/67). It was found during the campaign of the TL project in 1999 by Zeynep Kuban. The text is incised in the upper beam under the roof which shows the typical imitation of wooden structure. The inscription is heavily weathered and only partly legible. Some characters can be identified with some certainty, others remain unclear. The reading is also impeded by the fact that the inscription shows no standard formula. This, however, makes it also interesting and challenging. Furthermore, it is a good example to illustrate the difficulties of epigraphic work. As is the case with other inscriptions, the remains of the letters on the front of the paper squeeze sometimes seem to suggest a different reading than those on the reverse of the photo.

Dimensions: Inscribed surface: ca. 118.0 x 9.0 cm; letter height: ca. 4.0 – 7.0 cm; distance between the letters within the line: 1.0 – 4.0 cm.

39. For Limyra see, e.g., TL 103 and TL 133 (Perikle, ca. 380–360/50) which show both the younger variant of <*p*> and <*x*>. The younger variant of <*p*> is also attested in TL 135, whose author calls himself “collacteus of Trbbēnini (ca. 430–380). For Western Lycia see N 325 (Erbbina, first decade of 4<sup>th</sup> century). For a detailed discussion see Christiansen (in press).

40. For a detailed discussion see Christiansen (forthcoming).





Fig. 21: Photo of N 339 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 22: Tracing of N 339 (Birgit Christiansen, March 2017).

Commentary: The inscription begins apparently with a form of *ebe-* “this”. Although especially the fourth letter is hardly visible, the traces are most likely to be interpreted as a gen. pl. *ebehẽ* or *ebẽhẽ* followed by word divider. Both forms are also attested in other inscriptions with *ebehẽ* occurring more frequently: TL 54b.1.3<sup>1</sup> (see above); TL 149.5 and N 314b.5 (*ebehẽ*); TL 44a.18 (*ebẽhẽ*).

The following letters are strongly weathered. This is especially true for the first two letters, whereas the following three letters are better preserved. The third one is relatively clearly identifiable as *<n̄>*, the following signs are probably to be identified as *<n>* and *<a>*. Since this sequence of letters is otherwise known in the noun *prñnawa-* “building, house” which in several inscriptions is attested in the

accusative as a designation of the burial monument (cf., e.g., TL 4.1, 9.1, 11.1, 14.1 and in Limyra TL 149.1), one might think of a similar form here. In fact, the remains of the first two letters are compatible with the reading <p> and <r>.

The letters following the sequence <ñna> are, however, not to be identified as <wa>, but as <me>. Accordingly, the form attested here would not be *prñnawa*, but the otherwise unattested basic form *prñna*- “house, building” in the nom. sg. followed by the conjunction *me*.<sup>41</sup> Among the letters following the sequence *me*, some are to be identified with greater certainty than others. The preserved remains suggest the reading *zzajieleiah* as the name of the tomb owner in the genitive case. Accordingly, the reading of the whole inscription would be as follows:

Tentative transliteration:

*ebēhē: prñna me zzajieleiah*

Tentative translation:

The building(?) of (or: among) these/those (monuments) is that of Zzajieleia(?).

Thus, the inscription would be of a similar type as the one attested in TL 100 which reads: *ebe xupa me tibeija* “This tomb is the one of Tibeija”.

Alternative reading:

Instead of the otherwise unattested tomb designation *prñna* in the nominative singular, a reading *mñna* would also be conceivable. The following sequence *me* might then be part of the name of the tomb owner followed by a patronymic *zzajieleiah* (or sim.). The reading might then be:

*ebēhē: mñname zzajieleiah*

(The owner/builder) of these (tombs) is Mñname(?), (child) of Zzajieleia(?).

Archaeological and architectural context: The tomb bearing N 339 (V/67) is located together with two other tombs (V/65 and V/66) on the same rock face.<sup>42</sup> Neither of these two tombs bears an inscription. This fact might explain why N 339

41. For an alternative reading see further below.

42. For the archaeological situation see Kuban 2012: 346–348.

starts with the demonstrative pronoun in the genitive plural. Perhaps the tomb owner wanted to make clear that the tombs belonged together and at the same time emphasize that tomb V/67 is the one which belongs to him.

If the second word of the inscription is to be read as a personal name *Mñname* the inscription would not only refer to tomb V/67, but also to the neighboring tombs V/65 and V/66 as belonging to Mñname, child of Zzajieleia.

Dating criteria: The preserved text contains neither significant palaeographic nor linguistic dating criteria.

I. 16. N 340a and N 340b (Limyra)

Description: Two small stone fragments that have been found in August 2004 in the Byzantine western city of Limyra as stray finds. Both fragments are now kept in the Limyra depot. Since both fragments are identical in material, surface structure, and writing, they belong in all likelihood to the same object. If in N 340a.3 the word *sttala-* is to be restored, the object might be classified as a stela. The present edition is based on an autopsy in July 2009 and photographs taken in the same year.

N 340a

Dimensions: Object: width: 14 cm, height: 10.5 cm, depth: 13 cm. Since a part of the reverse is preserved, the depth equals that of the original object. Inscription: Letter height: 1.8 – 2.2 cm; distance between the letters within a line: 0.5 – 0.7 cm; line spacing: 1.1 – 1.4 cm.



Fig. 23: Photo of N 340a (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 24: Tracing of N 340a (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

## Transliteration:

- 1' [---]k/q.[---]  
 2' [---]ibeñn[---]  
 3' [---]qstta[---]<sup>43</sup>

## Morphem-analytic transliteration:

- 1' [---]k/q.[---]  
 2' [---t]ibe=ñn[e---]  
 3' [---]q stt.[---]<sup>44</sup>

## Translation:

- 1' [...] ... [...]  
 2' [...] o)r the[m ...]  
 3' [...] ... [...]

Commentary: The fragment shows the remains of three lines. Line 1 is almost completely broken away. At the break edge are the remains of one letter visible which might be interpreted as <q> or <k>. Behind it are traces of a letter that could be an <ā>, <ē> or <x>. Of line 2' three letters are completely preserved. The last letter is broken at the right side, but can with certainty be identified as <n>. The first letter on the left which is partly broken is likely an <i>. Line 3' shows at the beginning a partly broken <a> followed by the letter sequence <stt>.<sup>45</sup> This is succeeded by a partially broken letter, which is likely to be interpreted as an <a>. If so, the word might be restored as *sttala* “stela” or a form of *stta*- “stand, remain”.

## N 340b

Dimensions: Object: width: 10.5 cm, height: 6.5 cm, depth: 9.8 cm. Inscription: letter height: 1.8 – 2.2 cm; distance between the letters within a line: 0.5 – 0.8 cm; line spacing: 1.0 – 1.4 cm.

43. The right side of the letter <a>, i.e. a part of a horizontal and an oblique stroke, is clearly visible on the stone, whereas it is only poorly visible on the photo taken by Ludwig Fliesser in July 2009 (fig. 21).

44. The segmentation remains unclear.

45. The right side of the letter <a>, i.e. a part of a horizontal and an oblique stroke, is clearly visible on the stone. In contrast, only traces of the letter can be seen on the present photo.



Fig. 25: Photo of N 340b (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).

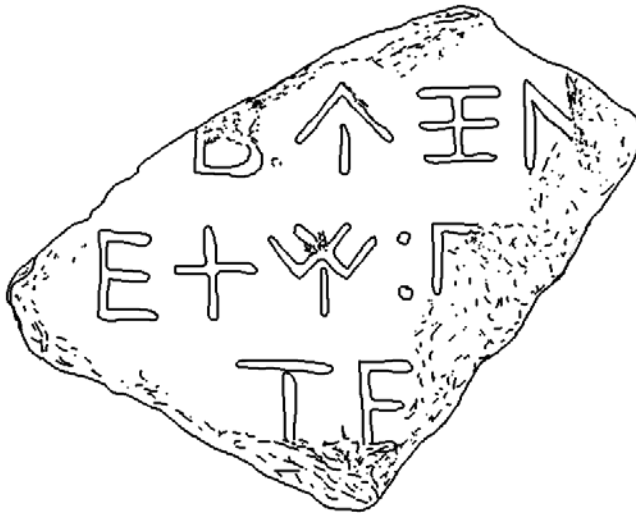


Fig. 26: Tracings of N 340b (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

## Transliteration:

1' [---]bēñ[---]

2' [.]ihē:p[---]

3' [.]ti[---]

## Morphemanalytical transliteration:

1' [--- ti]bē=ñn[e ---]

2' [---]ihē: p[---]

3' [---]ti[---]

## Translation:

1' [... o]r th[em ...]

2' [...] ... [...]

3' [...] ... [...]

Commentary: The fragment shows the rest of three lines. The first letter on the left of line 1' is partly broken away, but is most likely to be identified as <b>. The following two letters <e> and <ñ> are fully preserved. The next letter is partly broken, but likely to be identified as <n>. In line 2' the sequence <ihē> and a word divider are recognizable. The next letter is broken on the right side and cannot be identified with certainty. The vertical stroke and the remainders of an upper horizontal and one or two further horizontal strokes suggest the reading <i>, <p> or <w>. The following letter is almost completely broken away at its surface.

Line 3' shows only two letters that are broken at the bottom. Their reading remains unsure. The first is either a <t> or <z>, depending on whether the traces at the bottom are the remains of a horizontal stroke or not. The following letter is likely to be interpreted as <e>. The rest of the text cannot be reconstructed. Likewise, the original extent of the text as well as the placement of the fragments can neither be determined through the form of the fragments nor the preserved text.

Dating criteria: The fragment contains neither significant paleographic nor linguistic dating criteria. The letter variants are all found in inscriptions dating back to the dynastic period.

## I. 17. N 341 (Xanthos)

Description: N 341 is inscribed on a rock-cut tomb that has been accidentally destroyed in the course of construction works on the street of Xanthos (Inv. n° 2002-13). Aside from the Lycian inscription, the tomb bears also a Greek epitaph dating in the Roman Imperial period. It is engraved on the roof above the imitation



of wooden structure. For a brief description of the text see Baker – Thériault 2003: 433. The Lycian inscription consists of five lines. The first four lines (part 1) are incised upon the upper beam below the imitation of the wooden construction, the fifth line (part 2) is engraved on the upper part of the door frame. Edition: Aside from the edition in the present article the text has also been discussed in Christiansen 2020a: 203–205 with fig. 69–71. For the Greek text see Baker – Thériault 2003: 433.

Dimensions: Part 1: inscribed surface: ca. 56.0 x 14.0 cm; distance between lines 1 and 2: 0.3 – 1.7 cm; distance between lines 2 and 3: 0.7 – 1.7 cm; distance between lines 3 and 4: 0.7 – 2.2 cm; letter height: ca. 1.4 – 2.8 cm; distance between the letters within the lines: -0.2 (overlapping letters) – 1.0 cm; distance between letter and word divider: 1.1 – 1.9 cm.

Part 2: Inscribed surface: 28.0 x 5.0 cm; letter height: ca. 2.4 – 3.3 cm; distance between the letters within the line: 0.5 – 1.7 cm.



Fig. 27: Photo of N 341 (Ludwig Fliesser, September 2007).



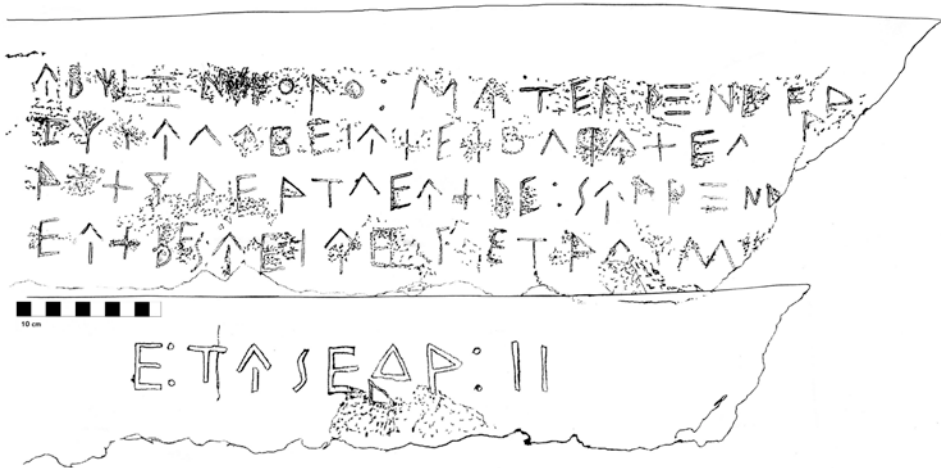


Fig. 28: Tracing of N 341 based on the original stone inscription  
(Birgit Christiansen, July 2009).

Transliteration:

1. *ebēññē xupu: m=e=ti prñnawa-*
2. *tē .elewijehi xudrehil-*
3. *aḥ hrpī atli ehbi: se prñna[z]*
4. *i ehbi se=ije ..i taḍē m[iñt-]*
5. *i tesi ada: ||*

Translation:

- <sup>(1)</sup>This tomb has built <sup>(2)</sup>.?elewijehi(?) [(the child)] <sup>(2-3)</sup>of Xudrehila(?) <sup>(3)</sup>for himself and for <sup>(3-4)</sup>his house[hold]<sup>(?)</sup>/hou[s]e<sup>(?)</sup>. <sup>(4)</sup>And he has established <sup>(4-5)</sup>for the *m[ind]is*<sup>(?)</sup> <sup>(5)</sup>under oath/by (means of) a sworn agreement 2 *ada*.

Commentary: While the end of the *ada* formula in line 5 of the Lycian text can be read very clearly, the partially erased signs of the preceding four lines can only with great difficulty be deciphered. However, on closer inspection, most parts of the text can be recognized. Thus, it can be said with certainty that the inscription starts with a building formula with a beneficiary phrase. The tomb builder's name, which is likely to be read *.elewijehi*, is followed by a patronym, which might be read *Xudrehila*– a personal name which is otherwise attested in the nominative in TL 73 (Korba) and TL 132.1 (Limyra).

An extraordinary feature of the inscription is that the beneficiary phrase mentions the tomb owner himself and presumably his household (*prñna[z]i*) instead of *prñnezi* as in other inscriptions) or his house (*prñna[w]i* in a metonymic sense). The beneficiary phrase was likely followed by a verbal type of *ada* formula with the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. pret. of the verb *ta-* (possibly preceded by *ñta* or *ñte*), the noun *tesi* in the dat.-loc. sg. and *ada* + number sign. The 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. of the verb *ta-* is followed by an <*m*>. The end of the line is not preserved. Since at the beginning of line 5 an <*i*> is preserved, *tadē* was probably followed by *miñti*. If so, N 341 would be the only known inscription in which the word *tesi* is not followed but preceded by *miñti*.

#### I. 18. N 342 a and b (Tlos)

Description: two inscriptions on a rock-cut tomb. The first inscription is located on the upper crossbeam and consists of two lines. The first line of the second inscription is placed on the beam right below, the second consists of four lines and starts on the main beam left to the door and continues on the upper door frame and the doorstone. According to the text, both inscriptions were made by the same tomb owner. Edition: Korkut – Tekoğlu 2019: 169–188.

Transliteration:

N 342a

1 *Qñturahi=ti: prñnawate: Terssipuleh*

2. *sedi: se pibiti: awaha: aladahali ada <*

Translation:

<sup>(1-2a)</sup>Qñturahi, the son-in-law(?) of Terssipule has built it. <sup>(2b)</sup>And they give the undertakers(?) for the allocation(?) 5(?) ada.

Transliteration:

N 342b

1 *Qñturahi=ti prñnawate se Terssipulih*

2 *sedi se tuhes se=ije=ñte*

3 *tātē tesi miñti: alada-*

4 *hali ada <*

Translation:

(1–2a) Qñturahi, both the son-in-law(?) and nephew of Terssipuli has built it.<sup>46</sup>

(2b–4) And they have established for the Mindis under oath (by means of a sworn contract) for the allocation(?) 5(?) ada.”

I. 19. N 343 (Tlos)

Description: stone fragment with a Lycian-Greek bilingual text. Edition: Christiansen 2020b: 262–272 with a detailed commentary on the readings and the relationship between the two versions.



Fig. 29: Photo of N 343 (Martin Zimmermann, August 2010).

46. A particular feature of this inscription is the phrase *se ... se* “both” which is otherwise not attested.

Transliteration:

Lycian version (N 343a)

1 [— —] ... [— —]

2 [Pt<sup>2</sup>e<sup>2</sup>]una Pah [— —]

Tentative translation:

(1) [...] ... [...] (2) [Pte]una<sup>(?)</sup>, son of Pa [...].<sup>47</sup>

Greek version (N 343b)

1 vacat Τλωέων [— —]

2 [— — Π]τευνας<sup>48</sup> [— —]

Tentative translation:

(1-2) For the citizens of Tlos [... P]teunas [...].

Hypothetical reconstruction based on both versions:

(1) For the citizens of Tlos (2) Pteunas, son of Pa [has erected/donated this statue].

#### I. 20. N 344 (Xanthos)

Two-line Lycian inscription on a half-buried one-storey rock-cut tomb found in the East of the Northern necropolis of Xanthos. The text is engraved on the upper cross-beam below the imitation of wooden structure. In addition to the Lycian inscription the tomb bears also a later Greek inscription which will be published by Patrick Baker. The design of the chamber is unknown. Autopsy: September 2009 in the framework of the TL project. Edition: Before the edition in the present article the text has already been presented in Christiansen 2020a: 204–205 with fig. 72–74.

Dimensions: inscribed surface: ca. 98.0 x 11.0 cm; distance between lines 1 and 2: 1.6 – 3.0 cm; letter height: ca. 2.3 – 4.0 cm; distance between the letters within the line: -0.3 (overlapping letters) – 1.7 cm.

47. It is unclear whether the <h> following <pa> marks the genitive of a personal name *Pa* or whether it is part of the personal name whose ending is lost.

48. Or Π]τευνας or *sim*.



Fig. 30: Photo of N 344 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).



Fig. 31: Tracing of N 344 based on the original stone inscription (Birgit Christiansen, July 2009).

Transliteration:

1. *ebēñnē; xupu: m=ē=ti prñnawatē[:]<sup>49</sup> pddēxñta*
2. *hrppi ladi; ehbi; se tideime: tesi; ada || –*

49. According to the photographs taken in July 2009 *prñnawatē* is followed by slight traces which probably are to be interpreted as remains of a word divider.

Translation:

<sup>(1)</sup>This tomb has built Pddēχñta <sup>(2)</sup>for his wife and the children. Under oath/by (means of) a sworn contract 2 ½ *ada*.

Dating criteria: The inscription shows the younger variant of <χ> with the vertical line in the center shifted to the left. Yet, since this variant in Eastern Lycia is already attested in inscriptions from the reign of Perikle and in Western Lycia already appears in one of Erbbina's inscriptions (N 325), it cannot be regarded as evidence of a late date of origin.<sup>50</sup> A further dating criterion which might indicate a later date of origin is the accusative ending *-u* instead of *-ā*. However, since it already appears in inscriptions dating back to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, it cannot be regarded as sufficient proof of a late dating either.<sup>51</sup>

#### I. 21. N 345 (currently unassigned)

The number was provisionally assigned to a one-line inscription on a stone block which was found in 2006 by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault during a sondage in the area of the inscribed pillar of Xanthos. The inscription consists of 3 characters which were initially mistaken for the Lycian letters <e>, <u> and <b>. Now that the photos of the object have been rediscovered, the object could be identified by Peter Weiß (Emeritus Professor of Ancient History at the University of Kiel) as a weight (presumably an urban market weight). According to Weiß (personal communication), the first sign is to be interpreted as the sign for Li(tra), the Roman pound (written with the Greek letter lambda and an inscribed iota), followed by the Greek number sign OB for 72. Hence, the inscription is to be read as "72 litres", i.e. approx. 23576.40 g. My thanks go also to Diether Schürr, for establishing the contact with Peter Weiß. A publication of the inscription is now planned by Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault in their corpus of Greek inscriptions from Lycia. The number N 345 is therefore currently unassigned.

50. See footnote 39.

51. For a detailed discussion see Christiansen (forthcoming).



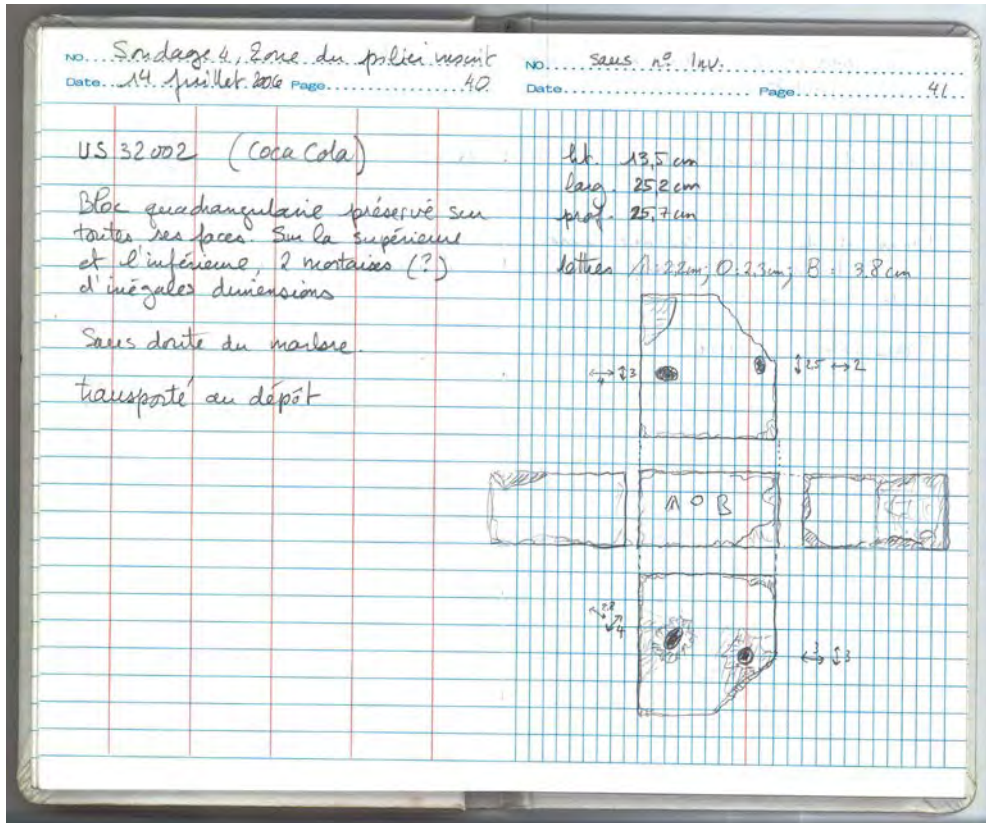


Fig. 32: Sketchbook entry of Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault from July 14, 2006.

#### I. 22. N 346 (Limyra)

The inscription consists of one fully preserved and two or three partly preserved letters engraved on a sherd of clay. Both the fact that the sherd was found in Limyra and the writing suggest that the text is to be interpreted as a Lycian inscription. However, due to the poor state of preservation, there is no complete certainty about this.



Fig. 33: Photo of N 346 (Ludwig Fliesser, July 2009).

Transliteration:

1 [— —]xθ<sup>52</sup>[— —]

Commentary: The first fully preserved letter is to be classified as <x>. It is followed by one or two letters which are almost completely broken away. If it is only one letter, it might be interpreted as <θ> or <m>. For linguistic reasons, the latter is, however, unlikely. More probable is the sequence <xθ> which is attested in the words *xθθase* (TL 131.4) and *xθθā* (TL 44b.38'–39'.58) and the corresponding genitive adjective *xθθāna* (N 318.7, N 326.2) whose meaning remains obscure. Alternatively, the preserved chisel traces could be the remains of two letters, which might be interpreted as <l> and <ā>. The sequence <xl> is attested in the word *xla*–“take control, dominate” and the personal name *Xlasitiḷi*<sup>53</sup> (N 310.2). Furthermore,

52. Or rather: *xl*?

53. For the reading see now Schürr (preprint). However, since only traces of the letter are left, the reading *Xlasitiḷi* suggested by Neumann (1979: 26) cannot be completely ruled out.



it is part of the word *sixla*- “shekel”, *asaxlaza*- “governor” and the administrative title *haxlaza*-. In an inscription on a vessel, an administrative title or a personal name would fit quite well. However, the sequence of letters could also be a kind of monogram as it is attested, for example, in TL 99.3.

Dating criteria: The preserved text contains neither significant paleographic nor linguistic dating criteria. The variant of <x> is already attested in TL 76 dating back to the reign of Harpagos (second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century).

#### I. 23. N 347 (Xanthos)

Description: Fragmentarily preserved stone inscription consisting of the remains of one line. It is registered under the inventory number 142 and is kept in the Letôon depot. During the TL campaign in July 2009, I was able to make an autopsy and a rough sketch of the fragment (fig. 32). Unfortunately, neither a photo nor a paper squeeze is available to me. Furthermore, I have no information about the exact location and circumstances of the find. According to the files of the TL project, the fragment was found by Laroche.

The fragment consists of two fully preserved letters <d> and <a> which are preceded by one broken letter which is likely to be interpreted as an <a>.

*Inv. Nr. 142*

*30.7.2009*

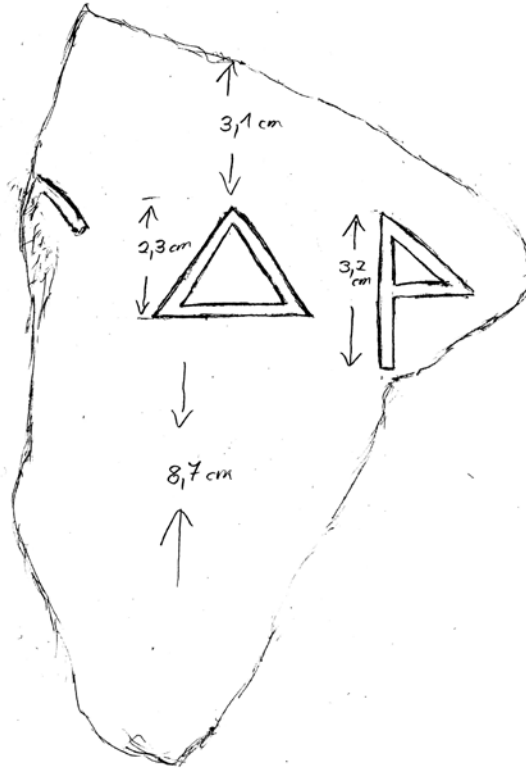


Fig. 34: Sketch of the object by Birgit Christiansen from July 31, 2009.

Dimensions of the object: Height 17 cm; width 11.8 cm (depth not recorded).  
Letter height: 2.3–3.2 cm.

Transliteration:

*ada* [— —]

## I. 24. N 351 (Beykonak)

Description: Two-line inscription on a one-storey bipartite rock-cut tomb with imitation of wooden construction. The name of the tomb builder and the patronymic are the same as in TL 127 located in necropolis III in Limyra whereas the beneficiary clause is different.<sup>54</sup> A particular feature of N 351 is that the patronymic is mentioned in line 1 and thus before the two builders. For syntactic reasons, it is to be assumed that the patronymic was accidentally omitted and later added.<sup>55</sup>

Dimensions: line length: line 1: 53.0 cm, line 2: 121.0 cm; letter height: 1.8 – 3.0 cm; distance between the letters within a line: -0.2 (overlapping letters) – 4.0 cm; line spacing: 0.8 – 2.7 cm.

Edition: Tekoğlu in Seyer – Tekoğlu 2009: 217–226 with fig. 6. Since the publication contains only a photo of a paper squeeze, on which the inscription is very difficult to recognize, the present article presents a tracing.



Fig. 35: Photo of N 351 (Regina Hügli, August 2009).



Fig. 36: Tracing of N 351 (Birgit Christiansen, September 2019).

## Transliteration:

1 *apñuxah: tideimi*

2 *štamaha=ti: prñnawate: hrppi ladi: se tideime: se x{b}ahba*

54. In TL 127 the patronymic is spelled *epñuxa* and thus slightly different from N 351. The beneficiary clause in TL 127 is only partly preserved. The beneficiary mentioned first remains unclear. In second place the nephews (*tuhe*) are listed, in third the *muneite* (relatives) and in fourth place the grandchildren.

55. This is indicated by the position of the reflexive particle *-ti* which can only go on the first word of a clause. Furthermore, in case of a fronted patronymic, it should be followed by the conjunction *me*. Alternatively, a purely graphical highlighting of the patronymic might be considered. An indication of this might be seen in the approximately central orientation of line 1 in relation to line 2.

## Translation:

<sup>(2)</sup>Stamaha, <sup>(1)</sup>the child of Apñuxuxa, <sup>(2)</sup>has built it for the wife and children and the grandchildren.

## I. 25. N 352 (Tlos)

Description: fragment of a funerary inscription with only four letters preserved. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 1.

## Transliteration:

1' [---]eñte[---]

## I. 26. N 353 (Tlos)

Description: fragment of a tomb inscription of which only some letters of two lines are preserved. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 2.

## Transliteration:

1' [---]ş[---]<sup>56</sup>

2' [---]ereh dđ[---]<sup>57</sup>

3' [---]hı[---]

## I. 27. N 354 (Tlos)

Description: fragment of an inscription of unclear contents. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 (without transliteration) and pl. 3.

1' [---].h[---]

2' [---]tē<sup>58</sup> [---]

## I. 28. N 355 (Zindan, near Tlos)

Description: fragment of an inscription of unclear contents with three letters preserved. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 64 and pl. 4.<sup>59</sup>

56. According to Tekoğlu (2017: 64) only the remains of two lines of the inscription are preserved. However, the photo shows the remains of another letter above the alleged first line, which is presumably to be interpreted as an <ş>.

57. According to Tekoğlu (2017: 64) the letter is to be interpreted as an <e>. In my view, however, the reading <d> seems more likely.

58. Or </>?

Transliteration:

1' [---]ele[---]

#### I. 29. N 356a and b (Tlos)

Description: two inscriptions on a marble block found in the ruins near the great bath. Both inscriptions consist of five lines which are partly parallel to each other and TL 28. Some missing passages can thus be reconstructed from the other two texts. However, there are also several deviations and cruces. In the following, some problems will be discussed. More detailed treatment is not possible, as this, *inter alia*, would require an autopsy of the inscriptions. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 63–68 and pl. 5–7. The following transliteration is solely based on Tekoğlu's reading and the photographs provided in his edition (pl. 5–7).

Dimensions: According to Tekoğlu (2017: 64), the marble block measures 110 x 80 x 52 cm. The right side of inscription a and the left side of inscription b are broken away. The distance to the broken edges is not given in the publication. The same is true for the height of letters and line spacing. To make it easier to compare the three inscriptions, they are all presented in their wording in the following table.

TL 28	N 356a	N 356b
1 <i>ñte=ne putinezi tuw</i> [---]	1 [.....] <i>putin</i> [e]zi <i>tuwete</i>	1 <i>ñ</i> [---]
2 <i>prijabuhāmah kbatru n</i> [---]	2 [ <i>prija</i> ]buhāmah kbatru <i>ehbi</i>	2 <i>prij</i> [---]
3 <i>mlttaimi mrbbanada</i> [---]	3 [.....]tiweh <i>tezñ</i> <sup>60</sup> <i>puwejeññ</i>	3 <i>hrppi</i> [---]
4 <i>ladu uwitahñ xahb</i> [u]	4 [ <i>lad</i> ]u uwitahñ xahbu	4 <i>ladu u</i> [---]
5 <i>apuwazahi p</i> [r]ñnezijehi	5 [ <i>apuwa</i> ]zahi prñnezijehi	5 <i>apuwaza</i> [---]

Commentary: A remarkable feature of the two new inscriptions is that they do not contain any word dividers as it is also the case with TL 28. Neither are the word boundaries clearly marked by spaces. Instead, the (presumably) first letter of a word is sometimes placed very close to the last letter of the preceding word, while the distance to the following letter is bigger (cf., e.g., *tezñ* (or *tezi*) *puwejeññ*

59. In a paper presented in February 2017 in Munich on the conference “Current Research on Lycian. International Workshop of the Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages” organised by Zsolt Simon, Tekoğlu presented another fragment found in Zindan which contains the letters *wat*. If the two fragments belong together the one listed above should be classified as N 355a and the other one as N 355b. If not, the still unpublished fragment should be given a separate number.

60. Or rather *tezñ* as per Tekoğlu 2017: 64.

in N 356a. 3 and [apuwa]zahi prñezijehi in N 356a.4). Concerning paleography, the inscriptions show the younger variants of <p>, consisting of a vertical and an oblique stroke, and <x> with the central stroke shifted either to the left or to the right. However, since both forms already appear in inscriptions from Erbbina's reign, they cannot be taken as evidence for a young date of origin.<sup>61</sup> The same is true for the accusative ending -u instead of -ã.<sup>62</sup>

In terms of linguistics and content, the inscription presents some problems. Due to the sentence structure with ñte=ne shifted to the beginning of the sentence the last vowel of the verb should be nasalized.<sup>63</sup> Thus, the verb at the end of line 1 of TL 28 has so far been completed to *tuwetẽ*. N 356a.1, however, shows *tuwete*. Accordingly, it remains unclear how the text started. If the text began with ñte=ne and thus with a proleptic accusative pronoun, *tuwete* would probably be a misspelling with an accidental omission of the nasal vowel.<sup>64</sup> Noticeable are the differences between the three inscriptions in lines 2 and 3. Thus the accusative *kbatru* in TL 28.2 is followed by <n> (if the reading is correct), while N 356a has *ehbi*. The interpretation of line 3 is difficult in all three inscriptions. In N 356a it is complicated by the fact that the letters following <tez> are hard to decipher. According to Tekoğlu (2017: 64), the sequence is followed by an <i>. Based on this, he suggests the reading *tezi puwejehñ* as the second and third word of the line. Although the photo published by Tekoğlu does not allow a reliable identification, the letter following <tez> could in my opinion also be an <ñ>. The supposed carved vertical stroke might be a crack in the stone that begins above the letter and runs through the line (fig. 35a and b). In addition, also the position of the word within a number of terms of relationship speaks against the reading *tezi* "(sepulchral) monument, sarcophagus".<sup>65</sup> If *tezñ* is to be read instead, the word is likely an accusative of a previously unknown kinship term or title on which a certain name in the genitive

61. See Christiansen (in press).

62. See Christiansen (forthcoming).

63. See Garrett 1991: 15–26.

64. On the nasalization of the Lycian preterites see, e.g., Garrett 1991: 15–26; Garrett 1992: 200–212; Goldstein 2014: 120–124; Adiego 2015: 1–30. A similar construction as in N 356a is attested in N 320.9–11: *s=ẽ=ñn=aitẽ: kumazu: mahãna: ebette: eseimiju: qñturahahñ: tideimi*, lit. "And him<sup>(ẽ)</sup> to them<sup>(ñn)</sup> they made priest, to these gods, E., son of Q." A parallel construction as in TL 28 and N 356a and b is probably also present in the statue inscription TL 51: <sup>(1)</sup>ñt(e)=ene qarñnaxa tuwe[tẽ] <sup>(2)</sup>qñtbeh tideimi ehbi <sup>(3)</sup>wezzeimi tehuse "Therein [has] installed Qarñnaxa, son of Qñtbe, his son Wezzeimi for tehuse." Alternatively, the pronoun -ene might refer to the monument and not to the child since *tideimi ehbi* can be interpreted both as an accusative or a dative sg.

65. For the meaning of the term see section 4 note 22.

[...] *tiweh* depends. In this as well as in Tekoğlu's interpretation, the daughter would not be mentioned by name. Although this may seem strange to us, it is not without parallels. It should be noted, for example, that in TL 103 the person to be buried in the tomb – in case the interpretation of the text is correct – is referred to only as *ddedi* of Zzajaa and sister of Lusñtra and Xñtabura. This corresponds to the custom of usually not naming the beneficiaries in epitaphs. Alternatively, an incorrect spelling might be considered. Thus, according to Schürr (personal communication), the letter sequence <weh> could form a single word with <tezñ>, which would then have to be corrected in *weh*<ñ>*tezñ* “from Phellos”. This might then have been preceded by the daughter's name, of which only the last two letters <ti> would have remained. Nevertheless, it would be peculiar that the builder of the monument gives the origin of his daughter, while he calls himself only by name and with patronymic.

The interpretation of TL 28.3 is difficult as well. Tekoğlu (2017: 64) interprets *mlttaimi* as the name of the daughter for whom the monument was erected and *mrbbanada* as the name of her husband. Especially the latter is, however, doubtful (see, e.g., Melchert 2004: 41). In any case, both words serve likely as characterization of the daughter. Moreover, since the right side of the text is broken off, we do not know whether the word is fully preserved or not. It is also not to be excluded that it was followed by another word, which then might have been the name of her husband. Since N 356b is only very fragmentarily preserved, the interpretation of this inscription remains obscure as well. One of the questions is whether *hrppi* is a preposition or the beginning of a personal name (for such names see Schürr 2015: 257–260 and the commentary on *hrppidem*[...] in TL 72 further above). The text of the following lines appears to be in all three inscriptions the same. In the following tentative translations of TL 28 and N 356a will be given:<sup>66</sup>

66. Tekoğlu (2017: 65) offers a different interpretation and translation of TL 28. He interprets, e.g., *putinezi* in line 1 not as a personal name, but as an otherwise unattested architectural term. Furthermore, he interprets the verb *tuwete* as a 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. pret. “they placed” and both words in line 3 as personal names. Accordingly, he translates: “They placed Prijabuhāma's daughter, Mlttaimi, wife of Mrbbanada, grandchild of Uwita (and) member of Apuwaza's household inside *putinezi*. His reasoning, however, is, in my view, not convincing. He justifies his assumption that *putinezi* is not a personal name in the nominative, but a tomb designation, by arguing that in the case of a personal name it would remain open who this person is and how he is related to the other persons mentioned. This is, however, not the case since the woman for whom the monument is intended is called his daughter (*kbatru* (*ehbi*)).



Fig. 37a: Photo of the paper squeeze of N 354. In: Tekoğlu 2007: pl. 6  
(in contrast to the publication not mirror-inverted).





Fig. 37b: Photo of the paper squeeze of N 354. In: Tekoğlu 2007: pl. 6  
(in contrast to the publication not mirror-inverted) with tracing of the alleged reading *tezñ*.

TL 28	N 356a
( <sup>1-2</sup> )Putinezi, (son) of Prijabuhāma, [has] inst[alled] inside it the daughter n[...] <sup>67</sup> , <i>mlttaimi</i> [of/for the] <i>mrbbanada</i> (?), ( <sup>3-4a</sup> )wife of [...] ( <sup>4b-5</sup> )grandchild of Uwita, ( <sup>5</sup> )household member of Apuwaza.	( <sup>1-2</sup> )Putinezi, (son) of Prijabuhāma, has installed [...] his daughter, ( <sup>3-4a</sup> ) <i>tez(e)</i> (?) of [...] <i>tiwe</i> , [wi]fe of Puweje(?), ( <sup>4b-5</sup> )grandchild of Uwita, ( <sup>5</sup> )household member of [Apuwa]za.

### I. 30. N 357 (Tlos)

Description: two-line inscription on the upper crossbeam of a bipartite one-storey rock-cut tomb with imitation of wooden architecture. Edition: Tekoğlu 2017: 65 with pl. 8. Since it was not possible for me to make an autopsy and neither a squeeze nor a photo is available to me, the following transliteration is based solely on the transliteration of Tekoğlu and the published photo (pl. 8), on which

67. Presumably *kbatru* “daughter” was followed by a personal name beginning with <n>.

the inscription is unfortunately only partly recognizable. Measurements of the inscription according to Tekoğlu (2017: 65): 120 x 14 cm.

Transliteration:

1 *sixeriwale: ddew[ele]deh: tideimi: atli*

2 *se=(e)sedē[ñ]newi: xñnahi: aladahali: ada*

Translation:

<sup>(1)</sup>Sixeriwale, son of Ddew[ele]de<sup>68</sup>, (built it) for himself <sup>(2)</sup>and the grandmother's descendants. For the allocation(?) (an) *ada* (amount has been established).<sup>69</sup>

## II. Still unpublished Lycian inscriptions

### II. 31. N 348 (Aloanda)

N 348 is an inscription on a stela which will be edited by Recai Tekoğlu (forthcoming in the journal *Gephyra*). For the site and its name see Akyürek Şahin et al. 2017: 210.

### II. 32. N 349 (Araxa)

N 349 is a heavily weathered inscription on a bipartite one-storey rock-cut tomb discovered by Max Gander in March 13, 2013. As noted by Diether Schürr (personal communication), it is likely to be the same tomb that had already been discovered by Charles Fellows who mentions it in his account of discoveries in Lycia (Fellows 1841: 123) without giving any details or a transliteration of the text. A photo of the tomb has been published by Akyürek Şahin et al. 2017, 208 Fig. 5. Edition: Recai Tekoğlu (forthcoming in the journal *Gephyra*). According to Tekoğlu (personal conversation), the inscription consists of six lines and includes a building formula, a beneficiary clause, an *ada* formula, a burial provision, and a curse formula.

68. The name Ddeneweale is known from the coin inscriptions M 232a–d. However, in the present inscription the reconstruction remains uncertain.

69. Presumably, the word *ada* was followed by a number sign as is the case in other inscriptions.

## II. 33. N 350 (Patara)

N 350 is an inscription on a sarcophagus found in Patara which will be edited by Recai Tekoğlu. According to Tekoğlu (personal communication) the text consists of a building formula, a verbal type of the *ada* formula similar to the one attested in TL 42b, but with the infinitive *aladahhâna* instead of *aladahali*. As the only tomb inscription of the Xanthos region, the inscription consists further of a curse formula that threatens a potential tomb violator with the destruction by the “gods of the *mindis*”. Thus, besides TL 6 of Levissi, it is the only tomb inscription from Western Lycia with a sanction formula with divine agents. In this aspect, it resembles several inscriptions from Central and Eastern Lycia like TL 57.<sup>70</sup>

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70. See also Christiansen 2020a: 206.

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This book focuses on Luwic languages, bringing together approaches from Indo-European linguistics and language reconstruction and also from other intrinsically related disciplines such as epigraphy, numismatics and archaeology, and shows very clearly how these disciplines can benefit from each other. The volume gathers together the most recent results of investigation in the field, and is the natural extension of recent work completed by a research group on Luwic dialects over a number of years.

Among the thirteen contributions, fitting neatly within the Luwian and other Anatolian languages, a rich variety of subjects are covered: epigraphy, grammar, etymology, textual interpretation, and archaeological context.



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