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Annick Payne / Šárka Velhartická /
Jorit Wintjes (eds)

Beyond All Boundaries

Anatolia in the First Millennium BC

PEETERS

BEYOND ALL BOUNDARIES

ORBIS BIBLICUS ET ORIENTALIS

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Annick Payne, Šárka Velhartická and Jorit Wintjes

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PREFACE

In 1680, the Flemish scholar Olfert Dapper, who had already produced successful books on Africa and the Middle East, published the *Naukeurige Beschryving van Asie*, a massive volume of over 700 pages, describing in considerable detail Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Arabia. Lavishly illustrated, the book proved to be as popular as his previous publications, and a German translation was published as early as 1681. In his book, Dapper provides one of the earliest comprehensive descriptions of Anatolia and her antiquities, drawing from both ancient sources and more recent travel reports; yet he himself had never visited Anatolia, indeed he never left the Netherlands throughout his life. Even so, his 84-page account of ancient Anatolia, while not the first in the early modern period, was one of the earliest to use what would nowadays be called an interdisciplinary approach. Not only did Dapper include various remarks on Anatolian history – mostly based on the "usual suspects" from Greek historiography, with Herodotus and Strabo featuring most prominently in his text – he also covered the archaeology of 58 different sites, noting their current state, and even included 27 inscriptions from various places (**Fig. 1**).

More than 300 years later, ancient Anatolia has lost little of its fascination, and continues to attract the attention of a wide variety of disciplines – this is both a blessing and a necessity, as the study of Anatolia falls into different academic subjects rather than forming a unified whole. Unfortunately, this separation all too often leads to different disciplines working alongside rather than interconnecting with each other. The initial idea of the conference was therefore to go "Beyond All Boundaries" in terms of both disciplines and epochs and to bring together a large number of scholars currently working on ancient Anatolia; also, the conference was to bring together participants from all career stages, thereby overcoming the boundaries not only of academic disciplines, but also of academic standing. In the end, 72 scholars from 16 different countries convened on Monte Verità, close to Ascona in Switzerland, with participants hailing from as far as Australia.

In order to stimulate discussion between scholars working in different fields, the organizers decided early on to deviate slightly from the traditional format of academic congresses, giving serious space to discussion panels, to allow for more exchange. Accordingly, papers



Fig. 1. Map of Anatolia (Dapper, Olfert 1680: Naukeurige beschryving van Asie, Amsterdam, Jacob van Meurs, p. 298).

were usually presented in the morning sessions, while the afternoons were reserved for discussion and several workshops were dedicated to specific topics: Mark Weeden's workshop offered insight into the latest research on Anatolian Hieroglyphs from archaeological, textual and historical perspectives; Lorenzo d'Alfonso brought together experts on the archaeology of the 1st millennium after the new chronology at Gordion; Birgit Christiansen's workshop addressed the palaeography of several Anatolian writing systems; while Marina Pucci and Sebastiano Soldi conducted a workshop on political boundaries and cultural contacts during the Iron Age in South-East Anatolia. The discussion panels proved to be a great success, with representatives of the different disciplines actively engaging with one another in productive discourse. Key topics included the problem of understanding the complex levels of identity in Anatolian communities in the 1st millennium BC, the thorny issue of local and trans-Anatolian chronologies and how they relate to

each other, concerns of connectivity and spatial relationships between different communities, the relationship between language groups and civilizations across Anatolia, and the possible interplay of differing heuristic methodologies of neighbouring disciplines. That the participants were always willing to exchange and continue arguments well beyond the confines of the lecture rooms is a testimony to the success of the organizers' attempt at stimulating exchange both across neighbouring fields and between established and young scholars.

Thanks to the generous support of the institutions named below, the organizers were able to provide travel bursaries for early career scholars and could also offer two fully funded places for two students from a grammar school specializing in the study of antiquity, the *Gelehrtenschule des Johanneums*, providing them with a first-hand experience of a major academic event and the study of antiquity outside of the classroom. The CSF-Award was a further incentive for young participants, eight of whom competed for this prestigious price. It was awarded to Ms Thalia Lysen, University of Chicago, who impressed the scientific committee with her confident and competent presentation of a difficult topic, kingly public rituals in cross-regional and cross-temporal comparison.

The present volume contains a selection of the papers which fall broadly into five categories (for ease of access they are arranged alphabetically according to the authors' names within the volume). Two papers focus on the history of scholarship on ancient Anatolian hieroglyphics, with Silvia Alaura taking a closer look at late 19th-century England and Šárka Velhartická covering research from the interwar period. To this date, the history of ancient Anatolian scholarship remains a marginal subject, and it is our silent hope that the present publication may play a small part in generating more interest in what is a fascinating history that spans more than six centuries.

A second group of five papers examines various aspects of the development, history and cultural impact of Anatolian writing systems. Two papers cover Lycian inscriptions, with Anja Busse focussing on issues of word separation and interpunction and Birgit Christiansen re-examining linguistic and archaeological criteria for the dating of both Lycian inscriptions and Lycian tombs; Gabriele Elsen-Novák and Annick Payne take a closer look at a tabloid amulet found in the lower town of Sirkeli Höyük in Plain Cilicia combining Hieroglyphic Luwian and cuneiform signs; Alfredo Rizza presents several new results on the inscriptions

of Side; Lynn E. Roller examines how the use of the Phrygian script in inscriptions and graffiti from Gordion declined from the 8th through to the 3rd century BC.

Six studies into different aspects of ancient Anatolian languages form a third group of papers in the present volume. Lauriane Locatelli takes a closer look at the corpus of Pisidian toponyms and how Anatolian languages persisted in toponyms and ethnonyms of the region well beyond the 1st millennium BC; Elena Martínez Rodríguez explores the vocabulary employed by Anatolian languages to express degrees of kinship, concentrating on the words for "son"; H. Craig Melchert proposes a new model for understanding bilingual texts, suggesting the existence of parallel compositions by different writers fluent in the respective languages; Norbert Oettinger focusses on the origin and meaning of Lydian *ora-*; Florian Réveilhac provides a new interpretation for the gemination of consonants in the Lycian language; David Sasseville proposes a new Lydian sound law based on comparative observations of rhotacism in Luwian and Lydian.

The history of ancient Anatolia is the focus of nine papers. Milena Anfosso explores the representation of Phrygians as foreigners based on an interpretation of a fragment of Timotheus of Miletus; Federico Giusfredi and Valerio Pisaniello take a closer look at the historical, cultural and linguistic evidence from the multicultural and multilingual city of Yadiya/Sam'al during the Early Iron Age; Winfried Held proposes a new explanation for the special relationship between the Lydian kings and the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia; John O. Hyland takes a closer look at the Persian content of the Xanthos Stele, suggesting it was added late in the composition of the monument; Mirko Novák and Andreas Fuchs re-evaluate the surviving evidence for the history of the "Neo-Hittite" kingdom of Hiyawa/Qawa/Que in Plain Cilicia and propose a new dating for Karatepe; Simone Podestà takes a closer look at Greek historiography of ancient Lycia, focussing on the two fragmentary Greek historians Menekrates of Xanthos and Alexander Polyhistor; Marco Santini explores the different layers of identity in Hellenistic Halikarnassos; Zsolt Simon argues that Neo-Hittite statehood only came to an end with the abolishment of the Kingdom of Cilicia in the Achaemenid Empire; Maya Vassileva takes a closer look at graffiti from the burial chamber in Tumulus MM at Gordion.

Naturally, archaeology plays an important role in the study of ancient Anatolia, and a final group of nine papers offers both newly found

evidence and new insights about material already known. Selim Ferruh Adalı interprets marks on Iron Age arrowheads as of local Anatolian origin; Alexis Belis takes a closer look at the mountain god Argaios and traces how he remained in the cultural memory of Anatolia throughout the 1st millennium BC; Fabienne Colas-Rannou proposes a new methodological and conceptual approach for the study of Lycian iconography in order to gain further insights into Lycian history and culture; Tamás Péter Kisbali examines the motif of crowning a person with a wreath, a motif appearing on two Lycian funerary monuments; Ilgın Külekçi presents new evidence from recent archaeological work at Larisa (Buruncuk), re-evaluating the current understanding of the site's layout and history; Patrick Maxime Michel explores the lithic monuments of ancient Phrygia and their relationship to Hittite monuments; Aslı Özyar takes a closer look at the imagery in reliefs adorning the gates of the stronghold of Karatepe–Aslantaş/Azatiwataya; Alessandro Poggio discusses the use of white marble from Western Anatolia by the Achaemenids and how regional elites followed the example of the Persian kings; Mustafa H. Sayar explores the use of natural caves as religious sites, showing how religious practices were shaped by the natural conditions of Cilicia.

The conference itself deserves an additional sentence or two. It took place in spring 2018 and was accompanied by gorgeous weather, which made it at times slightly difficult to exchange the attractions of a terrace offering absolutely stunning views over the Lago Maggiore for the lecture theatre. At the same time, the idyllic surroundings on Monte Verità without doubt played a significant role in the overall success of the conference. One of its highlights was a boat trip to the Brissago Islands, where the conference dinner took place; in retrospect, it seems somewhat fitting that the main social event of a conference covering civilizations distant both in space and time took place on the island furthest from any Swiss shore.

Finally, a few words of thanks. The conference could not have taken place without the generous support provided by the Congressi Stefano Franscini (CSF), Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich (ETH Zürich) and the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF); further thanks go to the Swiss Academy of Humanities and Social Sciences (SAGW) and the Swiss Society for Ancient Near Eastern Studies (SGOA). The organizers would like to thank the publishing houses C.H. Beck, Dr. Ludwig Reichert, Phoibos, PeWe and Nünnerich-Asmus, as well as the

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Hjalmar Schacht Foundation, for their support. We are greatly indebted to the people who made our stay on Monte Verità what it was: both CSF and hotel staff could not have been any more helpful, so thank you once more! Finally, this volume would not have taken the current shape without the excellent type-setting of Sabine Ecklin and the proof-reading of Robert Russell, M.A. and Clare Gathercole, to whom we owe a great debt. Thank you so much! Further thanks go to David Sasseville and Fabienne Colas-Rannou for proof-reading French-language contributions. We are also grateful to Christoph Uehlinger for accepting this publication in the Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis series. Last but not least, we would like to thank Mirko Novák for his unfailing support of both conference and publication, and the University of Bern for financially supporting the latter endeavour.

Annick Payne – Šárka Velhartická – Jorit Wintjes

MARKS ON ARROWHEADS FROM THE KONYA EREĞLI MUSEUM

Signs of native Anatolian production?

Selim Ferruh Adalı

Abstract: "Scythian"-type arrowheads are an important feature of Iron Age Anatolian material assemblage. Some of the Iron Age arrowheads found in the Konya Ereğli Museum have unique marks on them. This paper argues that they represent a local Anatolian mark on arrowheads. "Scythian"-type arrowheads were originally brought to Anatolia by Eurasian pastoralist peoples represented in historical records by the Cimmerians and the Scythians. These types of arrowheads were later adopted by other Anatolian polities. The arrowheads are unprovenanced but there are indications they originated from somewhere within the territory of Ḫupišna (classical Cybistra) and adjacent territories. These artefacts also provide an opportunity to discuss the interaction of arrowhead producers and consumers within the context of native Iron Age Tabalian cities and their interaction with neighbouring regions and peoples.

Keywords: Arrowheads, Iron Age Anatolia, Cimmerians, Scythians, Tabal, Cilicia

1 INTRODUCTION

Socketed bilobate and trilobate bronze and iron arrowheads are a well-known component of Iron Age Anatolian material assemblage.[1] They

1 The Iron Age arrowheads in the Konya Ereğli Museum have been studied with official permission of the Directorate of the Konya Ereğli Museum. I am very grateful to Mahmut Altuncan for his support in the process of obtaining the research permission and also for drawing my attention, during my research in the museum, to the marks on some of the arrowheads. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Hasan Bahar for encouraging me to research the arrowheads in the Konya Ereğli Museum. I am grateful to Abdülkadir Akkurt for digitizing my line

were originally associated with Eurasian steppe peoples such as the Scythians. They are thus sometimes dubbed the Scythian type or style (Daragan 2015).[2] This is in many cases, and especially in the Iron Age Anatolian context, indicative more of typology than of the history of their users. The arrowheads were disseminated early in Iron Age Anatolian history and cannot be easily connected with a given ethnicity. Although interactions between Eurasian peoples and the Near East could be imagined as going as far back as the Bronze Age, the 7th century BC in particular is significant. The late 8th and especially the 7th century BC is when the socketed bronze bilobate arrowheads spread throughout Anatolia and the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean (Hellmuth 2014; Summers 2017: 655). The bilobate (Žabotin period and early Kelermes, early 7th century BC and earlier) and trilobate (the later Kelermes period, later 7th century BC) socketed bronze arrowheads used by the Cimmerians and the Scythians are also attested in several grave finds in Anatolia (Ivantchik 2001: 49).[3] These arrowheads also remained in usage throughout the Eurasian steppes. This type of bronze socketed arrowhead seems to have been first introduced into Anatolia during the 7th century BC by Cimmerians and Scythians. Local producers adopted cast bronze socketed arrowheads which they preferred over forged iron with tangs (Szudy 2015: 2).[4] It is very likely that knowledge of these arrowheads, and the craft of archery associated with them, was brought by Eurasian steppe people, perhaps from the Caucasus (Hellmuth Kramberger 2016). There is a tendency towards bronze arrowheads in the Near East, especially in the 7th century BC. The Cimmerians and the Scythians used bronze socketed arrowheads extensively. More crucially, it is much easier to mould arrowheads from copper alloy than

drawings and photographs of the figures. My thanks to Andrei Alekseev, Göksel Baş, Şakir Can, Rahmi Serhat Kemer, Sergey Makhortykh, Kimiyoshi Matsumura, Tuba Ökse, Maximilian Räthel, Vladimir Shelestin, Emine Sökmen, Andrew Stiles, Geoffrey Summers, and Koichi Yukishima for bibliographical support. I am very grateful to Geoffrey Summers and Koichi Yukishima for sharing their work and discussing aspects of the research. Views, interpretations, and errors in this paper are the responsibility of the author alone.

2 E.g. "Scythian type" (Yukishima 1992); "Pfeilspitzen skytischen Typus" (Ökse 1994).

3 From a typological point of view, the artefacts in one of these graves, the İmirler grave, may perhaps be dated even earlier, to the late 8th century BC. For an argument in favour of this earlier period, see Hellmuth 2008. The presently available textual record neither confirms nor refutes this.

4 Szudy 2015: 170, 174, 195, 203–204, 253, 358 with references to datable archaeological contexts in Karmir-Blur and Hasanlu up to the 7th century BC.

to forge them in iron (iron is used more especially after the mid-6th century BC; Yalçıklı 2015: 11–12). There is, therefore, a body of evidence for the interaction between Iron Age Eurasian peoples, such as the Cimmerians and the Scythians named in ancient Near Eastern and Greek traditions, with polities in Anatolia. Anatolian peoples and kingdoms adopted some of their military technologies. This process of adoption can be traced back at least to the late 8th century – if not earlier – when one considers the Assyrian reports concerning a conflict between Urartu and the Cimmerians, expressing recognition of Cimmerian military capabilities (on the reports and their chronology, see Mayer 1993 with further references).[5] The Urartians suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Cimmerians. Cimmerian military technologies, such as their more efficient bows and arrows, were naturally of interest throughout Anatolia and the Near East.

2 A VERY BRIEF HISTORY OF CYBISTRA

The Konya Ereğli region, classical Cybistra, goes back to Bronze and Iron Age Ḫupišna (Kessler/Levine 1972–1975; Maner 2017; Maner 2019). Hittite-period texts refer to Cybistra as the region of Ḫupišna (del Monte/Tischler 1978: 117–119). Settlement increased in this region during the Iron Age and several road connections tied the region to Cilicia and parts of the Konya plain.[6] Cybistra is known to have been inhabited by Luwian-speaking communities. In 836 BC, Shalmaneser III campaigned in this region. He referred to Cybistra's king Puḫame and "the cities of Puḫame" (Adalı 2018: 277). Tiglath-pileser III's tribute lists for 738 and 737 BC refer to Ḫupišna's king Urimmi as an Assyrian vassal (Kessler/Levine 1972–1975: 500). Urimmi's reign is followed, after a currently undetermined period of time, by the rule of Warpalawa of Tuwana (classical Tyana; c. 738–710 BC) over the city-lords in Cybistra (Adalı 2018: 281–282). Warpalawa cooperated with the Assyrians, as he had previously with Midas of Gordion. Both Midas and the Assyrians were militarily active in Tabal, the eastern portion of the Central Ana-

5 I add here a *terminus ante quem* for the letters, the mention of princess Ahatabiša in Tabal. She married Ambaris, king of Bit-Purutaš (Tabal) and vassal of Sargon II. Ambaris was dethroned in 713 BC (Adalı 2018: 288).

6 Maner 2019: 90–93, with references to sites from earlier periods in Maner 2017 and Maner 2019.

tolian plateau, during the reign of Sargon II (721–705 BC). The precise details of Cybistra's political fortunes after Warpalawa are unknown. Midas and Sargon II came to an agreement by 709 BC (Adalı 2018: 291). Most of Tabal came under Assyrian influence, until the Assyrian king's demise during a campaign against Tabal in 705 BC. An Anatolian king by the name of Gurdi then gained control of the Tabal region (Adalı 2018: 288–291). Cybistra was placed strategically between Tabal and Cilicia. It must have been a controversial frontier region because Plain Cilicia remained under Assyrian control during Sennacherib's reign (704–681 BC).

The Cimmerians had been active in parts of Central Anatolia and also Ḫupišna/Cybistra, at least since the early 7th century BC, and fought the Assyrians in Cybistra during the time of Esarhaddon (Adalı 2019). Esarhaddon used the first person in claiming a military victory against the Cimmerians under their leader Teušpa in 679 BC: "I struck with the sword Teušpa the Cimmerian, the Umman-manda whose home is remote, together with his entire army, in the territory of the land Ḫubušna" (Leichty 2011: 18).[7] The kings of Tabal registered in Assyrian texts during the time of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal may have temporarily reigned over the city-lords of Cybistra, especially after 675 BC, particularly Mugallu, who defended his hold in Melid against an Assyrian campaign, having gained control of Tabal (Adalı 2018: 294). Esarhaddon claims to have organized Assyrian campaigns in regions of Rough Cilicia, Hilakku, "on the border of Tabal" before 677 BC (Leichty 2011: 18). It is not clear if this included Cybistra, on the border between Tabal and Plain Cilicia (Que). Assurbanipal claims that Mugallu became an Assyrian vassal c. 662 BC (Adalı 2019: 171–173). The Cimmerians had dominated parts of the Konya plain between the first and second quarters of the 7th century BC, attested in parts of Cilicia according to their last mentions in Assyrian texts (Adalı 2019: 173–174).

The details of the political history of Cybistra and Tabal following the Assyrian collapse in c. 610 BC and the Persian invasion of Anatolia under Cyrus II by the mid-6th century BC remain largely unknown, due to the state of documentary and archaeological data. Greek tradition refers to a period of Scythian hegemony in the "upper parts" of Asia (Herodotus 4.1). This may have denoted parts of Central Anatolia and/or including Cybistra. The details from the Greek account may suggest

7 Ḫubušna is an Assyrian spelling of Cybistra's native Anatolian land name rendered in earlier Hittite cuneiform as *Ḫupišna*.

a period c. 625–617 BC (Millard 1975). The Greek account is yet to be verified. The Lydians started expanding beyond Sardis and east in the course of the 6th century BC. Although at present there is no explicit primary evidence as to their occupation of Cybistra, there is a tradition that under Alyattes, the Lydians fought the Cimmerians and the Medes (Herodotus 1.16). The conflict with the Medes under Cyaxares involved a refusal to return the Scythians who took refuge with Lydia under Alyattes. This resulted in a war which, according to Herodotus, ended following an eclipse, and resulted in the establishment of the Halys/Kızılırmak river as the boundary between the Lydians and the Medes; the peace between the two powers was mediated by "Syennesis the Cilician" and "Labynetus the Babylonian" (Herodotus 1.73–74). 585 BC is one proposed date for the eclipse, other proposed dates being 610 and 557 BC (Räthel 2010: 96–101, with further references). "Labynetus" refers to Nabonidus (reigned 556–539 BC). Herodotus's reference to him might refer to a period when he was not officially the king but still held power within the Babylonian kingdom; alternatively, the naming could be an error on the part of the Greek-writing author. It is not clear if it was the Lydians or Syennesis who ruled over Cybistra during this period, before the Persians' arrival in Anatolia. Pteria may perhaps be identified with Kerkenes Dağı. Kerkenes was founded around the second half of the 7th century BC (Summers 2018: 114) and lasted as an independent kingdom until Croesus sacked Pteria (assuming Kerkenes Dağı was Pteria) by the mid-6th century BC. Following Croesus's sack of Pteria, this region was where Cyrus and Croesus fought their first battle before the Lydian retreat into Sardis in the mid-6th century BC (Herodotus 1.76).

3 THE ARROWHEADS: A DESCRIPTION

The Iron Age arrowheads held at the Konya Ereğli Museum constitute a miscellaneous collection. Although it is not possible to verify their precise findspots, most of the arrowheads seem to come from parts of Konya Ereğli (Cybistra/Ḫupišna).[8] They were purchased by the museum in

8 Aside from arrowheads with stated provenance from villages in Konya Ereğli and Konya Ereğli in general, one arrowhead (arrowhead 9) has a stated provenance in Adıyaman whereas four (arrowheads 17, 21, 22, 27) have no provenance stated. None of the provenances that were provided by the seller during museum purchases can be verified. Therefore, these stated provenances are excluded in the discussion and figures.

different years and on various dates. Konya Ereğli Museum's Iron Age socketed arrowheads can be divided into bilobate (arrowheads 1–19; **Fig. 1**, **Table 1**) and trilobate (arrowheads 20–32; **Fig. 2**, **Table 2**) types. I refer to arrowhead numbers and specific references for comparanda from **Tables 1 and 2** and **Figs. 1 and 2** in the discussion and assessment that follows.

The socketed bilobate bronze arrowheads compare with examples of similar types from Anatolia, ranging from mid-7th-century BC Urartian archaeological contexts in Ayanis and Karmir-Blur to 6th-century BC contexts such as Gordion, Sardis, and Kerkenes (**Table 1**; see also Özbalaban, unpublished). There is also comparable evidence of arrowheads from nomadic graves in Anatolia, the Caucasus and elsewhere, as parts of the Eurasian nomadic material culture often associated with the Scythians and the Cimmerians. The comparisons in **Table 1** are not exhaustive but are intended to demonstrate these points. The Urartian contexts precede the collapse of the Urartian state by the mid- or latter part of the 7th century BC (Derin/Muscarella 2001).[9] Most of the arrowheads from Gordion and Sardis may relate to the Persian campaigns against these cities by the 6th century BC (DeVries 2011: 17–18, Küçük Höyük in Gordion when it was guarded by the Lydians against the Persians; Cahill 2010: 356, arrowheads inside Sardis's western gate from battles between Lydians and Persians during Cyrus II's sack of the Lydian capital). Arrowheads of similar types were also found at a destruction level in Old Smyrna (Bayraklı) from the 6th century BC (Nicholls 1958: 89, 91). This destruction may relate to an earlier Lydian sack of Smyrna under Alyattes or the later Persian invasion of the region (Summers 2017: 652). Comparable Kaman arrowheads date to the site's stratum II, the Iron Age stratum and may date to the 7th and/or 6th centuries BC (discussed below in **Conclusions**). All of the arrowheads from Kerkenes probably date from the first half of the 6th century BC before the Persian invasion of Central Anatolia in the mid-6th century BC (Summers 2017: 655). The Konya Ereğli arrowheads also compare with the Sivas Museum arrowheads. Collectors providing arrowheads to the Sivas Museum have often stated a provenance northeast of Sivas (Ökse 1994: 24). Konya Ereğli's socketed bilobate arrowheads also compare with those in İmirler (for the İmirler grave and its arrowheads, see Ünal 1982). Near the village of İmirler in Amasya has been found a nomadic grave with artefacts typologically similar to early Scythian material

9 On the mid-7th-century BC collapse of Urartu, see Hellwag 2012.

culture datable to the late 9th century BC or later (Hellmuth 2008). The typological dating may be questioned. The material could also date to the 8th or 7th centuries BC and this nomadic presence may relate to the Cimmerians or the Scythians (Ivantchik 2001: 49). Comparison can also be made with arrowheads from Krasnoje Znamja, Samthavro in Georgia (Site 78 in Ivantchik 2001: 283), and the Great Gumarovo barrow in the southern Urals. Krasnoje Znamja is located east of the Kuban river (Site 48 in Ivantchik 2001: 283). Such comparisons underscore the similarity of the Konya Ereğli Museum's socketed bilobate arrowheads to the "Scythian" type (e.g. arrowheads 3, 6, 10, 11, 13, 17 and 22). Finally, arrowheads from Persepolis, and earlier contexts from Nush-i Jan in Iran also compare with some of the arrowheads in **Table 1**. These comparisons underscore how widespread the socketed bilobate arrowheads were in the 7th and 6th centuries BC.

Arrowhead number	Museum inventory number	Length	Mark	Comparanda
1	2010	4.8 cm		Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 216, no. 82), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, first arrowhead from the left), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 6), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 9), Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/58), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 7, 8).
2	2268	4.7 cm		Type found in Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 216, no. 73, 79), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, second arrowhead from the left), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 8), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 8), Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/58), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 3, 5).

3	1788	4.7 cm	Fig. 3	Type found in Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 12), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fourth and fifth arrowhead from the left), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 5), Great Gumarovo barrow (Ismagilov 1988: 36–37), Samthavro in Georgia (Ivantchik 2001: 45, no. 25, 26), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 7).
4	2309	4.7 cm		Compares closely with a type attested in Persepolis (Schmidt 1957: Pl. 76, no. 7) and a sample in Nush-i Jan (Szudy 2015: Pl. 200, Type 5p–20).
5	2314	4.5 cm		Type found in Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 216, no. 73, 79), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, second arrowhead from the left), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 8), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 8), Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/58), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 3, 5).
6	1979	4.4 cm	Fig. 4	Type found in İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 7), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 659, no. 1).
7	2286	4.4 cm		Type found in Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 216, no. 73, 79), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, second arrowhead from the left), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 8), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 8), Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/58), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 3, 5). Compares also with a type attested in Persepolis (Schmidt 1957: Pl. 76, no. 20).
8	2313	4.3 cm		Type found in Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 216, no. 82), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the left), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 9), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 10, 664, K33), Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/56), Samthavro in Georgia (Ivantchik 2001: 45, no. 25, 26), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 7, 8).

9	1850	4.3 cm		Type found in Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 216, no. 73, 79), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, second arrowhead from the left), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 7), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 8), Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/49), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 3, 5).
10	2291	4.2 cm	Fig. 4	Type found in Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 216, no. 73, 79), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, second arrowhead from the left), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 8), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 8), Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/58), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 3, 5).
11	1685	4.1 cm	Fig. 4	Type found in Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 7, 10), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fourth and fifth arrowhead from the left), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 5), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 7), Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/45).
12	1802	4.1 cm		Type found in Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 216, no. 71, 82), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, third arrowhead from the left), Boğazköy (Ivantchik 2001: 65, no. 22),[10] Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 10), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 6), Great Gumarovo barrow (Ismagilov 1988: 36–37), Samthavro in Georgia (Ivantchik 2001: 45, no. 25, 26), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 4).
13	1949	4.1 cm	Fig. 3	Type found in Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 216, no. 73), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, second arrowhead from the left), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 8), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 8), Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/46), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 3, 5).

10 Quoted from Boehmer 1972: Taf. XXX.

14	2256	4 cm		There are comparable samples at Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 216–217) and Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 9, seventh arrowhead). This type is also known from Persepolis (Schmidt 1957: Pl. 76, no. 19).
15	1170	4 cm		Type found in Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 659, no. 3). Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/56), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 5), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fourth and fifth arrowhead from the left), Great Gumarovo barrow (Ismagilov 1988: 36–37), Samthavro in Georgia (Ivantchik 2001: 45, no. 25, 26), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 7).
16	2274	3.9 cm		Type found in Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 216, no. 82), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, first arrowhead from the right), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 7), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 660, no. 9), Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/46), Samthavro in Georgia (Ivantchik 2001: 45, no. 20), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 8, 9).
17	1539	3.8 cm	Fig. 3	Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fourth arrowhead from the left), Summers 2017: 660, no. 15) İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 5), Sivas Museum (Ökse 1994: 27, no. 84/58), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 7).
18	2264	3.5 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fourth and fifth arrowhead from the left), İmirler (Ivantchik 2001: 43, no. 5), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 659, no. 3), Great Gumarovo barrow (Ismagilov 1988: 36–37), Samthavro in Georgia (Ivantchik 2001: 45, no. 25, 26), Krasnoje Znamja (Ivantchik 2001: 32, no. 7).
19	1787	3.5 cm		Compares closely with a type attested in Persepolis (Schmidt 1957: Pl. 76, no. 7) and a sample in Nush-i Jan (Szudy 2015: Pl. 200, Type 5p–20).

Table 1. Socketed bilobate bronze arrowheads in the Konya Ereğli Museum.

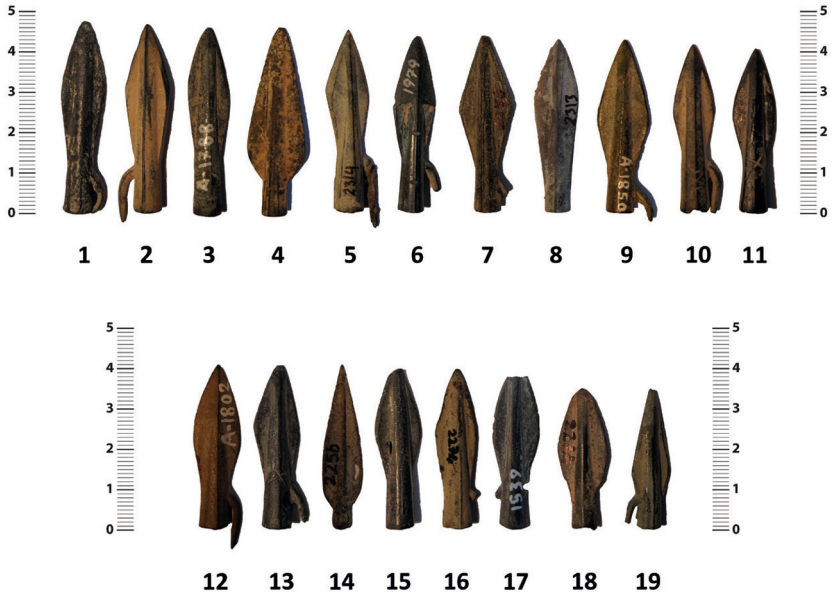

Fig. 1. Socketed bilobate arrowheads (Konya Ereğli Museum).

Comparisons for the Konya Ereğli Museum's socketed trilobate arrowheads can be exemplified with trilobates from the mid-7th century BC Urartian context of Ayanis and the early to mid-6th-century BC Phrygian context in Kerkenes (**Table 1**). The spread of the socketed trilobate arrowheads is evidenced by sample comparisons with arrowheads from Nartan east of the Kuban river (Site 55 in Ivantchik 2001: 283) and Gerar in the southern Levant. The trilobates go well into the Persian period with comparable types from Persepolis (e.g. arrowhead 30).

Arrowhead number	Museum inventory number	Length	Mark	Comparanda
20	2305	4.7 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 21).
21	2189	4.4 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 19).
22	1543	4.1 cm	Fig. 3	Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 20, 21), Nartan (Ivantchik 2001: 63, no. 8). Compares also with a type attested in Persepolis (Schmidt 1957: Pl. 76, no. 2).
23	2273	4 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 19).
24	2298	4 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 21).
25	1907	3.8 cm		Type found in Ayanis (Derin/Muscarella 2001: 217, no. 107), Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, rightmost arrowhead). Also compares with a type in Gerar (Szudy 2015: 260, Type 2–11).
26	2310	3.7 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 21).
27	2188	3.6 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 19).

28	2300	3.5 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 19, 664, K64).
29	2306	3.5 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 21).
30	1760	3.2 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 17, 664, K87). Compares also with a type attested in Persepolis (Schmidt 1957: Pl. 76, no. 3).
31	2257	2.9 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 19).
32	2258	2.9 cm		Type found in Karmir-Blur (Ivantchik 2001: 33, no. 19, fifth arrowhead from the right), Kerkenes (Summers 2017: 661, no. 17).

Table 2. Socketed trilobate bronze arrowheads in the Konya Ereğli Museum.



Fig. 2. Socketed trilobate arrowheads (Konya Ereğli Museum).

4 THE INCISED MARKS AND CONCLUSIONS

Marks on arrowheads 3, 10, 11, 13, 17 and 22 bear a particular design and were incised intentionally. The meanings attributed to them remain unknown. We will discuss only possibilities. Marks on a range of other "Scythian"-type arrowheads (and also other objects such as sickles, axes, and spearheads) from western and central Anatolia have been discussed by Yalçıklı who argues that these marks could be symbols used to indicate a certain workshop or smith (Yalçıklı 2009). There are arrowheads from other Iron Age sites, namely Boğazköy, Kaman and Kerkenes, which also bear marks similar to those in the Konya Ereğli Museum (**Figs. 3 and 4** with references).[11] The Kaman find, arrowhead KL96–44, was found in provisional layer II at sector XLVII–52 of grid NXXVII at the Kaman site (Yukishima 1998).[12] The arrowhead was not found *in situ* and was originally included in Kaman's stratum II, the Iron Age stratum. It is most probably a "Scythian" type of the 7th century BC. Yukishima noticed the nick marks on the Kaman arrowhead and notes similar marks on arrowheads from the Great Gumarovo barrow in the South Ural Region. The arrowheads from Boğazköy may date to a point in the 7th century BC (Boehmer 1972: Taf. XXXI, 907). In Kaman, there are arrowheads which may be compared typologically with specimens from several Scythian sites of the 8th and 7th centuries BC, whereas the nick marks on KL96–44 compare with similar marks on arrowheads from Boğazköy and the Taşova and Ladik region (Yukishima 1998).[13] A bilobate arrowhead found at Karamattepe in the Nif Dağı excavations east of İzmir has marks on its blades and socket similar to some of the arrowheads from Eurasian and Scythian kurgans, whereas a marked arrowhead of the "Scythian" type has been found as far west as Ephesus (Baykan 2015: 30, with further references to Daragan 2015 and Klebinder Gauss 2007).

There are four arrowheads with incised marks from Kerkenes. These and other arrowheads found in Kerkenes were most probably used by

11 The marked arrowhead found at Kınık Höyük (Lanaro et al. 2020: 227) will be treated in a future study because it was available to me only after I had submitted the present study.

12 On arrowheads from Kaman, see also Yukishima 1992; Tahakama 1994; Yukishima 2001; Masubuchi 2008.

13 I am very grateful to Koichi Yukishima for discussing this arrowhead with me and sharing his research. For arrowheads from the Taşova and Ladik region, see Ünal 1982.

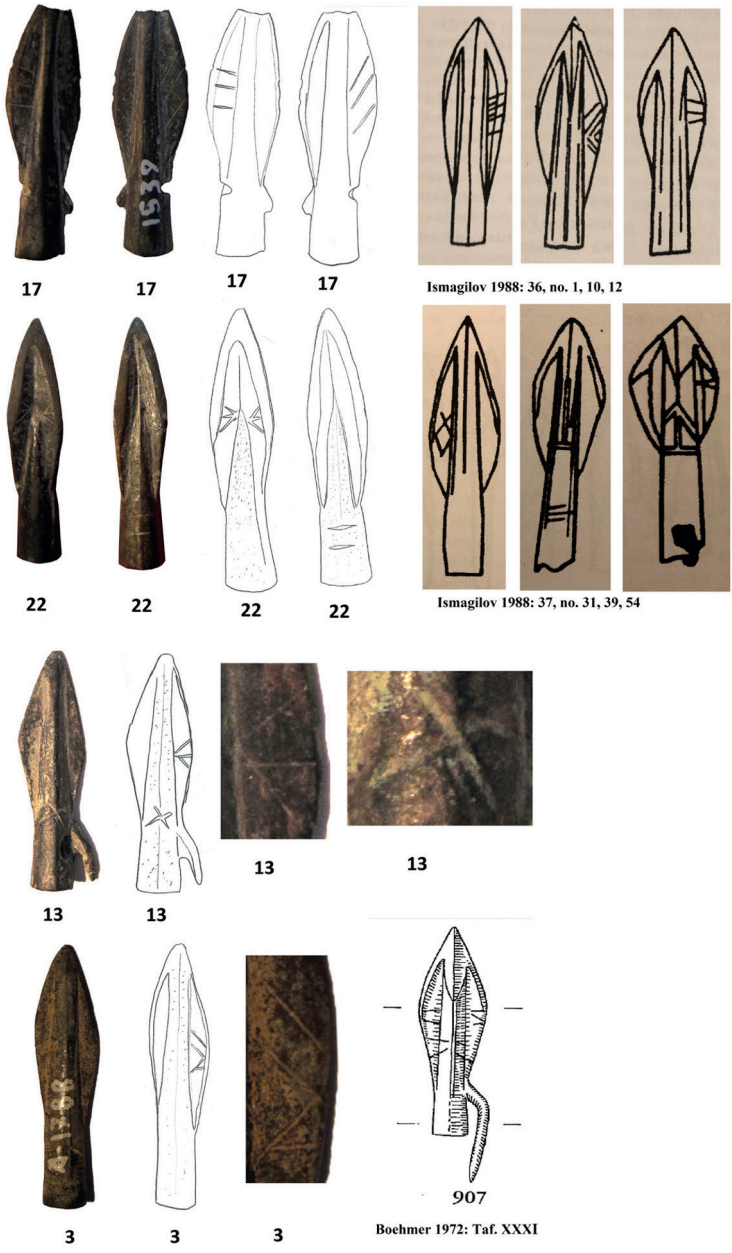

Fig. 3. Incised arrowheads (Konya Ereğli Museum) compared with Iron Age samples (Ismagilov 1988: 36, 37; Boehmer 1972: Taf. XXXI).

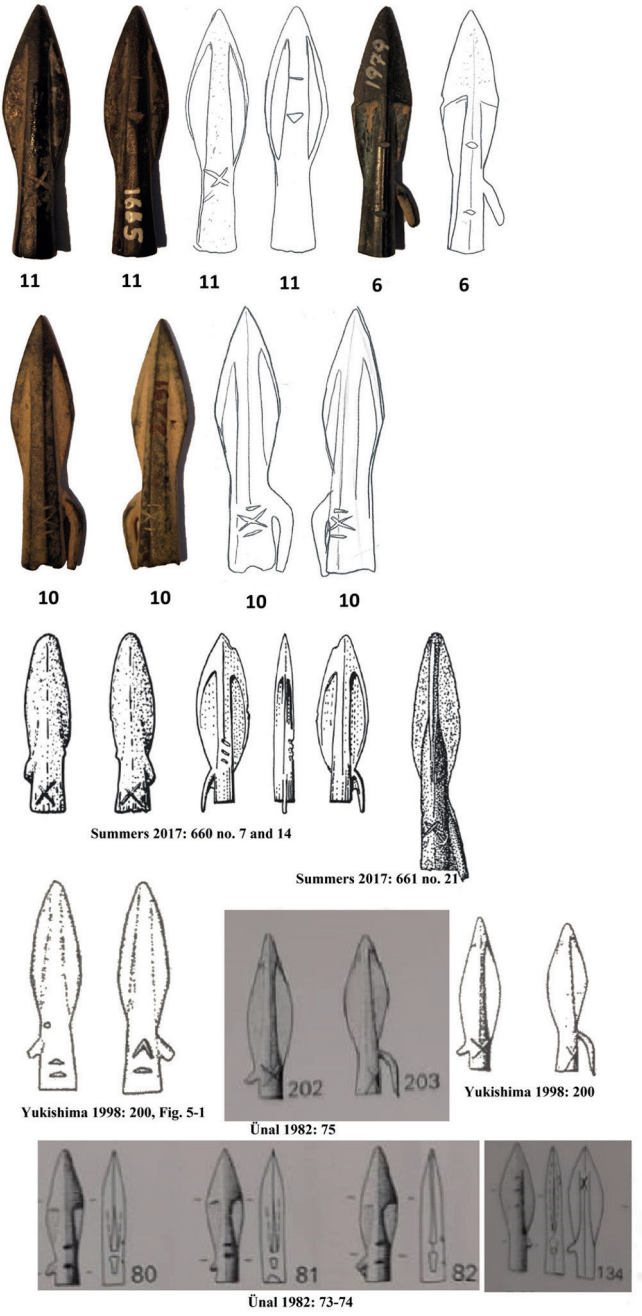

Fig. 4. Incised arrowheads (Konya Ereğli Museum) compared with Iron Age samples (Summers 2017: 660–661; Yukishima 1998: 200; Ünal 1982: 73–75).

its inhabitants of Phrygian origin and culture (Summers 2017: 654). It appears that by the 6th century BC, the use of marked socketed arrowheads was also common in Central Anatolia. This may also be the case for the Konya Ereğli arrowheads with the X mark,[14] if we assume that the sign was employed by a particular group or groups of people with some kind of connection to the inhabitants of Kerkenes who also marked some of their arrowheads with an X (**Fig. 4**, Summers 2017). The assumption is hard to prove since the exact provenance of the Konya Ereğli Museum arrowheads is not known. During my research in the museum, I learnt that the provenance of arrowheads 3 and 11 as stated by the donors (in 1983 and 1981 respectively) was Karapınar, a western province of the Konya Ereğli region, whereas Ereğli in general was named as the provenance for arrowheads 10 and 13 in 2009 and 1988 respectively.[15] Karapınar is known for its Bronze and Iron Age settlements, and a stone slab with Luwian hieroglyphs has been found at Karacadağ between the modern provincial districts of Emirgazi and Karapınar (Maner 2017: 360–363). If we assume that the declared provenance from Karapınar and Ereğli for some of the marked arrowheads is reliable, we may conceive that a community allowing the use of Luwian hieroglyphs, perhaps a Neo-Hittite local polity, was also a community where users of these types of arrowheads lived. One of the Konya Ereğli Museum arrowheads with an X mark, i.e. arrowhead 13, also has on its blade nicks of a particular design that resemble incisions found on the other Konya Ereğli Museum arrowheads *as well as* an arrowhead from Boğazköy and arrowheads from the Great Gumarovo barrow (**Fig. 3**). The Gumarovo kurgan dates from between the late 8th and the early 7th centuries BC (Alekseev et al. 2002: 145), if not earlier. Another type of mark on the Konya Ereğli Museum arrowheads is nicks on the socket. They compare with Kerkenes arrowheads, the nicks on the Kaman arrowhead, and the same marks on arrowheads from the nomadic grave in the Ladik and Taşova region of Amasya (**Fig. 4**), ranging from the 7th (cf. the Ladik and Taşova region finds) to the 6th centuries BC (cf. Kerkenes).

The practice of marking arrowheads is not, of course, unique to the Eurasian steppes. The Bronze Age Anatolian and Levantine practices of

14 Arrowheads 3 (X only), 11 (X only), 13 (X only), 10 (X with two horizontals).

15 No provenance was declared for arrowheads 17 and 22. Many of the other Konya Ereğli Museum arrowheads have Karapınar or Ereğli in general as the declared provenance.

marking arrowheads may have indicated ownership of the arrowhead, perhaps to facilitate its retrieval after the hunt (Tubb 1980). A similar rationale could be conceived for the incised marks discussed here. There is even a fish-like sign on a Bronze Age arrowhead from Byblos (**Fig. 5**) and the graphically almost identical sign on the Great Gumarovo barrow (**Fig. 3**). A similar comparison could be made with the X-sign on the Gezer arrowhead (**Fig. 5**) and the X-mark found, amongst other mark shapes, on Scythian arrowheads in Eastern European sites (e.g. an arrowhead from Smolenice-Molpir (hillfort), 8th to 7th century BC, in Daragan 2015: 144, Fig. 26, and one from Kamyana mohyla, 7th to 6th century BC, in Makhortykh/Dzhos 2017: 210, Fig. 8). On the grounds that the Byblos and Gezer arrowheads are from varying Bronze Age contexts and not related to the Scythians or the Cimmerians, one could in principle argue that signs can be coincidentally similar. There is only a limited variety of lines one can draw on the blade or socket surface. Even the similarity between incisions on the Gumarovo arrowheads, the X-sign on the Kamyana mohyla arrowhead, and the marks on the Konya Ereğli Museum arrowheads (**Fig. 3**) may be interpreted as coincidental. It is worth considering the possible uses of the marks. The limited number of arrowheads known so far may be misleading, but it is observed at present that marked arrowheads comprise a small portion of arrowheads. This seems to rule out the possibility that these are manufacturing or centralized distribution centres. The marks may indicate individual ownership like those from the Bronze Age arrowheads mentioned immediately above (cf. Tubb 1980). This also remains mere conjecture. A strong case that they may be workshop or smith marks has already been made (see Yalçıklı 2009). As a marker of the individual arrow, the mark may point to another event associated with the arrow and its user. It may be a contest winning arrow. We may even not be able to exclude doodles in some cases.

It will *not* be possible to associate the specific Konya Ereğli Museum's socketed arrowheads with one given ethnicity or membership of one of the political communities known from Cybistra's history mentioned above in **Section 2**. In general, they all used them. Luwian- or Phrygian-speaking individuals used these arrowheads, as well as the Cimmerians who were active in the region. There is also the mention of Scythian mercenaries traversing regions between Cappadocia, Media and Lydia (Herodotus 1.73.1–5). The potential impact of Scythian mercenaries should also be considered in Central Anatolia. They may have

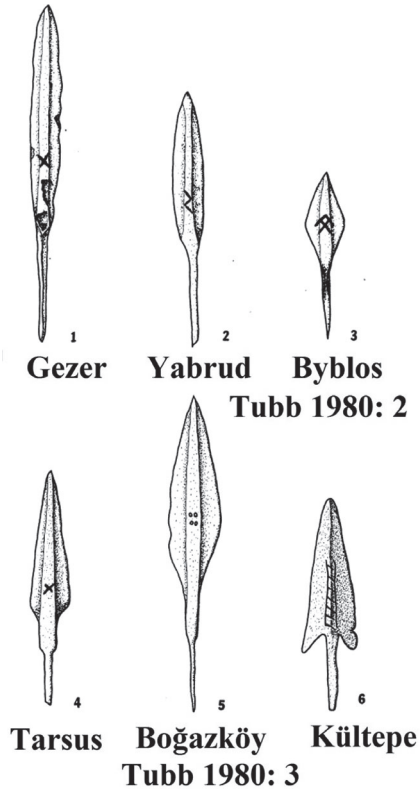

Fig. 5. Incised Bronze Age arrowheads (Tubb 1980: 2, 3).

also interacted with the Cimmerians. The Cimmerians may have had a material culture similar to the early Scythians (see Ivantchik 2001). Some of the "Scythian"-type finds in Cybistra may be associated with them and/or the Scythians active in parts of Anatolia (cf. Yukishima 2003). In any case, however, by the 7th and 6th centuries BC, socketed arrowheads were common in Anatolia and it is very difficult to infer a specific ethnic group. The Konya Ereğli Museum arrowheads should be seen as part of this phenomenon. Their specific ownership cannot be distinguished except to say that inhabitants of Cybistra used these arrowheads.

The use of arrowheads was part of an archery lore and tradition. We have to allow for the possibility that the marks may have been part of a tradition of producing and using arrowheads, passed along in a tradition of master and apprentice. The traditions are associated with the

making of arrowheads from moulds but also the making of a composite bow, which takes a significant amount of time and technical knowledge, in addition to the detailed training of the archer.[16] This leaves me to consider that there is no mere coincidence in the case of the marks on Scythian and the Iron Age Anatolian arrowheads discussed here. Gumarovo and other Eurasian sites could indicate a practice of marking arrows on the Eurasian steppes.[17] The Cimmerians and the Scythians (cf. Yukishima 2003) in Anatolia may also have had a practice of marking some of the arrows, exemplified by the nomadic grave in the Taşova and Ladik region, which may then have been continued by local Tabalian, Central Anatolian and Phrygian (especially Kerkenes) archers in later generations when they adapted the composite bow and its socketed arrowheads. Members of Luwian- or Phrygian-speaking communities may have had even their own new marks on arrowheads, sometimes similar to ones attested in earlier periods.

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16 The lore of Turkish archery, with its technical details as well as its spiritual dimensions, is discussed with ample documentation in Yücel 1999. This is not to argue that the Cimmerian and/or Scythian lore of archery is the same as that of the later Turkish tradition. However, the main components would be the same due to the material facilities available.

17 There are multiple sites with Scythian or Scythian-type arrowheads (e.g. Daragan 2015: 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 151, 154, 155). There is also the example of a Greek amphora incised with two lines on the stem, found in a Scythian burial at burial 2, kurgan 15, Pereschepino cemetery, near the Belsk hillfort in the Poltava region (Sergey Makhortykh, personal communication, 16. 09. 2020). This shows a complex continuity of marking outside of Anatolia. Marks on objects other than arrowheads and how they relate to the present topic will need to be addressed in the future.

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DEBATING ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPHIC IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND

A fresh look at an old question

Silvia Alaura

Abstract: The 1870s mark the beginning in England of studies of the monuments of Syria and Anatolia with inscriptions in what is now called Luwian or Anatolian Hieroglyphic. Here we see the first attempts at deciphering the inscriptions, involving among others the Irish missionary William Wright, the English philologist Rev. Archibald Henry Sayce, and the pioneering English Assyriologist George Smith. The debate develops within religious and learned societies, the British Museum and various clubs, in a mixture of collaboration and rivalry among individual scholars. Research currently under way, based on correspondence and other unpublished archival records mainly kept in Oxford, the preliminary results of which I present here, aims to elucidate lesser-known details of the events and to provide a fuller picture of the practices and methods of scholars of the Victorian period.

Keywords: Anatolian Hieroglyphic, Luwians, Hittites, Victorian England, William Wright, Archibald Henry Sayce, George Smith

The study of what are today known as Luwian or Anatolian hieroglyphic texts began to take hold in the mid-Victorian England of the 1870s. This fits into the wider context of the beginning of Assyriological studies.[1]

The 1870s were a fundamental watershed in the understanding of the various written sources and monuments to be attributed to the Hittites. In particular, a decisive role was played by the study of the then incomprehensible hieroglyphic signs of the inscriptions from the Syrian city of Hama (at that time known as the "Hamathite Stones"), by the

1 For an overview of the development of Hittite studies in England during the 1870s, see Alaura 2017 and Weeden 2017.

identification of Karkemish with the mound near Jerablus, and finally by a renewed interpretation of the Karabel rock relief in Western Anatolia.[2] For the first time, the idea was proposed that the Hittites were a people not of Palestine, but of Northern Syria and Anatolia.

The main protagonists at this earliest stage of British Hittite studies were the Irish missionary William Wright (1837–1899),[3] a member of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), whose purpose was to make the Bible available throughout the world, Archibald Henry Sayce (1845–1933),[4] an Anglican clergyman, then Professor of Comparative Philology and later of Assyriology at Oxford, and George Smith (1840–1876),[5] Senior Assistant in the Assyriology Department of the British Museum.

The aim of my paper is to take a fresh look, based on unpublished documents kept in Oxford archives, at an old question which has engaged modern scholarship: who was the first to come to the conclusion that the "Hamathite" hieroglyphic script should be Hittite?

In the summer of 1873, the Dudley Gallery at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, a well-known entertainment venue in London,[6] was chosen by the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF)[7] for an exhibition of watercolour sketches and photographs of Palestine and of a collection of various objects that came from this region.[8] Among other exhibits were the newly obtained plaster casts of the Hama Stones, which had just arrived in London. For the educated, fascinated, and wealthy Victorian public, the

2 For a detailed description of the nascent corpus of hieroglyphic inscriptions in the 1870s, see Hawkins 2000: 6–7.

3 On Wright, see C[arlyle] 1900 and U. Wright 1988.

4 On Sayce, see, among others, Worthington 2009–2011; Alaura/Bonechi 2018, and Alaura/Bonechi (in press), with further literature.

5 On Smith, see, among others, Walker 2009–2011; Panayotov 2014; Panayotov/Wunsch 2014; see also Evers 1993. Furthermore, see Sayce 1876.

6 The Egyptian Hall, the front of which formed one of the most noticeable features on the southern side of Piccadilly, nearly opposite Bond Street, was erected in 1811–1812, from the designs of Peter Frederick Robinson, for a museum of natural history. The edifice was so named due to its Egyptian style of architecture and ornament, the inclined pilasters and sides being covered with hieroglyphics. The Egyptian Hall was demolished in 1905. Egyptian House, at 170–173 Piccadilly, now occupies the site.

7 The PEF was founded as an independent membership society in 1865 "for the purpose of investigating the Archaeology, Geography, manners, customs and culture, Geology and Natural History of the Holy Land", see Moscrop 2000. During the 1870s, the main PEF project was the Survey of Western Palestine (1871–1878).

8 For the history of the PEF collection, see Cobbing 2017.

main interest in the Hama Stones lay in their undeciphered script and mysterious language. They were exhibited along with the cast of the "Deluge Tablet" (known to modern scholarship as the eleventh tablet of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*), just discovered among the Nineveh tablets of the British Museum by Smith, who a few months before had achieved worldwide fame by presenting and translating it in a lecture to the audience which included the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Prime Minister, William E. Gladstone.[9] Clearly, the PEF wanted the public visiting the Dudley Gallery to be inspired by the idea that the Hama Stones, once deciphered, could also reveal sensational information. They were described as follows in the exhibition catalogue:

> "These remarkable inscribed stones, known to exist since the year 1817, have been made the subject of investigation by several recent travellers, especially by Captain Burton and Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake. They were found at Hamáh, the ancient Hamath. They were regarded by the natives with superstitious awe; and were recently seized by the Pasha of Damascus, who kindly allowed the Rev. William Wright to take casts of the inscriptions. It is from these casts that the restoration here exhibited has been made. Up to the present time, no one has succeeded in reading the inscriptions. The Palestine Exploration Fund has published several valuable papers on them, by the Rev. Dunbar Heath and Mr. Hyde Clarke".[10]

Indeed, in 1872, detailed drawings of the Hama Stones were published by Captain Richard Francis Burton, traveller and explorer and then Consul at Damascus (whose unruly life has ignited the imagination of writers and movie directors),[11] in his two-volume monograph on the exploration of Syria.[12] Burton, who had visited Hama between 28th Feb-

9 Smith 1873.

10 *Catalogue of Water-Colour Sketches, Tracings, Models, Photographs, Pottery, &c., exhibited by the Palestine Exploration Fund*, London 1873: 27. For further details on the making of the plaster casts of the Hama Stones and their display in the PEF's London exhibition of 1873, see Alaura 2017: 34–38.

11 The most impressively researched and reliable life of Burton is Godsall 2008. For Burton's intellectual engagement with the issues of his age, see Gournay 1983 and Kennedy 2005. For a recent re-evaluation of Burton's interdisciplinarity, see Pettitt 2015.

12 Burton/Tyrwhitt-Drake 1872: I, 184–186.

ruary and 5th March of 1871, was in fact convinced of their great historical importance:

> "I believe that the five blocks of basalt at Hamah, covered with hieroglyphs in excellent preservation, may be the opening page to a new chapter in history".[13]

In this same volume, the Hama Stones were discussed by the engineer and philologist Hyde Clarke, who intended to show that the inscriptions were genuine writing and not "vagaries of ornamentation", and that their characters were alphabetical.[14] Burton himself gave a lecture on the Hama Stones on 4th March 1872 in London at the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland – British anthropology's new arena of dispute and a forum for the "scientific" study of racial difference – which had just been founded.[15] Indeed, the nascent debate about the Hama Stones began and developed at a time when evolutionary thought was emerging in the human sciences, and it partly intersected with it.

Burton and Clarke were not the only scholars engaged with the Hama Stones. We also have to recall the pioneering studies by the Rev. Dunbar Isidore Heath,[16] by the Rev. William Hayes Ward of New York – who would become a prominent figure in Hittite studies[17] – and by the French Assyriologist François Lenormant.[18] In May 1874, when Sayce was invited to deliver a report on Semitic and Assyrian philology at the Philological Society in London, he, meaningfully, mentioned the Hama Stones.[19] Sayce's approval of Lenormant and Ward's studies during his speech highlights his cosmopolitanism, as testified by the vast correspondence he undertook with foreign colleagues, which was later brought to an end by the First World War.[20]

However, while all these hypotheses – which for the most part would soon be revealed to be erroneous – were being formulated, the writer and Secretary of the PEF, Walter Besant, was in possession of an unpublished manuscript by the Rev. Wright, the author of the exhibited

13 Burton/Tyrwhitt-Drake 1872: I, 184.
14 Clarke 1872a; Clarke 1872b.
15 Burton 1873.
16 Heath 1873; Heath 1876; Heath 1880.
17 Ward 1873a; Ward 1873b.
18 Lenormant 1873.
19 Sayce 1874: 368.
20 Alaura/Bonechi (in press).

plaster casts. Therein, he correctly attributed the Hama inscriptions to the Hittites – but nobody in London wanted to publish his manuscript. While he was still in Syria, at the close of 1872, Wright had in fact written a historical overview of the inscriptions from Hama, arguing that they should be attributed to the Hittites. This article was clearly not considered suitable for the PEF's *Quarterly Statement*, where only a short *memorandum* devoted to the making of the casts was published.[21] Wright's unpublished manuscript was then submitted by Besant to the weekly journal *The Athenaeum*, but again without success, probably because of its religious overtones. Wright's manuscript was not published until 1874, when it appeared in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, a publication not specifically devoted to Oriental Studies.[22] The proposal that the Hama inscriptions belonged to the Hittites had never been formulated before, and was expressed very briefly by Wright, on general grounds:

> "From all the evidence before me, external and internal, I am inclined to believe that we have in these inscriptions some declaration from the Hittites themselves".[23]

The idea must date back to 1872, because a reference by Wright to the forthcoming publication of his *memorandum* for the PEF reveals that the manuscript did not undergo revision during the period in which a publisher was being found.[24] Even after its publication, Wright's article was not widely distributed, and consequently his proposal that the Hama inscriptions should be attributed to the Hittites made no impact at all.

Looking back some twenty years later, in 1892, Wright gave a lecture at the PEF in front of the old plaster casts of the Hama inscriptions, in

21 Wright 1873. In the *memorandum* Wright gave a detailed account of the eventful story of the making of the casts, provided a description of the stones and the inscriptions, and concluded that "they seem to have been intended to be publicly read, and were therefore doubtless in the vernacular of the people of Hamah". At that time, the copies of the Hama casts had not yet arrived in London, as shown by an editorial note dated 31 March 1873 on p. 77 of the *memorandum*. For more details on the matter of the non-publication of Wright's manuscript, see Alaura 2017: 41–43.

22 Wright 1874.

23 Wright 1874: 96.

24 Wright 1874: 90.

which he described, with perhaps a touch of false modesty, how he had reached his conclusions:

> "I claim no credit beyond the exercise of a little common sense for suggesting that the Hamah inscriptions were Hittite remains".[25]

The text that Wright read was more like a sermon than a history lecture, interwoven with anecdotes, direct speech and rhetorical questions. Not only were the Hittites materially "proven" to have existed, but also his outline of the rediscovery of the Hittite Empire served as a parable to show his audience that Truth always triumphs, or as a powerful metaphor for thinking about Truth and Justice:

> "I put on record these items in connection with the Hittites to encourage any who may have stumbled on a truth to hold by it. A little breeze of ridicule and hostility will not kill. Truth can afford to wait; she is used to it".[26]

In 1876, two years after the publication of Wright's article, Sayce suggested a correlation between the Hama Stones and the land of Kheta-Ḫatti, which apparently indicated the location of this land in Syria.[27] In a lecture delivered to a meeting of the London-based academic Society of Biblical Archaeology (SBA)[28] on 2nd May of that year, Sayce claimed that the Hama writing was Hittite:

> "Who the inventors were it is of course impossible to determine with certainty, but it is extremely likely that they belonged to the great Hittite race".[29]

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25 Wright 1892: 36.

26 Wright 1892: 40.

27 Sayce 1877.

28 Despite its name, the work of the SBA did not limit itself to biblical studies. According to its statutes, the aim of the Society was to promote "the investigation of the Archaeology, Chronology, Geography, and History, of Ancient and Modern Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, and other Biblical Lands, the promotion of the study of the Antiquities of those countries, and the preservation of a continuous record of discoveries, now or hereafter to be in progress". On the SBA and its aims, see, among others, Moorey 1991: 1–24.

29 Sayce 1877: 27.

Sayce showed a list of "Hamathite Hieroglyphics" from Ward's aforementioned 1873 publication,[30] comparing them with the Cypriot characters. Sayce thought that the Hittite hieroglyphic script was at the origin of the Cypriot syllabary. And this convinction, which he maintained even in the following years, as also shown by his correspondence,[31] hindered his decipherment attempts.[32]

Later on, Sayce argued that he had not heard of Wright's 1874 article when he delivered his paper on the "Hamathite Inscriptions" in 1876, and that he had reached his conclusions by following his own intellectual path.[33] And Wright himself took Sayce at his word and always held Sayce in high esteem, as demonstrated by their later collaboration in the 1880s.[34]

The question whether Sayce was unaware of Wright's article has been long debated by modern scholars.[35] Now, an unpublished letter by Sayce dated 16th October 1884, kept at The Queen's College, Oxford (**Fig. 1**),[36] puts an end to the question. It was sent to his friend Isaac Taylor, the Anglican clergyman who, during the 1870s, was Rector of Settrington, North Yorkshire, and who is chiefly remembered today as the author of an influential book on the history of writing entitled *The Alphabet*.[37] Taylor, while writing his review of Wright's just published book *The Empire of the Hittites*,[38] asked Sayce if he, in 1876, was aware of Wright's 1874 hypothesis. In his reply letter, Sayce explicitly wrote to his lifelong friend that he had never heard of Wright's suggestion about the Hittite origin of the Hamathite texts. Sayce's statement must

30 Ward 1873b.

31 See for example the letter from Sayce to Eduard Meyer, 23 June 1883 *(Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Nachlass Ed. Meyer, Nr. 1151)* published in Alaura 2015: 29.

32 For a comparison between Wright's and Sayce's results with those of modern scholarship, see Weeden 2017: 123–128.

33 Sayce 1882: 248; Sayce 1888: 59–60.

34 Wright's judgment on Sayce was always very flattering: "He [Sayce] has the archaeological imagination combined with genius, and his steps are so scholarly, that even when he errs he advances towards the final solution" (Wright 1892: 43).

35 See de Roos 1995: 267–268.

36 This letter is published in the Appendix below. For an overview of Sayce's legacy kept at The Queen's College, Oxford, see Alaura/Bonechi 2018.

37 Taylor 1883.

38 Wright's book (Wright 1884) also included a philological contribution by Sayce devoted to "Decipherment of Hittite Inscriptions" (pp. 168–188). Taylor's review was published in *The British Quarterly Review,* the journal of Congregational Nonconformists (Taylor 1885, see especially 114–115).

be considered as sincere, due to the general freedom of expression that characterised the correspondence between the two scholars. The letter also helps to better understand the way that led Sayce to his conclusion and its difference from Wright's one. Actually, Wright's article probably was never widely read, because it was published in a periodical better known to theologians than to orientalists.

However, it seems to me that one should rather ask: what was Sayce's scientific environment when he gave his lecture in May 1876? In the middle of the 1870s, he was quite closely linked to the British Museum, in particular to Smith and the renowned Assyriologist Sir Henry Rawlinson. It is within this circle that we must locate Sayce's path that probably independently led him to reach the same conclusion as Wright.

Sayce's comparison of Hamathite Hieroglyphics with Cypriot characters is in fact to be linked to the attempt made by Smith in those same years to decipher the Cypriot script.[39] Sayce had boundless admiration for Smith's qualities as a decipherer, as is clear from the obituary he wrote in the weekly illustrated scientific journal *Nature*.[40] During the first half of the 1870s, Sayce and Smith had more common research topics than supposed till now. Their professional relationship, primarily based on their shared fascination with the as yet undeciphered scripts, is also shown by their unpublished correspondence.[41]

Notwithstanding this, however, when Sayce presented his paper devoted to the "Hamathite Inscriptions" on 2nd May 1876, he was probably unaware that Smith, while staying at Jerablus just few weeks before, had reached his same conclusions. In fact, the study of the hieroglyphic inscription carved on the back of the huge basalt stele of the goddess Kubaba, today known as KARKAMIŠ A31[42] (whose top part has recently been found and published),[43] led Smith to identify the mound near Jerablus with Karkemish and to attribute to the Hittites the Hama Stones. Smith's interpretation is now known thanks to the account of his assis-

39 Smith 1872.

40 Sayce 1876. See also Alaura 2017: 49.

41 Letter from G. Smith to A. H. Sayce, 28th September 1872 (Griffith Institute, Oxford, Sayce MSS. B 28d) and letter from G. Smith to A. H. Sayce, 14th January 1875[!] (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. lett. d. 62, fols. 142–144).

42 The accurate copy of this inscription made by Smith in his 1876 notebook has been published in David Hawkins' *Corpus* (Hawkins 2000: 140–143, Pls. 40–41). See now Marchetti/Peker 2018: Fig. 2.

43 See Marchetti/Peker 2018 (Fragment A, Figs. 2, 16).

tant, the Bulgarian Peter Mateev (a.k.a. Mathewson), recently published by Strahil Panayotov.[44] Reporting the events of March 1876, Mathewson recorded retrospectively that Smith was among those who thought the Hama Stones were Hittite.[45]

As research currently stands, it is difficult to establish precisely when the news of Smith's discoveries and achievements reached England, and more particularly Sayce. Certainly, they were made known officially by Rawlinson on 29th May 1876 during the 53rd Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, therefore four weeks after Sayce's lecture. Rawlinson announced that the inscriptions found at Karkemish were Hittite, and that the Hittites were the chief people occupying the region between Egypt and Assyria.[46] Rawlinson also declared that he had not yet received any copies of the inscriptions from Smith.

We know that Smith communicated his discoveries to the Egyptologist Samuel Birch, then Keeper of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, in a letter dated 5th April, in which he suggested that excavating at Karkemish would be easier and more fruitful than at Nineveh. In this letter, Smith used the term "Hittite" to describe the hieroglyphic inscriptions from both Hama and Karkemish:

> "I have used my time here in making examinations of the country and I have discovered the site of Carchemish, the great Hittite capital. I found many sculptures and an inscription of the Hittite period on a monolith, which I tried in vain to move. I wanted to send it to the Museum; it would form a unique monument there. The characters are in Hittite hieroglyphics (so called Hamath character) and it is the longest inscription yet found".[47]

However, according to the date of stamp, Smith's letter arrived at the British Museum on 14th June 1876. Perhaps Sayce was informed of Smith's discoveries by someone of the Museum, but there is no trace of this, whereas instead I have recently found in the Bodleian Library,

44 See Panayotov 2014. See also Panayotov/Wunsch 2014: 191–199.

45 See Panayotov 2014: 47.

46 See Colebrooke 1877: XLVIII.

47 Letter from G. Smith to S. Birch, Dep. Orient Antiq. at BM, Aleppo April 5th 1876 (British Museum Original Papers 51 May–July 1876, c5 Aug. 76 Stamp: BM 14 Jun. 1876 No. 3024), quoted after Panayotov 2014: 49.

Oxford, the letter dated 4th September 1876, in which Birch informed Sayce of Smith's untimely death in August in Aleppo:

> "A telegram has reached here this morning from Mr. Mathewson of Constantinople announcing that Mr. George Smith died on the 19th August at Aleppo.[48] I can not tell you how distressed I am at it as his return was daily expected and what affliction and distress it will cause his wife and children. I have suggested that a telegraph should be sent to Aleppo to inquire of the Consul.[49] The report is probably true as it is said particulars will be sent by letter so much for the 'final East' as the Egyptians called it which destroys so many good European lives".[50]

Therefore, it seems very probable that Sayce and Smith, in the spring of 1876, arrived at the same time and independently at the conclusions that the Hamathite hieroglyphic inscriptions had to be attributed to the Hittites. In fact, in his already mentioned 1884 letter to Taylor, Sayce wrote that his conclusion was soon confirmed by the discovery of Hittite monuments on the site of Karkemish by Smith.[51]

Archival documents also shed new light on another turning point of the studies on Anatolian Hieroglyphic. In 1879, Sayce came to the conclusion that all the monuments then known with associated hieroglyphic inscriptions from both Syria and Anatolia – among which we may cite Yazılıkaya and Nişantaş, İvriz, Sipylus, and the Karabel relief – should be attributed to the Hittites. Sayce himself retrospectively described this as "my Hittite theory of 1879", formed during one of his stays at Settrington visiting Taylor. The importance Sayce attributed to this stay is shown by the many references he made to it, both in his 1923 autobiography entitled *Reminiscences*[52] and also in his letters, includ-

48 Mathewson's telegram is kept in the archives of the British Museum (BM OP 51 C 14 Oct. 76, Stamp: BM 4 Sept. 1876), see Panayotov/Wunsch 2014: 192 n. 4.

49 A communication from James Skene, the British Consul in Aleppo, arrived the next day at the British Museum, see Panayotov/Wunsch 2014: 192 n. 4.

50 Letter from S. Birch to A. H. Sayce, 4th September 1876 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. lett. d. 62, fols. 257–258). I wish to express my gratitude to the Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for the kind permission to study and publish its archival materials.

51 See the Appendix below.

52 See Sayce 1923: 161–162.

ing, among others, the aforementioned one sent to Taylor in 1884.[53] In The Queen's College archive are also kept the painstaking drawings and notes of hieroglyphic signs made by Sayce, in this circumstance on the letterhead of the Settrington Rectory (**Fig. 2**).[54]

Sayce presented his hypothesis in a lecture given at the Athenaeum Club on 4th August 1879, published a few days later in the weekly periodical *The Academy* (16th August 1879).[55] The Athenaeum Club was one of the venues for meeting and discussion for orientalists of the 1870s. These were members of a smaller dining club within the Athenaeum that included, among others, Rawlinson and Austen Henry Layard. Their dinners on Sunday evenings are described in detail by Sayce in his autobiography.[56] A few days after his Athenaeum lecture, Sayce began the first of his travels through the East, in order to gain first-hand knowledge of Western Anatolia. To that end, Sayce turned to Layard, who was British Ambassador in Constantinople (from April 1877 to May 1880). Layard supported Sayce's stay in Anatolia in many ways, and archival documents show how Sayce called upon Layard for his research programme in Asia Minor to further promote the study of Hittite culture.[57]

Thanks to Layard, Patrick Henderson, the British Consul in Aleppo, had just received a *firman* and conducted the first excavations at Karkemish on behalf of the British Museum (intermittently between 1878 and 1881), during which further inscribed stone blocks were recovered and shipped to London. Layard's support for Sayce and his contribution to obtaining the *firman* for the excavations at Jerablus entitle us to consider him, albeit from a completely different perspective, as the fourth major player in the progress of Hittite studies in England during the 1870s, along with Wright, Sayce, and Smith.

Back in London from his journey, on 6th July 1880, Sayce presented a paper "The Monuments of the Hittites" to the SBA – the same audience of his 1876 communication on the "The Hamathite Inscriptions" – setting out what was then known with certainty of the Hittite Empire, its

53 See the Appendix below. See also the letter from Sayce to Ed. Meyer, 6th May 1909 (*Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Nachlass Ed. Meyer, Nr. 1151*), published in Alaura 2015: 30.

54 The Queen's College, Oxford, Sayce Papers, Barnett Legacy, MS 759/5, 3.1.

55 Sayce 1879.

56 Sayce 1923: 123–124. On Sayce and the Athenaeum Club, see Alaura 2015; Alaura 2020 and Alaura/Bonechi (in press).

57 For Sayce and Layard, see in detail Alaura 2020.

extent and history. On this occasion, Sayce definitively confirmed that the Hama script should no longer be called "Hamathite", but rather "Hittite Hieroglyphic", the name by which it has remained known until recently. The content of Sayce's communication was soon made available in the *Proceedings* of the SBA,[58] as well as in inexpensive penny dailies, accessible to a broader audience,[59] while the detailed text of the paper was published in the *Transactions* of the SBA two years later.[60]

From the *Proceedings* we also learn that, during his presentation, Sayce read a letter from W. St. Chad Boscawen, a former Assistant in the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, who briefly directed the fieldwork at Karkemish.[61] Boscawen's letter to Sayce contained some rough sketches of Hittite monuments, including those from Karkemish made by Boscawen himself during his stay there. This letter can now be identified as the four-page undated manuscript kept among Sayce's papers in The Queen's College, Oxford.[62] Therefore, this hitherto unknown letter is a welcome complement to the unpublished report signed by Boscawen and dated "Aleppo 1880", kept at the British Museum.[63] They both are important additional pieces of information to add to the few communications published by Boscawen in that same year.[64]

In conclusion, progress in the study of hieroglyphic inscriptions in England in the 1870s was achieved by a wide, inhomogeneous scientific community, composed of scholars belonging to different research fields and structures, who used practices and methods of remarkable intellectual complexity. So, the old question "to whom does the credit for this discovery go?" should be replaced by the more basic questions "how were those scientific ideas conceived?" and definitively "how did knowledge develop?"

58 Sayce 1880a.

59 Sayce 1880b.

60 Sayce 1882.

61 Sayce 1880a: 78. For the controversial figure of Boscawen and his career trajectory, see Horry 2015 and also Evers 1993. For Boscawen's participation in Karkemish excavations, see Marchetti/Peker 2018, with further references.

62 W. St. Ch. Boscawen to A. H. Sayce, The Queen's College, Oxford, Sayce Papers, Barnett Legacy, MS 759/5, 3.1. Boscawen sent to Sayce, during the 1880s, various pieces of information on the Hittite inscriptions, see the letters kept at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dated 25th August 1880 and 8th October 1880.

63 For this latter document, see Marchetti/Peker 2018: 83–84, with references to earlier publications.

64 Boscawen 1880a; Boscawen 1880b.

APPENDIX:

LETTER FROM ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE TO ISAAC TAYLOR (**Fig. 1**)[65]

Oct. 16/84.

My dear Doctor,

I am glad to hear that the Hittites have fallen into such good hands. Are you going to introduce them to the St. James's Gazette?

I will answer your questions to the best of my ability.

(1) The references in my Appendix were made to the copies of inscriptions in my own possession. I did not see the published copies till the book was out, & two of the inscriptions I refer to (the Gerash one & the Carchemish one copied by Boscawen) do not appear in it.

(2) I never heard of Wright's suggestion about the Hittite origin of the Hamathite texts till he wrote to tell me of it after the reading of my Hittite Monuments Paper in 1880. That the Egyptian Khita were the Assyrian Khattai & Hebrew Hithites was familiar to me as far back as I can remember, & is as old as the days of Rawlinson & Hincks. But the reasons that led me to conjecture that the Hamathite texts were Hittite are given in my paper on them in the T.S.B.A V.1. (1876). They were: (1) that the characters used at Hamath were also found at Ibreez, showing them to be a work of a northern people inhabiting the region assigned to the Hittites by cuneiform inscriptions; (2) that the Egyptian monuments show that the Hittites possessed a system of writing & scribes; (3) that the Hittite proper names are not Semitic, while the chances are against a Semitic people inventing a system of hieroglyphs like those at Hamath.

65 The Queen's College, Oxford, Sayce MS 531, fol. 85. I am deeply grateful to the Provost and Fellows of The Queen's College, Oxford, for giving me permission to publish this letter.

The discovery of Hittite monuments on the site of Carchemish by George Smith shortly afterwards confirmed my conclusion.

The discovery of the Hittite Empire in Asia Minor & also of the origin of Asianic art was made under the inspiration of the air of Settrington in 1879. You doubtless remember the occasion. I wrote to the Academy about the event & prophesied that I should find Hittite characters at Karabel.

I send you Dunbar Heath & Hyde Clarke. I hope you will understand the latter better than I do.

How is it you write from Settrington? I expected you to be at Worcester or Oxford.

Ever yours

A. H. Sayce.

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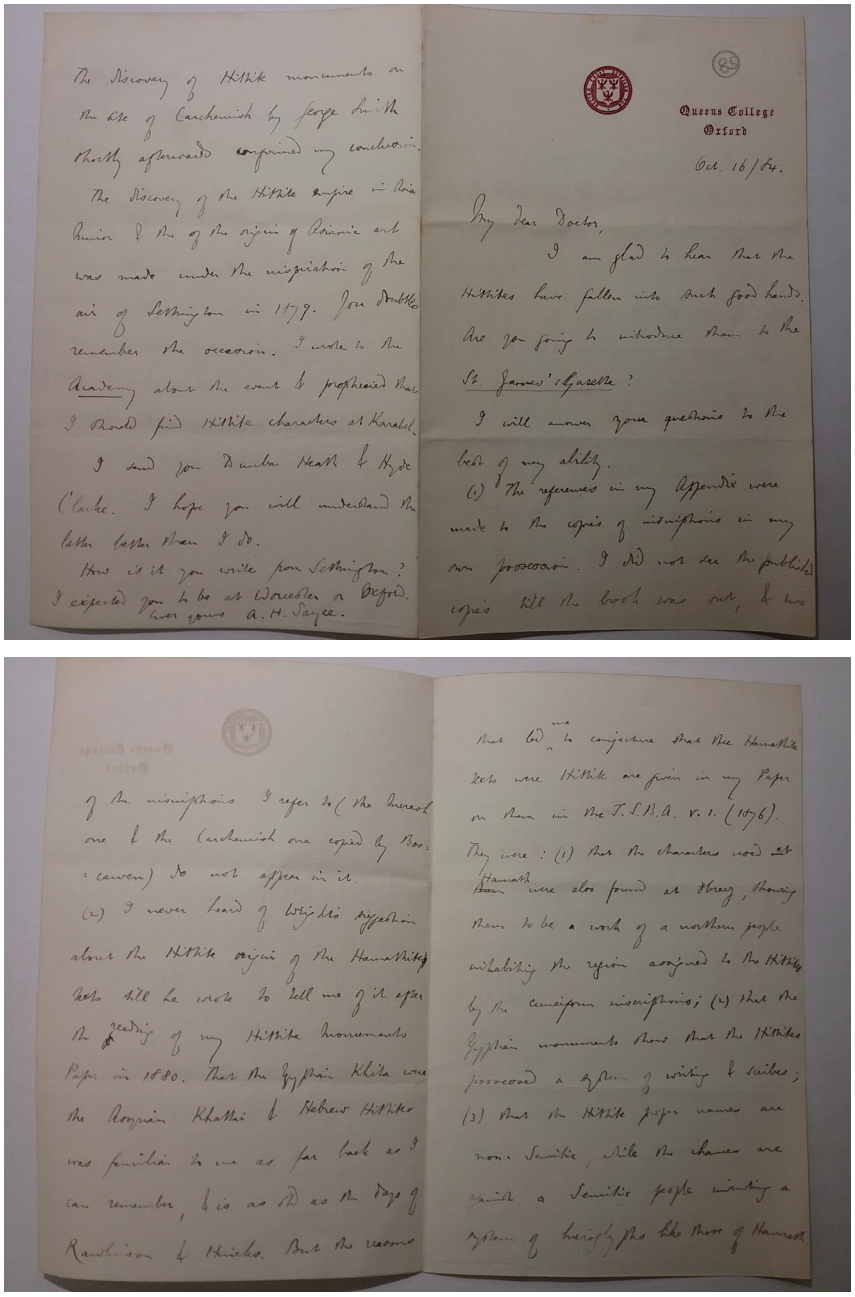

Fig. 1. Letter from Archibald Henry Sayce to Isaac Taylor
(© The Queen's College, Oxford, Sayce MS 531, fol. 85).

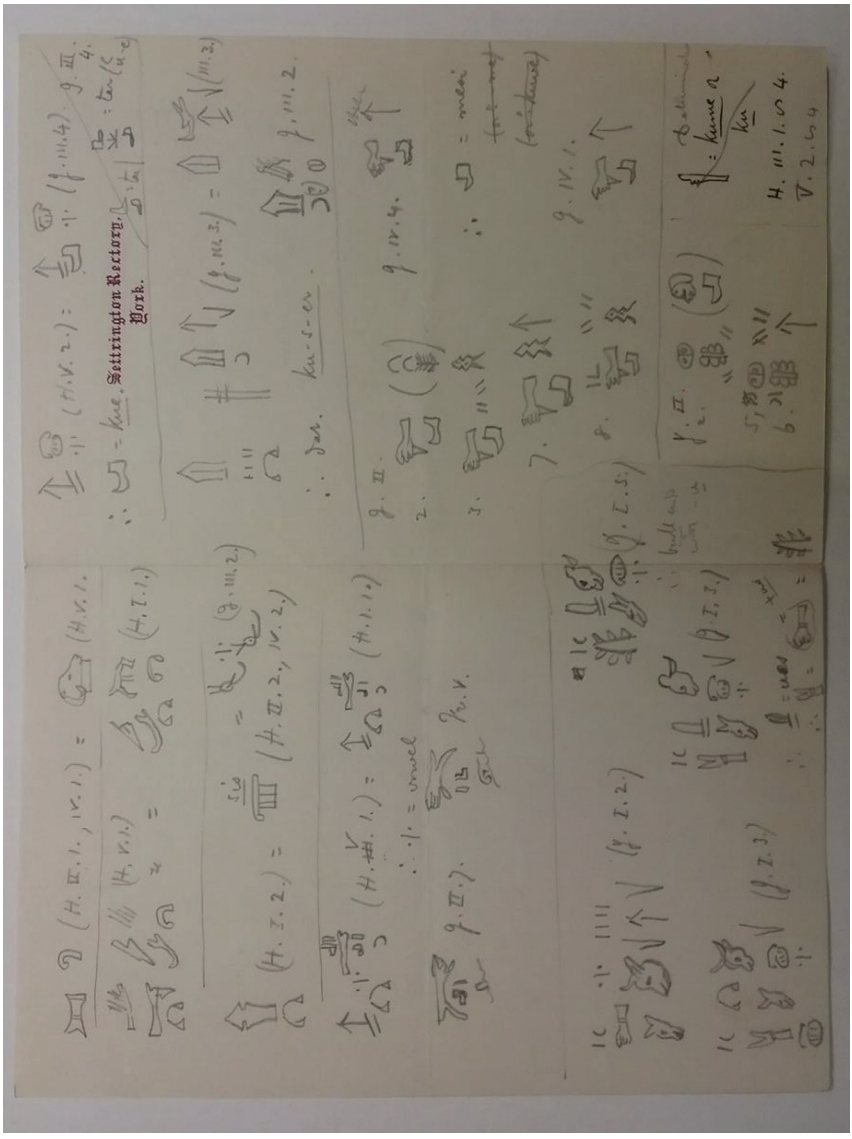

Fig. 2. Drawings of hieroglyphic signs made by A. H. Sayce at Settrington in 1879 (© The Queen's College, Oxford, Sayce Papers, Barnett Legacy, MS 759/5, 3.1.).

UN SOLDAT PHRYGIEN QUI PARLE GREC DANS L'ARMÉE PERSE

Timothée de Milet, *Perses*, 140–161

Milena Anfosso

Abstract: After the conquest of the Lydian capital Sardis by Cyrus the Great in 546 BC, the complex geopolitical situation of Anatolia was reduced for the first time to political and administrative unity. However, the ethnolinguistic context remained heterogeneous thanks to the tolerant linguistic policy of the Persians. The linguistic repertoire of Anatolia during the Achaemenid era included many varieties: 1) the dominators' languages, i.e. old Persian and Aramaic; 2) the epichoric languages, such as Phrygian, Lydian, Lycian, etc.; 3) Greek, whose penetration into the intermediate zone between the western coast and the Anatolian hinterland was indirectly promoted by the Achaemenid administration. In this multilingual context, the scene represented by Timotheus of Miletus in his nome *Persae* (late 5th century BC) is not implausible. In one of the direct speeches describing the Battle of Salamis (480 BC), the poet gives the floor to a soldier from Kelainai, engaged in the Persian army. After having been seized by his Greek aggressor (140–149), the soldier begs him to spare his life, speaking in broken Greek (150–161). The incomplete linguistic competence of a non-native speaker in a target language is known as a linguistic register called *broken language*, which can be easily imitated by a native speaker through a register called *secondary foreigner talk*. Commentators have often focused on the "grammatical mistakes" present in the soldier's speech, considering their analysis as an end in itself. However, it seems much more interesting to situate these deviations from the norm of Greek language in the framework of *secondary foreigner talk*, in order to understand the strategies used by Timotheus to reproduce in a credible way the type of Greek spoken by a non-native speaker. Since Kelainai is considered the "Phrygian city" par excellence in Greek literature, we might assume that the soldier's mother tongue was Phrygian. In line with this hypothesis, and in light of the latest knowledge of Phrygian, it is possible to see the extent to which Timotheus pushed his mimesis, allowing us to identify the

elements of the Phrygian's speech that would actually be compatible with an Ionic Greek dialect learned by a non-native speaker of Phrygian origin, and to distinguish them from those attributable only to the poet's linguistic creativity in the literary *secondary foreigner talk*.

Keywords: Ionian Greek, Phrygian, ancient sociolinguistics, Timotheus of Miletus, *Persae*, broken language, secondary foreigner talk, Kelainai

1 INTRODUCTION[1]

Les vers 140–161 des *Perses* constituent un remarquable échantillon de l'extraordinaire capacité mimétique du poète Timothée de Milet, qui met en scène un soldat originaire de Kélainai (aujourd'hui Dinar, en Turquie), engagé dans l'armée perse et parlant en *broken Greek* à son agresseur grec lors de la bataille de Salamine (480 av. J.-C.). Kélainai est toujours définie comme une ville « phrygienne » dans les sources historiques grecques (Ivantchik/von Kienlin/Summerer 2013: 222). C'est pour cela qu'il est possible d'avancer l'hypothèse que le phrygien soit la langue maternelle du soldat[2]. Afin de mesurer le degré de *mimesis* dont Timothée fait preuve dans les vers en question, je vais d'abord contextualiser la situation plurilingue de la Phrygie à l'époque achéménide. Ensuite, après avoir présenté le texte en grec avec sa traduction française, je vais effectuer une analyse linguistique des vers 150–161, en me servant d'outils conceptuels élaborés à partir des langues contemporaines (mais applicables aussi à l'Antiquité), dans le but de repérer les éléments ioniens, phrygiens et, plus généralement, « anatoliens » pré-

1 Cet article est issu des recherches dans le cadre de ma thèse sur les rapports sociolinguistiques entre Grec(s) et Phrygien(s), soutenue à l'Université Sorbonne avec les félicitations du Jury (Anfosso 2019). J'ai à coeur de remercier mes deux encadrants, Markus Egetmeyer (Sorbonne) et Brent Vine (UCLA). Je tiens également à remercier le Center for Hellenic Studies de l'Université de Harvard pour m'avoir permis de continuer mes recherches sur les *Perses* de Timothée de Milet malgré la crise sanitaire mondiale. Je reste la seule responsable des éventuelles fautes contenues dans ce travail.

2 Du point de vue géographique, Kélainai se trouve entre Phrygie méridionale et Lydie : sa position permet de postuler une certaine influence lydienne dans le même passage poétique. Pour une analyse des traits linguistiques et culturels compatibles avec un background lydien, voir Anfosso (à paraître).

sents dans le discours du soldat phrygien, afin de les interpréter correctement dans les conclusions.

2 LA PHRYGIE À L'ÉPOQUE ACHÉMÉNIDE

Suite à la conquête de la capitale lydienne Sardes par Cyrus le Grand en 546 av. J.-C., l'évènement qui marque officiellement l'annexion de l'Anatolie à l'Empire Achéménide, la complexe situation géopolitique de cette région est réduite pour la première fois à l'unité politique et administrative. Toutefois, le cadre ethnolinguistique anatolien s'avère très hétérogène (Hawkins 2010: 213–216) grâce à la capacité des Perses d'exercer un contrôle flexible sur des territoires très différents, en s'adaptant aux nombreux contextes ethniques dans le respect des langues épichoriques[3] et des identités locales (Basello 2013). En ce qui concerne la Phrygie, la date précise de la bipartition en deux satrapies distinctes[4], à savoir Grande Phrygie[5] et Phrygie Hellespontique (ou Petite Phrygie ou Phrygie Epictète, avec Daskyleion comme capitale), faisait l'objet de discussions déjà dans l'Antiquité (Fiedler 2003: 29). C'est pour cela que l'on va considérer la Phrygie comme un ensemble unitaire d'un point de vue culturel, malgré les divisions administratives survenues au cours des siècles. Le répertoire linguistique en Phrygie à l'époque achéménide inclut de nombreuses variétés.

3 Parmi les langues épichoriques attestées, on compte le phrygien, une langue balkanique génétiquement liée au grec, aussi bien que le lydien, le carien, le lycien et le pisidien, des langues du groupe anatolien. Les langues parlées mais jamais écrites devaient être encore plus nombreuses, comme, p. ex., le « caunien » (Hérodote 1, 172), apparenté au carien, ou le « torébien », apparenté au lydien (Xanthos de Lydie, FGrHist 765 F 16 = BNJ 765 F 16).

4 Dans la description des satrapies de Darius, Hérodote (3, 90) ne définit pas deux ensembles en Phrygie, et il se limite à énoncer qu'elle fait partie de la troisième satrapie. La plus ancienne mention explicite d'une bipartition de la Phrygie apparaît chez Xanthos de Lydie, cité par Strabon (1, 49) ; ensuite, dans la *Cyropédie* de Xénophon (1, 1, 4 ; 7, 4, 8 ; 7, 4, 16), ce qui ferait pencher pour une division survenue au cours du IVe siècle av. J.-C. La description la plus complète des deux Phrygies se trouve chez Strabon (12, 8, 1–13), mais comme il présente la situation au Ier siècle ap. J.-C., le cadre reste incertain pour les siècles précédents.

5 Il faut souligner la décadence de Gordion sous le royaume lydien d'Alyatte (610–561 av. J.-C.), pour devenir ensuite un véritable entrepôt des Perses sous les Achéménides (Voigt/Young 1999).

2.1 Les langues des dominateurs : vieux perse et araméen

Les Iraniens devaient être nombreux dans les satrapies d'Asie Mineure où ils constituaient l'élite aristocratique aussi bien que le personnel satrapique (Briant 1985: 168). Le vieux perse était présent en tant que variété haute, et parlé dans la sphère restreinte de la cour et de la chancellerie. En Phrygie, l'évidence épigraphique atteste que le cunéiforme achéménide était utilisé dans le cadre des correspondances épistolaires, comme les bulles avec les noms de Xerxès et Artaxerxès en vieux perse retrouvées dans l'archive découverte à Daskyleion, et datables du Ve–IVe siècles av. J.-C., en témoignent (Kaptan 2002 ; Benvenuto 2016: 30–31). La présence de l'araméen en Phrygie est confirmée aussi par une dizaine de bulles retrouvées à Daskyleion (Lemaire/Lozachmeur 1996: 95 ; Kaptan 2002) et par un sceau-cylindre retrouvé à Gordion (Lemaire/Lozachmeur 1996: 107). L'araméen devait représenter, comme ailleurs dans l'empire, la langue standardisée de l'administration suprarégionale aussi bien que la langue d'intégration sociale des classes élevées. Les données épigraphiques de Daskyleion témoignent de l'utilisation de cette langue aussi dans des contextes fonctionnels différents de ceux de l'administration, notamment pour des stèles funéraires liées aux Sémites de la garnison militaire (Lemaire 2001: 34).

2.2 Phrygien

À l'époque achéménide, la quasi-totalité du corpus épigraphique en phrygien est constituée d'inscriptions appartenant à la phase de la langue définie paléo-phrygienne[6] (IXe–IVe siècles av. J.-C.), écrite en alphabet épichorique[7]. La composante ethno-linguistique phrygienne s'exprime à travers une riche production épigraphique, qui témoigne d'une présence phrygienne bien active sur le territoire entre 550 et 330 av. J.-C. On retrouve des inscriptions sur stèles en contexte votif et funéraire, comme la fameuse stèle bilingue gréco-phrygienne de Vezirhan (B-05), datable entre la fin du Ve et le début du IVe siècle av. J.-C. (Neu-

6 Les inscriptions citées dans cet article font référence à la numérotation canonique de Brixhe/Lejeune 1984. Le corpus paléo-phrygien a été récemment re-publié dans son intégralité (y comprises les inscriptions publiées en dehors de Brixhe/Lejeune 1984 et suppléments (Brixhe 2002 ; Brixhe 2004)) par Obrador-Cursach 2020: 427–523.

7 Pour une bonne description de l'alphabet épichorique phrygien, voir Obrador-Cursach 2020: 27–52, avec références.

mann 1997 ; Brixhe 2004: 42–67), aussi bien que des marques de propriété gravées sur des tessons en terre cuite, comme ceux de Daskyleion (Brixhe 1996) et Dorylaion (Brixhe/Tüfekçi Sivas 2009). Il faut remarquer l'absence de sceaux avec une légende en langue phrygienne dans l'archive de Daskyleion (Kaptan 2002). Cette constatation fournirait un indice important quant au fait que cette langue n'était pas utilisée dans les contextes administratifs de la satrapie, et n'était pas considérée comme une variété de prestige. Toutefois, malgré leur modestie, la grande quantité de marques de propriété sur vase (en particulier à Gordion) témoigne d'une large diffusion de la littératie en Phrygie à l'époque achéménide parmi les phrygophones.

2.3 Grec

L'administration achéménide joua un rôle très important pour la pénétration du grec dans l'arrière-pays anatolien, qui n'avait pas été vraiment perméable à l'influence des Grecs jusqu'à ce moment-là, grâce à l'annexion des colonies grecques de la côte aux satrapies anatoliennes (Asheri 1983: 15–82). La zone entre la côte occidentale, majoritairement grecque, et l'arrière-pays anatolien, était devenue au cours de la période achéménide le lieu privilégié des échanges et de la coexistence multilingue entre les Grecs, les Perses et les indigènes. La découverte à Daskyleion d'un sceau avec sa légende en grec a confirmé la présence de Grecs bilingues et d'extraction moyenne-élevée aussi dans l'administration de la satrapie de Phrygie Hellespontique (Kaptan 2002: DS 144). Les inscriptions institutionnelles multilingues où la langue grecque occupe une place privilégiée (Benvenuto/Lucidi/Pompeo 2015) sont explicables par la volonté de répliquer le modèle de communication plurilingue des inscriptions monumentales achéménides aussi dans les zones périphériques, en conformité avec l'importance toujours croissante du grec et de ses locuteurs. Par contre, la seule inscription bilingue gréco-phrygienne retrouvée en Phrygie à l'époque achéménide, la stèle de Vezirhan (Neumann 1997 ; Brixhe 2004: 42–67, B-05), n'a rien à voir avec le contexte administratif, sûrement à cause du rôle subordonné du phrygien et de ses locuteurs à ce moment historique.

3 LES PERSES DE TIMOTHÉE DE MILET

Dans ce contexte plurilingue, caractérisé par un échange continuel entre les langues des dominateurs, la langue grecque et les langues épichoriques, la scène représentée par Timothée de Milet dans son nome[8] au titre *Les Perses* n'est pas invraisemblable. Timothée était né en 446 av. J.-C. à Milet, une colonie ionienne d'Asie Mineure, ce qui fait qu'il devait avoir une certaine expérience de la situation linguistique anatolienne à l'époque achéménide.

Le nome dont il est question ici, les *Perses*, joué probablement à Athènes entre 419 et 399–396 av. J.-C. (Janssen 1984: 22), est une narration de la bataille navale de Salamine, qui opposa les Grecs et les Perses au cours de la deuxième guerre Médique en 480 av. J.-C. Timothée raconte la bataille du point de vue des Perses sous la double forme de la description diégétique aussi bien que dramatique. Dans l'un des discours directs, le poète décide de donner la parole à un humble soldat originaire de la ville de Kélainai, engagé dans l'armée perse. Il supplie son agresseur grec, qui vient de le saisir et de le traîner brutalement par les cheveux, de lui épargner la vie en parlant en *broken Greek*.

Voici le texte en grec (d'après Lambin 2013: 137–138), qui se base sur l'édition de Page (1962)[9], et la traduction des vers en français réalisée par mes soins :

Ἐπεὶ δέ τις λαβών ἄγοι (140) / πολυβότων Κελαινᾶν / οἰκήτορ'
ὀρφανὸν μαχᾶν / σιδαρόκωπος Ἕλλαν, / ἄγει κόμης ἐπισπάσας, / ὁ δ'
ἀμφὶ γόνασι περιπλεκεὶς (145) / ἐλισσετ', Ἑλλάδ' ἐμπλέκων / Ἀσιάδι
φωνᾷ διάτορον / σφραγῖδα θραύων στόματος, / Ἰάονα γλῶσσαν
ἐξιχνεύων˙/ Ἔπω10 μοί σοι κῶς καὶ τί πρᾶγμα; (150) / αὖτις οὐδάμ'
ἔλθω·/ καὶ νῦν ἐμὸς δεσπότης / δεῦρό μ' ἐνθάδ' ἤξει·/ τὰ λοιπὰ δ'
οὐκέτι, πάτερ, / οὐκέτι μαχέσ' αὖτις ἐνθ<άδ>' ἔρχω, (155) /ἀλλὰ κάθω·/
ἐγώ σοι μὲν δεῦρ' ἐγὼ / κεῖσε παρὰ Σάρδι, παρὰ Σοῦσα, / Ἀγβάτανα
ναίων·/ Ἄρτιμις ἐμὸς μέγας θεὸς (160) / παρ' Ἔφεσον φυλάξει.

8 Le mot νόμος, nome, semble avoir été adopté à une époque précoce pour indiquer des compositions musicales car il ne devait avoir aucune autre signification précise, mise à part celle de « mélodie ». Par la suite, il a été utilisé pour définir des compositions de nature traditionnelle ou fixe en l'honneur d'Apollon (Hordern 2002: 25–33).

9 Dans la précédente édition de Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (1903), les vers en question sont numérotés de 152 à 173.

10 Le début de ce vers est controversé : voir Janssen 1984: 105–107 ; Hordern 2002: 209–210. J'ai adopté la *lectio* proposée par Longman 1954, suivie par Lambin 2013: 137.

Et lorsque un Grec à la poignée de fer emmenait, après l'avoir capturé, un habitant de Kélainai aux nombreuses pâturages, orphelin des combats (il l'emmène en le traînant par les cheveux), celui-ci, embrassant ses genoux (145), suppliait, tressant la langue grecque avec celle de l'Asie, brisant le sceau perçant de sa bouche, suivant à la trace la langue ionienne : « Suivre, moi, toi, comment et pour quelle chose ? (150) De nouveau, jamais, vouloir revenir ; et maintenant maître à moi ici, moi, ici avoir conduit ; à l'avenir, par contre, plus jamais, père, plus jamais revenir ici faire la guerre (155), mais rester tranquille : moi pas ici contre toi, moi là-bas près Sardi, près Suse, Agbatane habitant ; Artimis, mon grand divinité (160), près Éphèse protégera ».

4 ANALYSE DU DISCOURS DU SOLDAT DE KÉLAINAI

Avant de procéder à l'analyse linguistique des vers 150–161, je vais présenter les outils conceptuels nécessaires pour comprendre les démarches effectuées par Timothée dans ce passage.

4.1 Les outils conceptuels

La compétence linguistique incomplète d'un locuteur non-natif dans une langue donnée se traduit par une variété linguistique bien précise connue comme *broken language* (Ferguson/DeBose 1977). À son tour, le locuteur natif, pour pouvoir interagir avec le locuteur non-natif et se faire comprendre par ce dernier, devra s'adapter au niveau linguistique incomplet de son interlocuteur à travers toute une série de simplifications à plusieurs niveaux qui constituent la variété connue sous le nom de *foreigner talk* primaire (Ferguson 1971). Les stratégies de simplification mises en oeuvre par *broken language* et *foreigner talk* visent à une réduction fonctionnelle de la langue et elles seraient possibles grâce à une capacité universelle de simplifier la langue de façon appropriée (Ferguson 1975). Il est donc possible de constater une tendance générale à l'agrammaticalité, une certaine réduction morpho-phonologique, une remarquable simplification syntaxique et un fort appauvrissement lexical. Grâce à la connaissance intuitive des moyens universels de simplification de la langue, le *broken language* du locuteur non-natif peut être imité aisément par un locuteur natif à travers un registre appelé *foreigner talk* secondaire (Hinnenkamp 1982: 40–41).

L'explication de ces concepts, élaborés au sein des langues contemporaines, nous permet d'effectuer un *flashback* dans l'Antiquité pour les appliquer au discours du soldat phrygien. Il y a toutefois une différence méthodologique fondamentale entre les études sur le *broken language* et le *foreigner talk* dans l'Antiquité et ceux dans le monde contemporain. Les linguistes qui s'occupent de ces registres dans les langues contemporaines peuvent faire expérience du phénomène à l'oral, alors que les antiquisants n'ont à leur disposition que le support écrit. Toutefois, la langue écrite standard a des limites dans la fiction littéraire, dans la mesure où elle ne peut pas reproduire d'une façon suffisamment réaliste les voix des personnages qui sont socialement et linguistiquement non-standard, porteurs de variations par rapport à la norme. Donc, dans le cadre de l'écriture, aujourd'hui comme dans l'Antiquité, le *foreigner talk* secondaire est une technique littéraire bien précise qui vise à obtenir des effets différents, du réalisme mimétique à la parodie humoristique, jusqu'à la dégradation ethnique, selon les nécessités (Traugott/Pratt 1980: 358–397).

En vertu de cela, le *foreigner talk* secondaire est en quelque mesure attesté dans la littérature grecque. À travers sa tentative de reproduire l'effet d'ensemble d'une connaissance linguistique imparfaite de la part du soldat de Kélainai, Timothée se relie à une tradition déjà établie par la Comédie Ancienne. Les auteurs comiques, surtout Aristophane, mais aussi d'autres auteurs mineurs[11], avaient introduit dans leurs comédies des personnages qui parlaient des dialectes non-Attiques[12], aussi bien que des étrangers non-Grecs qui s'efforçaient de parler en grec[13]. Plusieurs études ont été consacrées aux passages d'Aristophane où le Comique reproduit le langage des étrangers non-Attiques et non-Grecs, aussi d'un point de vue sociolinguistique, mais cela n'a jamais été fait pour les vers de Timothée dont il est question ici.

Les commentateurs se sont souvent concentrés sur les « fautes grammaticales » présentes dans le discours du soldat Phrygien, en considérant leur analyse comme une fin en soi. Toutefois, il semble plus intéressant de situer ces déviations par rapport à la norme de la langue

11 Voir Long 1986 et Colvin 1999: 287–294.

12 Mégarien (*Acharniens*: 729) ; béotien (*Acharniens*: 860–954) ; laconien (*Lysistrata*). Voir Halliwell 1990 et Colvin 1999: 265–287.

13 Archer scythe (*Thesmophories*: 1001–1007 ; 1083–1135 ; 1176–1201 ; 1210–1225) ; ambassadeur perse Pseudartabas (*Acharniens*: 100 ; 104) ; dieu thrace Triballe (*Oiseaux*: 1615 ; 1628–1629 ; 1678–1679). Voir Jannsens 1952 ; Dover 1963 ; Brixhe 1988 ; Brixhe 2012 ; Willi 2003: 198–225.

grecque dans le cadre du *foreigner talk* secondaire, et ce afin de comprendre les stratégies utilisées par Timothée pour reproduire d'une façon crédible le type de grec parlé par le soldat de Kélainai. À la lumière des dernières connaissances de la langue phrygienne, bien que fragmentaires, il est possible de voir jusqu'à quel degré Timothée aurait poussé son mimétisme dans les vers 150–161, du point de vue phonétique, morphologique, syntaxique et lexical, dans le but de repérer les éléments du discours du soldat qui seraient effectivement compatibles avec un grec à patine dialectale ionienne appris par un locuteur non-natif d'origine phrygienne. Il n'est pas hors lieu de rappeler que le phrygien est la langue la plus proche du grec, ce qui rendait bien plus simple son apprentissage de la part des locuteurs natifs de langue phrygienne. Les deux langues, en effet, émergées très probablement d'une langue unitaire parlée dans les Balkans à la fin du IIIe millénaire av. J.-C., partageaient des innovations uniques dans la famille indo-européenne, telles que la vocalisation des laryngales, le pronom *auto-*, la 3e pers. sing. de l'impératif moyen, etc. (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 124–127).

4.2 Phonétique

Du point de vue phonétique, Timothée s'est efforcé de conférer au discours du soldat une coloration nettement ionienne, aussi bien que des nuances « asiatiques », pour distinguer sa façon de parler de la langue du reste du poème, qui pourrait être définie comme un dialecte poétique avec des éléments doriens (Hordern 2002: 43–44).

Quant aux éléments identifiables comme appartenant à une aire grecque ionienne orientale l'on pourrait citer : ion. κῶς (150) vs. att. πῶς, « comment », d'après le développement régulier de la labiovélaire PIE*k^w > ion. κ, att. π, une forme attestée aussi chez Hérodote (voir, p. ex., *Histoires*, 6, 109 ; 3, 155) ; ion. αὖτις (151, 155), sans aspiration, *vs.* att. αὖθις, « à nouveau » ; l'adverbe κεῖσε (158), une forme ionienne et épique pour ἐκεῖσε, « là-bas » ; l'adverbe οὐδαμ'(ά) (151), « jamais », une forme ionienne privilégiée par Hérodote (Powell 1938, *s.v.* οὐδαμά).

Les éléments phonétiquement attribuables à une aire spécifiquement « asiatique » sont les suivants. Il faut rappeler que, d'après mon hypothèse en vertu de la mention explicite de sa ville natale, le soldat de Kélainai est censé être un locuteur de langue maternelle phrygienne et, plus précisément, de la phase paléo-phrygienne de la langue (IXe–IVe

siècles av. J.-C.). Cela n'empêche pas qu'il pourra être sensible aussi à tout autre influence linguistique moyen-orientale.

Au vers 159, le soldat phrygien nomme le toponyme Ἀγβάτανα, « Ecbatane », capitale de la Médie, identifiable aujourd'hui avec la ville de Hamadān, en Iran. Le toponyme est attesté tel quel seulement chez Hérodote (*Histoires*, 1, 98, 153 ; 3, 64, 92) et dans les *Perses* de Eschyle (961), alors qu'il l'est normalement comme Ἐκβάτανα dans la littérature grecque successive (cf. Xénophon, Arrien, Diodore de Sicile, Strabon, Pausanias, etc.). Il est possible de confronter la forme Ἀγβάτανα avec le vieux perse *Ha*^{n}*gmatāna* ou *Hagmatāna*, l'élamite *ag-ma-da-na* et l'akkadien *a-ga-ma-ta-nu*. Timothée a donc utilisé une forme censée reproduire effectivement une prononciation perse, dont la valeur en tant que mot évoquant une origine étrangère avait déjà été corroborée par Hérodote et Eschyle.

La forme du prénom de la déesse Ἄρτιμις pour Ἄρτεμις au vers 160 est vraiment comparable avec le phrygien, et plus précisément avec *artimitos* (cas génitif) de la stèle bilingue, écrite en paléo-phrygien et grec, de Vezirhan, B-05, ligne 3 :

Neumann 1997:	*vrekan vitaraṇ ạrtimitos kranyap…*
Brixhe 2004: 42–67 (B-05)	*vrekạn vitạraṇ artimitos kṛạniyạ p…*

La forme *artimitos* est censée reproduire une prononciation anatolienne à travers une fermeture de la voyelle *e* > *i*, comparable à celle de certaines inscriptions lyciennes du type *Artimelin, Erttimeli,* lydiennes du type *Artimuś*, *Artimu-k*, et pamphyliennes du type Ἀρτιμίδωρυς (voir Anfosso, à paraître).

L'assimilation de Artémis à la « Mère » phrygienne en tant que πότνια θηρῶν est suggérée par le relief supérieur de la stèle de Vezirhan, où l'on distingue aisément une femme avec les bras écartés entourée d'oiseaux de proie et de lions. Cette stèle est datable de la fin du Ve siècle av. J.-C., donc de l'époque de la domination perse en Phrygie ; sa datation constitue un parallèle très intéressant avec notre texte, car elle est contemporaine du poète Timothée. Ailleurs, dans une confession du Moyen Hermos (Petzl 1994: n° 54, ligne 17), la « Mère » est assimilée à Artémis et la forme en question présente aussi le même vocalisme : Μητρὶ Ἀτίμιτι. Le désir du soldat phrygien d'être protégé par la déesse Artémis, identifiable avec la Mère phrygienne, est donc historiquement et linguistiquement confirmé.

Certains traits, par contre, sont étonnants : quelles sont les explications possibles ?

Par rapport à la « patine ionienne », πρᾶγμα au vers 150 n'est pas une forme ionienne (on s'attendrait plutôt πρῆγμα ou πρῆχμα), mais dorienne, peut-être à cause de l'influence de la variété linguistique utilisée dans le reste du poème (Hordern 2002: 43–44).

Par rapport à la langue phrygienne, Timothée n'a pas reproduit en grec, dans son *foreigner talk* secondaire, le trait phrygien le plus caractéristique du point de vue phonétique. En phrygien, les occlusives sonores aspirées PIE perdent toujours leur aspiration (cf., p. ex., PIE **$d^{h}h_{1}so$-* > néo-phrygien dat. plur. δεως, « dieu », cf. grec θεός ; PIE **$b^{h}reh_{2}ter$-* > néo-phrygien dat. sing. βρατερε, « frère », cf. grec φράτηρ ; etc.). En grec, par contre, les occlusives sonores aspirées PIE se transforment en sourdes, tout en gardant l'aspiration, déjà avant la période mycénienne (1250–1150 av. J.-C.), exactement comme dans les formes que l'on retrouve dans le texte : ἔλθω (151), ἐνθάδ' (153, 155), μαχέσ' (155), ἔρχω (155), κάθω (156), θεός (160). Le manque d'aspiration étant un élément commun aux autres langues parlées en Anatolie au Ier millénaire av. J.-C., l'omission de ce trait suffirait à faire planer le doute sur les intentions réellement mimétiques de Timothée, ainsi que sur une réelle connaissance, non pas du phrygien, mais au moins de « l'effet d'ensemble » de cette langue. Toutefois, il ne faut pas oublier que le changement phonétique obtenu en grec en éliminant l'aspiration des occlusives sourdes aspirées est assez radical, ce qui ne devait pas manquer de susciter un certain effet comique. Le choix de Timothée de ne pas éliminer l'aspiration dans les mots grecs prononcés par le soldat phrygien ne serait pas imputable à un manque de connaissance, au moins superficielle, de la langue phrygienne. Il s'agit là d'une possibilité virtuellement exclue, car les occasions d'entendre un phrygien parler ne devaient pas manquer ni dans sa ville natale, Milet, connue pour être l'un des centres du trafic d'esclaves en provenance de la Phrygie dans l'Antiquité (cf. Hipponax, fr. 27 West = fr. 38 Degani), ni à Athènes, sa demeure à la fin du Ve siècle av. J.-C., où les esclaves phrygiens étaient la norme (Bäbler 1998: 156–163, 250–260). Ce choix pourrait être plus facilement justifié par la volonté du poète de ne pas produire un effet potentiellement trop comique dans le genre du nome, qui poursuivait des finalités différentes par rapport à celles de la comédie.

Le soldat phrygien de Timothée arrive, en outre, à reproduire correctement la quantité des voyelles en grec. Ce trait, qui pourrait paraître

étonnant à un premier abord, est tout à fait vraisemblable si l'on compare la situation du paléo-phrygien au grec. Bien que la longueur des voyelles ne soit pas exprimée par l'écriture, le paléo-phrygien devait bien posséder des voyelles longues[14] (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 62–64). Si d'un côté on pourrait expliquer la justesse des quantités vocaliques dans le discours du soldat phrygien par la présence de voyelles longues en paléo-phrygien, de l'autre on pourrait faire appel, encore une fois, à la volonté de contenir le niveau de *mimesis* dans le cadre du *foreigner talk* secondaire de la part de Timothée, pour ne pas rendre son personnage trop comique.

4.3 Morphologie

Du point de vue de la morphologie nominale, le trait le plus évident de *broken language* chez le soldat phrygien semblerait être une confusion de genre au vers 160 (voir aussi Anfosso, à paraître). En effet, l'utilisation de la locution ἐμὸς μέγας θεὸς, « mon grand dieu », morphologiquement au masculin, en tant qu'apposition de Ἄρτιμις, une divinité féminine, pourrait faire penser à une incertitude dans le choix du genre nominal. La forme θεός pour désigner sans distinction une divinité masculine ou féminine (ὁ θεός, « dieu », et ἡ θεός, « déesse »[15]) devait être canonique dans les variétés ioniennes orientales dont le soldat phrygien avait pu faire l'expérience aux alentours de Milet. Ce qui pose problème est l'accord de l'adjectif ἐμός au masculin, alors que l'on s'attendrait au féminin ἐμή. Cette faute est explicable par le fait

14 Il est possible de confirmer la présence de /ō/, /ā/, et probablement de /ē/. Il n'y a pas d'exemples certains de paléo-phrygien /ī/ et /ū/, ce qui fait que leur existence reste hypothétique. Pendant la période néo-phrygienne (Ier–IIIe siècles ap. J.-C.) les voyelles courtes et longues du paléo-phrygien fusionnent, ce qui donne lieu à un système de voyelles sans opposition de longueur : /a/; /e/; /o/; /i/; /u/. Toutefois, cette phase tardive de la langue phrygienne n'est pas diachroniquement comparable avec la langue potentiellement apprise par le soldat phrygien, qui disposait d'une certaine opposition entre voyelles longues et courtes dans son répertoire.

15 D'après Hackstein (2010: 402), le dérivé féminin θεᾱ́ (*Iliade*, 1, 1), serait à identifier avec une forme ionienne occidentale, comme en témoignerait l'inscription sur un tesson de céramique datable du VIIe siècle av. J.-C. retrouvée à Ischia, une île italienne traditionnellement liée à la colonisation eubéenne. Plus récemment, Katz (2018) a proposé une solution alternative, à savoir, une forme artificiellement construite par les aèdes, qu'il nomme « the hymnic long alpha », une marque d'ouverture de la performance poétique qui trouverait son parallèle dans l'*om* d'ouverture des mantras sanskrits. Au-delà de la thèse soutenue, l'article offre une remarquable bibliographie sur l'état de la question.

que θεός faisait partie de la déclinaison thématique à vocalisme -o- : cette flexion était sentie comme caractéristique du masculin en grec (Chantraine 1961: 35), ce qui pouvait entraîner naturellement un accord de l'adjectif possessif au masculin de la part du soldat phrygien. Pour nuancer le problème de l'accord, plusieurs savants ont choisi une interprétation neutre du genre « divinité » pour θεός (Friedrich 1918: 303 ; Brussich 1970: 77). Il faut rappeler que le phrygien n'est pas une langue du groupe anatolien, qui opposait à un neutre un « genre commun » qui regroupait le masculin et le féminin, mais comme en grec il y avait des distinctions de genre (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 76).

Un autre exemple de *broken language* est l'utilisation du singulier au lieu du pluriel pour des toponymes considérés comme *pluralia tantum* en grec. La ville de Sardes, nommée au vers 158, Σάρδι, était la capitale du royaume de Lydie ; elle s'appelait *Sfar-* en lydien, *Sparda* en vieux perse, et aujourd'hui Sart, en Turque. Σάρδι pourrait être interprété comme un datif singulier à voyelle ι brève (Brussich 1970: 77), alors que normalement seulement le pluriel (αἱ) Σάρδεις est attesté, car le toponyme est un *pluralia tantum* en grec, exactement comme (τά) Σοῦσα, une ville élamite, appelée Çūšā en vieux perse, et actuellement Shush, nommée au vers 158, et (τά) Ἀγβάτανα, au vers 159. Cette attestation de Σάρδι « au singulier » constitue un *hapax* dans la littérature grecque.

Quant à la morphologie verbale, le trait le plus évident de *broken language* dans le discours du soldat de Kélainai est la confusion entre diathèse active et moyenne-passive des verbes grecs, avec construction artificielle de formes actives pour les verbes grecs de forme moyenne mais de sens actif (*media tantum*), à savoir ἕπομαι[16] (ἕπω = ἑπ- + désinence active 1° pers. sing. -ω, 150), ἔρχομαι (ἔλθω = ἐλθ- + désinence active 1° pers. sing. -ω, 151 ; ἔρχω = ἐρχ- + désinence active 1° pers. sing. -ω, 155), κάθημαι (κάθω = κάθ- + désinence active 1° pers. sing. -ω, 156), et μάχομαι (μαχέσ'(αι), forme artificielle d'infinitif aoriste sigmatique

16 Le verbe ἕπομαι, « suivre », n'aurait rien à voir avec le verbe ἕπω, « s'occuper de, avoir à faire avec », pendant longtemps considéré à tort en tant qu'actif de ἕπομαι, « suivre », comme Brent Vine (1988: 52) le souligne, à cause d'une fausse idée selon laquelle les deux verbes partageraient une certaine idée de mouvement. En outre, il est peu probable que la forme ΕΠΩ du papyrus puisse être interprétable comme ἕπω, « dire », en tant que présent de εἶπον, comme Page (1962: 410) se demande, car il s'agit d'une formation plutôt tardive (cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἕπω : « ἠν Περσεῖον ἔπουσιν, Nic. *Al.* 429. Prob. invented by Nic., as pres. of εἶπον »).

actif, avec élision de -αι[17], 155). Le choix entre une forme verbale active ou, plutôt, moyenne, devait poser problème pour un locuteur non natif, surtout au cas où sa langue maternelle ne disposerait pas d'une distinction correspondante.

En réalité, l'existence d'une diathèse moyenne en phrygien est attestée, et constitue l'une des isoglosses morphologiques les plus remarquables avec la langue grecque. Toutefois, sa fonction reste controversée (voir Sowa 2012: verbes déponents, passifs, impersonnels ?). Il y avait des formes, dans la phase paléo-phrygienne de la langue, qui montrent une désinence du type *-toi*[18], comme *egretoy* (W-01) ; *tedatoy* (W-01a) ; *odeketoy* (B-07, Daskyleion) ; *abretoy*, *mederitoy*, *pupratoy* (Neumann 1997: 25) / *dupratoy* (Brixhe 2004: 64), peut-être *tit-edaṭ*[*oy*] (B-05, Vezirhan) ; peut-être *surgastoy* (Dd-102) ; *estatoy* (G-144) ; *ektetoy*, *anepaktoy* (B-01, Germanos) ou *noktoi* (B-06, Daskyleion). Elles sont comparables avec les formes en *-toi* du moyen en mycénien, comme, p. ex., *e-u-ke-to-qe* /*euk*^{h}*etoi-k*^{w}*e*/ (PY Eb 297, 1, Ep 704, 5), qui se poursuivent à travers la désinence -τοι dans les autres dialectes grecs du sud, comme, p. ex., l'arcadien βολετοι, ou le chypriote /*keitoi*/ (Morpurgo Davies 1992: 423), alors que dans les autres dialectes grecs la forme attendue est -ται, issue par analogie avec la désinence de 1° pers. sing. -μαι (Chantraine 1961: 290–308).

La forme verbale ἔπω (150) a fait l'objet de nombreuses discussions car elle n'est pas du tout claire (Hordern 2002: 209–210). Déjà Longman (1954), suivi récemment par Lambin (2013: 138), avait proposé de substituer la supposée forme pronominale ἐγώ (von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1903) avec une forme verbale ἔπω, à son avis plus plausible, et justifiable par le fait que la deuxième lettre du vers en majuscule et en *scriptio continua* ne serait pas Γ, mais Π, d'où la lecture ΕΠΩΜΟΙΣΟΙ

17 Ce trait devait être perçu comme très vulgaire à la fin du Ve siècle av. J.-C. (Hordern 2002: 211), ce qui s'alignerait bien avec un grec appris en milieu populaire par le soldat phrygien.

18 Dans la phase néo-phrygienne l'on retrouve aussi des formes en -τοι, comme αββερετοι (d'après la numérotation de Haas 1966: 91, 113, 129 – je rappelle toutefois la réédition des inscriptions néo-phrygiennes par Obrador-Cursach 2020: 525–606, avec références et correspondances) et ιδετοι (116), même si elles sont plus rares et sans augment, à côté d'autres formations en -ται, influencées par le grec, comme δακεται (42) et αββερεται (6, 13), et aussi des formes plus mystérieuses en -τορ, 3° pers. sing., attestées seulement au présent et pour deux racines, notamment PIE **b^{h}er-* > néo-phrygien βερ-, comme αββερετορ (73, 75, peut-être 79) et PIE **d^{h}eh$_{1}$-*, avec élargissement **d^{h}eh$_{1}$k-* > néo-phrygien δακ-, comme αδδακετορ (40, 63, 101).

(Longman 1954: 208). Il s'agit de la solution qui me paraît la plus économique face au texte tel qu'il a été transmis, et en même temps la plus partageable au niveau du sens, en tenant aussi en considération les contraintes imposées par le *foreigner talk* secondaire. La forme ἔπω est cohérente, car il s'agit d'une forme active artificielle crée à partir d'une forme *media tantum*, exactement comme celles aux vers 151 et 155 (2x). Elle est interprétable comme un subjonctif délibératif ἔπωμαι avec une valeur dubitative, car du point de vue sémantique, le soldat phrygien, traîné avec violence, demande à son agresseur comment et pour quelle raison il devrait le suivre.

La forme verbale ἤξει au vers 153 semble avoir été construite sur une variante sigmatique ἦξα de l'aoriste de ἄγω. L'aoriste normalement attesté pour ἄγω est ἤγαγον, un aoriste thématique à redoublement. Par contre, la forme ἤξει est formée par la racine ἀγ- avec augment + suffixe -σ- + désinence primaire, 3° pers. sing. -ει. La désinence primaire n'est pas du tout attendue à l'aoriste, mais du point de vue du *foreigner talk* secondaire, une désinence générique -ει[19] pour une 3° pers. sing. semble être une solution tout-à-fait plausible car plus facile à intégrer pour un non-natif. Le thème de l'aoriste pouvait lui paraître suffisant pour exprimer l'aspect verbal (dans ce cas, une action dans le passé), indépendamment de la désinence en soi. Malgré son apparence bizarre, la forme ἦξα n'a pas été créée *ad hoc* par Timothée pour son *foreigner talk* secondaire. Cette forme est attestée chez Antiphon, 5, 46, à l'infinitif aoriste ἄξαι. Il s'agit d'un discours écrit pour la défense d'Euxithéos, Mytilénien, accusé du meurtre d'un citoyen athénien, Hérode, entre 417 et 414 av. J.-C. (Gernet 1954: 107). Ce qui n'a pas été remarqué par les commentateurs, c'est que cette donnée chronologique est très intéressante, car le discours d'Antiphon est contemporain du nome de Timothée, écrit vers la fin du Ve siècle av. J.-C. En outre, Antiphon met dans la bouche d'un Mytilénien, donc d'un Grec d'Asie, la même forme d'aoriste sigmatique que l'on retrouve chez le soldat phrygien de Timothée, censé avoir appris son grec des Grecs d'Asie. Cet élément constituerait un indice pour considérer la forme sigmatique de ἄγω attestée par Timothée et Antiphon comme une variante d'aire anatolienne. Il

19 Il est vrai qu'une désinence -ει se retrouve aussi dans des formations plus spécifiquement liées au passé comme, p. ex., la désinence régulière de 3° pers. sing. -ει du plus-que-parfait (cf. ἐβεβλήκει, « il avait lancé », mais aussi ᾔδει, « il savait ») ou bien des formes de l'imparfait telles que ᾔει, « il allait ». Toutefois, je ne crois pas que Timothée ait pu penser à de telles options pour le *broken Greek* de son soldat phrygien, censé avoir un niveau de grec très élémentaire.

faut souligner que pendant la *Koiné*, l'aoriste sigmatique tend en général à s'affirmer aux dépenses des autres formations (Browning 1983: 31).

4.4 Syntaxe

La parataxe semble être l'un des traits typiques du style de Timothée en général (Hordern 2002: 42) : les phrases s'enchaînent rapidement, liées par un simple δέ (140, 145, 154). Le fort niveau d'*asyndeton* dans le *foreigner talk* secondaire, surtout dans les vers 157–161, peut évidemment être interprété comme un reflet de l'incompétence linguistique du soldat phrygien, qui n'arrive pas à formuler des phrases complexes. Il ne faut pas oublier, toutefois, qu'il est en train de se faire agresser par son adversaire grec, une situation qui rendrait la communication très difficile même pour un locuteur natif.

En ce qui concerne les cas et les prépositions, au vers 158 la préposition παρά semblerait avoir été utilisée une fois avec le datif, παρὰ Σάρδι, « à Sardes », et une fois avec l'accusatif, παρὰ Σοῦσα, « à Suse », à l'intérieur de la mème phrase et en dépendance du même verbe, ναίων, « demeurant » ; quant à Ἀγβάτανα (159), il n'y a même pas de préposition. Le toponyme dans παρὰ Σοῦσα, « à Suse », semblerait être à l'accusatif, exactement comme Ἀγβάτανα (159) et Éphèse dans παρ' Ἔφεσον, « à Éphèse » (161). Pour aligner le cas de Σάρδι, interprétable comme un datif singulier à voyelle ι brève, aux autres accusatifs, Brussich (1970: 77) avait suggéré la conjecture Σάρδι<ς> en considérant le ι long, comme, p. ex., chez Hérodote, 5, 101 où l'on trouve régulièrement le datif pluriel ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι, et avec l'intégration de <ς>. La situation du point de vue métrique n'aide pas forcément, car la grande liberté métrique de Timothée ne permet pas de choisir une version plutôt qu'une autre[20]. En réalité, l'oscillation des cas ne serait qu'apparente ; l'utilisation des prépositions est toujours compliquée pour un locuteur non natif, surtout si, comme en grec, elle est liée à des cas spécifiques. Il n'y aurait donc aucune volonté de la part du soldat phrygien d'utiliser un cas plutôt qu'un autre, mais tout simplement la tentative de restituer des formes de toponymes orientaux reconnaissables en grec, et peut-être, dans le cas de Σάρδι, l'on pourrait penser au concept de *casus indefinitus* (Friedrich 1918: 288).

20 Pour une bonne analyse métrique des *Perses* voir Hordern 2002: 55–62 ; Sevieri 2011: 63–70 ; Lambin 2013: 165–176.

Les articles qui devraient précéder les toponymes sont régulièrement omis et ils le sont également aux vers 152, ἐμὸς δεσπότης, et 160, ἐμὸς μέγας θεὸς, en présence des adjectifs possessifs. L'omission des mots considérés comme non indispensables à l'émission du message, tels que les articles et les prépositions, constitue l'un des traits typiques du *broken language* et du *foreigner talk*. Toutefois, les articles en tant que tels ne sont pas attestés en phrygien, ce qui nous autorise à penser que leur utilisation pouvait engendrer plus de difficultés en grec pour un locuteur phrygien. Le seul article se trouve dans la locution τὰ λοιπὰ (155), qui signifie « à l'avenir ».

4.5 Particularités lexicales

Les répétitions lexicales aux vers 150–161 constituent une partie fondamentale de la stratégie du *foreigner talk* secondaire, car elles sont supposées reproduire les insuffisances au niveau lexical du soldat phrygien en grec. Il est possible de constater la répétition d'adverbes tels que αὖτις (151, 155), δεῦρο (153, 155), ἐνθάδε (153, 155), et οὐκέτι (154, 155). L'utilisation redondante des pronoms personnels en forme pleine est un trait caractéristique du *broken language* et du *foreigner talk* (Ferguson 1975: 7) : voir, dans le texte, les deux datifs μοί et σοι (150), puis le pronom sujet ἐγώ (157, 2x) et le datif σοι. L'adjectif possessif de première personne ἐμός est utilisé aussi deux fois (152, 160).

Quant à la formule de la déesse Artémis (voir aussi Anfosso, à paraître), une expression très similaire, μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων, « la grande Artémis d'Éphèse », est attestée dans les *Actes des Apôtres*, 19, 34. En soulignant que la déesse Artémis va le garder à Éphèse, παρ' Ἔφεσον φυλάξει (161), le soldat phrygien fournit une indication correcte. Le culte de la déesse Artémis à Éphèse était très important déjà au Ve siècle av. J.-C. et il n'était pas seulement lié aux Grecs, mais aussi aux Lydiens, aux Cariens et aux Perses (Léger 2017: 91–93). En particulier, on pourrait citer la locution *artimuś ibśimsis*, « Artémis d'Éphèse », des inscriptions lydiennes (Gusmani 1964: t. 1, 2, 23, 24, 54), et même un satrape perse comme Tissapherne manifestait sa vénération envers l'Artémis d'Ephèse, comme en témoignent Thucydide, 7, 109, et Xénophon, *Helléniques*, 1, 2, 6.

5 CONCLUSIONS

L'enquête conduite tout au long de cette étude m'a permis d'arriver à des conclusions plausibles quant au degré de *mimesis* dont Timothée fait preuve dans les *Perses* aux vers 140–161.

5.1 Un phrygien de Kélainai ?

Kélainai était considérée comme la « ville phrygienne » par antonomase dans la littérature grecque, au point que le roi Midas même a parfois été défini Κελαινίτης, « originaire de Kélainai » (voir, p. ex., Callimaque, *Aitia*, fr. 75, 47), à lire dans le sens de « phrygien ». À cet égard, le fait qu'un soldat phrygien puisse être engagé dans l'armée perse est tout-à-fait plausible du point de vue historique, car Hérodote, *Histoires*, 7, 73, confirme que les Phrygiens faisaient partie de l'imposante armée qui avait été réunie par Xerxès Ier dans le but d'attaquer l'Europe pendant la deuxième guerre Médique.

Toutefois, la réalité historique de Kélainai telle que les fouilles archéologiques nous la présentent est plus complexe de que ce que l'on s'attendrait[21]. L'archéologie montre que cette ville n'était pas encore un centre important à l'époque de la domination phrygienne en Asie Mineure, du IXe au VIIe siècle av. J.-C., comme l'était Gordion. Les traces certainement attribuables à la culture matérielle phrygienne sont présentes, bien entendu. Il est possible de citer à titre d'exemple des tessons de vases à décor peint de style phrygien, et une bonne quantité d'échantillons du type « *Black-on-Red* » centre-anatolien, à savoir des pièces comparables à celles provenant des sites phrygiens comme Gordion, Midas Şehir, ou Boğazköy (Dupont/Lungu 2011: 250–251). Le problème est que, jusqu'à présent, aucune inscription phrygienne n'a été retrouvée sur le site, même pas des marques de propriété sur vase. Il faut souligner que les matériels retrouvés lors des campagnes de prospection sur le site de Kélainai consistent presque exclusivement en trouvailles de surface : les fouilles pourront bien nous réserver des surprises dans l'avenir.

21 La ville a été appelée de façons différentes aux cours des siècles, Kélainai, Apamée, Kibotos, à la suite de déplacements progressifs du site. Malgré son importance historique, la ville n'a jamais fait l'objet d'une étude archéologique approfondie jusqu'en 2008 (Ivantchik/von Kienlin/Summerer 2010).

D'autre part, le territoire de Kélainai garde encore à l'époque achéménide un bon souvenir de la domination lydienne sur la région au VIe siècle av. J.-C. (voir Anfosso, à paraître), comme en témoignent la céramique (Dupont/Lungu 2011: 252), les pièces de monnaie lydienne en électrum (Ivantchik/Adiego 2016: 296), l'anecdote à propos du Lydien Pythios que raconte Hérodote, *Histoires*, 7, 27–29, et le fait que la seule inscription en langue épichorique récupérée soit une inscription en lydien[22], datable entre la fin du VIe et le début du Ve siècle av. J.-C. (Ivantchik/Adiego 2015 ; Ivantchik/Adiego 2016). La découverte de l'inscription lydienne de l'époque de Darius, père de Xerxès, confirmerait la véracité du récit de Hérodote, à savoir la présence permanente de Lydiens dans la ville, qui y possédaient de grandes richesses et pouvaient se permettre la construction de monuments (Ivantchik/Adiego 2016: 298).

La position géographique de Kélainai à la croisée de grands axes de communication est-ouest et nord-sud dut encourager énormément son développement commercial à l'époque achéménide, et avec cela une population mixte. Parmi les différentes ethnies représentées, il y avait sûrement des Iraniens, qui composaient le personnel satrapique (Briant 1985: 173) et qui devaient parler le vieux perse et l'araméen, des Grecs, des Lydiens et des Phrygiens. L'élément indigène phrygien, n'ayant laissé aucune trace écrite, serait probablement à identifier avec les couches les plus humbles de la population. La cohabitation de populations d'origines différentes permettrait d'insérer dans un contexte vraisemblable le fait qu'un soldat phrygien, tel que celui décrit par Timothée, ait eu la connaissance de la langue grecque, favorisée aussi par la proximité des villes ioniennes de la côte.

Il est vrai que Kélainai avait dû commencer son essor en tant que ville commerciale et cosmopolite seulement au début du Ve siècle av. J.-C., comme l'on pourrait en déduire par la fortification de la ville voulue par Xerxès Ier à son retour en Asie en 480 av. J.-C. (Xénophon, *Anabase*, 1, 2, 9). C'est donc un évident anachronisme que celui qui est opéré par Timothée, qui semble considérer Kélainai une grande ville déjà à l'époque des guerres Médiques. Toutefois, il ne faut pas oublier la suggestion exotique que la ville la plus emblématique de Phrygie à

22 L'inscription présente une structure courante en Lydie, dans laquelle la première partie, au passé, est souvent consacrée au monument sur lequel l'inscription est gravée, tandis que la deuxième, au présent-futur, contient des avertissements par rapport à d'éventuelles tentatives d'endommagement du monument. Voir Ivantchik/Adiego 2016: 295.

l'époque de Timothée devait exercer sur ses contemporains. Le choix de Kélainai comme patrie d'un soldat de l'armée perse originaire de Phrygie s'imposait de force pour le poète, et devait assumer une valeur stéréotypée : « Kélainai » était un synonyme de « Phrygie », alors que Gordion n'évoquait rien en particulier. Il n'est pas possible de partager l'idée que le personnage serait un amalgame de différentes ethnies asiatiques, en prenant à la lettre les références à plusieurs villes d'Asie Mineure que lui-même fait aux vers 158–159 (Hall 1994: 64). Dans ce cas, Timothée n'aurait pas spécifié une ville d'origine pour son personnage.

5.2 Une variété dialectale ionienne ?

Timothée fait parler le soldat phrygien en grec ; cette donnée est vraisemblable dans la mesure où le grec connaît un fort essor à l'époque achéménide dans la zone intermédiaire entre la côte occidentale, majoritairement grecque, et l'arrière-pays anatolien. En plus, l'ambiance plurilingue favorisée par l'Empire Achéménide rend plausible l'échange et l'apprentissage linguistique.

Le grec du soldat phrygien présente une évidente patine dialectale ionienne : κῶς (150) ; αὖτις (151, 155) ; κεῖσε (158) ; οὐδαμ'(ά) (151), aussi bien que la variante sigmatique de l'aoriste de ἄγω, ἤξει (153), comparable avec ἄξαι de Antiphon, 5, 46, et probablement d'aire asiatique. Il s'agit là d'une autre donnée hautement vraisemblable dans la mesure où la ville grecque la plus proche de Kélainai est justement la ville ionienne de Milet, la patrie de Timothée, où d'ailleurs l'on situe aussi l'embouchure du fleuve Méandre (aujourd'hui Büyük Menderes Irmağı), qui prend sa source non loin de Kélainai. Le port de Milet devait permettre le commerce maritime avec les îles grecques et la Grèce continentale, comme en témoigne la découverte à Kélainai d'amphores archaïques provenant de Chios, Knidos et Rhodes (Dupont/Lungu 2011: 258), ainsi que des tessons de céramique corinthienne et attique, et une pièce de monnaie en argent datant toujours de l'époque archaïque (Ivantchik/von Kienlin/Summerer 2013: 226). Ces trouvailles confirment l'existence d'une route commerciale tout au long de la vallée du Méandre. Ainsi, il est possible que des habitants de Kélainai aient eu des compétences linguistiques actives en grec pour des raisons commerciales.

5.3 Un « accent » phrygien ?

Quant à la possibilité d'entrevoir un « accent » réellement phrygien dans les mots du soldat, cela est plus compliqué. Il est vrai que pour un Phrygien apprendre le grec devait être objectivement plus facile par rapport aux autres populations anatoliennes, en vertu de la parenté génétique entre les deux langues (comme, p. ex., la présence d'une opposition quantitative au niveau vocalique). Toutefois, Timothée choisit un *foreigner talk* secondaire très modéré pour son soldat phrygien pour éviter tous les traits phonétiques les plus extrêmes qui feraient sombrer son personnage dans le comique (notamment, le manque d'aspiration dans la prononciation des occlusives sourdes aspirées du grec). Le seul mot vraiment comparable à l'une des formes retrouvées sur les inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes est Ἄρτιμις (160), comparable dans son vocalisme à la forme *artimitos* de la stèle de Vezirhan (B-05, ligne 3). Du point de vue morphologique, le phrygien disposait comme le grec d'une diathèse moyenne, mais, faute d'attestations suffisantes, on ignore son utilisation. Le soldat phrygien se sert de formes actives construites artificiellement pour des *media tantum*, des verbes qui ne disposent en grec que de formes moyennes avec un sens actif, ἔπομαι (ἔπω, 150), ἔρχομαι (ἔλθω, 151 ; ἔρχω, 155), μάχομαι (μαχέσ'(αι), 155) et κάθημαι (κάθω, 156). Il s'agit de formes verbales sûrement très difficiles à maitriser pour un locuteur non-natif, mais on ignore jusqu'à quel point cela pouvait être spécifiquement le cas pour un phrygien. L'omission des articles dans le discours du soldat phrygien est aussi compatible avec la langue phrygienne, qui ne les possédait pas.

Une forme d'exotisme plus subtile par rapport à l'exubérance verbale d'Aristophane est transmise à travers l'énumération des villes de l'empire perse, Κελαιναί (141), Σάρδι et Σοῦσα (158), et Ἀγβάτανα (159), qui est censée reproduire même une prononciation perse, et par la suggestive évocation du culte de Artémis à Éphèse (161), qui trouve confirmation dans les inscriptions anatoliennes aussi bien que dans les sources indirectes.

5.4 Compétence linguistique incomplète et classe populaire

Le niveau du soldat phrygien en grec est celui du débutant. La compétence linguistique incomplète du Phrygien en grec est suggérée par les répétitions lexicales, par la multiplication des formes pronominales,

par l'*asyndeton*, par l'association des prépositions à des cas incorrects et par des formes verbales actives construites artificiellement pour des *media tantum*.

Le type de grec qu'un humble étranger, tel que notre soldat phrygien, devait apprendre autour de Milet, et dont Timothée avait pu faire l'expérience directe, est la langue des classes populaires. Le grec ionien du soldat phrygien n'a pas été véhiculé par l'école. Il s'agit d'une langue apprise sur le tas par appropriation spontanée, au contact direct avec les locuteurs natifs des milieux les plus humbles, et donc une variété caractérisée par des déviations basses par rapport à la norme, non stabilisée et saisie au stade du débutant. Une variante appartenant sûrement à ce registre devait être μαχέσ' (155) avec élision de la désinence -αι de l'infinitif aoriste, un trait perçu comme très vulgaire à la fin du Ve siècle av. J.-C.

Le stéréotype des Phrygiens en tant que membres des classes populaires et, plus en particulier, serviles, était bien ancré dans l'esprit des Grecs. Par rapport à Milet, déjà au VIe siècle av. J.-C., Hipponax mentionnait la vente d'esclaves en provenance de la Phrygie (fr. 27 West = fr. 38 Degani) : καὶ τοὺς σολοίκους ἢν λάβωσι περνᾶσι, / Φρύγας μὲν ἐς Μίλητον ἀλφιτεύσοντας, « et si les Barbares capturent les Phrygiens, ils les vendent comme esclaves à Milet, pour moudre l'orge ». Dans les comédies d'Aristophane, l'anthroponyme phrygien *Manes*, bien attesté dans les inscriptions funéraires attiques (Bäbler 1998: 250–260), est utilisé en tant que synonyme de « esclave » (*Oiseaux*: 1311, 1329 ; *Lysistrata*: 1211 ; *Grenouilles*: 965), un usage qui va se poursuivre même dans les siècles successifs[23]. Un parallélisme avec le soldat phrygien de Timothée peut être repéré dans le personnage de l'esclave phrygien de Euripides, dans l'*Oreste* (1369–1502). C'est pour cela qu'un *foreigner talk* secondaire avec des traits appartenant au registre populaire peut être considéré cohérent avec l'idée des Phrygiens dans la littérature grecque.

Pour conclure :

– il est somme toute plausible que le soldat originaire de Kélainai décrit par Timothée soit d'ethnie phrygienne ;
– il est définitivement vraisemblable qu'il parle une variété dialectale de grec ionien, que sa compétence linguistique soit au ni-

23 Voir, p. ex., Démosthène, 45, 86, ou bien l'épigramme 733 de l'*Antologia Graeca*, commenté par Bäbler 1998: 158–159.

veau de débutant, et qu'il ait appris la langue par appropriation spontanée dans un milieu populaire ;

– il est plus difficile d'entrevoir une provenance strictement phrygienne dans les mots qu'il prononce, car Timothée a choisi pour lui un *foreigner talk* secondaire très modéré.

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ARGAIOS: A BRONZE AGE MOUNTAIN-GOD IN GRECO-ROMAN ANATOLIA

Alexis Belis

Abstract: Mountains played an important role in the religious landscape of ancient Anatolia. They were sacred to the gods and worshipped as divine beings themselves. The Hittites and subsequent Iron Age populations recorded offerings made in honor of divine mountains, and carved rock monuments of composite mountain-gods with a lower body in the form of a mountain and upper body of a man. Examples of such reliefs are scattered across the Anatolian landscape. One especially numinous peak, Mt. Argaios in Cappadocia, continued to inspire such beliefs even in Hellenistic and Roman times. Although the nature of the cult of Argaios in this period is unclear, and there is no evidence for any sort of continuity of cult, texts and iconography suggest the survival of much earlier ideas about the religious aspects of mountains. Using a combination of literary and material remains, this paper examines how the divine nature of Argaios and its god or gods persisted in the cultural memory of Anatolia throughout the first millennium BC, and the ways in which they were reinterpreted in the context of Classical tradition.

Keywords: Argaios, Cappadocia, mountain-gods, sacred mountains, cult images, coinage

1 ARGAIOS AS BOTH MOUNTAIN AND GOD

Maximus of Tyre (2.8), in his 2nd-century AD commentary on cult images of the gods, writes of a mountain that the Cappadocians regarded as a *theos* ('deity'), an *horkos* ('oath'), and an *agalma* ('statue'). The excerpt doubtless refers to Mt. Argaios, the region's most numinous peak, revered as a sacred mountain as early as the Bronze Age.

The significance of this remark, however, is that Maximus draws a contrast between Greek and foreign religious images and practices. Greek sacred mountains were the dwelling places of the gods and the

settings where one could offer sacrifices to them. These mountains were attributed to Olympian deities by assigning them specific epithets, such as Zeus Idaios of Mt. Ida in the Troad or Zeus Kasios of Mt. Kasion in Syria. Civilizations in Anatolia and elsewhere in the ancient Near East worshipped their gods on high places from an early date as well. But they also envisioned individual mountains as deities to which sacrifices were offered, revealing a profoundly different religious view of mountains, one in which mountains were considered inherently sacred and the focus of worship. Although the Greeks who visited Mt. Kasion made sacrifices to Zeus Kasios on the summit, various local populations that settled in the area regarded the mountain itself as a deity. Similarly, Hittite cult inventories and Iron Age inscriptions record offerings to the mountain-god Argaios.[1]

Late Hellenistic and Roman literary sources continued to recognize the divine nature of Mt. Argaios, referring to both a god of the mountain, and the mountain as a god.[2] There is no archaeological evidence for a sanctuary or rituals connected with Mt. Argaios at this time, but a cult associated with the mountain is apparent in the iconography.[3] This paper focuses on two distinctive images that emerge in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods, which identify Mt. Argaios as both a sacred peak and a deity. The most prominent image on the reverse of coins of Hellenistic Eusebeia (later Roman Caesarea), the capital city of Cappadocia situated at the foot of the mountain, is that of Mt. Argaios itself. The mountain is presented there in two related, but conceptually different compositions: the rocky summit, frequently surmounted by a radiate figure, star, wreath or eagle, appears not only as a sacred landscape, but also as an *agalma* on an altar or in a temple. Thus, rather than following the traditional Greek pattern of using mountain-epithets for Olympian deities, or occasionally personifying mountains, as bearded Mt. Tmolos or Mt. Sipylos on coins of Lydia, Mt. Argaios was recognized as a cult statue in its topographical form. Equally conspicuous on the

1 Fragmentary texts from Ugarit record offerings to the mountain, called Saphon or Zaphon: Clifford 1972: 61–64; Kapelrud 1952; Smith 1994. Hittite ritual texts list dedications to the mountain as Ḫazzi: Rutherford 2001; Haas 2006. Greek and Roman sacrifices on the mountain: Belis 2015: I, 206–210. The cult place on the summit was partially excavated in 1937, see Schaeffer 1938: 323–327.

2 Solinus 45.4 in the 3rd century AD further remarks that the inhabitants of the region believed the god dwelled there.

3 On iconography of Argaios: Cook 1925: 977–980; Cook 1940: 1175–1177; Weiss 1985; Börker-Klähn 1989; Baydur 1994: 5–43; Güler 1995; Hillert 1997; Falter 2000; Falter 2005; Hakman 2014: 170–196; LIMC *s.v.* Argaios.

reverse of Hellenistic and Roman coins of Eusebeia-Caesarea is the image of a solitary club, conceivably an attribute of the mountain's deity.[4] Many designs show elaborately detailed versions of the club flanked by a star and crescent moon.[5] Contemporary bronze statuettes, seals, and gems reproduce these same compositions, revealing a complex pattern of Classical visual conventions combined with local religious traditions.

2 ARGAIOS AS SACRED LANDSCAPE



Fig. 1. View of Mt. Argaios. Photo: Georges Jansoone
(Reproduced under a Creative Commons license (CC BY 3.0)).

The numinous reputation of Mt. Argaios (present-day Erciyes Dağ) as a sacred mountain is understandable, given the striking appearance of the peak in the landscape (**Fig. 1**). It is not only one of the highest peaks in Anatolia, but also an inactive volcano. Thus, the effects of erosion on

4 Börker-Klähn 1989 saw the club as a representation of Argaios since it was associated with mountain-gods in Hittite times, and suspected references to Hittite traditions in other elements of the coinage as well.

5 For example: Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC) III 2974 and 3113; RPC IV 8012(t), 7107(t), 8014(t). In this note and following, (t) indicates a temporary RPC number.



2a 2b

Fig. 2. Coins of King Archelaos I of Cappadocia (36 BC–AD 17).
2a. Coin of Archelaos, Eusebeia: reverse showing Mt. Argaios surmounted by an eagle. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, 1971.347 (Image in the public domain). **2b**. Coin of Archelaos, Caesarea: reverse showing a club. American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.62416 (Image in the public domain).

layers of volcanic mud and ash covered by lava-flows have resulted in a dramatic landscape of tall cones called "fairy chimneys", lofty pinnacles, and lingering glaciers. Although the volcano has not erupted in at least 10,000 years, Strabo (12.2.7) writes that the wooded slopes of the mountain, while advantageous for timber and water, are in fact perilous, for below the forests lie hidden fire-pits and marshy areas where flames rise from the ground at night. Mt. Argaios, whose very name means "white" or "shining" in Greek, was also renowned in antiquity for its snow-capped peak, as the summit was said to be so high that the frosts never melted, even in summer.[6] Indeed, Mt. Argaios in winter frequently forms a vast slope of glittering white, and one of the mountain's many glaciers still remains year-round on the summit today.

Mt. Argaios is first depicted on the reverse of coins minted in the 1st century BC in Eusebeia, the royal capital of the Cappadocian kings (**Fig. 2a**). According to Strabo (12.2.7), the indigenous settlement of Mazaka was renamed "Eusebeia near Argaios", most likely under the 2nd-century BC Ariarathid dynasty, the first rulers to eventually style themselves

6 Strab. 12.2.7; Claud. *carm. min.* 47.4–5; Mart. Cap. 6, 690; Soz. 5.4.2.

as Hellenistic kings taking the Greek epithet *Eusebes* ('pious').[7] The image of Mt. Argaios is associated in particular with the reign of the last Cappadocian king, Archelaos I, appointed in 36 BC on the authority of Mark Antony and confirmed as king by Augustus in 20 BC. With this confirmation, Archelaos was further glorified with the title of *Ktistes* ('founder') of the newly renamed city, now called Caesarea. However, the introduction of Mt. Argaios, and its associated type the solitary club (**Fig. 2b**), almost certainly began with his predecessors in the Ariobarzanid dynasty, which had been installed by the Romans in the early 1st century BC (as successors to the Ariarathids). More specifically, it has been proposed that the first issues were minted in 66/65 BC, during the reign of Ariobarzanes I, coinciding with the rebuilding of the city begun by Pompey in 67 BC after its destruction and depopulation by Tigranes the Great in about 77 BC (Strab. 12.2.9).[8] Ariobarzanes I was the first Hellenistic ruler to take the epithet *Philoromaios* ('friend to the Romans'), and the Ariobarzanids accordingly drew on Greek and Roman iconography to legitimize their rule. At the same time, as a new dynasty, the representations of Argaios as both sacred mountain and god may have been introduced to revive and perpetuate certain notions of local identity and power, and to emphasize a relationship with the sacred landscape of the past. They may have sought inspiration in earlier monuments, in particular the well-preserved rock-cut reliefs of Bronze Age mountain-gods, which remained visible across the region.

The Hellenistic representations of Mt. Argaios, frequently shown with an eagle flying above or surmounted by a wreath, form the basis for far more complex designs that appear on the later provincial coins. Beginning with the new issues of Caesarea minted under Tiberius, Mt. Argaios appears with an anthropomorphic deity: a radiate figure holding a globe and scepter standing on top of the mountain (**Fig. 3a**). Typically identified as Helios, the deity is never explicitly named. Another feature of the provincial coinage is that certain details in the representation of the mountain become standard for its identification. Although stylized,

7 Strabo does not provide a name; however, Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopator (reigned 163–130 BC) was probably responsible for the refounding of two indigenous cities, Mazaka as "Eusebeia near Argaios" and Tyana as "Eusebeia near the Tauros". See Cohen 1996: 377–379; Michels 2009: 314–324.

8 Kovacs 2013: 397–404. It has also been suggested that the group belongs mainly to his predecessors based on similarities between monograms on earlier regal drachms and many of the Eusebeia bronzes, see Herrli 1985: 60–71.



3a 3b

Fig. 3. Provincial coins showing Mt. Argaios as a sacred landscape. **3a**. Coin of Tiberius, Caesarea: reverse depicting Mt. Argaios surmounted by a radiate figure. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, Fonds général 244 (Image in the public domain). **3b**. Coin of Hadrian, Caesarea: reverse showing Mt. Argaios surmounted by a pyramid. American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.62544 (Image in the public domain).

many of these seem to refer to specific landscape elements visible when the mountain is viewed from different locations. Spikey slopes and a curved space at the top of the mountain are almost always present, often interpreted as trees or flames and a grotto. However, they could also represent rock-needle formations and a crater at the summit. Some appear to show water flowing from the peak, perhaps in connection with the lake on the mountaintop today. Conical shapes across the base of the mountain echo the appearance of "fairy chimneys", and rounded features may indicate the many lower peaks. Other details introduced at this time are more elusive in meaning, especially the addition of an unusual sphere-shaped object, usually identified as a "sacred stone", as well as a pyramid-shaped element projecting from the mountaintop (**Fig. 3b**).

The importance of the landscape and its clear association with Mt. Argaios is emphasized further on coins of the 2nd century AD, with issues of Trajan characterized by a large grotto at the foot of the mountain enclosing the "sacred stone" and embellished along the arch with an



4a 4b

Fig. 4. Provincial coins showing Mt. Argaios with nature motifs.
4a. Coin of Trajan, Caesarea: reverse depicting Mt. Argaios with a grotto adorned with an animal group on the façade. American Numismatic Society, 1985.39.154 (Image in the public domain). **4b**. Coin of Lucius Verus, Caesarea: reverse showing Mt. Argaios with animals and foliage. American Numismatic Society, 1995.11.445 (Image in the public domain).

animal group (**Fig. 4a**). Although difficult to discern in many examples, this appears to depict a lion attacking a bull or other quadruped, a motif especially prominent in art of the ancient Near East, often expressing the power of rulers and associated with kingship. This particular composition seems to have been used only during the reign of Trajan. Coins issued under Hadrian and later add animals and foliage along the ground line, almost invariably a leaping animal on one side and trilobed plant or tree on the other (**Fig. 4b**).[9]

3 ARGAIOS AS AGALMA

The coins of Mt. Argaios reflect a tradition where the mountain was the setting for a place of religious significance. At the same time, however, the visual distinction between Mt. Argaios as a sacred landscape and the mountain as a cult object also becomes evident. Coins of Caesarea minted under the emperor Commodus introduce the form of Mt. Argaios as an *agalma* placed on an altar or in a temple (**Figs. 5a–b**). The

9 For example: RPC III 3081 and 3084; RPC IV 6942(t) and 7033(t).



5a 5b

Fig. 5. Provincial coins showing Mt. Argaios as an *agalma*.
5a. Coin of Commodus, Caesarea: reverse depicting Mt. Argaios on an altar. American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.62566 (Image in the public domain). **5b**. Coin of Commodus, Caesarea: reverse showing Mt. Argaios in a temple. American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.62570 (Image in the public domain).

radiate figure, star, eagle, or wreath frequently appears as a single unit with the mountain, considered a part of the cult statue. The representation of the mountain as *agalma* seems to coincide with a new status for the city. During Commodus' reign and thereafter, Caesarea's coins claim the title *metropolis*, a title bestowed by the emperor, and which may have been an indication of the city's role as a center for the Imperial cult.

Caesarea also received the status of *neokoros*, usually translated as "temple warden", signifying that the city had a provincial temple to the cult of the emperor. The title appears first on the coins of Septimius Severus, frequently showing Mt. Argaios between agonistic urns. It is possible, however, that the *neokoros* could have been awarded earlier when the city was known to have celebrated the *Commodeion*, an agonistic festival for Commodus at Caesarea.[10] The temple that appears

10 An inscription from Ancyra, erected in honor of a victor at the *Isopythia Asclepieia Sotereia* around AD 218, mentions two previously unnamed sacred festivals, the *Commodeion* at Caesarea and *Actia* at Antioch, where he had also won victories, see Mitchell 1977: 75, no. 8.



6a 6b

Fig. 6. Provincial coins showing Mt. Argaios with the legend *neokoros*. **6a**. Coin of Elagabalus, Caesarea: reverse showing Mt. Argaios surmounted by figures and a tripod with a temple in front. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, Fonds général 654A (Image in the public domain). **6b**. Coin of Elagabalus, Caesarea: reverse depicting Mt. Argaios surmounted by figures on an altar. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, Fonds général 638 (Image in the public domain).

before Mt. Argaios on coins of this period most likely represents that for which Caesarea was *neokoros* (**Fig. 6a**). Given the more numerous versions of Mt. Argaios alone, however, it seems possible that the sacred mountain itself took the place of a shrine for the Imperial cult. One coin-type shows a group of three figures (perhaps Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta) saluting the radiate deity on the summit of Mt. Argaios; another depicts three separate figures on the mountain each holding a spear or scepter, one on the peak and two on either side at the foot.[11] Notably, contemporary coins continue to update the image of the mountain as *agalma* to include these new figural motifs (**Fig. 6b**). Mt. Argaios as cult object is also emphasized in scenes where the image of the mountain is transported by a biga of elephants. A parallel from Anazarbos in Cilicia, which illustrates elephants pulling an image of the

11 Three-figure group saluting radiate figure: British Museum 1970,0909.236; Weiss 1985: no. 26a–c. Three-figure group on summit: RPC VI 6675(t). Three separate figures with scepters: RPC VI 6670(t).

temple of the *Divus Severus*, further supports Mt. Argaios as a replacement for the temple of the Imperial cult.[12]

Mt. Argaios took on a symbolic role in other ways as well. The importance of Mt. Argaios as a symbol not only of Caesarea but all of Cappadocia was established by the first half of the 2nd century AD, attested by a series of coins minted in Rome that depict the female personification of Cappadocia accompanied by a miniature version of the mountain.[13] Beginning with the reign of Commodus, coins, gems and statuettes show the Tyche of Caesarea wearing Mt. Argaios as a representation of the city in place of her mural crown. A red jasper gem in the British Museum for instance is engraved on one side with Tyche crowned by Mt. Argaios, while the reverse depicts a draped radiate figure of Helios riding in a quadriga. In another example, a bronze bust of Tyche wearing Mt. Argaios on the front of her mural crown incorporates a male figure crowning the mountain with a wreath.[14] The mountain appears with other deities as well: Sarapis holding Mt. Argaios or standing with a raised arm before the mountain on an altar; Apollo seated between elaborate baetyl-shaped columns or standing between two standards with Mt. Argaios above; Mt. Argaios floating between winged Nemeses, or above a horse between Tyche and Athena or Hera.[15]

At times, the mountain also seems to function as an official emblem, as on coins bearing a *metropolis* legend in four lines encircled by a wreath with a small image of Mt. Argaios between the first two letters. Similarly, coins representing a *homonoia* ('alliance') between Caesarea and Smyrna on the coast of Asia Minor display the image of Mt. Argaios, in some examples surmounted by a star and situated between two agonistic urns.[16] The usage recalls Maximus of Tyre's comment that the Cappadocians regarded the mountain not only as a deity and an *agalma*, but also as an *horkos* ('oath'). A clay bulla, or sealing, from

12 Examples from Caesarea: RPC VI 6692(t); Weiss 1985: nos. 41a–b. Anazarbos: RPC VI 7255(t); American Numismatic Society 1944.100.53071.

13 Roman Imperial Coinage (RIC) II Hadrian 848f (as); RIC III Antoninus Pius 580.

14 Coin types: RPC VI 6776(t) and 6777(t). Gem with Tyche and Helios: British Museum 1772,0315.492. Bronze bust of Tyche: Gorny & Mosch 2003: lot 91.

15 Coins with Serapis holding Argaios: RPC VI 6740(t); before altar: RPC VI 6739(t) and 6743(t). Apollo between baetyls: RPC VI 6719(t); between standards: RPC VI 6810(t). Nemeses: RPC VI 6673(t). Gem of Tyche and Athena (or Roma): Metropolitan Museum of Art 81.6.178. Tyche and Hera: Henig/Whiting 1987: nos. 120 and 398.

16 *Metropolis*: Sydenham 1978: nos. 610–611. *Homonoia*: Sydenham 1978: nos. 623, 625–626.

Zeugma in Commagene bears the impression of a die for the reverse of a coin of Caesarea showing the radiate figure on top of Mt. Argaios, indicating the image was further used for administrative purposes.[17]

4 CONTEMPORARY ICONOGRAPHIC TRADITIONS

The closest iconographic parallels for the mountain as cult statue are found on Hellenistic and Roman coins of Syria, in particular those of Mt. Gerizim, El-Gabal (Elagabal), and Mt. Kasion, where similar designs are associated with the worship of sacred mountains and aniconic cult images. Mt. Gerizim, the distinctive mountain represented on coins of Neapolis in Samaria, also appears as both sacred mountain and symbol.[18] The architectural details of the sanctuary on the summit, including a temple of Zeus built by the Romans, function in much the same way as Mt. Argaios' topographical features, in that they allow the viewer to immediately recognize the mountain. Mt. Gerizim similarly transforms from mountain to symbol, with the mountain miniaturized and floating in various contexts, as well as standing in for Tyche. On the reverse of coins of Neapolis minted during the reign of the emperor Elagabalus, four horses drawing the chariot of the emperor carry Mt. Gerizim together with the sacred stone of El-Gabal, known from coins of Emesa in Syria. The scene is a specific reference to the transfer of the sacred stone of El-Gabal from Emesa to Rome, an event also commemorated on coins of Rome and other provincial mints.[19]

The sacred stone of El-Gabal is used in a parallel manner to the sacred mountain, as an image of the god as well as a symbol of the city. Herodian of Syria (*Hist.* 5.3.5) describes the central cult object in the sanctuary of the god El-Gabal in Emesa as an enormous black conical stone fallen from heaven. Coins of Emesa depict such a stone, either adorned or surmounted by an eagle, frequently placed in a temple. Although generally identified as a solar deity, a mid-1st-century AD lime-

17 Önal 2010: 46, no. 64 (excavation find no. 495), with traces of papyrus on the reverse.

18 Discussion in Evans 2011.

19 Coins with Mt. Gerizim and the stone of El-Gabal in a chariot: American Numismatic Society 1961.154.139; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (*SNG*) VI 1848 Fitzwilliam Museum (inv. no. CM.LS.1848R). El-Gabal alone in the chariot: RIC IV Elagabalus 196d; RPC IX 1941. Transport of the stone to Rome: *Hist. Aug., Antoninus Heliogabalus*, 1.6; Herodian, *Hist*. 5.6.6–7; Dio Cassius 79.31.1.

stone relief from Nezala, between Damascus and Palmyra, shows an eagle with outstretched wings perched upon a rocky mountain labeled in Palmyrene ʾLHʾGBL, interpreted as the Aramaic *ʾlahâ Gabal* meaning "God Mountain".[20] The inscription suggests that the stone somehow represented a god who was a mountain, raising the possibility that the main cult of Emesa in this period and earlier was primarily a mountain- rather than sun-cult. The figure standing next to the mountain on the relief is labeled in Palmyrene as the god *Arsu*, who had a temple at Palmyra itself.[21] There is no visual or literary reference to the sacred stone of El-Gabal prior to the Roman period, but it may well have existed as an earlier cult feature.

Another aniconic cult image associated with a mountain deity appears on the coins of Seleucia Pieria, the Seleucid and Roman port at the mouth of the Orontes River. Beginning with the reign of Trajan, the city's coins depict a naiskos with a pyramidal roof resting on four pillars and enclosing the image of a conical stone with the legend Zeus Kasios. In many examples, this structure is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, and the stone itself is adorned with a garland-like decoration.[22] It is clear that the image was deliberately chosen for the Zeus of the mountain, as there are, in fact, Hellenistic coins of Seleucia with Zeus enthroned, but none that identify him as Zeus Kasios. Moreover, this was a feature specific to this particular local version of Zeus Kasios. The cult of Zeus Kasios eventually extended beyond the Syrian mountain, with sanctuaries and dedications to the god found at sites elsewhere in the ancient world.[23] When the cult spread to Greece, however, Zeus Kasios was depicted using traditional Greek imagery, with the Olympian god enthroned (and accompanied by the legend Zeus Kasios) as on coins of the Greek island of Kerkyra.[24]

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20 Starcky 1975/1976; Millar 1993: 300–309. Greek and Roman inscriptions and coins indicate that Elagabalus had become a solar deity by the mid-2nd century AD.

21 For an inscription referring to the temple of Arsu at Palmyra, see Dunant 1971: no. 45.

22 For example: RPC III 3769.

23 On the sanctuary of Zeus Kasios in Egypt, see Tito 2012: 92–95; Fauth 1990: 110–118; Salač 1922: 166–176. Herodotus (2.158.4) places this on the boundary between Egypt and Syria; Strabo (16.2.33) describes Egyptian Kasion as a sandy hill with a temple of Zeus Kasios. For cults of Zeus Kasios on Delos and Kerkyra, see Salač 1922: 161–165; Bruneau 1970: 241–242; Tito 2012: 84–85, 93, 98–100.

24 For example: RPC IV 4596(t).

Aniconic stone-cults were a well-known feature of many ancient Near Eastern religions from a very early date.[25] There is abundant evidence for the important role played by standing stones in cultic contexts in Syria in the Bronze Age, and it is possible that the images on these coins recall a much earlier religious tradition. In Hittite cults, for instance, deities, including mountain-gods, could be represented by a divine symbol or stele called a *ḫuwaši* stone, which was set up in a temple or in the open air, usually by a grove or a spring, or on a mountain. Sacrifices and rituals addressed to these objects demonstrate they were treated as representatives of the deities, as textual sources attest. While symbolic representations and sacred stones of Mt. Gerizim, El-Gabal, and Mt. Kasion are all informed by a long-standing tradition of mountain-worship and stone-cults in the ancient Near East, they were not directly expressions of the mountains themselves as gods. The placement of Mt. Argaios on an altar or in a temple, however, explicitly suggests that the mountain and its deity are one and the same.

5 CULT OF ARGAIOS IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

Mt. Argaios appears in countless different compositions and contexts, both as a sacred landscape and as a deity in the form of a cult statue. Thus, is not unreasonable to expect the existence of a cult associated with the mountain. Many of Mt. Argaios' distinctive features are repeated precisely in seals, gems and especially in bronze votive statuettes of the same period, both in specific topographical elements and nature motifs, as well as in overall composition as landscape versus *agalma*. One statuette even shows Argaios on an altar decorated with an incised garland (**Fig. 7**). Other common features of the statuettes are the unidentified sphere-shaped element, often surrounded by or composed of smaller spheres in a rosette-like decoration, and a tetrahedron (triangular pyramid) projecting from the mountaintop. This small pyramid with a ball on each corner also appears alone on coins of Caesarea, where it sometimes rises from the coins' surface to suggest a three-dimensional form, and may even be represented in a 2nd-century AD bronze statuette of Zeus holding a similar object in the Museum of Fine Arts

25 Cammarosano 2015: 224–232; Michel 2015; Collins 2005: 13–42; Mettinger 1995: 115–134.

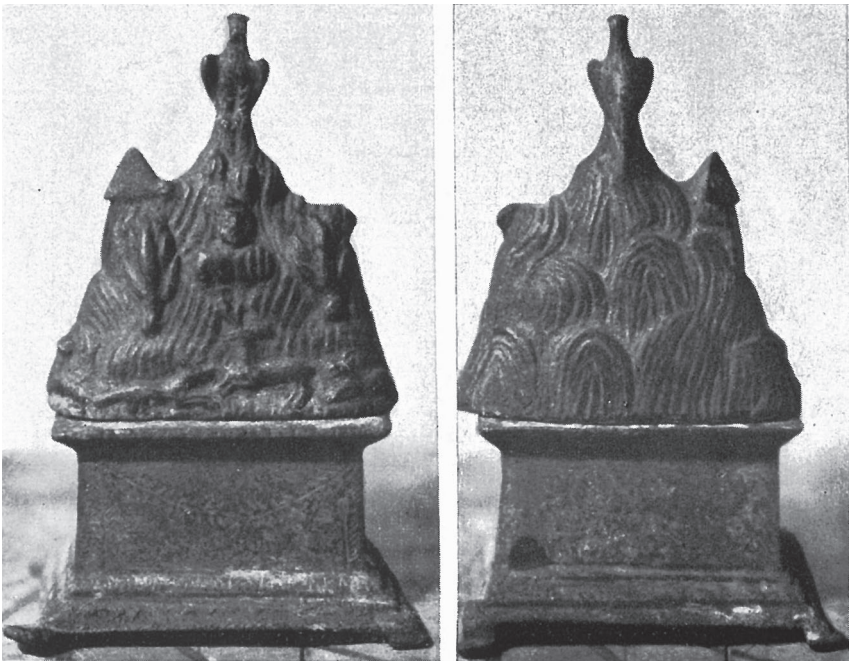

Fig. 7. Bronze votive statuette, ca. 2nd–3rd century AD. Mt. Argaios on a garlanded altar, surmounted by an eagle and pyramid, with a male bust emerging from the body of the mountain and animals along the base. Bossert 1942: nos. 1014 (front) and 1016 (back).

in Boston.[26] Embedded within these representations of Mt. Argaios are elements that Hellenistic and Roman tradition typically associated with specific deities, in particular the radiate figure and eagle. There is only one known example with a fully anthropomorphic figure, a bearded male holding a patera and grape bunch on top of Mt. Argaios, situated between an eagle on one peak and a tetrahedron on the other.[27] The majority of the statuettes are surmounted by an eagle; however, a steelyard weight also takes the form of a radiate figure emerging from the mountain's peak (**Fig. 8**). Nevertheless, even for ancient viewers these images remained open to interpretation.

26 Coin types with Tyche on the obverse and pyramid on reverse: RPC III 3129; American Numismatic Society 0000.999.25749. Zeus statuette: MFA Boston 1972.920.

27 Falter 2005: 149, Fig. 6; however, it is important to note that the authenticity of this object is questionable.



Fig. 8. Steelyard weight in the form of a bust of Helios on top of a sacred mountain, Roman Provincial, Imperial Period, ca. AD 150–250. Bronze; H. 12 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; John Michael Rodocanachi Fund, 1972.79. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Surprisingly, there is no firm evidence for a cult of a Zeus Argaios, although the eagle perched on the mountain could be interpreted as a symbol of the deity. While the radiate figure on the mountain is typically identified as Helios, the deity is never explicitly named, and in many examples is replaced by a star. Likewise, the club that features so prominently on Late Hellenistic and Roman coins of Caesarea almost invariably appears alone, often flanked by a star and crescent. Although this is easily recognized as Herakles' club, here the weapon appears to have

also had a special significance independent of the hero. Furthermore, there is no evidence for the worship of Helios, Herakles, or Zeus Argaios at Caesarea.[28] The god or gods associated with the mountain instead remained anonymous, represented by symbols that could be understood in different ways. Thus, rather than simply radiate Helios, Zeus' eagle, or Herakles' club, these attributes associated with Argaios almost certainly represented Hellenized forms of a local Anatolian deity or deities associated with the mountain. More specifically, this combination of attributes may have had explicit local religious meaning that can be traced back to the Late Bronze Age tradition of divine mountains and mountain-gods.

6 ARGAIOS AS A BRONZE AND IRON AGE MOUNTAIN-GOD

Just as the Greeks, awestruck by snow-capped Mt. Argaios, called it the "white" or "shining" peak, the mountain may have been identified for similar reasons by the Hittites in the Late Bronze Age, who worshipped Argaios as a divine being, and called it Ḫarga, from the Hittite word *ḫarki-*, also meaning "bright", "silver", or "white". The mountain is additionally identified at this time with an ideogram that appears to be identical with that for the word "day".[29] The image of an anthropomorphic solar deity in the Hellenistic and Roman periods would thus be appropriate for the representation of a sacred mountain that seems to have been closely identified with shining light as early as the Bronze Age. Moreover, a close relationship between sacred mountains and the sun is common in both Greek and ancient Anatolian religions. Hittite sources offer descriptions of mountain-gods adorned with a solar disk and crescent moon, and list offerings to both the Sun-god and the Sun-goddess made on mountains. Sometimes a mountain-god shared a temple with other gods, including the Sun-god.[30] Associations between

28 Information on religious practices in Caesarea is scanty. According to later literary sources, there were sanctuaries of Apollo Patroos, Zeus Poliouchos, and Tyche in Caesarea, which were destroyed by the Christians: Soz. 5.4.2.

29 $^{\text{ḪUR.SAG}}$UD (determinative for "mountain" with the word for "day"): KBo 2.7 ii 25, 29; KBo 2.13 i 22, 26.

30 Divine mountains adorned with sun disk and crescent moon, see Jakob-Rost 1963. Mountains as cult places of the Sun-god and Sun-goddess, see Popko 1999: 97–99. See also: CTH 385.9, a Hittite prayer in which king Tudḫaliya vows to build a temple for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and offer her sacrificial animals on Mt. Tagurka; CTH 416, a ritual that takes place on the summit of a mountain near

the highest peaks and the light of the sun are also found in Greek and Latin texts, including several references to Mt. Kasion in Syria.[31]

Late Bronze Age mountain-gods in Anatolia occur in lists of deities found in several different types of Hittite textual sources, including prayers, festivals, and treaties. The earliest references to Argaios come from the Hittite cult inventories, a corpus of over 500 fragmentary texts dealing with offerings and festivals in provincial towns mainly associated with cult reorganization in the 13th century BC. There, Argaios, called Ḫarga, receives offerings as a divine mountain. One text describes the mountain-god Argaios as a statue made of iron in the form of a man surmounting a weapon, usually interpreted as a mace or club.[32] In fact, the eagle and club-like weapon, which appear so prominently on the Late Hellenistic and Roman coins of Eusebeia-Caesarea, were characteristic attributes of Bronze Age mountain-gods. In Hittite texts mountain-gods are almost exclusively described in the form of a male statue either carrying or surmounting a club-like weapon adorned with the sun disk and crescent moon. Where eagle images are mentioned in the cult inventories, it is usually in relation to mountains. The texts describe eagles made of iron, ivory or silver arranged on top of mountains, figural or not. Furthermore, according to Hittite tradition vessels in the shape of an eagle were part of the cult inventory of mountain-gods. Bronze Age mountain-gods were frequently depicted as statues, presumably in conventional form with the upper body of a man and lower body in the form of a mountain, but could also be represented by the weapons they carried or by aniconic *ḫuwaši* stones. At certain times, these cult objects would be carried from the temple to the mountain to receive offerings.[33]

Arinna when the sun disk appears on the horizon. On the Hittite Sun-deities in general, see Haas 1994: 377–381, 428–432; Haas/Koch 2011: 222–227; Beckman 2012: 129–135; Steitler 2017.

31 Mt. Kasion: Plin. *NH* 5.18.22; Solin. 36.3; Amm. Marc. 22.14.4; Mela 1.61 (confuses Mt. Kasion in Syria with that in Egypt); Mart. Cap. 6, 680. Additional Greek and Roman examples with discussion: Belis 2015: I, 214–216, 223–227.

32 KUB 36.90 i 22 (invocation of the Storm-god of Nerik); KUB 29.1 ii 25 (temple foundation ritual); KBo 2.7 ii 25 (foundation of a statue with temple), 29 (offering of spelt); KBo 2.13 i 22 (description of statue), 26 (offering of spelt).

33 List of Hittite mountains-gods and references: Gonnet 1968: 93–171. On Hittite gods and cult images: Cammarosano 2018: 51–102; Hazenbos 2003: 173–190; Popko 1993; Haas 1994: 492–500; Güterbock 1983: 203–217; Jakob-Rost 1963; Rost 1961. For discussion of Hittite mountains and mountain-gods in general, see Haas 1982; Haas 1994: 496–498; Popko 1999; Haas/Koch 2011: 121–124, 237–238; Raimond 2006; Danrey 2006.



Fig. 9. Late Bronze Age relief in the Hittite sanctuary of Yazılıkaya, Chamber B. Hieroglyphic name of King Tudḫaliya IV represented using the pictogram of a mountain-god (Reproduced under a Creative Commons license (CC BY-SA 2.0)).

In addition to descriptions of religious activities, the cult inventories record the role of Hittite mountain-gods as oath-gods, who were frequently called on as witnesses for state treaties.[34] These texts also reveal a close connection between sacred mountains and kingship. On the occasion of major festivals, distant mountains could be summoned to the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša (present-day Boğazköy) to participate in the ceremonies, and several Hittite kings took for their official name that of a mountain which was also a god.[35] Of these, the divine mountains Arnuwanda and Tudḫaliya are invoked in Hittite ritual texts together with Argaios.[36] King Tudḫaliya IV (ca. 1237–1209 BC) even exchanged the hieroglyph for "sacred mountain" with that of a pictogram in the form of a composite mountain-god wielding a club-like weapon with

34 While not indicative of direct continuity, it is again notable that in the Roman period Maximus of Tyre emphasizes the importance of Argaios in the context of oaths.

35 Freu 2006; Lebrun 2006.

36 Ḫarga and Tudḫaliya: KUB 29.1 ii 25–26. Ḫarga and Arnuwanda: KBo 2.13 i 21–22, 26; KBo 2.7 ii 24–25, 29.

the winged sun disk above. This image appears most prominently on royal seals and in the Hittite rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya near Ḫattuša (**Fig. 9**). The sanctuary consists of two open-air chambers surrounded by natural rock formations decorated extensively with reliefs of the gods. Mountain-gods appear in a number of different compositions, both as a pair, either alone or supporting the Storm-god, and individually as the pictogram in Tudḫaliya's name. In one relief the king is shown standing on two mountain peaks, echoing the traditional iconography of the Storm-god standing on mountain-gods. Other rock-cut reliefs of composite mountain-gods supporting the Storm-god are visible at nearby İmamkulu, where the Storm-god rides in a chariot, and at Eflatunpınar and Fasıllar, located farther west near Lake Beyşehir.[37] Tudḫaliya IV also selected as his own personal deity, Šarrumma, the great "Mountain-king", who frequently took the form of a bull standing on twin mountain peaks or mountain-gods, as in the rock-cut relief at Hanyeri (Gezbeli), southeast of Argaios. In addition, several monuments of Tudḫaliya IV found at various locations on the Anatolian plateau seem to represent the king's establishment of various cult precincts on mountains.[38]

The divine status of Argaios continued into the Iron Age, as Luwian inscriptions of the 8th century BC found in the vicinity of the mountain record offerings of gazelles to the "God-mountain", now called Harhara. One of these dedications also invokes the Sun-god.[39] This is consistent with the continuing tradition of divine mountains and the worship of mountain-gods, which was widespread across the ancient Near East. For example, the inscribed rock monument of Meher Kapısı near Van in eastern Anatolia, which lists the official Urartian pantheon at the end of the 9th century BC, names deified mountains as the objects of individual sacrifices.[40] Similarly, the Persepolis Fortification Archive of 509–493 BC lists eleven mountains that are the object or place of cult

37 Textual descriptions of the Storm-god follow the same iconography as that in the rock-cut representations. See KUB 38.2 ii 8–13: the Storm-god of Heaven is a gold-plated male figure holding a club in one hand and the sign for "goodness" in the other, and standing on two silver-plated mountains represented as men.

38 Šarrumma: Laroche 1963; Trémouille 2006. On mountain cults and Tudḫaliya IV, see Lombardi 1999; Hawkins 2006.

39 Hawkins 2000: I, X.30. TEKIRDERBENT 1; X.19. HISARCIK 1; X.27. HISARCIK 2 (with the Sun-god). Discussion of HISARCIK inscriptions: Ehringhaus 2005: 75–81.

40 Salvini 1994: 205–208.

activity.[41] Although there is no specific reference to Mt. Argaios again until it appears on the coins of Eusebeia-Caesarea, the recognition of the mountain as an important religious symbol and its representation as a cult statue at that time does suggest the survival of much earlier ideas about the religious aspects of mountains and their iconography.

7 SURVIVAL OF ARGAIOS AS A MOUNTAIN-GOD IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

Certainly, the Hittite texts were unavailable and the Bronze and Iron Age rock-cut inscriptions largely unintelligible to Hellenistic and Roman viewers. However, local cultures had direct and continuous access to the distinctive images of Bronze Age mountain-gods in the form of rock monuments, such as those at İmamkulu and Gezbeli just southeast of Argaios, which were central to the sacred landscape of the region. Literary sources such as Herodotus and Pausanias, as well as local Greek inscriptions, confirm that later viewers engaged with Hittite monuments across Anatolia.[42] Herodotus (2.106), writing in the 5th century BC, recognized similarities between some of the reliefs that he had seen in western Anatolia and others he encountered in the Levant. One monument, a relief which he incorrectly identifies as a representation of the Egyptian pharaoh Sesostris, is generally thought to refer to a large relief in the Karabel pass on the southern slope of a mountain in Asia Minor. In the 2nd century AD, Pausanias mentions numerous monuments in Lydia, including a statue that he considers the most ancient image of the mother of the gods (3.22.4), which is likely the large statue-like relief at Akpınar on Mt. Sipylos. An unfinished almost three-dimensional figure is situated in a deeply carved niche. Rather than a female goddess, this figure has more recently been recognized as a standing bearded male, specifically the representation of a Hittite mountain-god wearing a conical headdress.[43] This is a convincing interpretation for the Late Bronze Age monument, in which the mountain-deity depicted in the

41 Henkelman 2008: 223–224 (NN 2265: 1–4 and PF 1955: 1–3).

42 See examples and discussion in: Rojas/Sergueenkova 2014; Rojas/Sergueenkova 2016/2017.

43 Interpretations of the figure as a mountain-god rather than mother goddess: André-Salvini/Salvini 2002; Harmanşah 2015; Ehringhaus 2005: 84–87; Spanos 1983.

monumental relief was then reimagined in the Greek and Roman periods as Cybele, the mother of the gods.

Greek and Roman inscriptions and other archaeological remains in the vicinity of Hittite monuments reveal how closely later visitors interacted with the earlier sites. For example, a rocky outcrop near the top of Kızıldağ ('Red Mountain' in Turkish), located north of present-day Karaman, is carved to form something like a "throne" with a Hittite relief of a seated man and a royal inscription.[44] A Hellenistic Greek inscription incised on a rock that was once part of the throne reads: "The priest Krateros, [son] of Hermokrates, jumped", suggesting the site was reimagined as part of a religious landscape.[45] Fasıllar, near the modern city of Beyşehir, is another Hittite monument with evidence of later reception, this one including a statue of a mountain-god. There a rock-cut shrine with a Greek inscription of the 2nd century AD was carved on the cliff-face opposite an abandoned monolithic statue of the Hittite Storm-god standing above a mountain-god flanked by two lions. This monumental statue, which was found lying near its quarry, may have originally been intended to be erected as part of the monument at the nearby Late Bronze Age spring-sanctuary of Eflatunpınar, where a base of five mountain-gods supports the Storm-god and Sun-goddess.[46] The Roman period shrine at Fasıllar consists of a niche with an arch supported by columns, which once held the statue of a young man, Lucianus, named in an inscription above. A relief to the right of this niche depicts a horse outfitted in elaborate trappings. A second inscription of the same period located just below this shrine specifies regulations for athletic competitions that were held in the narrow valley between the Hittite monument and the shrine.[47] The sites at both Kızıldağ and Fasıllar also have Greek and Roman archaeological remains in the vicinity, evidence of long-term cultural activity and engagement with the remote past. Thus, earlier traditions preserved in the cultural memory of the region, including the worship of mountain-gods such as Argaios, were likely reinforced by the visible and easily accessible images carved in the landscape.

44 Hawkins 2000: X.1–3. Kızıldağ 1–3.

45 SEG 36.1235bis.

46 Mellaart 1962.

47 Athletic competitions: SEG 6.449 and SEG 39.1418 (reference to SEG 6.449). On the niche and inscriptions, see: Gardiner 1929.



Fig. 10. Statuette of Mt. Argaios surmounted by an eagle and pyramid with a male bust emerging from the body of the mountain, Roman, ca. 2nd–3rd century AD. Bronze; H. 5.4 cm. LIMC *s.v.* Argaios: no. 2.

The survival of Argaios as a mountain-god is especially apparent in the many 2nd to 3rd-century AD bronze votive statuettes, some with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic features, which seem to reflect the survival of earlier religious practices and the motifs that were associated with them.[48] Although lacking specific archaeological findspots, repeated

48 Statuette types include Mt. Argaios with eagle: Archäologisches Museum der WWU Münster, inv. no. 3414; Harvard Art Museums, 2012.1.120; Cook 1940: 1175, Fig. 917; Hillert 1997: 286, Figs. 1–3, 7–9; Thierry 1991: 74, Fig. 11. Mt. Argaios with male bust emerging from the body of the mountain: Bossert 1942: 78, 261, nos. 1014 (front) and 1016 (back); LIMC *s.v.* Argaios: no. 2; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1972.79 (surmounted by a radiate bust). Mt. Argaios with bull emerging from the body of the mountain: Archäologisches Museum der WWU Münster, inv. no. 3413 (surmounted by eagle and tetrahedron); Falter 2000: 28; Falter 2005: Fig. 12



Fig. 11. Statuette of Mt. Argaios surmounted by an eagle and pyramid with a bull emerging from the mountain, Roman, ca. 2nd–3rd century AD. Bronze; H. 7.8 cm. Archäologisches Museum der WWU Münster 3413. Photo: Robert Dylka (Reproduced under a Creative Commons license (CC BY-NC-SA)).

geographical and symbolic features confirm the identity of the mountain. Male busts emerge from Argaios itself, reminiscent of the composite mountain-gods found in Bronze and Iron Age rock-cut reliefs (**Figs. 7–8, 10**); in one of these, the mountain sits on a garlanded altar, occupying the place of the *agalma* as an object of worship. The head of a bull similarly projects from the body of the mountain in another statuette, with the eagle and tetrahedron still perched on the summit

(also surmounted by a stag with other animals along the foot). A bearded male figure on top of Mt. Argaios between an eagle and tetrahedron: Falter 2005: 149, Fig. 6.

(**Fig. 11**). Even the incised patterns and pointed projections resemble that of the Bronze Age mountain-gods' lower bodies. With the exception of the radiate figure represented on the steelyard weight in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, all of the statuettes have an eagle perched on the summit, which as on the coins could be interpreted as a symbol of the unnamed deity. There was clearly an awareness in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods of Anatolian mountain-gods, and their earlier meaning and iconography. This phenomenon is not limited to Mt. Argaios, as is evident in the composite representations of mountain-gods on a Roman bronze votive plaque found at Heddernheim in Germany.[49] The central focus of the triangular relief is Jupiter Dolichenus, the Roman god of Doliche in Commagene, but figures in the bottom two corners appear to represent composite mountain-gods surmounted by personifications of the sun and the moon, there identified as the Dioskouroi. The sanctuary of the god at Doliche is in fact one of the few documented sites in Anatolia with archaeological evidence for continuous cult from the Iron Age onward, and the iconography of Jupiter Dolichenus links directly to Iron Age portrayals of the Storm-god.[50] Nevertheless, although the god bore the name Jupiter abroad, inscriptions found near Doliche itself leave the indigenous deity unnamed, referring simply to the "god of Doliche".[51]

8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The representation of Mt. Argaios as both sacred mountain and *agalma* on coins, statuettes, gems, and seals in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods, as well as the image of the club depicted on coins of the same date, appears to derive from Late Bronze Age traditions. The literary and corresponding material evidence, moreover, permit the reconstruction of a sacred landscape that made it possible for the divine nature of Ar-

49 Hörig/Schwertheim 1987: 320–321, no. 512, Pl. 107 (Wiesbaden, Städtisches Museum, inv. no. 6775). Compare further a statuette of Jupiter (or Castor) Dolichenus himself with a conical lower body probably also derived from the appearance of Hittite mountain-gods: Hörig/Schwertheim 1987: 179–180, no. 281, Pl. 52 (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antiken-Sammlung, inv. no. VI 193). The same figure occupies the lower corners of another triangular plaque: Hörig/Schwertheim 1987: 80–82, no. 103, Pl. 26 (Historical Museum Vidin).

50 Iconography: Bunnens 2015. Cult: Blömer 2015; Winter 2011.

51 Dedications to the "god of Doliche": SEG 32.1386, 1388 (there as *theos agios*), 1391; SEG 43.1871; SEG 57.1683.

gaios to persist in the cultural memory of Cappadocia throughout the 1st millennium BC. Although informed by a long-standing tradition of mountain-worship in the ancient Near East, the Late Hellenistic and Roman images of Argaios are seemingly of local origin. In Anatolia, Bronze and Iron Age statues and reliefs of mountain-gods, carved on the indigenous rock or immovable due to their monumental size, were for the most part left exposed and intact. The transmission of religious ideas and iconography into the Hellenistic and Roman periods could therefore have been perpetuated by rural and peripheral cult places and stimulated by the conscious search for old monuments of religious significance.

The iconography of Mt. Argaios is in effect a visible manifestation of competing belief systems. Representations of the mountain in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods reflect a highly conscious use of visual forms and symbols that are closely linked with older traditions. However, they are presented in contexts that could be easily recognized and understood by contemporary viewers. These images of Cappadocia's sacred landscape therefore represent a translation of local religious ideas about mountain-worship and iconography of mountain-gods using traditional Greek and Roman idiom. The image of Argaios may have been introduced by the last Hellenistic kings of Cappadocia in an effort to create legitimacy for their new dynasty. This iconography continued to be used for the provincial coinage of Caesarea, perhaps as a way to revive and perpetuate certain notions of local identity and power, which continued under Roman rule. To this end, the god or gods associated with Argaios may have been deliberately left unnamed, represented instead by symbols and attributes that could speak to indigenous populations and earlier traditions, as well as to the broader Hellenistic and Roman world. It is clear that even in later periods the local populations of the region still venerated the inherited gods of their country in the traditional way, but at the same time recast them in Hellenized form, for example the Anatolian deities Ma at Comana, who appeared as Athena on royal coins of Cappadocia, and Sandas at Tarsos in Cilicia, who was associated with Greek Herakles.[52] Strabo's comments (12.2.3, 12.2.5–7, 15.3.15) on the variety of non-Greek religious practices, sanctuaries, and deities that have survived in Anatolia demonstrate the persistence of earlier Anatolian cults and deities, and it was not uncommon for

52 For Ma in her *interpretatio Graeca* as Athena Nikephoros on royal coins, see Michels 2009: 224–227. On Sandas, see Rutherford 2017.

an indigenous local deity to remain the god of a particular place without being assimilated with one specific Greek or Roman equivalent.[53] Accordingly, beyond radiate Helios, Zeus' eagle, or Herakles' club, the combination of these symbols may also have represented a local Anatolian mountain-god, possibly even called "Argaios".[54]

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53 Deities without names and non-Greek theonyms in Anatolia, see Parker 2017: 83–88, 191–195. For additional discussion of Anatolian local cults and earlier deities, see Canepa 2018: 188–204; compare examples in Syria: Butcher 2003: 335–375.

54 Blömer 2019 on Mt. Argaios was published after this paper was written. We agree on many points but draw some different conclusions, and I am grateful to him for sharing his work with me.

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ZUR INTERPUNKTION IN LYKISCHEN INSCHRIFTEN[1]

Anja Busse

Abstract: This paper explores aspects of word separation and interpunction in Lycian inscriptions. The scribal practice of separating graphematic units with dots can be observed in Lycian inscriptions mainly between words (usually with enclitics) and rarely in the middle of a word. Only a few inscriptions (alternatively or additionally) use spacing. Some of the features discussed in this paper point towards a regional distribution in the use of punctuation (also entailed by the use of different text types). Inscriptions from the western region of Lycia (especially the Xanthos-area) feature different characteristics of interpunction than e.g. inscriptions from eastern (Limyra) or central parts of Lycia.

Keywords: alphabet, Anatolian, *graphematic word*, Lycian, inscription, interpunction, punctuation, scribal practice, separation mark, writing system

1 BUCHSTABENSCHRIFTEN UND INTERPUNKTIONSVARIANTEN IM 1. JT. V. CHR.

Im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. erscheinen im Mittelmeerraum vielerorts durch Adaptionen und Eigenentwicklungen geprägte Varianten von Buchstabenschriften (Alphabete und Konsonantenschriften), deren Vorläufer bis an den Anfang des 2. Jts. v. Chr. zurückreichen.[2] Ebenso wie lokal unterschiedliche Zeichenformen und Lautwerte haben sich auch unterschiedliche Konventionen hinsichtlich der Segmentierung

1 Teile dieses Beitrags entstanden im Rahmen des DFG-Projekts „Digitales philologisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der altanatolischen Kleinkorpussprachen“. Mein herzlicher Dank gilt Annick Payne und Jorit Wintjes für die Möglichkeit, erste Ergebnisse zu diesem Thema bei der Tagung „Beyond All Boundaries: Anatolia in the 1st Millennium B.C.“ im Jahr 2018 in Ascona vorzustellen. Zudem profitiert dieser Beitrag vom langfristigen Ideenaustausch mit Birgit Christiansen, Annick Payne und Zsolt Simon.

2 Vgl. dazu Krebernik 2007: 108–115.

von graphematischen Einheiten entwickelt, zu denen auch die Interpunktion zählt.[3]

Interpunktionszeichen und Abstände im Text dienen im Allgemeinen als Lesehilfe zum schnelleren optischen Erfassen der Textstruktur.[4] Als Worttrennungsgrapheme werden dabei nicht nur Schriftzeichen wie Striche oder Punkte, sondern auch Spatien verwendet. Die erstgenannte Segmentierungsform graphematischer Einheiten wird von Poccetti (2016: 260–262) als „*ponctuation noire*" bezeichnet, die er von der „*ponctuation blanche*" (mit Spatien) unterscheidet. Die Sequenzen, die in den jeweiligen Schriftsystemen durch graphische Worttrenner segmentiert sind, werden als *graphematische Wörter* bezeichnet. Ein *graphematisches Wort* ist eine Zeichensequenz, die im Gebrauch eines Schriftsystems als zusammengehörig angesehen bzw. so dargestellt wird (vgl. Fuhrhop 2008: 190). Die Beschaffenheit von *graphematischen Wörtern* hängt vom jeweiligen Schriftsystem ab, sie können mit verschiedenen Einheiten aus dem Sprachsystem korrespondieren: phonologischen, morphologischen oder syntaktischen (vgl. Fuhrhop 2008). Um erfassen zu können, auf welche Einheiten im Sprachsystem sich *graphematische Wörter* in einem Schriftsystem beziehen, müssen zunächst die prototypischen Formen der Segmentierung definiert werden.

Einige Schriftsysteme verzichten völlig auf graphematische Segmentierungen (wie weitgehend das griechische Alphabet in Kleinasien[5] oder die wenigen überlieferten pisidischen Inschriften[6]), andere hingegen verwenden graphische Worttrennungssignale (darunter die kleinasiatischen Alphabete des Lydischen, Sidetischen[7], Lykischen und

3 Einen kurzen Überblick zur Interpunktion in verschiedenen semitischen Konsonantenschriften bietet Naveh 1973.

4 Vgl. Payne (im Druck): 6–8.

5 Zu Ausnahmen vgl. Rix 2016 [2015]: 60.

6 Vgl. die lange Inschrift in Adiego 2017. Der Text erscheint in s*criptio continua*, nur Zahlen werden abgetrennt und mit einem waagerechten Strich markiert.

7 Zusammenfassungen zum Sidetischen bieten Pérez Orozco 2007, Zinko/Zinko 2016 und Rizza 2016. Laut Zinko/Zinko (2016: 374) gibt es hier keine Worttrenner, diese Aussage könnte sich aber nur auf den Gebrauch von *ponctuation noire* beziehen, denn zumindest in den Inschriften S 1 und S 2 erscheinen in den Kopien von Nollé 2001: 631 und 633 Spatien (also *ponctuation blanche*), während der griechische Text auch hier in *scriptio continua* geschrieben ist. Die sidetische Schrift basiert laut Pérez Orozco 2005 auf der aramäischen Konsonantenschrift, es scheint allerdings auch Eigenentwicklungen gegeben zu haben, vgl. Zinko/Zinko 2016: 374.

Karischen), wobei sie unterschiedliche Ausprägungen und Konsistenz in ihrer Anwendung aufweisen.

In manchen Schriftsystemen wie dem lydischen Alphabet[8] erscheint die Worttrennung regelmäßig und bietet somit (aus heutiger Sicht) keine großen Schwierigkeiten bei der Identifizierung der Wortgrenzen. In anderen Systemen wie etwa dem karischen Alphabet ist sowohl die Konsistenz der Worttrennung als auch der Gebrauch der Trennzeichen regional unterschiedlich ausgeprägt.[9] Im lykischen Alphabet kommen zwar fast überall Worttrenner vor, ihr Gebrauch ist allerdings ebenfalls nicht überall gleichmäßig ausgeprägt.

Im Zentrum dieses Beitrags steht die Segmentierung graphematischer Einheiten in lykischen Inschriften.[10] Die Textzeugnisse des Lykischen sind aus dem 4./5. Jh. v. Chr. bezeugt. In diesem Aufsatz werden

8 Das lydische Alphabet verwendet regelmäßig Spatien zur Worttrennung. Inschriften mit *scriptio continua* sind nur LW 49 aus Silsilis (Gebel el-Silsila) in Oberägypten und LW 99 aus Sardis (beide laut Gérard 2005: 20 Ende 7./Anfang 6. Jh. v. Chr.). Ein vertikaler Strich dient evtl. in LW 58 als Worttrenner (laut Gérard 2005: 20 Ende 7./Anfang 6. Jh. v. Chr.) vor und in LW 10 wird durch ein Dreieck wörtliche Rede angezeigt. Wenige lydische Inschriften weisen Punktierung auf: LW 30 (Sardis), LW 64 (Sardis), LW 71 (Sardis), LW 74 (unbekannt), LW 97 Bayraklı (nahe Smyrna). Bei folgenden Inschriften wird jedes Wort punktiert (so wie später auch bei den Spatien): LW 30 (laut Gérard 2005: 20 1. Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.), LW 97 Bayraklı (nahe Smyrna; laut Gérard 2005: 20 2. Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.). In LW 74 (Herkunft unbekannt), von Gérard etwas später auf das ausgehende 6. oder den Anfang des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert, wird nur der Personenname durch Punkte abgetrennt oder vielleicht auch hervorgehoben.

9 Vgl. dazu die Edition der Inschriften in Adiego 2007 sowie einen neuen Aufsatz von Zsolt Simon zu den karischen Worttrennungszeichen (im Druck). Auch hier ist die Verwendung von Worttrennern nicht obligatorisch. Wenn sie verwendet wurden, war ihr Gebrauch in karischen Inschriften aus Ägypten konsistenter als bei Inschriften aus Karien (zudem sind Unterschiede zwischen Privatinschriften und offiziellen Inschriften zu beachten). Außerdem gab es regionale Unterschiede hinsichtlich des Zeichengebrauchs der Worttrenner. Manche Regionen verwendeten nur ein bestimmtes Zeichen, andere verschiedene (ursprüngliches Inventar: buchstabengroße senkrechte Linie oder Doppelpunkt; später erscheinen auch drei vertikale Punkte, ein einzelner Hochpunkt oder kurzer Strich in der oberen Hälfte der Zeile, ein kurzer Strich in der unteren Hälfte der Zeile, zwei Striche sowie mehrere Punkte in einer vertikalen Linie).

10 Es sind rund 200 Steininschriften überliefert, die Zitation erfolgt nach Kalinka 1901 (TL 1–150) und Neumann 1979 (N 300–323), für weitere Neufunde erfolgt die Vergabe der Folgenummern nach dem Wiener TL-Projekt bzw. ggf. Erstpublikationen. Transliterationen zu TL 1–150 und N 300–328 bietet auch Melchert 2001.

lediglich Steininschriften und nur im Einzelfall Objektinschriften berücksichtigt.[11]

Dabei wird zuerst ein Überblick zu den einzelnen Segmentierungsvarianten gegeben. Anschließend wird die Anwendung der Punktierung und anderer Segmentierungsformen anhand ausgewählter Muster untersucht, um Hinweise auf ihre Verteilung zu erhalten.

2 ZUR PUNKTIERUNG IN LYKISCHEN INSCHRIFTEN

2.1 Allgemeines

Das lykische Alphabet entstand auf Basis des griechischen Alphabets in einem komplexen Prozess aus Entlehnungen und Neuschöpfungen von einzelnen Buchstaben.[12] Die Schriftrichtung ist im Lykischen rechtsläufig,[13] die Buchstaben erscheinen in der Regel ohne graphematisch-funktionale[14] Zwischenräume (zur sporadischen Verwendung von Spatien s. 4.3) und werden in den meisten Inschriften mehr oder weniger konsequent durch zwei übereinanderstehende Punkte getrennt (selten drei Punkte wie in TL 12 aus Pinara oder ein Punkt in TL 22 aus Tlos) und somit in graphematische Einheiten segmentiert.

Der Beispieltext TL 53 soll im Folgenden die Punktierung in Transliteration mit schematischer Übersetzung veranschaulichen:

TL 53 (Seyret)[15]

1 *ebẽñne*:*prñnawu*:*m=ẽn-*
2 *e=prñnawatẽ*:*hanadaza*:*hrp-*
3 *pi=ladi*:*ehbi*:*se=tideime*

11 Berücksichtigt wurden überwiegend Inschriften, die nicht zu kurz oder zu fragmentarisch für eine Beurteilung der Interpunktion sind.

12 Vgl. u. a. Carruba 1978 und die ausführliche Darstellung in Adiego 2015. Nach Adiego 2018: 156–157 ist bei der Entwicklung des karischen Alphabets auch mit Einflüssen aus dem lydischen Alphabet zu rechnen.

13 Payne (im Druck): 1 n. 4 verweist auf eine mögliche Ausnahme: N 332 (Inschrift auf Tonscherbe aus Avşar Tepesi), die nach Neumann 2000: 183 evtl. in *Boustrophedon-Weise* beschrieben sein könnte.

14 Zu anderen Formen der Segmentierung, die sich auf eine nicht-graphematische Funktion beziehen, vgl. Payne (im Druck).

15 Transliteration nach Melchert 2001.

1 „Dieses:(Grab-)Gebäude:aber=e-
2 s=baute:Hanadaza:fü-
3 r=Frau:seine:und=Kinder“

Die Verwendung dieser Interpunktion wurde lange Zeit von der Forschung wenig beachtet.[16] Gusmani (1979: 225–226) hatte beobachtet, dass die Worttrennungszeichen zumeist nicht bei Pro- und Enklitika erscheinen.[17]

2006 wurde von Tekoğlu eine erste systematische Untersuchung der Punktierung anhand der meisten Inschriften durchgeführt, wobei er Muster beobachtet und dazu eine Belegsammlung angelegt hat. Eine weitere Untersuchung wurde von Payne (im Druck) vorgelegt, die sich jedoch im Gegensatz zum graphematisch-funktionalen Ansatz von Tekoğlu vor allem mit schriftpsychologischen Aspekten von Trennzeichen bei der Textgestaltung auseinandersetzt und daher einen anderen Schwerpunkt hat.

2.2 Aus den Inschriften abgeleitete Punktierungsregeln

Im Folgenden werden die Regeln erläutert, die Tekoğlu (2006: 802) zusammengestellt hat:

a) Zunächst einmal werden einzelne Wörter zusammen mit ihren Enklitika (wozu z. B. das Relativpronomen *-ti* gehört) durch Punktierung voneinander abgetrennt, allerdings wird dies oft nicht konsequent durchgeführt.
b) Am konsistentesten ist die Punktierung vor Sequenzen, die mit proklitischen Konjunktionen (wie *se* und *me*) eingeleitet werden. Diese Partikelketten können entweder neben der Konjunktion nur ein weiteres Wort enthalten, wie es oft bei Kombinationen mit *se* der Fall ist, oder auch aus Ketten unterschiedlichster Wortarten bestehen, darunter Pronomina (wie das verallgemeinernde Rela-

16 Dies betrifft insbesondere die Texte in Kalinka 1901, der die Punktierungen zwar in seinen Umzeichnungen darstellte, allerdings nicht in den Transliterationen wiedergab.

17 Zs. Simon teilte mir aus seiner Studie zu den karischen Worttrennungszeichen mit, dass zumindest in Privatinschriften (in Ägypten konsequenter als in Karien) Enklitika mit ihren Bezugswörtern als graphematische Einheit segmentiert werden. In den lydischen Inschriften gibt es zwar eine Entwicklung in der Form der Segmentierung hin zum regelmäßigen Gebrauch von Spatien, doch die Konzeptualisierung *graphematischer Wörter* ist ähnlich und umfasst ebenfalls Kombinationen mit enklitischen Funktionswörtern.

tivpronomen *tise*); Partikeln (z. B. die Reflexivpartikel *-ti*) gefolgt von Substantiven oder Verben (z. T. mit Präverb).

c) Außerhalb dieser Ketten werden Präverbien und proklitische Präpositionen unterschiedlich behandelt und erscheinen mal mit, mal ohne Punktierung vor dem Bezugswort.[18]

d) Adjektive können ebenfalls ohne Punktierung vor dem Bezugswort erscheinen.

e) Zeilenüberschreibung von zusammengehörenden Sequenzen kommt häufig vor, dabei können auch einzelne Wörter in der Wortmitte abgetrennt werden. Insofern verwundert es nicht, dass auch am Zeilenende Punktierungen erscheinen können, denn der Zeilenrand ist in den lykischen Inschriften nicht notwendigerweise auch eine Begrenzung *graphematischer Wörter*.[19]

f) Zahlen werden durch Punktierung abgetrennt (wobei sich diese auch vor der Geld- oder Gewichtseinheit *ada* befinden kann).[20]

Das Umsetzen dieser *graphematischen Wörter* setzt bei den Schreibern ein gewisses Sprachbewusstsein und Reflektieren über die Schrift voraus. Denn mit Anwendung der Punktierung erfolgt auch eine Segmentierung des Texts durch den Schreiber, nicht nur in einzelne morphologische Wörter sondern auch in Segmente, die die Sequenz der Partikelkette als Einheit reflektieren.

18 Melchert (2008: 47) warnt vor der direkten Ableitung des Status von Klitika aus der Wiedergabe der Sequenzen in der Schrift, da der Gebrauch der Punktierung eben nicht konsequent erfolgt.

19 Vgl. auch Payne (im Druck).

20 B. Christiansen machte mich darauf aufmerksam, dass der teilweise bei Zahlen verwendete zusätzliche waagerechte Strich :|| - zumeist als ½ gelesen wird. Unter Berücksichtigung der Verwendung in pisidischen Inschriften, wo das Zeichen (zumindest in der langen Inschrift in Adiego 2017) bei allen Zahlen erscheint, wäre aber auch eine andere Funktion denkbar.

3 ZUR ANWENDUNG DER PUNKTIERUNG

3.1 Regelmäßigkeit bei der Punktierung

Tekoğlu (2006: 802) unterscheidet (ohne dabei genau auf die Zuordnungskriterien einzugehen) hinsichtlich der Anwendung der Punktierung 3 Gruppen mit unterschiedlichem Grad an Regelmäßigkeit[21]:

A: Inschriften mit regulärer und konsistenter Punktierung;
B: Inschriften, die viele Abweichungen und Inkonsistenzen aufweisen und
C: Inschriften mit leichten Unregelmäßigkeiten und nur wenigen Abweichungen.

Während die ersten beiden Gruppen die Basis seiner Kategorisierung darstellen und zusammen etwa die Hälfte der Inschriften ausmachen, enthält die dritte Gruppe etwa genauso viele Inschriften und stellt damit die häufigste Art des Gebrauchs der Punktierung dar: nämlich Texte mit leichten Unregelmäßigkeiten in der Punktierung.

3.2 Hinweise auf regionale Unterschiede

Die Kategorisierung von Tekoğlu diente für den vorliegenden Aufsatz zunächst als Ausgangspunkt für eine mögliche Identifizierung von Verteilungsmustern unter den Inschriften. Setzt man die drei von Tekoğlu erstellten Kategorien in Beziehung zu den Orten, an denen die Inschriften bezeugt sind, ergibt sich eine regional unterschiedliche Ausprägung hinsichtlich der Regelhaftigkeit bei der Anwendung dieser Punktierungspraxis:

21 In Tekoğlus Sammlung wurden einige Inschriften nicht berücksichtigt, z. T., da sie zu kurz oder zu fragmentarisch sind: TL 24, 32, 34, 46, 64, 79, 96; N 313. N 301 aus Ägypten könnte zudem laut Melchert 2001 evtl. eine Fälschung sein. Weitere unkategorisierte Inschriften sind: N 300, 305, 319, 329, 330, 332, 338, 339, 340, 342. Folgende Inschriften sollten hingegen noch mit einbezogen werden: TL 41, 54a, 74, 82; N 131, 317, 323, 326, 327, 337.

A – reguläre Punktierung: 10 aus Limyra;[22] 7 aus Xanthos;[23] je 3 aus Pinara[24] und Tlos;[25] je 2 aus Karmylessos,[26] Myra,[27] Seyret,[28] Telmessos[29] und Timiusa;[30] je eine aus Asartaş (N 335), Düwer (TL 27), Gülme (TL 9), Kadyanda (TL 31), Kaş/Antiphellos (N 321), Korydalla (N 302), Kyaneai (TL 69), Phellos (N 310), Tyssa (TL 78) und Çağman (N 306);

B – irreguläre Punktierung: 5 aus Pinara;[31] 4 aus Limyra;[32] 2 aus Myra;[33] je eine aus Xanthos (TL 38), Tlos (N 334), Phellos (TL 61), Kaş/Antiphellos (TL 80), Kızılca (N 314), Kyaneai (TL 70), Sidek-Yayla (TL 52), Telmessos (TL 5) und Tyberisos (TL 76);

C – der größte Teil der Inschriften weist nur leichte Abweichungen auf: 23 aus Limyra;[34] je 5 aus Xanthos[35] und Myra;[36] je 4 aus Pinara[37] und Kaş/Antiphellos;[38] 3 aus Tlos;[39] je 2 aus Isinda;[40] Kyaneai[41] und Rhodiapolis;[42] je 1 aus Arneai (TL 83), Kandyba (TL 81), Simena (TL 68), Sura (TL 84), Telmessos (TL 4), Tyberisos (TL 75) und Çindam (TL 77).

Von den hier gelisteten (nicht zu kurzen oder fragmentarischen) Inschriften, die Punktierungen enthalten, ist unter den 13 Inschriften aus Xanthos etwa die Hälfte nach Tekoğlu regulär punktiert. Im Ver-

22 TL 98, 103, 107, 108, 119, 122, 132, 133, 137; N 316.
23 TL 36, 37, 40, 42, 50; N 320, 324.
24 TL 10, 12; N 322.
25 TL 22, 25, 30.
26 TL 7, 8.
27 TL 85; N 309.
28 TL 53; N 315.
29 TL 2, 3.
30 TL 66, 67.
31 TL 14, 15, 17–19.
32 TL 106, 139, 142, 147.
33 TL 93, 95.
34 TL 99, 101, 102, 104, 105, 109–115, 117, 118, 120, 123, 128, 134–136, 138, 143–145.
35 TL 39, 43, 44, 48, 49.
36 TL 86, 87, 89, 90, 94.
37 TL 11, 13, 16, 20.
38 TL 56–59.
39 TL 21, 26, 29.
40 TL 63, 65.
41 TL 72, 73.
42 TL 149, 150.

gleich dazu sind es von den 37 hier gelisteten aus Limyra nur knapp 30 %. Diese Verteilung könnte ein erster Hinweis auf eine regional unterschiedlich ausgeprägte Punktierungspraxis sein, die aber möglicherweise auch von anderen Faktoren wie unterschiedliche Textsorten (z. B. Grabinschriften gegenüber Weihinschriften) abhängen könnte.

Die geschätzte Regelmäßigkeit der Punktierung ist allerdings ein zu grobes Kriterium.[43] Um genauere Aussagen treffen zu können, müsste vielmehr nach dem Vorbild paläographischer Analysen von Buchstabenformen auch die Punktierung anhand der Verteilung von Einzelphänomenen[44] analysiert werden. Anschließend könnten dann spezifische auffällige Interpunktions-Settings von solchen getrennt werden, deren Verteilung überall eher gleichmäßig ist. Anhand der sich so ergebenden Datenlage wäre es möglich, signifikante Merkmale herauszuarbeiten, die für bestimmte Umstände (regional, chronologisch, Art der Texte) typisch sind. Eine solche umfassende Untersuchung würde den Umfang dieses Beitrags übersteigen. Daher werden im Folgenden nur einige Beispiele für solche ganz spezifische Interpunktionsmerkmale ausgewählt, die sich für diese Art von Untersuchung eignen.

4 EINZELPHÄNOMENE DER PUNKTIERUNG ALS INDIKATOREN FÜR REGIONAL UNTERSCHIEDLICHE AUSPRÄGUNGEN

4.1 Die Punktierung nach der Konjunktion *se*

Als ein Beispiel für eine solche Analyse kann die Punktierung nach der proklitischen koordinierenden Konjunktion *se* dienen.[45] Dabei muss unabhängig voneinander untersucht werden, ob vor oder nach der Konjunktion punktiert wird. Während die Punktierung vor der Konjunktion eine weitverbreitete Konvention darstellt, die aber auch vom Schreiber ausgelassen bzw. vergessen werden kann, ist die Punktie-

43 Zudem wird sie beispielsweise von Payne (im Druck): 11–13 etwas anders interpretiert, da sie auch die Anwendung von Interpunktion bei nicht graphematisch-funktionalen Fällen als optische Textgliederung („Belüftung“) mit einbezieht.

44 Tekoğlu listet im Anschluss an seine Kategorisierung noch Beispiele für Punktierungen bei verschiedenen Wortkombinationen auf (ohne deren Gebrauch aber weiter zu untersuchen).

45 Wenn man alle Konjunktionen zusammen betrachten würde, könnte es Interferenzen geben. So besteht beispielsweise bei *tibe* ‚oder‘ unter den Schreibern anscheinend gar keine Einigkeit über dessen Punktierung und die Konjunktion *me* erscheint viel zu selten mit nachfolgender Punktierung (nur in TL 112 Limyra).

rung nach dieser Konjunktion sehr selten und auffällig. Denn dadurch wird die Partikelkette unterbrochen bzw. die proklitische Konjunktion wird als nicht zum nachfolgenden Wort gehörig markiert. Die betreffenden Inschriften sind folgende[46]: Limyra: TL 120.2, TL 123.2, N 337.7 (TL 101.2); Myra: N 309.14, 15; Isinda: TL 65.7; Tyberisos: TL 76.1; (Pinara: TL 16.2) und Xanthos TL 36.2.

Dabei wird jeweils *se* vor einem Substantiv getrennt, also eine Sequenz, die üblicherweise sonst ohne Punktierung erscheint. Diese Schreibung erscheint allerdings auch innerhalb der Inschriften nicht durchgängig. In einigen Fällen wird in der gleichen Inschrift nach *se* manchmal punktiert und manchmal nicht. Ob diese Punktierung als „Fehler" klassifiziert werden kann, bleibt offen, bis wir ein besseres Verständnis der Interpunktion als Schreibpraxis und v. a. der Schreiber und Verschrift(lich)ung lykischer Inschriften insgesamt erfasst haben.[47] Es könnte sich dabei auch um eine schreiberspezifische Besonderheit handeln, es ist jedoch zumindest aus den hier zusammengestellten Inschriften erkennbar, dass diese Form der „Überpunktierung" nur einmal in (Xanthos) erscheint und sonst vor allem in Inschriften aus Ost- (v. a. Limyra, Myra) und Zentrallykien auftritt. Desweiteren sind fast alle diese Inschriften Grabinschriften (bis auf N 337 – eine Inschrift auf einem Kalksteinblock, die vermutlich ein Dekret[48] enthält). Somit könnte es sich also um eine regional unterschiedliche Ausprägung handeln, die möglicherweise auch mit dem Typ der Inschriften in Verbindung steht.

4.2 Inschriften mit Punktierung im Wortinneren

Eine Besonderheit stellen Punktierungen im Wortinneren dar. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Punktierungsform, die sich völlig von der o. g.

46 Die Lesungen der Punktierungen basieren auf den Umzeichnungen von Kalinka 1901 und Neumann 1979. Außerdem danke ich B. Christiansen, die zusätzlich Lesungen auch anhand von Fotos und Abklatschen überprüfen konnte. Nur auf Kalinka beruhen folgende Lesungen: TL 101 und TL 16 (beide zu stark verwittert, bei TL 101 könnte es sich laut B. Christiansen auch um eine Beschädigung handeln) sowie TL 65.

47 Die Inschriften aus Myra und Xanthos stufte Tekoğlu als „regulär" punktiert ein, obwohl sie dieses sehr seltene Phänomen enthalten und er diese Art der Punktierung selbst (auf S. 803) als „erroneous" kategorisiert und dort auch die Fälle aus N 309 mit als Beispiele aufführt.

48 Vgl. Christiansen 2012.

Variante der Worttrennung unterscheidet. Tekoğlu (2006: 803) listet dazu die folgenden Inschriften[49] auf:

TL 48.3 (Xanthos) *se*=*t*:*uhe* ‚Neffe/Nichte'
TL 19.1 (Pinara) *ebẽ*:*ñnẽ*: (Dem.Pron.)
TL 89.3 (Myra) *tik*:*e* (Indef.Pron.)
TL 111.5 (Limyra) *ẽ*:*kepi* (Konj.?)
TL 115.1 (Limyra) *esedep*:*lẽmeje* (PN)
TL 128.1 (Limyra) *t*[*r*]*bb*:*ẽnemeh* (PN)
TL 134.4 (Limyra)[50] *ma*:*hanahi*: ‚zur Gottheit gehörig'
TL 106.1 (Limyra)[51] :*sbi*:◊:*aza*: (PN)
TL 143.3 (Limyra) *mlã*:*ñnazi*: PN
TL 149.10 (Rhodiapolis) *trm̃milijẽt*:*i*[‚Lykier' (GN)

Viele der punktierten Wörter sind Personennamen, aber es kommen auch Funktionswörter vor. Bis auf die Eigennamen gäbe es eigentlich keine Schwierigkeiten für lykische Schreiber bei der Punktierung, da insbesondere Funktionswörter sehr häufig erscheinen (v. a. das Demonstrativpronomen *ebẽ*:*ñnẽ*). Die genaue Funktion dieser Markierung bleibt vorerst unklar.

Alle Belege erscheinen in Grabinschriften und bis auf die Belege aus Xanthos und Pinara stammen alle diese Inschriften aus Ostlykien. In zwei der Inschriften mit Punktierung im Wortinneren (TL 106 und 128) erscheint auch das Rautenzeichen, was allerdings kein Trennzei-

49 Die Lesungen der Punktierungen basieren auf den Umzeichnungen von Kalinka 1901. Auch bei dieser Liste hat B. Christiansen durch eine Überprüfung anhand von Fotos und Abklatschen wertvolle Hinweise beigesteuert, folgende Lesungen beruhen nur auf Kalinka 1901: TL 19 (heute nur noch schwach erkennbar), TL 149 (inzwischen zu stark beschädigt, doch die Umzeichnung von Kalinka 1901 macht eine Punktierung wahrscheinlich), TL 143 (das Grab wurde gesprengt, nach Kalinka sieht es jedoch wie eine eindeutige Punktierung aus). Einen weiteren Beleg mit wortinterner Punktierung listet Tekoğlu als :*x*:*ahad*[*i* bei N 325.4, allerdings erscheint er laut Melcherts Corpus in Zeile 12 und der beschädigte Bereich beginnt in Melcherts Transliteration bereits nach dem ersten Buchstaben: N 325.12 (Xanthos): :*x*[*ahadi* ‚Altar', womit auch die Punktierung unsicher wäre, dieser Beleg kann daher nicht verwendet werden.

50 B. Christiansen teilte mir mit, dass die Inschrift für eine Beurteilung der Punktierung heute zu stark beschädigt ist, Kalinka 1901 zeigt allerdings in seiner Umzeichnung eine Punktierung an.

51 Diese Inschrift enthält möglicherweise noch einen weiteren Beleg mit wortinterner Punktierung: *pddẽneh*:*m̃mi*: (PN/Berufsbezeichnung), doch wie mir B. Christiansen mitteilte, handelt es sich wahrscheinlich eher um eine Beschädigung, da der Abstand im Falle des Trennzeichens zu den Buchstaben sehr gering wäre.

chen ist (vgl. Schürr 2017: 170). Dennoch ist es interessant, dass auch dieses Zeichen laut Schürr (2017: 167–168) bis auf N 313c aus Xanthos (Inschrift auf der Scherbe eines Trinkgefäßes) ebenfalls nur außerhalb von Westlykien auftritt und zwar in Zentral- (Phellos TL 54a/b; Kyaneai: TL 69) und Ostlykien (Rhodiapolis: TL 149; Limyra: TL 106, TL 128).

Die Verteilung der beiden Beispiele für ungewöhnliche Punktierung (Punktierung nach der Konjunktion *se* und Punktierung im Wortinneren) lässt also vermuten, dass bestimmte Gebrauchsweisen der graphematischen Segmentierung (ebenso wie bestimmte Zeichenformen wie das Rautenzeichen) tendenziell außerhalb westlykischer Inschriften erscheinen.

Neben diesen kleinteiligeren Merkmalen könnten bei einer Untersuchung der Interpunktion aber natürlich auch größere Phänomene in Betracht gezogen werden, wie z. B. das vollständige Fehlen der Punktierung.

4.3 Inschriften ohne Punktierung

Wie auch schon Tekoğlu 2006 bemerkt hat, erscheinen bei einigen der lykischen Inschriften gar keine Punkte als Worttrennungszeichen.[52] Bezieht man auch neuere Lesungen[53] mit ein, umfasst die Liste folgende 22 Inschriften:

- 6 aus Xanthos (TL 45, 47, 51, N 311, 312, 318)
- 4 aus Tlos (TL 23, 28, N 333, 343)
- 4 aus Limyra (TL 100, 116, 124, 148)[54]
- 3 aus Myra (TL 91, 92, N 308)

52 Seine Liste (S. 802) ist aber nicht ganz zutreffend. So enthalten sowohl TL 121 aus Limyra, TL 88 aus Myra und TL 62 aus Isinda den Umzeichungen in Kalinka 1901 zufolge Punktierungen (so z. B. bei TL 121 und 88 auch in Melcherts Corpus gekennzeichnet, TL 6 hat eine Punktierung vor der Zahlangabe). Die Liste mit Inschriften in *scriptio continua* in Payne (im Druck): 15 n. 20 enthält zusätzlich N 303, laut Neumann 1979: 17 könnte sie aber evtl. doch eine Punktierung enthalten, weshalb sie hier nicht berücksichtigt wurde.

53 Christiansen 2019: 266 n. 26 weist darauf hin, dass TL 127 zu fragmentarisch für eine Beurteilung ist und mindestens eine Punktierung enthält, bei TL 125 handelt es sich um eine zu kurze reine Namensinschrift. Sie fügt aber noch die Inschrift N 318 aus dem Letoon bei Xanthos hinzu und zählt auch die von ihr neu edierte Inschrift N 343 aus Tlos dazu.

54 B. Christiansen machte mich darauf aufmerksam, dass TL 124 einen Sonderfall darstellt, da die Zeilen sehr kurz sind und die Wörter im Wortinneren regelmäßig durch Zeilenumbruch getrennt sind.

- 2 aus Kadyanda (TL 33, TL 35)
- je 1 aus Antiphellos (TL 60), Telmessos (TL 1), Karmylessos (TL 6, nur vor Zahlangabe punktiert)

14 dieser Inschriften (und damit mehr als die Hälfte) stammen aus Westlykien (Xanthos, Tlos, Telmessos, Kadiyanda, Karmylessos), 7 aus Ostlykien (Limyra und Myra, obwohl dort insgesamt mehr Inschriften bezeugt sind) und 1 aus Zentrallykien (Antiphellos). Auch hier handelt es sich überwiegend um Grabinschriften, allerdings finden sich darunter auch einige Weihinschriften (N 311, N 312, N 343) und eine Steleninschrift (TL 45), letztere Textsorten sind vergleichsweise seltener im lykischen Korpus. Ein Teil der Inschriften ohne Punktierung ist zweisprachig lykisch-griechisch (TL 6, TL 23, N 311, N 312, N 343). Christiansen (2019: 266) vermutet, dass dies auf kontemporäre Schriftkonventionen im Griechischen zurückzuführen ist, wo die *scriptio continua* üblich war. In den genannten Inschriften kommt zwar keine Punktierung vor, in manchen werden aber Spatien verwendet (siehe unten). Dagegen verzichtet eine kleine Gruppe von Inschriften vollständig auf die Segmentierung graphematischer Einheiten.

Eine Schreibung ganz ohne Worttrenner lässt sich unter den Inschriften (die lang genug für eine Analyse und nicht zu fragmentarisch sind) nur in sehr wenigen Fällen feststellen, dazu gehören die Weihinschrift N 312 aus Xanthos (auf einer Statuenbasis im Letoon) sowie die Sarkophaginschrift TL 23 und die Weihinschrift N 343 (beide aus Tlos). Diese Variante ist also nur sicher in Westlykien (Xanthostal) bezeugt.

Wie bereits erwähnt, verwenden einige Inschriften zwar keine Punkte als Worttrennungszeichen, aber Spatien. Christiansen (2019: 266 n. 27) nennt dazu die Steleninschrift TL 45(a) und die Weihinschrift TL 51 auf einer Statuenbasis aus Xanthos sowie die Felsgrabinschrift TL 92 aus Myra. Auch die Weihinschrift N 311 aus Xanthos kann hier noch hinzugefügt werden, da z. B. auf der Kopie aus Bousquet 1992 (vgl. die Abbildung in Adiego 2014: 251) Spatien erkennbar sind. Damit sind Inschriften ohne Punktierung und mit Spatien bis auf eine Ausnahme nur in Xanthos bezeugt.

4.4 Inschriften mit Punktierung und Spatien

Neben den Inschriften ohne Punktierung erscheinen Spatien aber auch vereinzelt in Inschriften mit Punktierung. Dazu gehören die 3 Grabin-

schriften TL 19 (aus Pinara), TL 70 (aus Kyaneai) und TL 88 (aus Myra) – damit scheinen diese gemischt-interpunktierten Inschriften keine regionale Besonderheit zu sein.[55] In TL 70 verwendet der Schreiber erst eine Punktierung und geht dann zum Gebrauch von Spatien über (vgl. Tekoğlu 2006: 809). Dabei setzt er die Spatien dort, wo sonst die Punktierungen erscheinen würden, also zwischen einzelnen Wörtern und nicht nach der proklitischen Konjunktion *me* (in Zeile 1).

5 ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das Lykische weist eine Punktierung graphematischer Einheiten auf, die sich in der Regel an Sequenzen orientiert, die durch einzelne morphologische Wörter und Partikelketten strukturiert sind (vgl. 2.2). Die Punktierung wird nicht in allen Inschriften in gleichem Maße konsequent in der Funktion als Worttrenner angewendet (vgl. 3) und es erscheinen auch ganz andere Arten der Punktierung (z. B. im Wortinneren). Die Verwendung von Spatien kann sowohl anstelle der Punktierung als auch in Kombination mit Punktierungen verwendet werden (vgl. 4.4). Wenige Inschriften enthalten überhaupt keine graphematischen Segmentierungen (vgl. 4.3). Die Regelhaftigkeit der Anwendung variiert und kann von verschiedenen Faktoren abhängen. Daher ist es notwendig, die Merkmale zunächst einzeln zu untersuchen, um ein differenzierteres Bild der möglichen Verteilungen zu erhalten.

Die hier besprochenen vorläufigen Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, dass es regionale (und wohl auch textsortenbedingte)[56] Unterschiede zwischen Westlykien (insbesondere Xanthos) und anderen Regionen (insbesondere Limyra) gab. Beim noch ungeklärten Phänomen der Punktierung im Wortinneren (vgl. 4.2) scheint es sich um eine Form der Punktierung zu handeln, die in Westlykien nahezu nicht vorkommt (ebenso wie es beim Gebrauch des Rautenzeichens der Fall ist). Auch die Punktierung innerhalb der Partikelkette bei *se* (vgl. 4.1) tritt eher in Ost- und Zentrallykien auf. Umgekehrt sind aus Westlykien (v. a. aus

55 Zu Inschriften mit Punktierung und Spatien vgl. Payne (im Druck): 13–15 (die auch den Gebrauch von Spatien innerhalb von graphematischen Wörtern mit einbezieht).

56 Zs. Simon weist in seinem neuen Aufsatz (im Druck) darauf hin, dass der Gebrauch der Worttrenner im Karischen in Privatinschriften konsequenter ist als in offiziellen Inschriften, dort erscheinen zudem auch lange Sequenzen ohne Segmentierung.

Xanthos und Tlos) auch Inschriften mit Spatien oder ganz in *scriptio continua* (vgl. 4.3) belegt, die außerhalb dieser Region weniger anzutreffen sind.

Die hier angesprochenen Phänomene der Interpunktion in den lykischen Inschriften haben gezeigt, dass es sich lohnt, die Formen der Segmentierung graphematischer Einheiten als Schreibpraxis mehr in die paläographische Analyse mit einzubeziehen. Auch ein Vergleich mit den anderen benachbarten Schrifttraditionen wäre für zukünftige Untersuchungen interessant, um die Hintergründe für die unterschiedlichen Interpunktionsverfahren (*noire* vs. *blanche* und im Kontrast zur *scriptio continua*) in den einzelnen Schriftsystemen mit ihren lokalen Ausprägungen und die jeweilige Konzeptualisierung *graphematischer Wörter* besser zu verstehen.[57]

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57 Naheliegend sind für das lykische Korpus die Inschriften, die zusammen mit benachbarten Sprachen als Plurilinguen erscheinen. Das Griechische verwendet darin und auch sonst fast immer *scriptio continua* (vgl. Rix 2016: 60). Das Aramäische sollte eigens untersucht werden, scheint jedoch zumindest in der Letoon-Trilingue ebenfalls *scripto continua* zu verwenden.

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LINGUISTIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CRITERIA FOR DATING LYCIAN TOMBS AND TOMB INSCRIPTIONS

A critical re-evaluation of former approaches

Birgit Christiansen

Abstract: The aim of the present paper is to re-examine some linguistic and archaeological criteria for the dating of Lycian inscriptions and Lycian tombs that have been suggested in previous studies. The analysis is based on a palaeographic survey, the results of which were presented in an earlier paper (Christiansen in press). As linguistic criteria, the accusative ending *-ã* and *-u* and the so-called *atli ehbi* formula are reviewed. In addition, it will be asked to what extent the design of the burial chambers can be used for the dating of Lycian inscriptions. As a result of the study, it will be shown that none of the criteria examined allows reliable dating. In particular, the occurrence of the *atli ehbi* formula and the chamber design are not very informative for the dating of the inscriptions. The accusative ending *-u* is more revealing. But since it is already attested in inscriptions from the first half of the 4th century, and the *-ã* accusative remained in use in the subsequent period, it is not possible to determine from the accusative form alone whether an inscription dates from the time before the middle of the 4th century or the following period. At best, the various criteria can be used in combination with other dating criteria. It should be noted, however, that apart from the text-internal dating information, all criteria remain uncertain.

Keywords: Lycian inscriptions; tombs; palaeographic, linguistic, and archaeological dating criteria; *atli ehbi* formula; accusative forms ending in *-ã* and *-u*; chamber design of Lycian rock-cut tombs; *isbazi*/*ispazi*; TL 75; TL 84; TL 128

1 INTRODUCTION[1]

In a former paper, I re-evaluated the palaeographic dating criteria established by other scholars for the dating of Lycian inscriptions. The focus was on the in-depth study by Emma Rix (2016), which was based on preliminary work carried out by Trevor Bryce (1976: 168–170), Emmanuel Laroche (1979: 54–56), Gernot Lang (2003), as well as Heiner Eichner and Linn Kogler in the framework of the Austrian TL project.[2]

I came to the conclusion that some of the criteria suggested so far are not tenable, or need to be modified. It turned out that most of the letter forms which had been assumed to indicate a later date for an inscription are already attested in inscriptions from the reign of Erbbina. They might therefore date from the beginning of the 4th century or even earlier. Only very few of the alleged young letter forms are not to be found in inscriptions that, on the grounds of their content, are likely to be dated before the middle of the 4th century. This concerns the alleged late variants of *n* () and *s* (). If TL 99 also dates from the second half of the 4th century, which is very likely due to the Greek inscription composed by the same author, this also applies to the variant  of the letter *s*.[3] It should, however, be noted that both letters show many variants which diverge from each other only gradually. The following variants of *n* are of particular interest:  and  in N 310 (Harpagos),  in TL 44,  in N 324 & N 325 and  in N 311 (all Erbbina),[4] and  in TL 83 (Perikle). With regard to the letter *s*, the following variants are of particular interest:  in TL 44 (Xeriga/Xerẽi) and  in TL 61 (Autophradates). We cannot therefore be sure that the alleged late variants were not in use before the second half of the 4th century. Furthermore, it should be taken

1 For the invitation to the conference and the opportunity to present my research in a workshop dedicated to the dating of inscriptions, I would like to thank Annick Payne and Jorit Wintjes. Furthermore, I owe my thanks to Diether Schürr and Stephen Durnford for valuable suggestions and comments on an earlier version of this article. I am further indebted to Martin Seyer, the head of the "Corpus der Lykischen Sprachdenkmäler" project (in the following referred to as "TL project") for granting me the right to publish photographs taken during the campaigns of the project.

2 Some preliminary results of these studies are presented in various publications of the project. See, e.g., Kogler in Seyer 2005: 153–157; Seyer 2006a: 725 n. 42; Kogler in Kogler/Seyer 2007: 116–117; Seyer 2009: 61 with n. 54.

3 For the Greek inscription and its relation to TL 99, see in detail Wörrle 1991: 223–224.

4 The form is taken from Rix (2016: chart 2). It was not possible for me to check it on the basis of the original or on the basis of a photo or copy.

into account that the variants 𐊗 and 𐊔 appear only in two inscriptions from Western Lycia with internal dating reference. The dating of one of them, namely TL 35, to the reign of Ptolemy I or II is not absolutely certain. Thus, it cannot be excluded that the name *Pttule* or *Pttuḷuṃ*[.. in line 1 does not refer to Ptolemy I or II, but to another regent (e.g., a Lycian dynast).

Another problem with previous studies is that their results were partly based on circular reasoning.[5] To avoid such problems, I restricted my research initially only to inscriptions with an internal indication of their date of origin, in order to establish palaeographic dating criteria. Since the study has demonstrated that a reliable dating on the basis of palaeography is not possible, we have to check whether there are other reliable dating criteria. In previous studies, both linguistic and archaeological criteria have been suggested.

As for linguistics, the occurrence of the accusative ending *-u* instead of *-ã* as well as the phrase (*hrppi*) *atli* (*ehbi*) 'for himself', have been assumed to suggest a later date of origin.[6] Archaeological methods have focused on the dating of the tombs and thus on the largest group of objects bearing Lycian inscriptions. Their aim was to establish a dating model based on the design of the tomb façades and chambers as well as on reliefs and objects found inside or outside the tomb. In contrast to reliefs and grave goods, which are only rarely present, as well as the façade design, which proved to be an unreliable criterion,[7] the design of the burial chambers was considered to be a more promising dating criterion. In the following, the linguistic and archaeological criteria mentioned will be reviewed on the basis of the newly established palaeographic criteria.

5 For examples see Christiansen (in press).

6 For the accusative forms as a dating criteria see the detailed study by Jenniges/Swiggers 2000 and subsequently also Rix 2016: 113–115. For the *atli ehbi* formula see Borchhardt et al. 2004: 28–29; Seyer 2006a: 726–727; Eichner *apud* Seyer 2006a: 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 to, at least, the second half of the 4th century BC.

7 See, e.g., Hülden 2006: 18–21, 44–50, 102–106; Seyer 2006a; Seyer 2009; Kuban 2012: 120–123 (all with further literature).

2 THE LINGUISTIC CRITERIA

2.1 The *atli ehbi* formula

According to Heiner Eichner, the phrase (*hrppi*) *atli* (*ehbi*) 'for himself' is a Greek loan and equivalent to the Greek reflexive pronoun ἑαυτῷ or αὐτῷ which regularly appears in the Greek inscriptions from Lycia, whereas most inscriptions in Lycian do not explicitly refer to the tomb owner or builder as beneficiary. Eichner therefore assumes that the use of the *atli ehbi* formula indicates a growing influence of Greek on Lycian and thus a rather later date for the inscription (presumably to the second half of the 4th century BC).[8] In contrast, Rix (2016: 108–113) casts doubts on this hypothesis. She argues that a literal translation of the Greek reflexive pronoun would only be *atli*, not (*hrppi*) *atli ehbi*. Furthermore, she points out that the formula appears also in inscriptions whose palaeography shows no indication of a late date. Her first statement is, however, incorrect since the Greek reflexive pronoun is a contraction of ἑ ('he', 'him') and αὐτοῦ (autoû, 'self'). It is to be asked, though, whether the Lycian phrase is actually to be regarded as a loan or merely as an equivalent. In order to answer this question we have to consider which words a speaker of Lycian in a non-Greek environment would have used to express his wish that he, i.e., his body, should be buried in the tomb. A possible answer might be that he would have only used the dative of *atla-* or *atra-*, without the possessive pronoun *ehbi*, as attested in TL 29, TL 37 and TL 63 from Tlos. Yet, in view of the fact that similar expressions are known from Hittite, namely *apel es*(*s*)*ari*, and Hieroglyphic Luwian, namely *apas*(*a*) *at*(*a*)*ri*, the phrase with the pronoun *ehbi* is not necessarily to be regarded as an expression foreign to Anatolian.[9] Reference should also be made to the bilingual inscription TL 25, where the accusative forms *atru ehbi* and *ladu ehbi* refer to the inscribed statues as representations of their donor Xssbezẽ and his wife. The Greek version has the accusative of the reflexive pronoun ἑαυτόν and the word for 'woman', γυναῖκα (without possessive pronoun) as equivalents.

8 See Borchhardt et al. 2004: 28–29; Seyer 2006a: 726–727; Eichner *apud* Seyer 2006a: 726 n. 50 and Seyer 2009: 55 n. 21.

9 See also Eichner *apud* Seyer 2006a: 727 n. 55 with further references. Eichner's argument that the Hittite and Hieroglyphic-Luwian phrases are used in other contexts is, in my view, not conclusive.

Irrespective of whether (*hrppi*) *atli ehbi* is a true loan or a simple equivalent to the Greek phrase, the fact remains that in most Lycian inscriptions an explicit reference to the tomb owner as beneficiary with the (*hrppi*) *atli* (*ehbi*) phrase is missing, whereas in the monolingual Greek inscriptions and the Greek versions of the bilingual inscriptions the reflexive pronoun is regularly to be found. It is therefore very likely that the use of the Lycian phrase instead of the brachilogic formula is influenced by the standard Greek formula. The question, however, is whether the phrase becomes more frequent over time and is therefore suitable as a dating criterion. As Rix (2016: 110–111) has already pointed out, the formula is attested in a number of inscriptions that otherwise show no signs of a late date of origin. Since she did not provide an in-depth study, a detailed analysis will be given in the following. Among all Lycian inscriptions, 19 show the (*hrppi*) *atli* (*ehbi*) formula (with several or multiple inscriptions carved into a single object, such as N 309a–d or N 328a and b, counted as one inscription). In one further inscription, namely TL 60, the formula is very likely to be restored (TL 60) (**Fig. 1**).

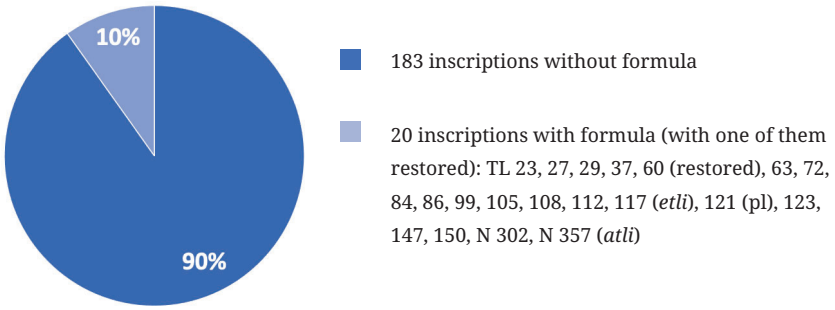

Fig. 1. Inscriptions with and without *atli ehbi* formula.

Of the others, 17 are tomb inscriptions (TL 23, 29, 37, 63, 72, 84, 86, 99, 105, 108, 112, 117, 121, 123, 147, 150; N 357), two are engraved on stone blocks (TL 60 with broken formula; N 302) and one on a stela (TL 27). 13 tomb inscriptions are engraved on rock-cut tombs, i.e., façade tombs (TL 23, 37, 84, 86, 99, 105, 108, 112, 121, 123, 147, 150; N 357), while four are inscribed on sarcophagi and/or free-standing house tombs with hyposorion (TL 29, 63, 72, 117) (**Fig. 2**).

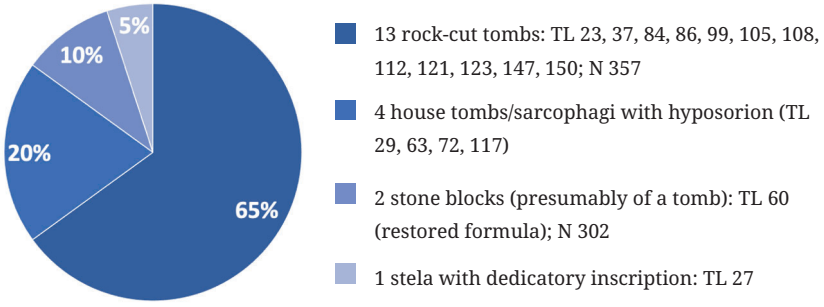

Fig. 2. Monuments bearing inscriptions with *atli ehbi* formula.

The two stone blocks probably also once belonged to tombs. As far as their regional distribution is concerned, five monuments are located in Western Lycia (TL 23, 27, 29, 37; N 357), five are located in Central Lycia (TL 60, 63, 72, 84, 86), and ten originate from Eastern Lycia (TL 99, 105, 108, 112, 117, 121, 123, 147, 150; N 302). Among the inscriptions are four bilingual Lycian-Greek texts, three with the Lycian version preceding the Greek (TL 23, 72, 117) and one with the Greek version preceding the Lycian (N 302). The other inscriptions are monolingual Lycian inscriptions (TL 27, 29, 37, 60, 63, 84, 86, 99, 105, 108, 112, 121, 123, 147, 150; N 357) (**Fig. 3**).

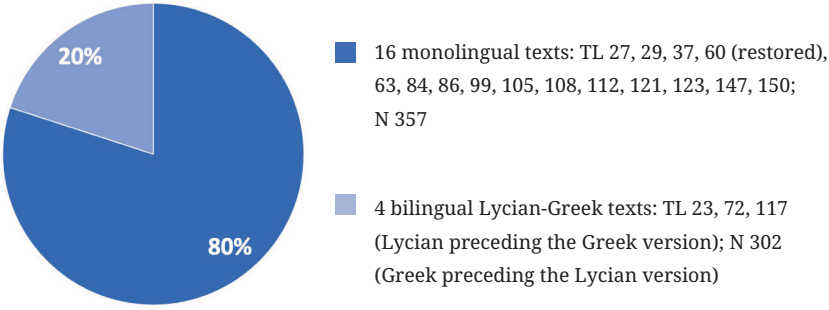

Fig. 3. Mono- and bilingual texts with *atli ehbi* formula.

Only one of these inscriptions, namely TL 29, can be dated on the basis of its content to after Alexander's conquest of Lycia. One inscription, namely TL 99, can also probably be dated to the second half of the 4th century on the basis of a Greek inscription which in all likelihood was

authored by the same person.[10] The date of the other inscriptions can only be estimated on the basis of palaeography and the archaeological evidence.

With respect to palaeography, the inscriptions can be divided into the following four groups:

1. inscriptions showing exclusively older letter variants: TL 37, 72, 84, 86, 117, 150.
2. inscriptions showing later variants of *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*, and/or *x* which, however, are already attested in inscriptions of the early 4th century: TL 23, 63, 105, 112, 121, 123, 147.
3. inscriptions with young variants of *n* and sometimes also of *s* which indicate a late date of origin (possibly the second half of the 4th century): TL 27, 29 (young *n* and *s*), 99 (young *n* and *s*), 108; N 302.
4. unclear, due to the lack of diagnostic letter forms or insufficient documentation of the inscription (TL 60 with the formula restored, and N 357).[11]

Except for N 302, the inscriptions of group 3 also show, in addition to the young variants of *n*, some other younger variants: TL 27 (younger *ẽ*, *p*, *x*), TL 29 (younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*, *x*), TL 99 (younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*, *x*), TL 108 (younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*, *x*) (**Fig. 4**).

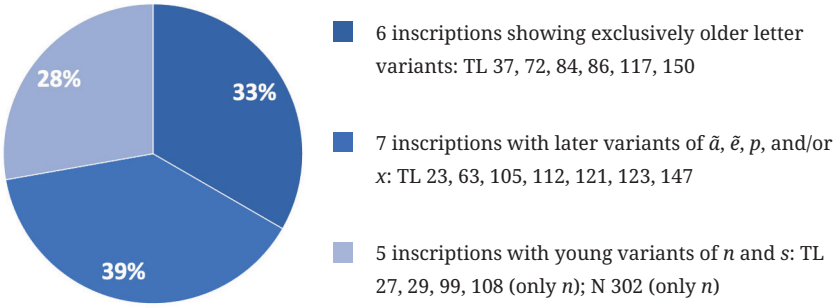

Fig. 4. Text-internal and palaeographic dating information in inscriptions with *atli ehbi* formula.

10 See Wörrle 1991: 223–224.

11 N 357 is only known to me from a photograph published in the edition by Tekoğlu 2017: 65 and 68 Pl. 8. Unfortunately the quality of the photo is insufficient, so that the shapes of the characters remain partly unclear.

In view of the fact that most Lycian inscriptions date from the first half of the 4th century, it is remarkable that the *atli ehbi* formula is attested in five inscriptions whose palaeography indicates a younger date of origin. Furthermore, it appears in seven inscriptions showing variants of the letters *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*, and/or *x* which, although already attested in inscriptions of Erbbina, become more frequent in the course of time. From this it can be concluded that the use of the *atli ehbi* formula increases over time. However, since it also appears in six inscriptions which otherwise show no indication of a young date of origin, the formula cannot be used as a criterion to decide whether an inscription was composed before or after the middle of the 4th century.

2.2 The accusative ending in *-ã* and *-u*

In an article from the year 2000, Jenniges and Swiggers investigated the question of whether Lycian A inscriptions exhibit a chronological distribution of the accusative ending in *-ã* versus the ending *-u*. The authors argue that the *-ã* forms are typical for older inscriptions and the *-u* forms for more recent ones. Inscriptions showing both forms represent a transitional phase (Jenniges/Swiggers 2000: 113).

The study has, however, some methodological shortcomings. One problem, for example, is that the list of inscriptions with the *-ã* accusative, which, according to the authors, date before 360/350, contains not only texts that can be dated on the basis of their content, but also texts such as TL 32, TL 36, TL 84 and TL 149 to which this does not apply. For TL 84 and TL 149 the authors assume a date before 360/350 solely because of the presence of the older form of *ẽ* (Jenniges/Swiggers 2000: 113). However, since older letter variants occur in younger inscriptions too, it is not the appearance of older forms that is relevant for palaeographic dating, but the appearance of younger forms. Given that TL 149 shows the young variant of *n* and the younger variants of *ã* and *x*, it might instead date from the second half of the 4th century.

Another weakness is that Jenniges and Swiggers do not clearly explain their approach. As a methodological basis for determining the distribution of *-ã* and *-u* forms, the authors name contextual, archaeological and palaeographic criteria. It remains unclear, however, which archaeological criteria they have used. Content-based criteria include dating formulae and other text-internal information. As far as the palaeographic criteria are concerned, they use mainly variants of the let-

ter *ẽ*, which both Trevor Bryce (1976: 168–170) and Emmanuel Laroche (1979: 54–56) have established as relevant for dating. Why they only occasionally include other letter variants, which according to Laroche (1979: 54–56) are also relevant for dating, is left unanswered.[12] It should also be noted that the *-u* accusative is attested in Lycian B (Milyan) as well. It certainly makes sense to examine the texts in Lycian B and Lycian A separately. However, since Lycian B in various features is more archaic than Lycian A, it is remarkable that the *-u* accusative is also represented in texts composed in this dialect (cf. *kalu* TL 44d.47; *neriu* TL 55.6; *pasbu* TL 44d.50; *qliju* TL 44d.59; *xñtabu* TL 44c.33, d.41; *timlu* TL 44c.48; *xupeliju* TL 44d.59).

Due to these shortcomings of Jenniges' and Swiggers' study, as well as the availability of new palaeographic criteria, a re-examination appears necessary. The results are as follows: Among all Lycian inscriptions (excluding the coin legends), 110 inscriptions show accusative sg. forms ending in *-ã* and/or in *-u*. 81 inscriptions exclusively have the *-ã* accusative, 9 have both *-ã* and *-u* forms and 20 show exclusively *-u* forms (**Fig. 5**).

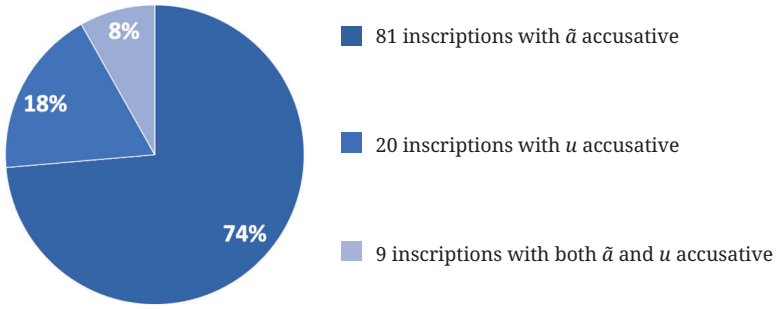

Fig. 5. Inscriptions with *-ã* and/or *-u* accusative (total number 110).

14 of the 81 inscriptions with accusative forms ending in *-ã* have only older letter variants (TL 32, 52, 73, 75, 77, 84, 89, 90, 106, 128, 142, 150; N 321, N 335 (not entirely clear)). One of these inscriptions bears a dating formula, according to which it was established in the time of Harpagos (TL 77, second half of 5th century BC).

12 In the description of their methodological approach, the authors only mention the variants of the letter *ẽ* as a criterion for dating. Later, however, they occasionally refer to other letter variants that are relevant for dating (see, e.g., pp. 114 and 116). Their statements, however, remain general and sketchy.

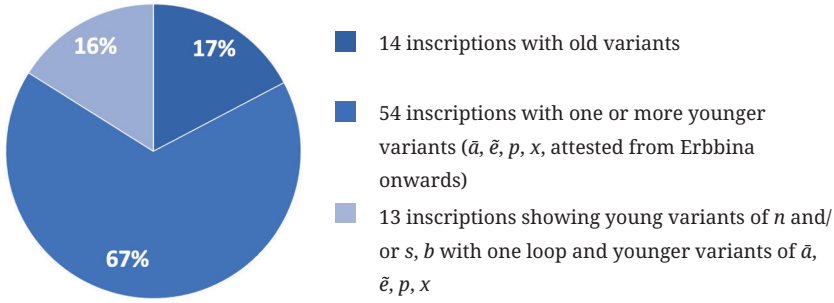

Fig. 6. Inscriptions showing exclusively the *ã* accusative (total number 81).

54 of the 81 inscriptions with *-ã* accusative show one or more variants of the letters *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*, *x* which are already attested in inscriptions of Erbbina, but become more frequent over time. The inscriptions are TL 1, 3, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 36, 37, 40, 42, 48, 61, 63, 66, 67, 70, 71, 80, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 94, 101, 103, 104, 109, 110, 111, 113, 118, 120, 121, 122, 132, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 145, 146, 147; N 306, N 309, N 314, N 316). 22 of these 54 inscriptions bear only one younger variant, most often of the letter *ã* (13 attestations): TL 9 (younger *ã*), TL 11 (younger *ã*), TL 17 (younger *x*), TL 18 (younger *ẽ*), TL 21 (younger *ã*), TL 36 (younger besides older *ã*), TL 37 (younger *ã*), TL 42 (younger *p*), TL 48 (younger *p*), TL 61 (younger *ã*), TL 66 (younger *ã*), TL 67 (younger *ã*), TL 71 (younger *ã*), TL 86 (younger *p*), TL 94 (younger *ã*), TL 122 (younger *ã*), TL 132 (younger *p*), TL 135 (younger *ã*), TL 136 (younger *ã*), TL 140 (younger *p*), TL 146 (younger *p*); N 309 (younger *p*). The rest show more than one younger letter form.

13 of the 81 inscriptions with *-ã* accusative have one or more letter variants which, according to the inscriptions datable in terms of content, indicate a young date of origin (possible the second half of the 4th century). These are: TL 4, 6, 8, 12, 35, 59, 99, 108, 112, 119, 149; N 317, N 322. A late date of TL 99 is also indicated by a nearby Greek inscription which, in all likelihood, was authored by the same person.[13]

All of these inscriptions contain, besides the young variants of the letters *n*, *s* and/or *b*, also one or more of the younger variants of *ã*, *ẽ*, *p* and *x* which for the first time are attested in inscriptions of Erbbina: TL 4 (young *n*, younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*, *x*), TL 8 (young *n*, younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*, *x*), TL 12 (young *n*, younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*, *x*), TL 35 (young *n*, younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *x*), TL 59 (young *n*, younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*), TL 99 (*s*, younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*, *x*), TL 108 (young *n*,

13 See Wörrle 1991: 223–224.

younger *p*), TL 112 (young *s*, younger *ã* and *p*), TL 119 (young *n* besides older *n*, younger *ã*), TL 149 (young *n*, younger *ã*, *x*); N 317 (young *n*, younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *x*), N 322 (young *n*, younger *ã*, *x*) (**Fig. 6**).

The accusative ending in *-ã* is thus still to be found in inscriptions for which, on palaeographical and once also on contextual grounds, a late date of origin (probably the second half of the 4th century or the first half of the 3rd century) is likely. The assumptions of Jenniges and Swiggers (2000: 117), according to which the accusative ending *-ã* is no longer to be found after 340, is therefore not confirmed by the evidence.

2.2.1 Inscriptions showing both accusative endings

A total of 9 inscriptions have both the *-ã* and the *-u* accusative. These are TL 26, 44, 57, 91, 93, 102, 124, 131; N 320. One of them, namely TL 44, dates according to its content from the time of Xeriga and Xerẽi (end of 5th/beginning of 4th century BC). The parts composed in Lycian A mostly have the *-ã* accusative. There is, however, also one *-u* accusative (cf. TL 44c.4 *ubu* accusative sg. of *uba-* 'grant, offering'). Two inscriptions, namely TL 57 and TL 93, show variants of the letter *s* that indicate a rather late date of origin (possibly the second half of the 4th century). In addition, they show *b* with one loop and younger variants of the letters *ã*, *ẽ*, *p*, *x*.

The other six inscriptions (TL 26, 91, 102, 124, 131; N 320) show younger variants of *ã*, *ẽ*, *p* and/or *x* which for the first time are attested in inscriptions of Erbbina, but clearly become more frequent over time. N 320 can, on the basis of its content, be dated to the second half of the 4th century, whereas the others might already have been composed before the middle of the 4th century (**Fig. 7**).

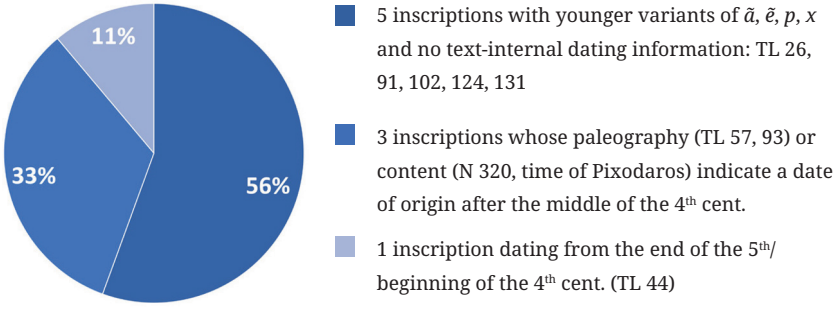

Fig. 7. Inscriptions with both *ã* and *u* accusative (total number 9).

As this evidence shows, the majority of inscriptions with both accusative forms show letter variants which indicate a later date of origin. Most of them are, however, already attested in inscriptions of Erbbina. Moreover, already TL 44, which dates to the end of the 5th/beginning of the 4th century BC, has both accusative forms. Jenniges's and Swigger's hypothesis, according to which the inscriptions showing both accusative forms are to be dated between 360 and 330 (Jenniges/Swiggers 2000: 117), is therefore not tenable.

2.2.2 Inscriptions showing exclusively the accusative ending in -u

The accusative ending in *-u* is attested in 20 inscriptions. These are TL 23 (*ñtatu*), TL 25 (*atru, ladu, kbatru*), TL 28 (*ladu*, *kbatru*, *xahbu*), TL 29 (*ñtatu*, *θurttu, putu*), TL 38 (*prñnawu*), TL 39 (*prñnawu*), TL 45B (*Mali-ju*), TL 47 (*xupu*), TL 53 (*prñnawu*), TL 56 (*prñnawu*), TL 78 (*xahbu*), TL 105 (*xupu*), TL 124 (*xupu*), TL 143 (*ñtatu*), TL 144 (*xupu*); N 308 (*xupu*), N 315 (*xupu*), N 323 (*adru*), N 341 (*xupu*), N 344 (*xupu*). Two of them show no signs of a younger date of origin (TL 53 and N 323). N 323 is, however, a special case. It is a short inscription on ceramic with a few signs which partly differ from those of other inscriptions. Nevertheless, younger letter variants are not attested. 11 inscriptions show younger letter variants that are already known from inscriptions of Erbbina, but become more frequent over time. These are TL 23 (younger *ẽ*, younger *x*), TL 28 (younger *ã*, *p*, *x*), TL 45 (younger *ã* and *x*), TL 47 (younger *p* and *x*), TL 78 (younger *ã*, *p*, *x*), TL 105 (younger *p*, *x*), TL 124 (younger *ẽ*, *p* and *x*), TL 143 (younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *x*), TL 144 (younger *x*, *p*), N 315 (younger *ẽ*, once younger *x*); N 341 (younger *ẽ*, *p*, *ñ* without a vertical stroke), N 344 (young *x*, older *ẽ* and *p*). N 315 is to be dated on the basis of its content to the reign of Mizrppata (before 380), TL 45 to the reign of Pixodaros (337/336–336/335).

Seven inscriptions show letter forms which, among the inscriptions with text-internal dating criteria, appear only in inscriptions of the second half of the 4th century. One of these inscriptions, TL 29, which shows the young variant of *n*, and younger *ã*, *ẽ* and *x*, can be dated on the basis of its content to the time after Alexander's arrival in Lycia (post 339–334). The other inscriptions are TL 25 (young *n*, younger *ã*, *ẽ* and *x*), TL 38 (young *n*, younger *ẽ*, *p* and *x*), TL 39 (young *n*, *b* with one loop, younger *ã*, *p*, *x*,), TL 56 (young *n*, younger *ã*, *ẽ*, *p* and *x*); N 308 (young *n*, *b* with a single loop, younger *ẽ* and *x*). 6 inscriptions are therefore likely

to be dated to the second half of the 4th century, whereas one, TL 45, can be dated to this period on the basis of its content (**Fig. 8**).

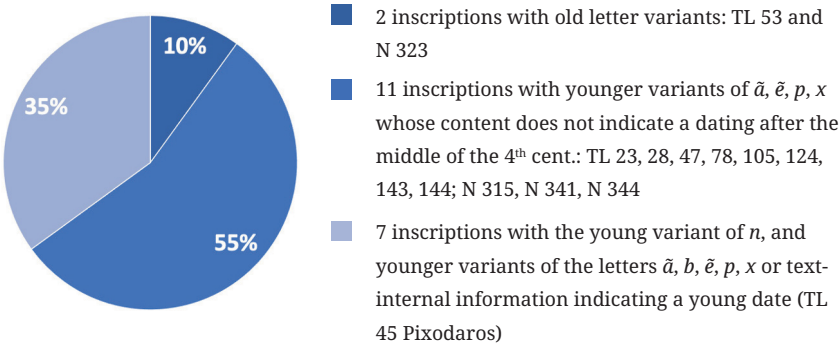

Fig. 8. Inscriptions with *-u* accusative (total number 20).

As a result of these observations, it can be concluded that the assumptions of Jenniges and Swiggers are not confirmed by any evidence. Thus, the accusative ending in *-u* is already attested in inscriptions dating from before 360. The accusative ending in *-u* probably becomes more frequent in the course of time. It is, however, not correct that after 340 only the forms ending in *-u* occur. The accusative forms in *-u* may therefore, together with other criteria, serve as indicators of a relatively late date of inscription. However, they are not *per se* a reliable dating criterion that allows us to determine whether an inscription was composed in the first half or the second half of the 4th century.

3 CHAMBER DESIGN AS AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATING CRITERION

According to Seyer (2009),[14] the oldest type of chamber design among the rock-cut tombs is a quadrilateral stone bench at entrance level (or, rather, a recess in the middle of the floor; **Fig. 9**). A later type can be seen in stone benches on an elevated level (mostly trilateral benches; **Fig. 10**). In the most recent stage, the chambers show niches.

Among the chambers with niches we can differentiate between those having only niches and those showing niches in addition to a recess in

14 See also Seyer 2006a.



Fig. 9. Chamber of the rock-cut tomb with TL 106 (Limyra) showing a recess in the middle of the floor.



Fig. 10. Chamber of the rock-cut tomb with TL 1 (Tyberissos) showing a trilateral bench at an elevated level.



Fig. 11. Chamber of the rock-cut tomb with TL 139 (Limyra).

the middle of the floor (in Seyer's terminology: a quadrilateral bench at entrance level).

According to Seyer (2009: 66–71), niches in tombs with a quadrilateral bench were very likely added at a later stage. He assumes that the reason for the reconstruction lies in the fact that tombs with quadrilateral benches at entrance level did not provide enough protection for the dead. He further states that since the graves were used for multiple burials, the undertakers had to step on the dead bodies at each new burial – a severe disturbance of the eternal peace of the departed.[15] For this reason the burial chambers were, according to Seyer, subsequently equipped with niches that were then used as the only burial places. Seyer thus rejects Borchhardt's assumption that the niches were installed to create additional space (Borchhardt 1975: 110).

Although it is undoubtedly important to consider the placement and handling of corpses when investigating the design of the tomb chambers, Seyer's hypothesis is in my view not conclusive. If the corpses were only placed on the left and right side and not behind the door, as is very likely and apparently assumed by Seyer too, one did not necessarily have to step on them when entering the grave.[16] There are, however,

15 See Seyer 2006a: 723–724 with n. 33; Seyer 2009: 64.

16 See Seyer 2009: 53–54.

some chambers in which the space between the door and the recess is very narrow. An example is the rock-cut tomb with TL 139 in Limyra, whose chamber shows a bench at an elevated level in addition to a recess (**Fig. 11**). As in most Lycian epitaphs, the inscription mentions wife and children as beneficiaries.

Burial on raised benches or in niches would certainly provide a stronger separation between the dead and the living who visit the tomb, and give the impression of greater protection and deference. However, such separation can also be achieved by other means, such as burial in shrouds, coffins or other repositories. It might also be that in some of the tombs with a recess in the middle of the floor, rather than the side parts, the recess served as a burial place. One case might be the tomb bearing TL 106. The inscription mentions only one person as the occupant of the tomb, a certain Sbi◊aza, the *θurtta* and head of the *mindis*. Since the recess in the middle of the tomb chamber, which covers an area of approx. 2 × 2 m, is ca. 0.70 m wide and 1.20 m long (**Fig. 9**), it seems conceivable that Sbi◊aza's corpse was placed in a repository in the middle of the tomb and not on the surrounding floor.

It is also largely unclear which areas and which installations in the tombs were used to accommodate new burials, and which were used to place the remains of older burials or grave goods. It might very well be that the mortal remains of earlier burials were moved to the niches, while recently deceased persons were buried on the floor, in its recess, or in coffins placed on it. Likewise, the reverse scenario is also feasible. Furthermore, we know that in Lycia, besides inhumation, cremation was also common.[17] A comparison of the information in the inscriptions and the number of benches in the tombs shows that usually there is no 1:1 correlation between the number of benches and the beneficiaries mentioned in the inscription.

Moreover, it cannot be sufficiently proven that all or most niches were added at a later stage. And, even if this were the case, it remains uncertain when this should have taken place. According to Seyer (2009: 69), it probably happened before the end of the 4th century, since some of the tombs that have only niches bear inscriptions. Although such a scenario is certainly conceivable, a renovation of this kind would likely have been considered a great disturbance to the eternal rest of the dead buried there. Although any entry to the tomb may have been perceived as an interference, the penetration of the burial chamber with heavy

17 See, e.g., Hülden (2006: 280–287) with further literature.

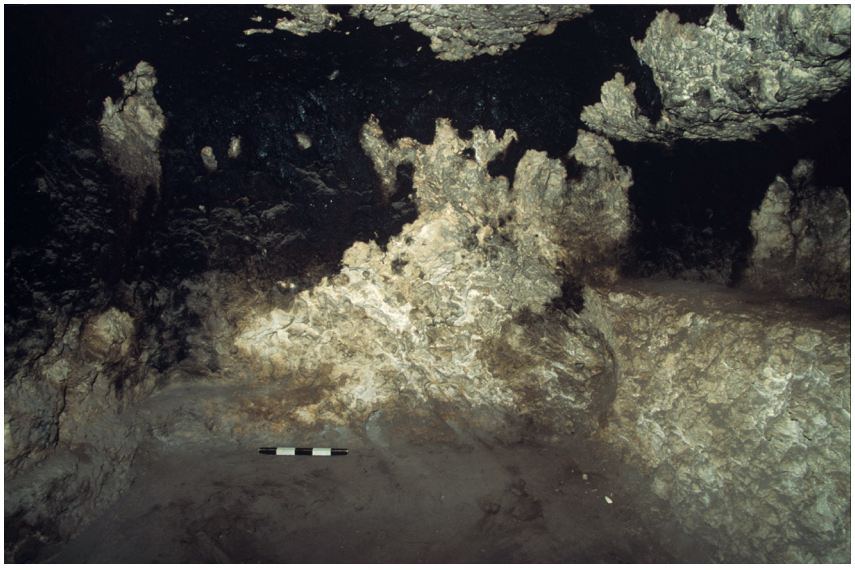

Fig. 12. Recess in the middle of the floor and support on the left side of the rock-cut tomb chamber bearing TL 75 (Tyberissos).



Fig. 13. Niche on the right side of the rock-cut tomb chamber bearing TL 75 (Tyberissos).

tools and the creation of niches is a very severe form of it. If the family was indeed concerned about the eternal rest of the dead buried in the tomb and wanted to protect them from disturbance, such a measure would be counterproductive.

Unfortunately, the majority of inscriptions are of little help in verifying or disproving Seyer's hypothesis, as they normally do not provide any information as to whether the niches belong to the original interior or were installed subsequently. An exception may be TL 75, which is engraved on a rock-cut tomb in Tyberissos, the chamber of which shows a recess in the middle of the floor (a quadrilateral bench at entrance level). In addition, there is a niche on the right side of the room, as well as two supports for a wooden board or stone slab in the two left corners (**Fig. 12** and **Fig. 13**).

Seyer (2009: 70) emphasizes that it is not possible to determine whether the niche on the right side and the supports on the left were made at the same time. Since the two supports are only a few centimetres above the floor (original bench), he argues that the floor (bench) was no longer used for burials after the installation of the wooden board or stone slab. However, this argument already presupposes that the niche and perhaps also the supports were installed at a later stage. Furthermore, it presupposes that the floor (bench at entrance level) was originally used for burials. However, neither of these hypotheses can be proven.

The inscription rather indicates that the bench in the niche belonged to the original equipment and was reserved for the burial of the tomb builder and his wife. However, this only applies if the term *isbazi* in line 3 refers to the bench in the niche. Although this cannot be proven, given the context and other inscriptions it seems very likely. The text runs as follows:

1 ebẽñnẽ: xupã: m=ẽnẹ pṛñnawatẽ tettm̃pẹ:
2 hñtihãmah:̣ tid[ei]mi s=ene ñte: tãti tdi
3 iṣbazi: me=ije: ni hr[ppi] ṭãṭu: tike: m̃mẽ: ladã: ti=(i)je
4 [h]ṛ[pp]i: ḷa[ti][18] hṛppi[=(i)je me=]i: tadi: tịke: kbi[:ʔ] m=ẽne
5 ṭụḅidi: q̣[l]a[(j)]=ẹḅị [s]e malija: se ta[saʔ]:̣ miñtaha

18 The reading of the letter <*l*> is unsure. The traces allow also a reading as <*e*>, which, however, does not match the following <*a*>.

(1–2a)This tomb has built Tettm̃pẹ, so[n] of Hñtihãma. (2b–3)And they will place him inside, where the *isbazi* is.[19] (2b–4a)And they should not place anyone else except for the wife, whom(?) he will allow(?) therein/thereon in addition(?). (4b–5)[(If)] one places anyone else [therein/thereon] in addition(?), then thi[s] *q*[*l*]*a* will strike him – and Malija – and the oa[ths?] of the *miñti*.

As already said, it cannot be proven that the word *isbazi* refers to the bench in the niche. Instead, although less likely, it could designate the board which was once situated above it, or the stone floor (bench at entrance level). In TL 49 from Xanthos, however, the term *isbazi* designates with certainty a bench situated in a niche. It is the only inscription which is placed inside the burial chamber immediately above the bench (**Fig. 14**).

The text notes that the priest Padrñma lies on 'this *isbazi*' and that he does not allow anyone else to be placed there in addition:

ebehi: isbazi: mi=ije=sijẽni: padrñma: kumaza: me=ije ne pemati tike: kbi hrppi=ttãne:

"On this *isbazi* lies Padrñma, the priest. And he does not allow(?) anyone else to be placed on top/in addition(?)."

The inscription engraved on the tomb's façade, to the right of the door, states that the tomb was built by Padrãma for his nephews and nieces (TL 48a). From this, it can be concluded that the other benches inside the tomb were intended for the burial of these beneficiaries. A second inscription on the façade apparently mentioning the sale of the tomb was likely added at a later stage (TL 48b).[20]

Also in TL 84 (Sura), the term *isbazi* obviously designates a bench situated at an elevated level (**Fig. 15**). Lines 2–3 of the inscription refer to this bench as the 'upper *ispazi*' (*hrzzẽ ịspazijẽ*),[21] which the tomb build-

19 The translation of this sentence is erroneously omitted in Christiansen 2020: 232.

20 For a detailed description of the tomb and its chamber see Seyer 2006b.

21 Due to weathering the reading of the passage is unsure. However, the photographs and paper squeezes make the reading *hrzzẹ̃ ịspazijẽ* suggested by Kalinka (1901: 68) appear likely. Yet, the alternative reading *hrzzẽñ: srazijẽ* or rather *hrzzẽñ: sḅazijẽ* proposed by Schürr (2001: 149) cannot be ruled out, although it is less probable. For the alteration from <*b*> to <*p*> cf. also *ebettehi* > *ebttehi* > *epttehi*.



Fig. 14. Chamber of the rock-cut tomb bearing TL 49 (Xanthos).

er Mizretije made for himself, and on which they should lay him (*hãtã* 'the deceased one(?)', or, 'the holder(?)')[22] and his wife:

> [(2b)]s=ed=adẽ: atli: hrzzẽ ịspazijẽ: me=te: ñta tãti [(3a)]ebñnẽ: hãtã: se ladã:
>
> "and he made the upper *ispazi* for himself and they will place this deceased(?)/holder(?) and the wife therein".

The wording implies that in addition to the upper *isbazi*, there was also a lower one, which was intended for other family members. In fact, on the left side of the burial chamber there are two benches situated on top of each other in a niche. The lower bench is below the entrance level, but higher than the rest of the floor.[23] The situation in this grave can thus be compared with that of the tombs bearing TL 75 and TL 49 (**Fig. 16**). As TL 84 clearly shows, both benches belonged to the original

22 The word *hãta-* probably derives from *ha-* 'let, let go, release'. Its meaning in the present context remains, however, unsure. According to Melchert (2004: 22), it might be translated as 'deceased', whereas Schürr (2006: 119–120) suggested the meaning 'holder, tenant'.

23 See Borchhardt 2002: 35–36 with Fig. 19 for a description of the chamber. Seyer (2009: 56, 60), however, mentions only the quadrilateral bench at entrance level.



Fig. 15. Chamber of the tomb bearing TL 84 (Sura).

equipment of the tomb chamber and were obviously used for burials at the same time.

This evidence does not prove that the niches in the graves with a recess in the middle of the ground generally belonged to the original equipment. However, like TL 75, TL 84 casts doubt on Seyer's assumptions.[24]

Another attestation of the term *isbazi* can be found in TL 128. The inscription is engraved on a one-storied rock-cut tomb, the chamber of which shows a recess in the middle (quadrilateral stone bench at entrance level; **Fig. 17**). The fragmentary inscription refers to an *isbazi* reserved for the burial of the tomb builder Krustti and his wife (… *isbazi amu ṣijẹni teli: se* [*l*]*ada*, "the *isbazi* on which I and the [w]life will lie"). The term likely refers to one of the two benches which are located on the left and right sides and are about 0.34 m higher than the entrance level. The floor between them is lower than the entrance level, on the rear side is a platform located at approximately the same level as the

24 Seyer (2009: 56, 60–61) mentions this tomb (TL 84) in his list of tombs whose chambers show a quadrilateral bench, but does not discuss the inscription. Neither does he mention the bench located at an elevated level.



Fig. 16. Chamber of the tomb bearing TL 48 and 49.



Fig. 17. Chamber of the rock-cut tomb bearing TL 128 (Limyra).

benches, but rising to the rear. Unlike TL 84, the inscription does not mention any other beneficiaries apart from the tomb owner and his wife.

From the evidence we can conclude that the term *isbazi* refers to benches used for burial, which are sometimes, but not always, placed in niches. Whether the niche inside the tomb bearing TL 75 was added at a later stage or was part of the original design remains unclear, although the latter is, in my opinion, more likely. Although the inscriptions discussed above raise doubts about at least some of Seyer's hypotheses, it seems appropriate to confront the chronological development of the burial chambers assumed by Seyer with the written and, in particular, the palaeographic evidence.

The results of this comparison are as follows: of the 16 tombs listed by Seyer (2009: 56–58) as tombs with a quadrilateral bench, 7 show no indication of further installations. These tombs bear the following inscriptions: TL 52 (Sarıbelen/Sidek Yayla), 85, 86, 89, 90; N 309 (all Myra); TL 106 (Limyra) and TL 149 (Rhodiapolis). Among them is only one inscription, TL 149, which has the alleged young variant of *n* and the younger variants of *ã* and *x* (see above). TL 52 and TL 85 have the younger version of *ẽ*, which, however, is already attested in inscriptions of Erbbina. The other inscriptions show exclusively letter variants that are already attested in inscriptions from the second half of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century (**Fig. 18**).

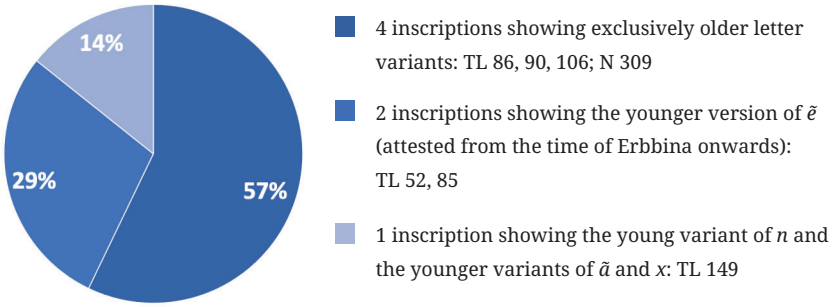

Fig. 18. Inscriptions on tombs with a recess in the middle of the floor and no further installations.

The tombs which show, in addition to the quadrilateral bench (recess in the middle of the floor), one or more benches in niches bear the following six inscriptions: TL 75 and TL 76 (Tyberissos), TL 83 (Arneai), TL

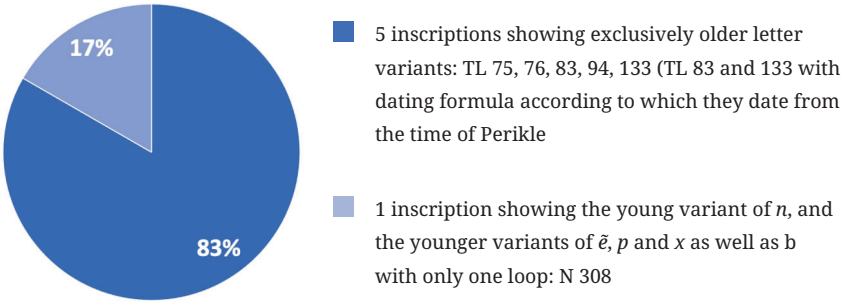

Fig. 19. Inscriptions on tombs whose chamber shows a recess in the middle of the floor and one or more niches.

94 (Myra),[25] TL 133 (Limyra) and N 308 (Myra). Most of them show exclusively letter variants that are already attested in inscriptions which, according to their content, date from the period between the second half of the 5th (reign of Harpagos) and the first decades of the 4th century (reign of Erbbina). N 308 from Myra, however, has the young form of *n*, the younger variants of *ẽ*, *p* and *x* as well as *b* with only one loop. While the other inscriptions were probably written already in the first half of the 4th century, the palaeography of N 308 suggests a date from the second half of the 4th century. By means of their dating formulae, TL 83 and TL 133 can be dated more precisely to the reign of Perikle. In addition, the grave with TL 84 (Sura) should also be mentioned here. As discussed above, its chamber shows two benches on the left side situated on top of each other in a niche. The lower bench is below the

25 The burial monument bearing TL 94 is a tomb complex consisting of two tombs situated one above the other (tomb 9 and 10) and a further tomb (tomb 11) situated on the right side of tomb 10. All tomb chambers show a different interior. Chamber 11 has no installations at all, whereas chamber 10 shows a recess in the middle of the floor (quadrilateral bench at entrance level). The design of the niche on the back of the chamber indicates that it was not created until Byzantine times and can therefore be neglected in the present study (see Seyer 2008: 344–345). The original design of chamber 9 remains unclear. According to Seyer (2008: 353–358), it initially consisted of a three-sided or quadrilateral bench and was later extended to the rear, although the extension remained unfinished. In addition, at a later stage the benches were made narrower. Seyer also considers it probable that the niche on the right side was not part of the original interior but added later. This, however, remains hypothetical, as Seyer himself notes. According to the inscription engraved on the upper cross-beam of tomb 10, the upper building (tomb 9) was intended solely for the burial of Hurttuweti, his wife and a person named Hakãna. Thus tomb 10 and tomb 11 were presumably intended for the burial of further family members.

entrance level, but is elevated compared to the surrounding floor. Since the inscription refers to the upper bench with the term 'upper *isbazi*', it obviously belonged to the original interior, as did the lower bench. Neither the content nor the palaeography of the inscription indicate a younger date of origin (**Fig. 19**).

Among the tomb chambers having only niches, but no quadrilateral benches, the majority do not bear an inscription. Among the tombs listed by Seyer, there is only one which has a Lycian inscription, namely the rock-cut tomb bearing TL 39, located in Xanthos. The text shows the young variant of *n* and the younger variants of *ã*, *x* and *p*. As is the case with N 308 from Myra, the letter *b* is attested with only one loop.

These results do not necessarily contradict Seyer's hypothesis that the burial chambers with a recess in the middle of the floor are the oldest chamber type. However, if this were indeed the case, the inscriptions on such tombs showing young letter variants would prove that this chamber design was still in use in the second half of the 4th century. Moreover, the inscriptions that can be dated on the basis of their content show that various chamber designs were already common in the first half of the 4th century (**Fig. 18** and **Fig. 19**). The most frequent chambers are those with a trilateral bench at an elevated level.[26] But as shown by TL 83 and TL 133, according to which their respective tombs were built in the time of Perikle, chambers with a recess in the middle of the floor are also known from this period. If the niches in these tombs either belonged to the original design or were still being installed in the first half of the 4th century, then this chamber type would also be attested for this time.

4 CONCLUSION

The re-examination of the *atli ehbi* formula as a dating criterion has shown that it is attested both in inscriptions where the palaeography indicates a more recent date of origin (possibly the second half of the 4th century) and inscriptions for which this is not the case. Although the formula might have become more frequent over time, it is not a suitable criterion for deciding whether an inscription is to be dated to the first half of the 4th century or to the subsequent period. Concerning

26 See also Seyer 2009: 63–64.

Ruler	Chamber design			
	rock-cut tomb with recess in the middle of the floor	rock-cut tomb with trilateral bench on an elevated level	rock-cut tomb with bench(es) or stone boards & niches	pillar
			rock-cut tomb with recess and stone boards	sarcophagus
				(partly) unclear
Harpagos (middle or last quarter of 5th cent.)	TL 77			N 310
Xeriga & Xerẽi (5th/4th cent.)				TL 43
				TL 44
Mizrppata (until ca. 380)	TL 64		N 315 (recess, 1 board, 1 niche)	
Trbbẽnimi (ca. 430–380)	TL 128		TL 135 (recess & 2 boards, dating in the time of Trbbẽnimi unsure)	
Arttuñpara (until ca. 370)				TL 11
Perikle (ca. 380-360/350)	TL 133	TL 103 & 104, N 314		TL 67, 83, 132 (132: two boards, rest unclear)
Autophradates (ca. 360/350			TL 61 (1 bench & niches)	TL 40
Purihimeti (after 350?)				TL 99 (2 boards, rest unclear)

Fig. 20. Chamber design of the tombs engraved with inscriptions with text-internal dating information.

the accusative forms, it can be seen that the use of the *-u* accusative increases over time. However, since it is already attested in inscriptions where content and/or palaeography do not indicate a late date of origin, and since the *-ã* form is still to be found in inscriptions dating from the second half of the 4th century, the accusative forms are not a reliable dating criterion either. The same holds true for the chamber design of rock-cut tombs.

As was shown in the discussion of the term *isbazi*, Seyer's (2006a and 2009) assumption that the niches in graves which show also a quadrilateral bench located at entrance level were added at a later stage is doubtful. But even if his hypotheses were in general correct, they are of little value for the dating of the inscriptions. Since the palaeographic evidence suggests that the chamber type showing a recess in the middle of the floor (quadrilateral bench at entrance level) was still in use in the second half of the 4th century, it cannot be used as a criterion to decide whether an inscription dates from the time before the middle of the 4th century or the subsequent period. Similarly, the hypothesis that the chamber equipped exclusively with niches is the youngest type is of little use for dating the inscriptions, because so far there is only one known inscription engraved on such a tomb, namely TL 39. Consequently, neither the linguistic nor the archaeological criteria discussed here are reliable for dating Lycian inscriptions. Using a cumulative approach that takes into account palaeographic, linguistic, and archaeological criteria, we can at best make a rough estimation. It should be noted, however, that none of the criteria is in itself reliable.

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ART HISTORY WITHIN ANATOLIAN STUDIES

An approach to Lycian images

Fabienne Colas-Rannou

Abstract: Lycia is an area of Southern Anatolia famous for its stone monuments and sculpture, dating to between the 6th and the 4th centuries BC, under Achaemenid rule of Anatolia. The geographical and historical context of Lycia, and a cultural history with signs of an outward-looking attitude to Greek culture, has meant that many academic treatises have focused either on the Greek elements in Lycian art or on the Persian ones (see for example: Jacobs 1987). Lycian art is thus often seen as a "peripheral" phenomenon to Greek and/or Persian art. The history of Lycian studies, more specifically the field of Lycian sculpture, is heavily dominated by traditional academic fields. Accordingly, Lycian studies have long been promoted by Hellenists, and sometimes Orientalists, but much less by Anatolia specialists. This paper will focus on historiography and methodology. It will develop a methodological and conceptual approach that can be used to study images in specific Lycian and Anatolian contexts, allowing us to reassess the concepts of "Hellenization" and "Iranization". "Images" are understood as figurative representations. From an art historical vantage point, this paper aims to illustrate how iconography and iconology can improve our knowledge of Lycian culture and history during the 1st millennium BC, and highlight the fact that Lycian culture is an original Anatolian culture.

Keywords: Lycia, art history, historiography, Pierre Demargne, iconography, iconology, mixity, fluidity

1 DISCOVERING LYCIAN ART DURING THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES AD: The difficulty of defining Lycian art and a possible origin of the traditional view "between Greece and Persia"

During the 1770s, Choiseul-Gouffier noticed the specificity of some sarcophagi from ancient Telmessos, describing one of them as follows:

> "Ce tombeau est le plus grand de tous ceux que nous avons rencontrés en cet endroit; il est d'un dessin très singulier, et je n'en connais aucun du même genre. Il semble qu'on ait voulu imiter un édifice construit en bois; c'est au moins ce que paraissent indiquer ces dés de pierre ou ces mutules que l'on a conservées, ainsi que ces panneaux correctement dessinés, et qui sont pris dans la pièce même."[1]

He appreciated the monumental rock-cut tombs at Telmessos, making connections between them and Persian and Greek architecture:

> "On trouve dans la Haute-Égypte un grand nombre de grottes, qui sans doute étaient consacrées à cet usage; mais aucun de ces monuments n'a autant d'analogie avec ceux de Telmissus, que les tombeaux de Persépolis."[2]

> "…mais quelle analogie plus frappante encore entre les tombeaux de Persépolis et ceux de Telmissus ! Ces derniers sont de même creusés dans une montagne de roche vive, et à une trop grande hauteur pour qu'on y puisse parvenir sans beaucoup de peine; ils sont en grand nombre, […]: quelques-uns ne sont que de simples trous, d'autres sont plus décorés: mais deux de ces tombeaux, vrais monuments, fixent bientôt les regards. Ils offrent la façade d'un édifice, dont le style prouve que c'est un ouvrage des Grecs, travaillant à l'imitation des Perses ou des Égyptiens."[3] (**Fig. 1**).

As they were gradually "discovered" by Europeans during the 19th century AD, the Lycian stone monuments were noted for the singularity of their architecture (rock-cut tombs, pillar tombs, sarcophagi). In his

1 Choiseul-Gouffier 1842: 190.
2 Choiseul-Gouffier 1842: 193.
3 Choiseul-Gouffier 1842: 196.



Fig. 1. Telmessos. At the top, one rock-cut tomb with a front inspired by Greek architecture, below, rock-cut tombs of Lycian traditional type (photo © F. Colas-Rannou).



Fig. 2. Drawings of four kinds of tombs, selection from Antiphellos, Tlos, Xanthos, from Fellows 1841: plate between pages 104 and 105 (from digital version Internet Archive, original from the Getty Research Institute, public domain).

journal published in 1841, Charles Fellows described sites in ancient Lycia and commented:

> "In my former rambles in Asia Minor I observed that each district had a peculiarity in the architecture of its tombs, and that none was more distinctly marked than that of the ancient Lycia."[4]

He highlighted "four" kinds of tombs peculiar to Lycia, which relate to the categories currently known as Lycian pillar tombs, sarcophagi and rock-cut tombs, and included a drawing on a plate attached to the text (**Fig. 2**). In trying to characterize these original architectural forms, Fellows borrowed terms from other cultural contexts and periods, and called them "the Obelisk, the Gothic, and the Elizabethan forms".[5]

On a visit to Lycia a couple of years later, Charles Texier arrived at the site of Phellos and expressed his astonishment:

> "Nous arrivons à la nécropole. Nous sommes dans l'admiration en entrant dans une enceinte carrée toute taillée dans le roc, au milieu de laquelle s'élèvent deux édifices monolithes taillés dans la masse même du rocher. Ce ne sont plus des colonnes et des frontons; c'est un art tout à fait en dehors de ce que nous connaissons de l'antiquité, car il est aussi éloigné de l'égyptien que du grec. Un de ces grands tombeaux a trois portes; son entablement ressemble à des charpentes posées de front, et sur les faces latérales, ce sont d'énormes solives recourbées représentant des becs d'ancre; tout cela taillé dans le rocher."[6]

Previously, in the same journal, Charles Texier was able to use the vocabulary of Greek architecture to describe the front of some tombs at Telmessos which imitate Greek architecture (Texier 1849: 188; the same tombs were observed by Choiseul-Gouffier; see, above, the last ones mentioned by this author). Now, instead, we see the "difficulty" he has in describing the architecture of these Lycian rock-cut tombs at Phellos

4 Fellows 1841: 104.

5 Fellows 1841: 104.

6 Texier 1849: 201. See also Texier 1849: 190 on Lycian sarcophagi at Telmessos: "Ce genre de tombeaux est tout à fait en dehors du goût des Grecs, et me paraît propre aux peuples de Lycie."

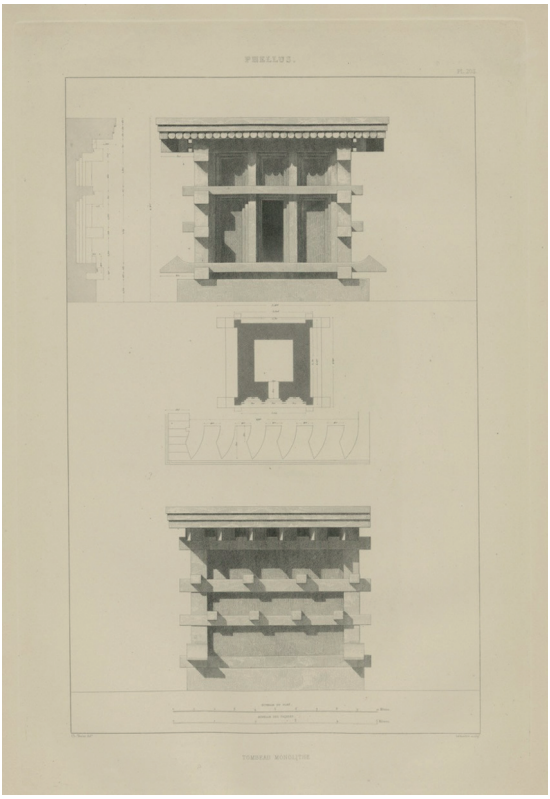

Fig. 3. Drawings of a traditional Lycian rock-cut tomb at Phellos (from Texier 1849: Pl. 203).

(**Fig. 3**). The reference to tombs in Persepolis is also present in Texier's book, in the passage relating to Lycian rock-cut tombs at Telmessos.[7]

Nevertheless, even if some original elements could be noted in Lycian architecture, the style of the reliefs that adorned Lycian stone monuments could be seen as Greek. Writing about Xanthos, for example, Charles Fellows noted:

> "The whole of the sculpture is Greek, fine, bold, and simple, bespeaking an early age of that people."[8]

7 Texier 1849: 189. Here, Charles Texier quoted the opinion expressed by Edward Daniel Clarke who travelled at the beginning of the 19th century AD.

8 Fellows 1841: 165.

At this point, we see the emergence of one of the most striking aspects of Lycian studies until the 20th century – an approach which interpreted Lycian sculpture and iconography closely (in some instances, strictly) on the basis of its relationship to Greek art and culture. This approach was mainly developed by European scholars during the 20th century. We can consider this historiographic phenomenon through the interesting case of one of the scholars who strongly promoted the study of ancient Lycia: Pierre Demargne (1903–2000), excavation leader at Xanthos.

2 A HELLENIST'S VIEW AND THE NOTION OF "PERIPHERY": The example of Pierre Demargne

The French scholar Pierre Demargne led the archaeological team at Xanthos from 1950 onwards. He published important works about Xanthos and its monuments (four volumes in the "Fouilles de Xanthos" collection and numerous journal articles[9]). He was a Hellenist, he had been a member of the French Archaeological School at Athens, and taught ancient Greek literature and Greek archaeology at a university in France.[10] Before excavating in Lycia, he had worked in Crete and had shown a special interest in the 7th century BC – the so-called "Orientalizing period" of Greece. Demargne developed his ideas about cultural contacts within the framework of the notion of "periphery". This notion was highlighted during the 8th International Congress of Classical Archaeology which he co-organized in Paris in 1963. The proceedings were published in Paris in 1965 under the main title: "Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques". It was a new perspective in the sense that it opened up the view to areas other than "traditional" Greece and Italy (Demargne 1965a: 1–3)[11]. However, this approach to cultural contacts between Greece and non-Greek areas mostly tended to emphasize a kind of Greek cultural superiority and "Greek influence" on other ancient cultures or civilizations, in an unequal relationship. P. Demargne employed this approach to Lycian sculpture, and defined Lycia as an "intermediary zone" within this

9 Partly listed (until 1976) in Revue archéologique 1976, I, 3–8.

10 For biographical informations, see Demargne et. al. 1992; Contamine 2000.

11 For example: Iberian Peninsula, Thrace, Scythia. A special session was dedicated to ancient Anatolia with the participation of Ekrem Akurgal (Phrygian art), Kurt Bittel (Boğazköy), Rodney Young (Gordion), George M. A. Hanfmann (Lydia), and Pierre Demargne (Lycia).

"periphery" – Greece (Continental Greece and Asia Minor) remaining the "centre" from which cultural diffusion spread (Demargne 1965b; Demargne 1978: 753). This way of understanding cultural contacts can still be detected in Demargne's works during the 1970s, with the idea of "hellénisme conquérant", although the author did note that new notions were emerging among scholars:

> "Phénomène non pas unique, certes, que celui du contact entre civilisations, de l'acculturation comme on dit aujourd'hui, au bénéfice de celles qui disposent d'une supériorité matérielle et spirituelle : l'Antiquité, […], a connu le phénomène antérieur et inverse de l'orientalisation, le phénomène postérieur et complémentaire de la romanisation."[12]

On the one hand, he showed genuine curiosity and great erudition, and promoted the monuments from Xanthos among ancient art; on the other hand, we notice a lack of focus on Lycian sculpture as autonomous and original, Anatolian phenomenon. His recurrent use of the adjectives "Archaic" and "Classical", borrowed from Greek studies for Lycian sculpture, is noteworthy (Demargne 1965b: 500; Demargne 1978). Demargne was connected with the network of scholars excavating in Turkey, and he knew items from other parts of Anatolia (see, for example, Demargne 1965b: 500; Demargne 1981b: 586). Nonetheless, his studies of Lycian sculpture, especially his analyses of the style of carving, repeatedly referred to Greek models (e.g. Demargne 1978). Of course, this was justified: Greek sculpture had an impact on Lycian sculpture; and Demargne rightly raised the question of the identity of craftsmen (for example Demargne 1965b: 500; Childs/Demargne 1989), which remains important. In some papers, however, Demargne could be said to describe the style of Lycian sculpture in a depreciative way (his choice of French vocabulary may be significant). This was the case in his paper for the Paris congress, for example, when he mentions the reliefs belonging to the buildings "H" and "G" from the Lycian acropolis at Xanthos:

12 Demargne 1974a: 584. In a paper dated 1979 (published in 1981), he used the word "acculturation", however, the notion of periphery still remained (Demargne 1981a: 85).

> "[…] les personnages drapés nous paraissent très particulièrement maladroits parce qu'ils prétendent sans doute imiter les formes plus évoluées de modèles grecs."[13]

We find the same tone in his remarks on the East pediment of the so-called "Nereid Monument" and the seated male figure:

> "le trois-quarts est passablement maladroit et manque tout à fait d'élégance."[14]

Elsewhere, we find a similar approach to another "peripheral area", in the context of a comparison with sculpture from Cyprus dating to the 5th century BC:

> "Chypre, […], nous fournirait des exemples d'un archaïsme prolongé, à l'affligeante médiocrité : une vraie rechute après l'éclat des années 500."[15]

Furthermore, his position was ambiguous, as he used both the idea of an efficient and prevailing Hellenism and that of local "cultural, religious and political ideologies"[16], which could have interfered with this Greek "influence".

> "Toutes proches de la côte les zones que nous appelons intermédiaires demeurent indigènes, tout en subissant depuis longtemps l'influence grecque…"[17]

> "Là où prévalent la vieille iconographie et l'idéologie dynastique, réapparaissent les formes et les procédés de l'archaïsme qui sont aussi ceux de l'Orient."[18]

Pierre Demargne's proposal to define three periods in the history of the "hellenization" of Lycia was mainly based on the carving style, and

13 Demargne 1965b: 501.
14 Demargne 1981b: 587.
15 Demargne 1974a: 589.
16 For this expression: Demargne 1974a: 586.
17 Demargne 1978: 753.
18 Demargne 1965b: 502.

consisted of two high periods and between them a time of weaker influence (Demargne 1974a: 587–590). This enabled him to postulate a certain refusal or resistance, sometimes seen as an "unfitness" and as an expression of "conservatism" (Demargne 1965b: 500; Demargne 1974a: 589). The notion of "archaism" could be associated with the notion of "provincialism" (another term suggesting periphery) when applied to sculpture dating to the 4th century BC (Demargne 1981b[19]).

In the 8th volume of the "Fouilles de Xanthos" on the decorative sculpture of the Nereid Monument, written in collaboration with William Childs and published in 1989 (Childs/Demargne 1989), the propensity towards a depreciative approach had weakened, and the more moderate point of view employed in this volume better appreciated the balance between a Greek "influence" and the local context.

Thus, in his works we find both the recurrent idea of a Greek art employed to express an Oriental ideology (for example Demargne 1976: 82; Demargne 1981a) and the idea of an Achaemenid reference in the treatment of certain figurative scenes or human figures (Demargne 1974b: 70, 79, 81; Demargne 1976: 84, 87), and thus of Lycian art positioned between the Greek world and Persia. Furthermore, he proposed the reading of some patterns in a Greek way, within the frame of a progression of Hellenism in Lycia.[20]

Pierre Demargne was very interested in iconography and tried to identify patterns and understand them. Despite the fact that he was able to write that "a stylistic likeness doesn't necessarily lead to a same interpretation" (about the Payava sarcophagus, Demargne 1974b: 75), guided by a "Greek-looking" style of carving, Demargne sometimes went too far in interpreting Lycian images in a Greek manner (just as other scholars did), without questioning iconographic gaps and the fact that they could express a Lycian meaning (whatever the style was, i.e. independently of a "Greek-looking" style). In my opinion, the most obvious example is the interpretation given to the free-standing female figures distributed among the intercolumniations of the Arbinas tomb at Xanthos as "Nereids" (known as the Nereid Monument)[21]; and to the

19 P. Demargne borrowed the expression "archaïsme provincial"/"provincial archaism" from E. Pfuhl (Pfuhl 1926: 154: "provinzieller Archaismus"; see Demargne 1981b: 586 n. 5; Childs/Demargne 1989: 363 n. 92).

20 P. Demargne still expressed these ideas in an interview in 1992 (Demargne et al. 1992: 320–321).

21 For a Lycian interpretation, see Robinson 1995.

akroteria (fragmentary human figures) of the same monument as "Thetis and Peleus" (Demargne 1987).

Thus, he never really highlighted in a positive way the idea of active Lycian choices from both Greek and Achaemenid art. Pierre Demargne was a man of his times, and his approach to ancient intercultural contacts can well be understood in the context of a contemporary history of colonialism, notably in France (decolonization and Colonization Wars during the 1950s and 1960s). The fact of associating the adjective "indigène"/indigenous with Lycian culture is also significant; this adjective is present in a lot of papers, and was still used in the volume published in 1989 on the Nereid Monument (Demargne 1965b: 501–502; Demargne 1974a: 586; Demargne 1974b: 68, 70, 91; Demargne 1976: 82, 95; Demargne 1981a: 85–86; Demargne 1981b: 592; Childs/Demargne 1989: 353, 369, 370; see above the citation of Demargne 1978: 753).

Since Pierre Demargne was naturally not alone in his attitude, further examples by other scholars could be added (and will be, elsewhere, for comparison).[22] More generally, the concept of "Hellenization" was used to enhance a kind of Greek cultural superiority, a diffusion of Greek culture among non-Greek people, Lycians notably, who had to welcome it, in a passive way.[23]

It is important to note that Pierre Demargne's approach was "ambivalent", due to the difficulty of defining Lycian art in the complicated context of an Anatolian background, which was impacted by both Greek and Oriental art (revived by Achaemenid royal art).

3 USEFUL CONCEPTS AND NOTIONS: A reassessment

New concepts and notions have to be explored, because they are useful: firstly, the concept of "cultural transfer", as initiated in France for

22 Titles are significant, e.g. Akurgal 1941, as the adjective "Greek" is employed for reliefs from Lycia dated to the 6th century BC. In more recent publications, monuments from Xanthos are presented as monuments from Eastern Greece, because of the carving style, thus denying the existence of a Lycian cultural background in the context of ancient Anatolia (for example, the so-called "Harpy Tomb" of Xanthos in Hofstetter 1990: cat. O 61, 243–248).

23 For a general reflection about the concepts of Hellenization and acculturation, see (in the bibliography in French for example) Will 1998; Wachtel 1974; Bats 2006; Roure 2013.

example, in the field of Contemporary History (Espagne 1999). This concept has been used in the field of Ancient History, and more precisely in Greek History (Couvenhes/Legras 2006; Dan/Queyrel 2014). Its "neutrality" can prove useful in the study of intercultural contacts, because it includes the ideas of interaction and reciprocity, human mobility, circulation of ideas and artefacts, with a focus on process (its media and stakes), selection phenomena, and "semantic change".

Secondly, concepts or theories about ethnicity and ethnic identity, such as first developed by anthropologists and ethnologists like Jean-Loup Amselle and Fredrick Barth (Amselle 1990; Barth 1969), may also be useful. We can retain three main theoretical concepts: contact between group members generates group consciousness; within a specific socio-historical context, cultural exchange allows human groups to define constantly evolving ethnic boundaries (Poutignat/Streiff-Fenart 1995: 134–188); ethnic identity goes beyond cultural identity, as it implies "identity stakes".

Whilst researching the notions of ethnicity or ethnic identity within Greek antiquity, historians, archaeologists, and art historians have found a number of further developments. They pointed out that cultural features were relevant criteria in the process of defining ethnic identity. Further, they showed that ethnic messages were not only contained in written sources, but also in material culture, artefacts and styles (e.g. in sculpture), which could thus also be used as distinctive markers by and among human groups (see e.g. Müller/Prost 2002; Croissant 2007; Müller/Veïsse 2014).[24]

In Lycian studies, these concepts can help to explain some results of cultural interaction, some aspects of the creative process, and choices made in specific historical contexts.

4 ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY

For a long time, Lycian art has predominantly been explored through stylistic studies or in the context of specific archaeological sites (e.g. Xanthos and Limyra) or specific monuments (notably the Nereid Monument, the Heroon at Limyra, the Heroon at Trysa). A broader approach to Lycian art, encompassing all Lycian sites and monuments, and using

24 In his second book published in 2002, J. Hall takes into consideration cultural facts, see Hall 2002.

iconography and iconology, constitutes an important development in Lycian studies.

The fields of iconography and iconology were significantly developed by Erwin Panofsky, e.g. in his book on the Renaissance (Panofsky 1967), as well as by François Lissarrague in his works on ancient Greek images. In particular, we would point to the definitions and methodological explanations given by both scholars (Panofsky 1967: 13–31; Lissarrague 1990: 1–12). Lissarrague's useful and clear definitions may be retained: from a general point of view, iconography is the study of figurative representations; more precisely, iconography leads to the recognition and decipherment of images, while iconology attempts to highlight the links between images and human behaviours, or human beliefs, within the frame of a specific society.[25] François Lissarrague is one of French scholars from the "Centre Louis Gernet – centre de recherches comparées sur les sociétés anciennes" in Paris.[26] These scholars led research on ancient Greece, particularly Greek images, using ideas inspired by Social and Cultural Anthropology, Semiology and Linguistics, as well as, from a methodological point of view, by Structuralism. According to this perspective, images are considered as a kind of language. This has been expressed and explained very well by Jean-Pierre Vernant in the preface of the book entitled "La cité des images" (Vernant 1984). This approach offers an interesting guideline for organizing the analysis of Lycian images and understanding their complex creative process. In contrast to the Greek context, the Lycian one is more complicated, as there is no local literary tradition to assist in interpreting figurative representations within the local culture.

5 APPLICATION IN THE FIELD OF LYCIAN STUDIES

From a Lycian studies perspective, the aim is to "decipher", i.e. to decode, to understand Lycian images in a Lycian context. From a methodological point of view, important points are: the identification of iconographic themes; the analysis of iconographic patterns, styles (figurative

25 "[…] l'iconographie s'attache à la reconnaissance, au déchiffrement des images […] l'iconologie cherche à mettre en évidence le rapport qui unit ces images et les formes de pensée d'une société donnée." (Lissarrague 1990: 1).

26 Currently included in the research centre UMR 8210 – Anhima, Anthropologie et Histoire des Mondes Antiques (Paris).



Fig. 4. Satyr from the "satyrs and wild beasts frieze", "Building G", Xanthos (British Museum B 292; photo © F. Colas-Rannou, taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

conventions) and compositions; the research into series, variable and stable components; and the study of the iconographic programme (association and juxtaposition of patterns and themes) and its insertion in the architecture. A comparative approach of art within the Lycian corpus, and beyond, with other Anatolian, East Mediterranean, Greek, Persian and Oriental art, is another important stage.

Employing this method, the main conclusions are as follows: Lycian images were created by mixing a style of sculpture which might imitate a Greek style with iconographic patterns borrowed from Greek and Persian art, as well as iconographic patterns which recalled Anatolian and East Mediterranean traditions, and others that seem to have been "purely" Lycian. The images thus created were therefore typically Lycian and had a Lycian meaning. Lycians selected the images or icons available to them. This creative process applies to both style and iconography, and also includes the notion of "fluidity", as new images were constantly being selected and the way in which the images were manipulated also changed. Such a method of studying Lycian images allows us to appreciate the traditional Anatolian cultural background in Lycia during the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BC, and to understand the



Fig. 5. Slab from the "parade frieze", "Building G", Xanthos (British Museum B 312; photo © F. Colas-Rannou, taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

interaction of different scales (local, micro-regional, regional, extra-regional) which had an impact on the creative process in Lycia (see Colas-Rannou 2020). I will discuss in detail some aspects of this "fluidity" (with synchronic and diachronic approaches), using the following four significant Lycian examples.[27]

Firstly, let us compare two examples of a mixed style and iconography, one dated to the 5th century and another dated to the 4th century BC: reliefs from what is called "Building G" of the "Lycian Acropolis" at Xanthos (c. 470–460 BC) and reliefs from the Heroon at Trysa (c. 380–370 BC for Childs 1976: 315–316; see also Marksteiner 2002: 187; earlier, c. 410–400 BC for Landskron 2015: 347–349). Different juxtapositions of patterns borrowed from Greek and Persian art can be noticed. Attributed to the same "Building G" are two slabs depicting satyrs and belonging to what is known as the "satyrs and wild beasts frieze", and other slabs which depict a procession or parade of riders and charioteers. The "satyrs and wild beasts frieze" (British Museum B 292–298, Xanthos/Antalya Museum 3533-3534-3341) is attributed to the upper

27 The study of these examples is developed in Colas-Rannou 2020; the last two examples have already been presented in Colas-Rannou 2013.



Fig. 6. Gate of the Heroon at Trysa (*in situ*), interior side
(from Oberleitner 1994: Fig. 17; photography: W. Burger, 1881).

course of the terrace or platform on which the building was situated, while the "parade" frieze (British Museum 311-312-313, Antalya Museum 3532) is attributed to the external walls of the chamber (Metzger 1963: 49–61, Pl. 33.1, 37.1, 38, 39.1; Coupel/Metzger 1969; Metzger 1974; Bruns-Özgan 1987: cat. M 4; Draycott 2015: 129–133). These satyrs from Xanthos (**Fig. 4**) have the same appearance as Greek satyrs. They are naked, with the same main characteristics (snub nose, ears and tail of a horse, beard), but are not shown doing exactly the same that Greek satyrs generally do in Greek imagery. The association/composition with wild beasts is original, too. This depiction of a "hunting satyr" holding a tree branch is a unique occurrence in the Lycian corpus. Within the "parade" frieze, the image of a male figure (groom) walking behind a horse, with his forearm resting on the horse's back (B 312; **Fig. 5**) recalls a motif which adorned the Apadana at Persepolis. The reliefs of this frieze depict horses with the knotted tails and forelocks of Persian horses (Bernard 1965). At the beginning of the 4th century (or a little earlier), reliefs belonging to the Heroon at Trysa in Central Lycia convey a different combination. The monument was a wall encircling an area, the Heroon *temenos*, which contained a house-tomb. The walls were

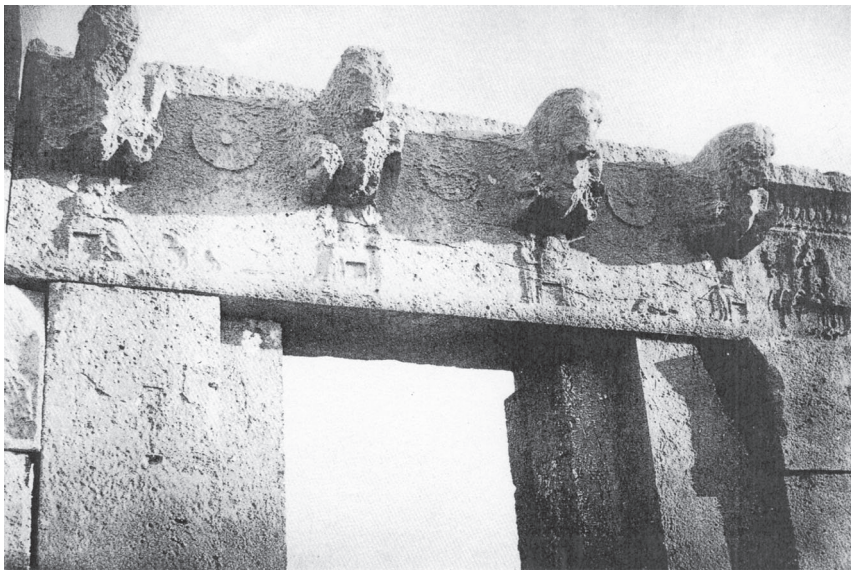

Fig. 7. Gate of the Heroon at Trysa (*in situ*), exterior
(from Oberleitner 1994: Fig. 9; photography: F. von Luschan, 1882).

adorned with reliefs on their upper part and internal side. Only the south wall was adorned with reliefs inside and out, with reliefs on both the internal and external side of the gate. The friezes of the Heroon walls develop an ambitious iconographic programme, with numerous patterns inspired by Greek art (most recently, with previous literature: Landskron 2015). Here, I focus on the decoration of the gate and on the original juxtaposition (Landskron 2015: 57–70, Pl. 23–26). On each side of this gate, we notice a mixture of iconographic elements borrowed from Greek and Persian repertoire, as well as Lycian motifs. These patterns, with their different origins, are juxtaposed. On the internal side (**Fig. 6**), on each side post of the door, the Greek pattern of the Kalathiskos dancers is present, while on the lintel there are eight figures of the Oriental/East Mediterranean god Bes, dancing or playing musical instruments. The main features of the god Bes are recognizable: with the frontal position of the dancing figures, and their seemingly grotesque attitudes and ugly faces. On the other side of the lintel, the exterior side of the gate, three types of patterns are juxtaposed (**Fig. 7**). Four forequarters of winged bulls are spread horizontally across the lintel. These forequarters of winged bulls recall Persian capitals with double forequarters of bulls (without wings), which can be found on Persian

royal rock-cut tombs (Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis) and in Persian palaces (Susa and Persepolis; Schmidt 1953: 80, 100, Fig. 44 C–E, 104, 48 B–E, Pl. 54 A; Schmidt 1970). A *gorgoneion* is carved in the middle of the lintel, between the two central winged bulls. The *gorgoneion*, or Gorgon's head, was a Greek apotropaic motif, which may have preserved its original meaning here, as it was placed just above the gate and in the middle of the lintel. It is interesting to point out that the *gorgoneion* was not used anymore in Greek funerary art after the Archaic period (Floren 1977; Woysch-Méautis 1982: 81–83, 134; LIMC 1988, *s.v.* Gorgo, Gorgones). A Lycian motif, frequently found on Lycian tombs from the 4th century BC (sarcophagi or rock-tombs), is carved under the winged animals (Rodenwaldt 1940: 45–46). It shows a man and a woman seated, facing each other, accompanied by relatives and pets. The scene is presented twice. The first couple is seated on the left side, each person under one winged bull: on the left, the man is in right profile, and on the right, the woman is in left profile. The second couple is seated on the right side of the lintel in a symmetrical position. This pattern evokes the image of a dynastic couple, found notably on the East pediment of the Nereid Monument from Xanthos (Childs/Demargne 1989: 216–220, 256, Pl. 140, Pl. LXVII). Thus, nearly a century apart, two iconographic combinations ("Building G" at Xanthos / Heroon at Trysa) can be identified, which mix Greek and Persian elements, albeit not the same ones, and in different ways.[28]

Next, I would like to focus on a special phenomenon: a traditional theme depicted with a new iconographic pattern and a new style. The lid of a Lycian sarcophagus from Limyra (called the "Centaurs's Sarcophagus") in Eastern Lycia, dated to around 350–330 BC, bears a relief with two male figures wearing oriental clothes, fighting an eagle-headed griffin (Bruns-Özgan 1987: cat. S 12, Pl. 36.1; Borchhardt/Pekridou-Gorecki 2012: cat. 3, Pl. 16.3). On the right, the griffin is using its beak to attack a male figure who has fallen to the ground; its paws grasp the human body, its raised wings are outspread. The male figure is leaning on his left arm, with his left bent knee, his head raised towards the griffin; he wears a tunic which reaches above his knee, girt at the waist (over trousers?), and a conic cap or headdress. On the left, behind the griffin, a prancing horse fights with the griffin; the rider, who wears the same tunic as the other protagonist, is holding up a spear in

28 The comparison could be extended to other Lycian monuments dating to the 4th century BC, e.g. the Nereid Monument at Xanthos; the Heroon at Limyra.

his right hand to throw at the griffin. The details are significant, notably: the Oriental clothing of both male figures, the crest behind the eagle's head, the attitude of the rider and horse with raised forelegs, the griffin above the male figure on the ground. The same details and composition (with these three elements: rider and horse/griffin/fallen male figure) can be found on Attic red-figure vases belonging to the Kertch style dated to the 4th century BC, e.g. on the neck of the Attic krater kept in the Louvre Museum inv. G 530 (mid-4th century BC; Boardman 2001: Fig. 261; LIMC 1997: suppl. *s.v.* Arimaspoi, Pl. 343, n° 39).[29] On Greek vases, the scene recalls the Arimaspoi of Greek mythology. In my opinion, in a Lycian context it does not have the same meaning, and a Greek literary or mythological tradition is not required to elucidate the Lycian interpretation of the scene. The depiction is used by the Lycian sarcophagus owner to promote himself, in a kind of heroization, with assimilation into a victorious hero beating a hybrid creature. The Greek iconographic pattern allows the renewal of an older Anatolian and East Mediterranean theme of hero or royal hero combatting a griffin. The theme is known from East Mediterranean, Mesopotamian, and Neo-Hittite images. For the motif showing a standing hero holding a sword and combatting an eagle-headed griffin, see, for example: a silver bowl from Kourion in Cyprus dated to the end of the 8th century or the beginning of the 7th century BC (Markoe 1985: 177–178, Cy8, 256);[30] a Neo-Hittite orthostat from Tell Halaf (9th–8th century BC; Orthmann 1971: 331, Tell Halaf A3/55, Pl. 9f); and ivory plaques from Nimrud (8th century BC; Mallowan 1966: 537, Fig. 456, ND 10696, 587, Fig. 559). In the Lycian and Anatolian context, it was probably meant to rival the image of the royal hero combatting an eagle- or lion-headed griffin carved on reliefs from Persepolis (Doorways of the Hundred-Columned Hall, 5th century BC; Ghirshmann 1963: Fig. 250–251). This kind of theme is present earlier in Lycia, with the male figure combatting a lion on the "Lion Pillar" from Xanthos (dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BC, British Museum B 286). Thus, it is possible to say that Greek art provided a new iconographic pattern that allowed the revival of a traditional Anatolian or East Mediterranean theme and imagery during the 4th century BC. Other examples could be presented, e.g. the motif of the apobate related to that of the king in a chariot with charioteer (Demargne 1974b: 75–76).

29 For a previous comparison of these items, see Colas-Rannou 2013: 54–57, Figs. 5–6.

30 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.4554.



Fig. 8. “Gable slab” from “Building F”, Xanthos
(British Museum B 289; from Metzger 1963: Pl. 48.2).

Finally, based on a close study of the fourth Lycian example, I would like to present another kind of combination: a traditional pattern depicted with a new carving style. The case study is a slab from Xanthos, the Gable end of “Building F” from the Lycian Acropolis at Xanthos, dated to around 470 BC (British Museum B 289;[31] see notably, Metzger 1963: 71–75, Fig. 25, Pl. 48.2; Bruns-Özgan 1987: cat. M 6; Rudolph 2003: 59–61; Draycott 2015: 128–129). In the centre (**Fig. 8**), a bird-woman stands in a frontal position, on the abacus of a capital surmounting an Ionic column (the volutes are now broken off). The human head of the bird-woman is missing; one would presume that two portions of hair fell onto the shoulders. A short crinkled garment is seen, worn with a belt around the waist (it has the appearance of a chiton, with a lot of folds and hanging sleeves). There are outstretched wings, a tail and bird’s legs, with human arms extended in front of the wings. A male figure (in profile) is seated on each side of the column. The one on the left is beardless, the one on the right has a beard with horizontal ridges. They wear garments very similar to a chiton with sleeves, and a wrapped cloak. They hold a staff in one hand with the other hand extended. On the left, the male figure is seated on a kind of low throne with a backrest. This is a unique occurrence of this motif in the Lycian

31 Limestone. L. 1.05 m; H. 0.83 m.



Fig. 9. Seal (impression) from the "Lyre player group"
(Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 926.7.2; from Porada 1956: Pl. XVII.11.
Dimensions of the seal: 22.5 × 18.5 × 11 mm).

corpus. The bird-woman looks like a Greek siren; the carving style of the male figures recalls the Ionian style (garment with folds, attitude).[32] However, the closest iconographic parallel can be found in a group of Cilician seals, which belongs to the "Lyre player group" dated to the second half of the 8th century BC (Porada 1956; Boardman/Buchner 1966; Boardman 1990; Poncy et al. 2001)[33]. Five seals currently known are noteworthy, their motif showing the winged sun disc surmounting a sacred tree with crooked volutes, flanked by two seated or kneeling figures. The sacred tree resembles a pillar with volutes above. The gesture of the figures is of one hand raised and the other lowered, which may be a sign of adoration and worship (Porada 1956: 187–188 n. 10, 193, n. 22, Fig. 10–11, Pl. XVII.10–11; Boardman/Buchner 1966: n°83, n°90, n°141, n°160, Fig. 42, Fig. 58; Poncy et al. 2001: n°15, Pl. I; **Fig. 9**). We find the same symmetrical composition as on the relief from Xanthos, with sim-

32 The style is close to the style of the reliefs from the "Harpy Tomb" at Xanthos (c. 480 BC), which recalls East Greek sculpture from the 6th century BC (stylistic parallels have been led with Milesian and Ephesian sculpture: Demargne 1974a: 588; Rudolph 2003: 7–29) and from the first quarter of the 5th century BC (marble stela, c. 480 BC, Basel, Antikenmuseum Inv. Nr. BS 236: Hiller 1975: cat. O 14, 159–160, Pl. 9).

33 For the Cilician origin (based on the geographical origin of the stone used), see Poncy et al 2001: 11; previously, Rhodian origin (Porada 1956: 192) or from Al Mina (Boardman 1990: 10–11).

ilar components. However, at Xanthos, the pattern is "dressed" with a style inspired from Greek art: the pillar with volutes above has become an Ionic column, the winged sun disc has become a bird-woman with outstretched wings wearing a chiton. The original pattern can be found in Mesopotamia (e.g. on seals or on Assyrian reliefs), on Hittite seals, on Neo-Hittite or Syro-Hittite reliefs: two human or hybrid figures, standing or kneeling, are flanking the sacred Tree of Life, surmounted by a winged sun disc (Buchanan 1966: n°630a, Pl. 41, n°990, n°991, Pl. 61; Parrot 1969: 14, Pl. 16; Uzunoğlu 1986: 77, Fig. 7–1, 7–2; Orthmann 1971: 448, Domuztepe 6, Sakçagözü A/1, Pl. 6.c, 49.a). The scene carved on the slab from Xanthos dated to the 5th century revives a traditional motif well-documented in South Anatolia and in the Near East a couple of centuries earlier. At Xanthos, the pattern is renewed with the help of a carving style inspired by Greek sculpture. The representation of these two seated male figures (one older than the other) can be interpreted in a dynastic, Xanthian context. I would like to point out that this relief attributed to "Building F" belongs to the same period as "Building G" mentioned above – the second quarter of the 5th century BC – and both buildings were located on the Lycian Acropolis at Xanthos. However, each one displays a different combination of the relief sculptures. This comparison supports the idea of "fluidity" provided by a synchronic study of Lycian images.

6 CONCLUSION: STUDYING LYCIAN IMAGES
Beyond cultural as well as academic boundaries

Following an iconographic and iconological approach, for each scene showing a figurative representation, it is very important to study and analyse the iconographic theme, iconographic pattern, composition, style, and the Lycian way of associating them. Thus, different combinations appear: this is the "fluidity" mentioned above. This method enables us to highlight Lycian choices made in specific contexts. Diachronic comparison shows that borrowings and adaptations were evolving; the synchronic approach emphasizes the diversity of the elements that sustained the creative process. The traditional attitude to studying Lycian art, focusing only on Greek and Persian artistic impact, is inadequate. We can no longer simply say that we find in Lycia "un art grec au service d'une idéologie orientale" (Demargne 1981a). We cannot

simply see Lycian art as an art "between Occident and Orient". Images also expressed the Anatolian cultural background and were indebted to old contacts within the Eastern Mediterranean. Illuminating and understanding this background can be difficult because of the deliberate and constantly evolving mixture of patterns and/or styles circulating in the Mediterranean and the Achaemenid Empire. To conclude, the proper study of Lycian images requires us to question ancient cultural boundaries, while constantly pushing back the bounds of academic disciplines.

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AN INSCRIBED AMULET OR STAMP SEAL FROM SIRKELI HÖYÜK

Gabriele Elsen-Novák – Annick Payne

Abstract: In the lower town of Sirkeli Höyük in Plain Cilicia, in a building dating to the late 8th or early 7th century BC, a tabloid amulet was found which was possibly used as a stamp seal. It bears a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription and at least one cuneiform character, a combination that is very unusual for Iron Age seals. The inscription mentions a man of La-waza(n)ti(ya) and thus, again, raises the question of the ancient name of Sirkeli Höyük.

Keywords: Cilicia, seal, amulet, Iron Age, Luwian hieroglyphs, cuneiform, Lawazantiya

1 INTRODUCTION

During the 2018 excavation campaign of the Swiss-Turkish research project "Sirkeli Höyük. Structure and Dynamics of an Ancient Cityscape in Plain Cilicia", a tabloid object, either a simple medallion[1] or an amulet[2] or a stamp seal, was found in Sector F. It was discovered in Building F1, Room F1:C, immediately south of the city gate in the lower town in a context of the late 8th or early 7th century BC.[3] Stratigraphically, it belongs to local Phase F (H) 3, Lower Town Building Period U II and Cilician Period Neo-Cilician (NCI) 4.[4]

1 A medallion is a particularly large portrait medal, such as is found on monuments, or a round or oval ornament or round or oval pendant. Here, the latter meaning is valid, referring primarily to its shape.

2 An amulet is an object believed to confer protection upon its possessor. As such, it is primarily defined by its function rather than its shape.

3 For the find context see Sollee et al. 2020: 241, for the research project Sirkeli Höyük see Novák/Kozal/Yaşin 2019, for the Iron Age/NCI Period cityscape of Sirkeli Höyük see Novák 2020.

4 Novák/Kozal/Yaşin 2019: 42–43; Sollee et al. 2020: 221.

The specifications are:

Object number: Si18-F115
Context: Building F1, Room F1:C, near city wall; discovered in the debris over a sherd-layer of the floor
Phase: F03
Building period: U II
Chronological period: Neo-Cilician 4 (late 8th to early 7th century BC)
Stratigraphic Unit number: SE-F424
Coordinates: UTM N 5748.942 and O 3087.728, altitude 20.065 m above sea level
Material: Jasper
Dimensions: width: 16 mm; height: 16 mm; depth: 10 mm; weight: 3.53 g
Location: Museum Adana, Env. SH-2018/51[5]

Due to the peculiarity of the piece and its inscription, it is presented here in detail, especially since there could be a reference which might contribute to the identification of the ancient name of Sirkeli Höyük.

2 DESCRIPTION AND CLASSIFICATION

Si18-F115 is a fragmentarily preserved tabloid piece, originally measuring approximately 16 × 16 × 10 mm, with flat sides, strongly rounded corners and edges, and a smooth and polished surface. It is made of a reddish stone with black inclusions, probably jasper. Parts of the front, the top and bottom, and a complete right narrow side have been preserved. The reverse side is largely broken off and only few remains of the polished surface have been preserved.

The complete narrow side has a perforation that runs diagonally to the back. The diameter of the hole is 1.5 mm on the inlet side and tapers to about 1.0 mm towards the back side; however, the outlet opening is no longer preserved. On the broken surface of the reverse side – at approximately the same height as this perforation – the remains of another concave perforation channel are visible. This channel shows smooth sides, measures 1.5 mm in diameter and appears to have been drilled

5 Restoration: Mechanical cleaning (dry and wet), chemical surface exposure with toothpick, scalpel, cotton swabs and distilled water, bonding with Paraloid B72/B48N approx. 40 % in acetone.
Object Photo: KF08076; Find slot photo: GF0344, GF0373; Find slot planum: F-Pla70, F-Pla74.

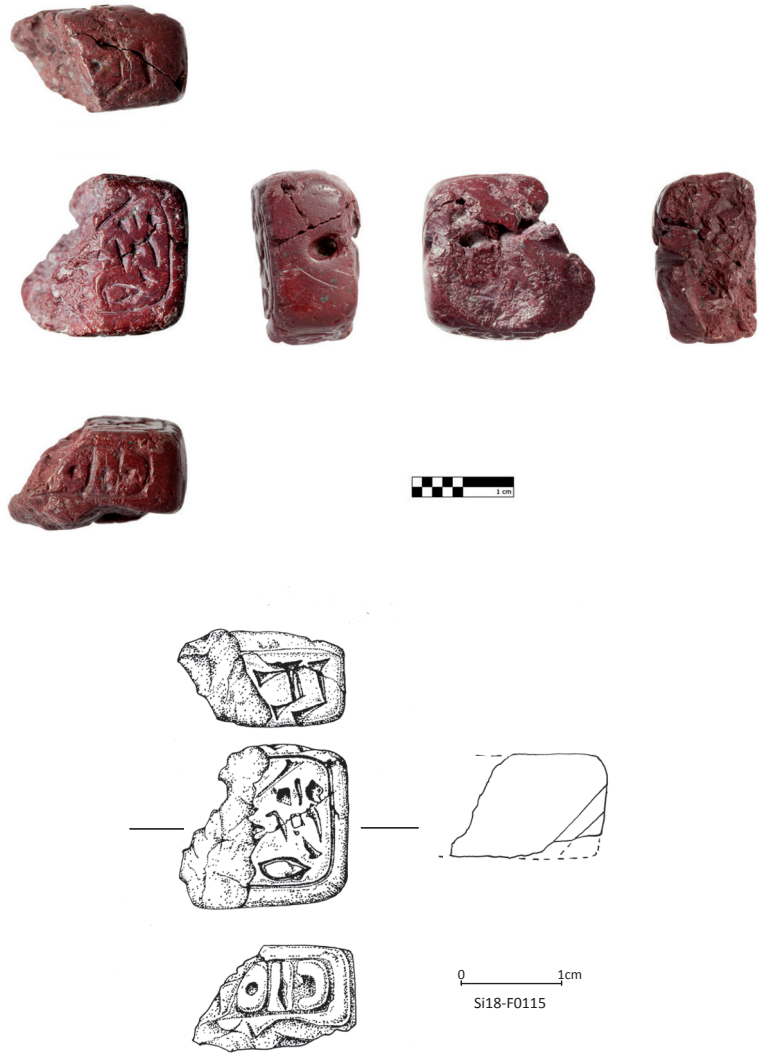

Fig. 1. Inscribed amulet or stamp seal from Sirkeli Höyük (Si18-F115) (photo: Laura Simons; drawing: Gabriele Elsen-Novák).

diagonally from the no longer preserved narrow side towards the reverse side. This is undoubtedly the beginning of the drilled perforation opposite, so that the piece could presumably be threaded like a medallion on a string without becoming twisted back-to-front when worn.

The object bears an inscription, a combination of Luwian hieroglyphics and cuneiform that is otherwise unattested for this period. The front side, which was originally probably almost square, shows one column of volatile, incised Luwian characters in an irregularly incised, linear frame with rounded corners, of which only a part is clearly legible. The narrow upper side also shows another incised character in a frame, only preserved in the upper part, but this time in cuneiform. The bottom side of the piece shows positively raised signs within a recessed, almost rectangular area, which, although they look like characters, cannot be assigned to any known script. Nor is it possible to identify a clear decorative pattern here; it could possibly be a kind of braided band. However, a more precise interpretation is not possible at this point. Whether the reverse side originally also had a representation or writing is no longer ascertainable due to the degree of destruction already described.

In shape, the piece represents a so-called tabloid[6] with at least three display sides. Jan-Waalke Meyer distinguishes two forms of tabloids: higher cuboid and flat, plate-like ones.[7] While the latter are sporadically attested as early as the Chalcolithic – including, among others, an Early Bronze Age piece from Tarsus[8] –, the former appear without known precursors in the time of the Old Hittite Empire in Anatolia.[9] Tabloid seals with a shape that is remotely comparable to our piece, with two, three or more faces, are known in the 1st millennium BC only in individual pieces from Anatolia and Mesopotamia, but unlike our piece they show a continuous longitudinal perforation from one narrow side to the opposite narrow side.

From Alişar Höyük, a cuboid seal or amulet made of black diorite is known, which shows floral or figurative representations on four

6 Tabloids are relatively small, cuboidal stones, rectangular to cube-shaped, with engraved representations on all four sides and a hole drilled lengthwise or in the direction of the representation so that they can be used as pendants. This definition is taken from Magen 1994: 163 (with earlier literature). See also the more comprehensive definition by Meyer 2008: 39–40.

7 Meyer 2008: 78–80.

8 Goldman 1956: Tb. 392,11.

9 Meyer 2008: 79.

sides. However, in contrast to our piece it has a continuous longitudinal perforation.[10] Purely formally, the Assyrian-Babylonian tabloids of the 1st millennium BC also show similarities to our piece. However, they, too, have a continuous longitudinal perforation and are decorated with floral and figurative images or standards of gods.[11]

There are only two tabloids inscribed in Luwian characters like our piece. One probably stems from the region of Gaziantep or Kahramanmaraş, but was not discovered in a regular excavation.[12] It has been dated to the 13th century BC, probably on grounds of palaeography and philology.[13] The other was discovered in the dwelling quarter of Phase O_mid in Çatal Höyük.[14] Even though it is believed to date back to the 13th century BC, based solely on its comparison with the piece from Gaziantep or Kahramanmaraş,[15] its find spot was a cache from the 7th century BC, dedicated to storing grain.[16] Hence the Çatal Höyük seal was believed to have been preserved as an heirloom. Both seals are cuboid, only slightly larger in dimensions than our piece, but have only two decorated sides. The piece from Çatal Höyük shows, on one main side, the image of a bird or a winged figure. The seal face on the opposite side shows one column of Luwian hieroglyphics in a linear rectangular frame, similar to our piece. In contrast to our object, however, the writing here is extremely carefully worked. The other seal from Gaziantep or Kahramanmaraş also shows a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription in a rectangular frame, identical on both main sides, and, like the piece from Sirkeli Höyük, rather roughly cut. In contrast to the seal or amulet from Sirkeli Höyük, there is no combination with cuneiform writing on either. Furthermore, as in the examples cited in comparison above, the difference in the perforation is evident.

A dating of our piece based on purely typological comparison is difficult due to the lack of convincing parallels. Nevertheless, the few formally similar pieces show that there is nothing to contradict a dating to the Iron Age, as is indicated by the find slot. The dating of the two best comparable objects to the 13th century BC is not supported by strati-

10 von der Osten 1937: 90, 91–93.

11 Magen 1994.

12 Dinçol/Dinçol 1980: 7–8, Pl. 5 no. 5; Mora 1987: 290, no. XIIa 2.28, Pl. 87.

13 Dinçol/Dinçol 1980: 17.

14 van den Hout 2010: 210, no. 97. On the find spot and its dating see Pucci 2019: 270 (squared seal A12728), Pl. 180b, cat. No. 1039.

15 van den Hout 2010: 210.

16 Pucci 2019: 270.

graphic arguments: one stems from the art market, the other from a context of the 7th century BC – just like our piece – yet its palaeography suggests a much earlier, Bronze Age date, and is thus in conflict with the find context, which is not the case for our object. On the contrary, the palaeography of our piece rather seems to support the dating suggested by the archaeological layer.

3 INSCRIPTIONS

The piece is highly unusual in that it is inscribed in two different scripts, Anatolian hieroglyphic on the obverse and cuneiform on one of the sides. The co-occurrence of these two scripts on seals is typical for royal seals dating to the Late Bronze Age but unexpected and unprecedented for the period Neo-Cilician 4. If the seal were contemporary with the stratigraphic context, it should date to the final period of hieroglyphic writing, even later than the two Cilician bilingual inscriptions, KARATEPE and ÇİNEKÖY. In fact, if it dated towards the end of the period NCI 4, it could be the latest example of hieroglyphic writing discovered to date. While the stratigraphy determines the *terminus post quem non*, as discussed below, the palaeography provides no evidence in support of an earlier date for the object, but rather confirms the stratigraphic date. The crudeness and non-standard execution of the preserved signs of writing raises the question how well, and even whether, the person who inscribed the seal was able to write and read. At the same time, the find context indicates that the piece is a genuine antique – albeit one possibly produced outside of an educated scribal environment. Such a context might help explain the uniqueness of this piece, and may offer a rare glimpse into writing usages outside of what the surviving text corpus predominantly preserves, namely high level examples of writing stemming from centres with scribal competence. The bigraphic nature of the object also raises questions regarding the extent of multiscriptualism and possibly also multilingualism contemporary with the production of this piece. The following section offers a description of the seal legend with a proposed reading, with due indication of the varying levels of certainty for the identification and reading of each sign.

Obverse. The main seal face shows a crudely executed hieroglyphic legend. It should be noted that the photo does not give a perfect representation of what can be seen on the object in reality. The drawing records accurately what has been seen by both authors. This has been checked repeatedly under different lighting, and also using a cast of the object.

Preserved are five signs of writing, which according to the interpretation suggested below record a place name, written phonetically, plus a noun, written logographically. It is unknowable whether there was any writing on the missing left side, which makes up slightly less than half of the original seal face. Assuming that the seal design followed traditional models, one would expect the legend to be arranged from top to bottom, possibly in two rough columns, thus allowing for another column of the legend on the destroyed left side similar to what has been preserved on the right – one might imagine that the lost section contained a personal name. For the preserved signs of writing, the following reading is suggested:

[PN(?) ...] *la-wa/i-sa*$_{x}$(?)-*ti* CAPUT
'[So-and-so(?)...], man of Lawaza(n)ti(ya)(?)'

Signs. The first sign (top) can be identified as the sign *la*, L.*175, based on its long, slanted shape with a three-pronged fork-like ending. While the photo suggests only two prongs, collation has firmly established the existence of three, as can be seen in the drawing. Unusually, the sign is positioned with an anticlockwise rotation of ca. 45° in contrast to the more frequent horizontal position. Such a small amount of rotation is unproblematic and can also be observed with some other signs of writing, most notably the sign L.*35, *na*.

The second sign is without doubt *wa/i*, L.*439, consisting of a simple middle stroke and two rhomboid side elements. For dating the sign, the length of the middle stroke is diagnostic in relation to the length of the side elements. This is best judged in relation to the left element, which starts higher but finishes at almost the same height. Therefore, the variant shown here is considered to represent the longer middle stroke, i.e. dating post 1200 BC.[17] This is also supported by the two side elements, the rhomboid shape of which represents a rare, late variation, otherwise only attested in a single inscription from Northern Cappadocia/Tabal (KULULU 3), where the variant with straight middle element, as in

17 d'Alfonso/Payne 2016: 111, 122–124.

our example, alternates with two shapes carrying an addition on top.[18] The traditional dating of the inscription KULULU 3 to the 8th century BC[19] would agree with the stratigraphy of the find context of the object discussed here.

The third sign is difficult to identify. It shows two long elements placed either side of a shorter central element; a break runs through this group from the top right to the bottom left corner, making it even harder to read the sign. The two side elements seem to show a small belly-like protrusion, the left one on the bottom, the right one at the top, in both instances facing towards the central element. The top of the left element additionally ends in a small, leftwards-facing hook. The central element is smaller and more compact; the small indentation below it, bottom left, is most probably damage.

There are two hieroglyphic signs which show two antithetical faces focussed on a central object, the signs L.*24, LIS and L.*276, FRATER$_2$.[20] Both signs are composite signs consisting of faces with a different central element. The latter not only differentiates the two signs but encodes their meaning: in the sign for 'brother' (L.*276), two persons face a loaf of bread (L.*181); one might interpret this as a graphic rendering of the concept of brotherhood via the sharing of a loaf of bread. The sign L.*24, LIS, depicts two faces focussed on a seal (L.*327), rendering 'litigation', i.e. representing the legal aspect of such a battle with the seal, as a symbol of (legal) authority. The loaf of bread is always depicted as a circle, sometimes with internal differentiation such as one or several extra small circles. The seal shows a more angular shape, which may also, but need not, show further internal decoration. While the photo may be ambiguous, collation of the object has clearly shown an angular central element which cannot be identified as a loaf of bread but might represent the seal. While the identification with L.*24 is thus still far from assured, it is certainly preferable to L.*276. In terms of dating this sign, it occurs rarely on Empire seals in the combination LIS.DOMINUS but is frequently attested in Iron Age inscriptions until at least the second half of the 8th century BC (TULEIL 2 § d). The suggested identification of this sign as L.*24 and its occurrence without DOMINUS thus favours a dating to the Iron Age rather than the Bronze Age.

18 d'Alfonso/Payne 2016: 122–123, variants 2e, 3Ae, 3Be.

19 Hawkins 2000: 490.

20 The authors would like to thank Joost Hazenbos for suggesting the discussion of L.*276, FRATER$_2$.

The sign has no established phonetic reading, however, its use as a determinative for the verb *salissa-*, 'to confront; oppose' (KARKAMIŠ A14b § 4),[21] would allow for a phonetic value /sa/ based on the acrophonic principle. There are several possible attestations where the sign could be read with the phonetic value suggested here (e.g. ARSUZ 1 § 25; KÖRKÜN § 9; KARKAMIŠ A4a § 13; KARKAMIŠ A31+ § 15), however, the same attestations could also be interpreted as mixed logographic-phonetic writing using the semantic value LIS. Therefore, the reading sa_x remains provisional, until and unless it can be confirmed by further evidence which limits reading options to a phonetic value.

To the left of this sign, a small triangle is visible which resembles the so-called 'Heilsdreieck', L.*370 ($BONUS_2$; *su*). The fact that it is visible on top of the break of the seal surface suggests that it does not represent an original sign of writing but secondary damage.

While crudely executed, there is no difficulty in identifying the fourth sign as the foot, *ti*, L.*90. The toe part of this sign does not necessarily point upwards but can end in a single pointed end, especially in cursive execution (e.g. KIRŞEHİR § 9; KULULU lead fr. 3). The slight protrusion at the bottom left might resemble an attempt to indicate the heel. Furthermore, the traces do not suggest any other known signs of writing.

The fifth and last sign shows a drop-shape defined by a round oval on the left and a pointed end on the right. Within this shape, one notes a dot or small stroke, placed roughly a third from the pointed end. It is not quite certain whether this forms an intentional part of the sign or is only damage. While somewhat removed from the typical (Neo-)Hittite profile, this might best be identified as a head shape, thus CAPUT, L.*10. While the majority of attestations of this sign commonly include not just a pointed nose but also the outlines of lips, there are other examples which reduce the mouth area, such as the forms attested on ÇALAPVERDİ 2 § 1 or KIRŞEHİR § 11. The rounded back of the head is typical for human heads. A preference for the pointed nose is also attested by the Empire form of a related head sign, L.*13, yet this differs from the sign here in the protrusion from the region of the mouth.

Reading. The compound of a personal name plus title is typical for seal legends. We suggest that the above legend consisted originally of the

21 Cf. eDiAna 'to oppose'; ACLT 'to confront' <26.3.2020>; cf. also Hittite *salik(i)-*, *salink-*, 'to touch; violate'.

name of a person (not preserved), identified as *la-wa/i-sa*$_x$(?)-*ti* CAPUT, 'man of Lawazantiya.'

Identifying hieroglyphic *la-wa/i-sa*$_x$(?)-*ti* with cuneiform ^{URU}*la-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, as attested e.g. in the Apology of Hattusili (ii 80) presents no major problems: pre-consonantal /n/ is never written in the hieroglyphic script; for the variation of s/z in the name compare the Hittite attestations with Ugaritic *Lwsnd* and Assyrian *Lusanda*; syncope of *ti* from *tiya* is commonly attested in Luwian. However, the lack of the postpositioned determinative URBS for a city name is noteworthy. In line with the suggestion that the inscription was produced outside of educated scribal circles, one might consider that this indicates a lack of familiarity with scribal conventions, as the determinative is an unpronounced, semantic marking sign which does not represent a unit of speech.

CAPUT has the meaning 'man' or 'person'.[22] There are attestations of CAPUT following a divine name as in (DEUS)SOL-*mis* CAPUT, 'man of the Sun-God'[23] (e.g. KARATEPE 1 § 1; KARKAMIŠ A18f § 1; A18h § 1; KULULU 5 § 3). A possible parallel to the legend from Sirkeli Höyük, showing the same word order and likewise recording a person's origin, is provided by Puduhepa's epigraph from FRAKTİN: *ká-zu*(*wa*)*na*(REGIO) FILIA, 'daughter of the land of Kizzuwatna'.

Sides. Sides are described with reference to their respective position to the main inscribed seal face. Of the four sides of the seal, only one or two are inscribed:

Upper side. Beginning with a break on the left, this side shows an incised cuneiform sign on the preserved right. The missing part of the side allows for a maximum of 1–2 other, preceding signs, depending on their size. Based on a dextroverse reading order, this sign must have been the last sign of the cuneiform legend, as the side to its right is blank.

The sign starts with a horizontal wedge, followed by two vertical wedges. The thin and not entirely straight upwards incision behind the first vertical is considered damage rather than an integral part of the cuneiform sign. The two vertical wedges both stand on slightly angled wedges. It seems not much of a leap to assume that these were intended as 'Winkelhakens', especially given that the signs were incised rather

22 Against the reading 'prince', cf. Melchert 2018: 235.

23 Cf. Melchert (in this volume); against the meaning 'steward', suggested by Goedegebuure (unpublished).

than impressed. The sign should thus be identified with the cuneiform sign EN (Labat no. 99), the Sumerogram for 'Lord'. A less likely option would be that the scribe added an extra horizontal to his variant of SI (Labat no. 112). The combination with hieroglyphic writing on the main face, however, supports the idea that this should be writing rather than decoration.

On the basis of a single preserved sign, it is impossible to decide which language the cuneiform legend recorded, or even if the sign should be understood as a logogram or phonogram. Further, it is unknowable whether this legend replicated the hieroglyphic of the obverse in a different script. However, the execution of the sign as legible, positive cuneiform argues against a function as an impression seal, at least for this side.

Lower side. The lower side remains uncertain. If we were to choose to identify this as writing rather than decoration, we would need to consider the Anatolian hieroglyphic script. However, the level of uncertainty remains too high, so no reading shall be attempted.

4 IDENTIFICATION AND FUNCTION

According to its shape and the inscription, no definitive decision can be made regarding the function of our piece.

The fact that our piece was most likely suspended, as indicated by the two diagonally running perforations described above, speaks for an interpretation as an amulet rather than a seal. This is also underlined by the fact that the cuneiform character on the upper side is readable in its incised form. If this side were used for sealing, it would appear laterally reversed and unreadable in the impression. However, this objection does not apply to the Luwian hieroglyphs on the obverse, as they are by definition readable in negative as well as in positive, because of the boustrophedon nature of the script.

Our piece probably consists of a reddish jasper. It is unclear whether jasper is identical with the stone attested in Akkadian as *a(ma)špû*. Anais Schuster-Brandis doubts that the stones thus marked are identical, despite the probable etymological derivation of the Greek *íaspis* from Akkadian *(y)ašpû*, since the latter seems to designate a light blue to grey stone, probably chalcedony.[24] However, red stones are frequent-

24 Schuster-Brandis 2008: 401.

ly mentioned under various terms in the Akkadian sources. At least some of them can be identified with jasper, including apparently the *ḫaltu* stone, which is well-attested as an amulet stone in chains and testified as an apotropaic amulet to facilitate birth.[25] Another possible candidate is the so-called "reddish snake stone" *aban ṣerri*, which was used for example in the "Chain of Hammurapi" for protection against the *alluḫappu* demon, for the appeasement of divine wrath and generally for defence against evil.[26] It is difficult to distinguish jasper and hematite in Akkadian sources, although the latter seems to be identical with *šadânu*.[27]

Whether or not one may assume the identification with an Akkadian term, there is some evidence that a reddish stone of this type was associated with apotropaic functions. This could also indicate that our tabloid medallion should be seen as an amulet.

At this point, it should be noted that there are often no clear boundaries between an interpretation as seal or amulet, so that the additional use of our piece as a seal cannot be ruled out, or – vice versa – that a seal might also have had apotropaic functions. This is very likely also the case for our piece here.

5 CONCLUSION: SHOULD SIRKELI HÖYÜK BE IDENTIFIED AS LAWAZANTIYA?

The above reading of the hieroglyphic legend raises the question whether Sirkeli Höyük should be identified as Lawazantiya, a hypothesis that has been formulated in the past.[28] This identification was challenged when the excavations of Tatarlı Höyük started, as that site's location seemed to better fit what we know about Lawazantiya.[29] Subsequently, an identification of Sirkeli Höyük with Kummanni, the other important cult centre of Kizzuwatna (Plain Cilicia), was preferred.[30] In the Iron Age, the same place is mentioned as Kisuatni in the annals of Salmānu-

25 Schuster-Brandis 2008: 416, FN 752.
26 Schuster-Brandis 2008: 432.
27 Schuster-Brandis 2008: 424–425.
28 Casabonne 2002: 188–190 following Kohlmeyer 1983: 101.
29 Forlanini 2013: 8; Girginer/Collon 2014: 61–63.
30 Forlanini 2013: 6; Novák/Rutishauser 2017: 138.

ašarēd III.[31] However, the present seal inscription is the first object discovered so far in Plain Cilicia which might mention Lawazantiya, thus calling into question the equation with Tatarlı Höyük.

Of course, there are several aspects that cast doubt on an identification of Lawazantiya with Sirkeli Höyük. Firstly, the reading proposed above contains a level of uncertainty, as acknowledged in the discussion of the individual signs of writing. But as it enables a sensible reading with potential historical implications, it merits serious consideration. Secondly, a further objection to the seal or amulet identifying the place where it was found lies in its character as a mobile object. Naturally, the possibility that it was transported from a different location to Sirkeli Höyük must be borne in mind. On the other hand, as long as the name is not attested elsewhere, or a different geographic name is attested at Sirkeli Höyük, the simplest solution would be to seek an identity of place name and location of find. The question of the identification of Lawazantiya, and the reasons for seeking it at Sirkeli Höyük or elsewhere, should therefore be re-visited.

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31 Yamada 2000: 197–205, 218–221.

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THE POPULATION, THE LANGUAGE AND THE HISTORY OF YADIYA/SAM'AL[1]

Federico Giusfredi – Valerio Pisaniello

Abstract: In this contribution, we will examine the historical, cultural and linguistic data from the multicultural and multilingual city of Yadiya/Sam'al during the Early Iron Age. We will also examine the peculiarities of the variety of Aramaic that was used in the Sam'alian documents, and argue that it was influenced both in its lexicon and in its grammar by the presence of other languages spoken in the region.

Keywords: Zincirli, Sam'alian, Aramaic, Luwian

1 THE SITE

1.1 The archaeological setting

The Iron Age kingdom of Yadiya[2] or Sam'al, often referred to using the modern name of its capital city, Zincirli Höyük, is a West-Semitic political formation of the Early Iron Age.

Yadiya/Sam'al was a city-state with a small(?) annexed territory, in the fashion typical of the small principalities of Syria and Southern Anatolia that flourished between the end of the Dark Age (around the 11th–10th century BCE) and the full development of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (in the 9th–8th centuries BCE). While several political formations of this kind usually exhibited either a Luwian or a Semitic prevalent identity (reflected e.g. by the selection of the royal onomastics and/or

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2 The form *Y'DY* has been analysed in different fashions by different scholars, with Yaudi being the traditional rendering, now to be abandoned, as we will argue below in section 1.2.



Fig. 1. The geographical position of Zincirli (© Valerio Pisaniello).

by the language employed in the sources), the case of Yadiya is very peculiar, in that both the historical and the linguistic and epigraphic data point to a complex pattern of demographics, with an Anatolian and a Semitic component co-existing with each other.

Before the Iron Age, the sources about Zincirli are virtually absent, even though it was certainly part of an area of Hittite influence and even of direct domination at least during the final part of the Late Bronze Age. The tell itself covers a 40ha area not far from the border between Turkey and Syria; stratigraphy identified both Bronze and Iron Age levels of occupation, but the Early Iron Age phase is the one that is best documented not only through archaeological finds, but also through epigraphic materials discovered already during the first excavations in the 19th century (cf. von Luschan 1893). A history of the excavations in Zincirli is provided by Schloen and Fink (2009), who directed the new excavation by the Chicago Oriental Institute.

1.2 The ancient names of Zincirli

The capital city of the small kingdom under discussion coincides with the modern site of Zincirli Höyük. In antiquity, as already mentioned, it seemed to go by at least two different names. This is no isolated case in the multi-ethnic and multilingual setting of Iron Age Syria, especially in those cases in which a mixed-population area had both a Luwian and a Semitic toponym. A very well-known case of this kind of double denomination is Masuwari/Til Barsip (HLuw. *ma-su-wa/i+‹ra/i›-na*(URBS), Akk. URU.DU$_6$-*bar-si-ip*)[3], capital city of Bit Adini (modern Tell Ahmar), a kingdom held by rulers who also bore personal names that, when recognizable, seem to be Semitic but were written with Anatolian hieroglyphs in Luwian texts (e.g. ^{l}*ha-mi-ya-ta-*, probably 'Ammi-Addu *vel sim.*).

The situation in ancient Zincirli was similar, but not identical (and, superficially, it may even appear to be the opposite). The main difference with respect to the famous case of Tell Ahmar is represented by the fact that in Zincirli the language and script of the epigraphs composed by the rulers are generally Semitic (with some exceptions that we will mention in due course), while the names used by the rulers, for a large portion of the history of the Sam'alian dynasty or dynasties, were Luwian. However, this situation and the one in Tell Ahmar are but two different possible outcomes of a similar multicultural precondition.

The most striking feature that makes the situation of Zincirli similar to that of Tell Ahmar is, however, the very existence of two competing geographical names that are employed to refer to the kingdom. The two names, here, are:

Sam'al: Old Aramaic *šm'l*, Neo-Assyrian *sa-am-'a-la-*° (both as a toponym and as demonym). It is employed by the Assyrians to refer to the kingdom, but also by the last local King, Bar-Rākib, in his texts composed in Standard Old Aramaic.

Y'DY, attested in the documents written in Sam'alian, but also in the Phoenician inscription KAI 24 by Kulamuwa. In general, it is the form employed by all the local rulers who bore Luwian names.

3 TELL AHMAR 3, § 1; RIMA III A.0.102.2: 31.

We wish to argue that this double denomination in antiquity may have reflected the double identity of the kingdom's demographics, with Yadiya being *possibly* a Luwian denomination and Samʾal being a Semitic name, employed both by some rulers and by the Assyrians.

Of course, the linguistic analysis and the meaning of *šmʾl* are fairly clear. It means "left" (possibly indicating the North, as suggested by Tropper 1993: 7, based on comparable Semitic material). An analysis of Yadiya as an Anatolian – or at least pre-Aramaic – name is less straightforward. As a matter of fact, even the vocalization is highly tentative. It was proposed by Landsberger (1948), who clearly demonstrated that the traditional reading Yaudi was mistaken and based on an erroneous identification with Akkadian URU *Ya-u/u*$_2$*-du*, which actually referred to the kingdom of Juda. Rather than suggesting that the name was indeed etymologically Anatolian, we will limit ourselves to observing that its employment coincided with the phase during which the local rulers employed Luwian names and wrote their texts in Samʾalian. Yadiya, or whatever the exact vocalization was, was in all likelihood a local denomination of the area that predated the Aramaic occupation, and which was abandoned by King Bar-Rākib along with the custom of bearing a Luwian throne-name and using the local vernacular in official inscriptions.

2 THE HISTORY OF YADIYA/SAMʾAL IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

2.1 The early phases: 10th and early 9th centuries

The earliest phase of the Iron Age history of the kingdom is unknown. While the not too distant site of Carchemish was already an important Luwian kingdom during the Dark Age, mentioned by Tiglatpileser I as a city of "Great Hattu" at the beginning of the 11th century BCE, there is no mention of Samʾal in any of the available sources, or, at least, none has been discovered so far.[4] According to Trooper (1993: 10), the establishment of a first Aramaic dynasty on the throne of Zincirli can be dated more or less to the final quarter of the 10th century BCE, with the reign of king *GBR* (KAI 24: 2; we will generally refrain from vocalizing personal and place names unless the vocalization is comparatively proven; however, this name is often normalized as Gabbār). All we know about

4 For the annalistic texts by Tiglatpileser I, see RIMA I A.0.87.1–2001.

GBR is that he was a king (*MLK*) and that he was unable to accomplish anything (*WBL P*[*ʿL*]), at least according to his fourth successor *KLMW* (Kulamuwa, or Kilamuwa), who mentioned him in his own Phoenician inscription (KAI 24). *GBR*'s first two successors were no better at getting things done: neither *BMH* nor *ḤYH*[5] achieved anything. The third successor, *Šʾ L*, brother of the author of the inscription, was also a disappointment, so *KLMW* can proudly claim to be the one who did what his predecessors were unable to do.

Apart from the rather typical rhetorical figure of demeaning one's own forebears (even when they are one's own kinsmen)[6], *KLMW*'s accomplishments are basically two. The first is his (probably exaggerated) military success in a difficult political situation:

> "The house of my father was in the midst of powerful kings, each (of whom) stretched forth (his) hand to fight (me). But I was in the hand of the kings like a fire that consumed the beard and like a fire that consumed the hand. The king of the Danunians was more powerful than I, and I hired against him the king of Assyria." (KAI 24: 5–8).

The second accomplishment is, if possible, even more impressive (and less unlikely than the alleged hiring of the king of Assyria as a mercenary!):

> "In the presence of earlier kings, the *mškbm* used to bed down like dogs. But I was a father to everyone, I was a mother to everyone, I was a brother to everyone. And whoever had never owned a sheep, I made him the owner of a flock; and whoever had never owned an ox, I made him the owner of cattle, the owner of silver, and the owner of gold; and whoever had never seen a tunic from his youth, in my days was clothed in byssus. And I took the *mškbm*

5 This is the first name attested also in an Assyrian source. A Sam'alian Hajjanu is indeed mentioned by Salmanassar III as a tributary ruler in RIMA III A.0.102.2: 53.

6 The lack of information as regards the relationship between the first three rulers is no legitimate reason to doubt that they were in fact related, so Tropper's claim (1993: 11) that *ḤYH* was the first ruler to found a dynasty is impossible to either prove or disprove. The adoption of the cult of Rākib-El as dynastic god is no compelling argument either (and there is no way of proving that this had already happened before *KLMW*'s reign).

> by the hand, and *they set (their) emotions (*lit. "soul"*) (about me) as the emotions of an orphan towards a mother*.[7] And whoever of my sons shall sit (upon the throne) in my place, if he shall damage this inscription, the *mškbm* shall no longer respect the *bʿrrm*, and the *bʿrrm* shall no longer respect the *mškbm*." (KAI 24: 9–15).

The presence of two distinct demographic groups inside a kingdom that was located at the interface between the documentarily Luwian areas of Carchemish and Gurgum and the Aramaic and Assyrian regions of Northern Mesopotamia and Central Syria is intriguing, and even more so if one considers that, while the first four rulers of the city bore Aramaic names and left no texts, starting with *KLMW* the kings that left epigraphic materials wrote in West Semitic languages (Phoenician, Old Aramaic, Samʾal Aramaic) but bore Luwian names, with the sole exception of the last one, Bar-Rākib, who, however, owned a seal written in Anatolian Hieroglyphs (Hawkins 2000: 576).

Dare we assume that *mškbm* and *bʿrrm* corresponded to Luwians and Aramaeans? And if so, which was which? The *mškbm* were, according to *KLMW*'s own narrative, somewhat disadvantaged at the time of his forbears, so that he claims to have made them peers to the *bʿrrm*. Based on contextual evidence, and on the linguistic analysis of both designations, Tropper suggests that the *bʿrrm* were, indeed, the Aramaeans, while the *mškbm* were the populations that lived in Yadiya before the Aramaeans occupied the city. All in all, even if an identification of the *mškbm* with the Luwians remains in part speculative, it is in all likelihood correct. Scholen and Fink (2009: 3) state that the existence of rulers with Luwian names in Zincirli during the Early Iron Age reflects the influence of a Luwian élite. In order to provide a more accurate characterization, we will now briefly examine the language and content of the sources of the successors of *KLMW*.

2.2 The 9th and 8th centuries: rulers, texts and languages

Reconstructing the dynasty of the rulers of Zincirli during after *KLMW* can be tricky. The kings who left inscriptions are three: *PNMW* (I) son of *QRL*, *PNMW* (II) son of Bar-Ṣūr and Bar-Rākib, son of *PNMW* (II). We do not know much about *QRL*, and one may legitimately wonder

7 Tentative interpretation of a rather problematic clause, based on Tropper 1993: 43–44.

whether his unusual name should be interpreted as a Luwian name like the one used by his son. A [I]*ha+ra/i-li-sa* is mentioned in CEKKE, an early 8th century text from the Carchemish area (and almost certainly of Carchemish provenance even if it was found in a different nearby location). This name could be normalized as *Haralli-*, *Harralli-* but also as *Harli-* and, given the tendency towards rendering the Luwian fricative /h/ as a <Q> in Neo-Assyrian (e.g. *Qatazilu* / *Hattusilis*)[8], it may very well make useful material for comparative purposes. If *QRL* did indeed have a Luwian name, it would be different from the apparently compound names in *-muwa* borne by *KLMW* and the two *PNMW*'s. While this fact should not be overlooked, it is also true that if the name is indeed Luwian, all the members of the ruling dynasty, with the exception of the last, bore Luwian names in their inscriptions. As for Bar-Ṣūr, the name was clearly Aramaic, but the historical information contained in the Samʾal inscriptions makes it unclear whether he ever reigned. There is indeed a seal (in a private collection) possibly dated to the 8th century BCE in which an ʿOzbaʿal, servant of Bar-Ṣūr, is mentioned, though it is not entirely clear if this small object comes from Samʾal (and certainly the official bears a Phoenician name). What we know for sure is that Bar-Ṣūr eventually succumbed to a usurper, who was then replaced by *PNMW* II, who had meanwhile become a loyal ally of the Assyrians. These data derived from the historical narrative contained in the Samʾalian inscription that Bar-Rākib composed for his father early in his reign:

> "My father *PNMW* because of the loyalty of his father, the gods of Y'DY sent away from the destruction which was in the house of his father. […] He (= unknown usurper) killed his father Bar-Ṣūr, and he killed seventy brothers of his father." (KAI 215: 1–3 *passim*)

The exact dates of the reigns of the individual rulers are difficult to establish, but a couple of fixed points exist in the generalized chronologies of the Neo-Assyrian era:

8 Quoted in RIMA II A.0.101.1: iii 95; RIMA III A.0.102.2: i 37. The phonetic rendering of foreign names into Neo-Assyrian is all but regular, as shown by imperfect renderings such as *Lubarna* for *Labarna*; nevertheless, the tendency towards rendering a [h] with a q-sign is positively attested. Cf. also *Qalparunda* for *Halparuntiyas* in RIMA III A.0.102.2: ii 84; 102.6: iii 12; 102.91: 1. On these names cf. also the voices in *Qalparunda* and *Qatazilu* in PNP 3/1: 1005 and 1010.

King	Period	Assyrian Annals	Absolute chronology events and synchronisms	Relationship with the successor
GBR	10th or 9th c.			?
Possibly other unmentioned rulers. 1st dynastic change?				
BMH	10th or 9th c.			?
Possibly other unmentioned rulers. 2st dynastic change?				
ḤYH		Salmanassar III[9]	Paid tribute to Assyria in 857 BCE	Father
Š'L				Brother
KLMW				?
Possibly other unmentioned rulers?				
QRL	Ca. 800–775 BCE			Father
PNMW (I)	Ca. 775–750 BCE			Father
Bar-Ṣūr	Did he reign at all?			Father
PNMW (II)	Ca. 745–732 BCE		Dead in the siege of Damascus (733/732 BCE)[10]	Father
Bar-Rākib	From 732 BCE	Tiglatpileser III[11]		Assyrian conquest of the former kingdom of Sam'al

9 RIMA III A.0.102.2: 53.

10 A local Old Aramaic narrative of these events exists in KAI 215: 16–18 *passim*: "And my father Panamuwa died while following his lord Tiglatpileser, king of Assyria, in the campaigns […] And he (Tiglatpileser) brought my father back from Damascus to Assyria". In the Assyrian sources, *PNMW* appears mentioned as ^{m}*pa-na-am-mu-u/u*$_2$ as a tributary king for the year 738 BCE.

11 RINAP I 14: 12; 27: 4; 32: 4; 35: iii 17; 47: rev. 8.

As regards *KLMW*, the author of the Phoenician text KAI 24, he was the second successor of his father *ḤYH*, who was defeated by Salmanassar III in 858 BCE (the same tremendous set of campaigns that resulted in the conquest of Bit Adini and other significant kingdoms in the region). If we assumed that this defeat was the end of *ḤYH*'s reign, it would be hard to imagine that the two rulers who followed, *Š'L* and *KLMW*, ruled for the ca. 60 years until the end of the 9th century, thus connecting the two known series of rulers into a single, complete sequence. One should therefore consider the possibility that one or more names are missing from the sequence of kings who ruled in Samʾal; whether they also bore Luwian names is obviously impossible to establish, though any new epigraphic findings would naturally help us clarify the events of those decades and be more than welcome.

Once the dynasty has been reconstructed as fully as the sources permit, it is interesting to consider in what language the texts were composed and what were the main contents.[12]

Royal texts			
King	**Text**	**Language**	**Contents**
KLMW	KAI 24[13]	Phoenician	Royal succession; war against the *dnnym*; social reform concerning the two components of the kingdom's demographics.
	KAI 25[14]	Samʾalian(?)[15]	Propitiatory dedication to Rākib-El.
QRL	-	-	-
PNMW (I)	KAI 214[16]	Samʾalian	Royal succession, pacification of the kingdom, construction works.
Bar-Ṣūr	-	-	-
PNMW (II)	-	-	-

12 Other short Aramaic texts exist, mostly inscribed on small objects, e.g. the amulet published by DeGrado/Richey 2017, but they contain no historical information, nor is it possible to understand whether the shorter texts were written in standard Old Aramaic or Samʾalian.

13 Edition in Tropper 1993: 30–49, 153–164. On the relief see now Brown 2008.

14 Edition in Tropper 1993: 50–52.

15 Cf. Gianto 1995: 141.

16 Editions in Sachau 1893: 55–84 and Tropper 1993: 54–97.

Bar-Rākib for *PNMW* (II)	KAI 215[17]	Sam'alian	Dedication of the stela; deeds of the ancestors and of the father; relationships with Assyria (Tiglatpileser III); invocation of the deities (including Rākib-El).
Bar-Rākib (own inscriptions)	KAI 216–221[18]	Old Aramaic	Royal succession, submission to Assyria, self-celebration.
	Aramaic Seal[19]	Old Aramaic	Name and genealogy.
	Silver bars[20]	Old Aramaic	Name and genealogy.
	Golden ring[21]	Luwian	Name.

Non-royal texts or texts whose committent is unknown			
Reign of	**Text**	**Language**	**Contents**
Bar-Ṣūr(?)	ʿOzbaʿal seal[22]	Aramaic/Phoenician(?)	Owner's name and title.
?	Pancarlı[23]	Luwian	Funerary dedication text. It *may* be a royal inscription.[24]
?	Karaburçlu[25]	Luwian	unclear
?	Ördekburnu[26]	Sam'alian	Sacrifice instruction (fragmentary).
?	*KTMW* inscription[27]	Sam'alian	Funerary stela. See below, section 5.
?	Guttmann shield[28]	Aramaic(?)	Owner's name and title.

17 Edition in Tropper 1993: 98–131.
18 Editions in Tropper 1993: 132–149.
19 Edition in Tropper 1993: 150.
20 Edition in Tropper 1993: 151–152.
21 Edition in Hawkins 2000: 576.
22 Deutsch/Helzer 1995: 75–76.
23 Edition in Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016.
24 Note e.g. the formula at § 3: "The Storm-god raised the hand for me", which might point to a royal inscription.
25 Edition in Hawkins 2000: 276.
26 Edition in Lemaire/Sass 2013.
27 Edition in Pardee 2009; cf. also Masson 2010.
28 Krebernik/Seidl 1997; cf. also Lemaire 2001.

2.3 Converging features during the reigns of *KLMW*, *PNMW* I and *PNMW* II

While some data are definitely missing and one may not confidently assert that all the events of the history of Samʾal in the late 9th and 8th centuries BCE are well known, it is certainly striking how, starting with the accession of King *KLMW*, quite a few apparent novelties emerge in the form and content of the inscriptions composed by all the members of the Samʾalian dynasty, with the sole exception of Bar-Rākib, who seems to start behaving rather differently with respect to the cultural and linguistic identity of his kingdom.

We propose a list of the peculiarities that emerge during the phase under investigation:

1. The rulers who certainly reigned and left epigraphic documents all bear Luwian names, even though they were very likely born with Aramaic ones. Consider, for instance, that *KLMW*'s father and brother have Aramaic personal names, which means that *KLMW* was probably a throne name. On the other hand, the fact that the author of the *KTMW* non-royal inscription is an official and not a king may indicate that he was a genuine bearer of a Luwian name;
2. The rulers seem to consider themselves members of a consistent dynasty. Even though we do not know for sure if all the names of the kings are currently attested in the sources, all of those who reigned treat the god Rākib-El as a sort of divine protector of the ruling family (his cult is the only feature in this list that was to survive also during Bar-Rākib's reign);
3. While *KLMW*'s longest text is written in Phoenician (a prestige language in the North Syrian area), in his shorter text KAI 25 and then throughout the reigns of both *PNMW*'s and during the earliest phase of Bar-Rākib's, the language employed is Samʾalian, while Standard Old Aramaic was employed in all neighbouring regions starting from the 10th or 9th century BCE.

All these features emerge after *KLMW*'s social reform of the kingdom concerning the status of the *bʿrrm* and *mškbm* components of the kingdom's demographics, and seem to decline during Bar-Rākib's mature years, when, quite obviously, the local identity of Samʾal became less and less relevant under the *de facto* cultural and political control of Assyria.

In our opinion, these peculiarities of the Samʾalian documentation, combined with the evidence for a presence of a Luwian component (probably the *mškbm*) provided by the Hieroglyphic Luwian documents found in the area, indicate that the *KLMW–PNMW* dynasty did all they could to reinforce, both by the language and by the contents of their monumental texts, the specific and multicultural nature of the identity of Samʾal.

In order to complete our analysis of the problem under discussion, however, having outlined the history of the area and the contents of the sources and offered an interpretation of some problematic aspects, we will now need to proceed with a better definition of the language we labelled "Samʾalian", which represents a crucial element of the local corpus on which this study is based.

3 THE LANGUAGES DOCUMENTED IN SAMʾAL: TOWARDS A LINGUISTIC HISTORY

As indicated above, at least five languages are attested in Samʾal: Phoenician, Samʾalian, Old Aramaic, the peculiar Aramaic dialect of the *KTMW* inscription, and Iron Age Luwian.

With the possible exception of the Pancarlı Höyük Luwian inscription (see below), the earliest document we know from the reign of Samʾal is the Phoenician monumental inscription of *KLMW* (KAI 24), dated to the 9th century BCE, which is the only Phoenician inscription found in Samʾal so far. Associated with the reign of the same king is also a much shorter inscription, engraved on a gold sheath, possibly the handle of a sceptre. This inscription has been regarded as Phoenician by Friedrich (1951: 153) and included among the Phoenician texts by Donner and Röllig (KAI 25); it is instead probably written in Samʾalian, a Northwest Semitic language close to Aramaic, as shown by Dupont-Sommer (1947–1948)[29].

29 See also Hoftijzer 1957–1958: 117; Koopmans 1962: 16–18; Dion 1974: 16, and Swiggers 1982. However, there is no compelling evidence that the language of this inscription is Samʾalian instead of standard Old Aramaic. We opt for Samʾalian because that is the language we find in the inscriptions of the subsequent kings, whereas Old Aramaic does not appear before Bar-Rākib (with the possible exception of some seals). As an alternative solution, Gianto 1995: 141 suggests that the *KLMW* sceptre is bilingual: the first four lines would be in Phoenician (the translation being "*KLMW*, son of *ḤY*, has acquired this *smr* for Rakib-El"), whereas the

(1) *smr z qn* (2) *klmw* (3) *br ḥy* (4) *lrkb'l* / (5) *ytn lh r*(6)*kb'l* (7) *'rk ḥy*
"Nail/Statue that *KLMW*, son of *ḤY*, made for Rākib-El. / May Rākib-El grant him length of life."

We may wonder why *KLMW* chose to write his monumental, propagandistic inscription in Phoenician, while preferring the Samʾalian dialect for his sceptre. Obviously, they are two very different objects, with different functions, and the two inscriptions had a different audience; but why entrust the Phoenician language, instead of Aramaic or Luwian, with his political message? According to Lemaire, if the abandonment of the Phoenician language in favour of a local Aramaic dialect during the reign of *KLMW* reflects a political change, symbolising the submission to the Assyrians (cf. KAI 24: 7–8: "The king of the Danunians was more powerful than I, and I hired against him the king of Assyria"), then its use should reflect a preceding political situation[30]:

> "l'emploi du phénicien comme langue écrite dans le royaume de Sam'al était ressenti par Kilamuwa comme un signe de soumission au roi de Qué et de dépendance politique et culturelle de la Cilicie. Cela suppose que le phénicien était déjà utilisé comme langue écrite officielle du royaume de Qué, à côté du hiérogly[p]hique louvite, au moins dès le milieu du IXe s. même si le hasard des fouilles et des découvertes fortuites en Cilicie n'a pas encore produit d'inscription phénicienne aussi ancienne." (Lemaire 2001: 189).

However, Brown (2008) suggests that the choice of Phoenician would not have been due to the alleged practice of writing in this language in the North Syrian region in that time – the Phoenician inscription of Azatiwada from Karatepe dates to the 8th–7th century BCE, as does the still unpublished INCIRLI stela, making them somewhat later than the *KLMW* inscription – but it would have contributed to *KLMW*'s self-presentation as a mediator in a region in which several ethnic and social groups interacted, probably in conflict with each other, as seems to emerge from the text. Indeed, Brown clearly shows the complex mosaic of the *KLMW* orthostat, in which the iconography of the king borrows elements from the Assyrian, Luwian, and Phoenician traditions; the

three remaining ones, after a dividing horizontal line, are in Samʾalian.

30 See also Noorlander 2012: 222–223.

language of the inscription is Phoenician, but the script is Aramaic; the king's name is Luwian, but his ancestors bear Semitic-Aramaic names: all seems to point to a clear will of the king to mediate between these different groups. This analysis could be broadly correct; however, the role that Brown assigns to the Phoenician language in this scenario is perhaps underestimated:

> "The fact that a non-Assyrian ruler appears dressed almost exactly like an Assyrian king, with the pointy fez hat, is extraordinary in the visual culture of the ancient Near East in the first millennium BCE. I would suggest that, in this instance, the term «elite emulation» accurately describes the use of the image. It would have denoted, to the Assyrian ruling class, acceptance of the growing Assyrian power, and it would have also made it clear to other North Syrian rulers to which camp Sam'al belonged. In other words, it was an unambiguous visual statement reaffirming Sam'al's crucial defection from the anti-Assyrian coalition that had, until Kilamuwa's reign, resisted Assyria's designs on the North Syrian area. However, the use of Phoenician, I would suggest, tempered this statement and signaled that Kilamuwa could also look elsewhere – namely, to the Phoenician cities, which were wealthy and independent at this time and which also had a track record of resistance to the Assyrians." (Brown 2008: 345).

Hence, *KLMW* would have chosen the Phoenician language to counter-balance the Assyrian element in his propaganda, but there is one important aspect that has not been taken into account. If we look at the last two lines of the inscriptions, three gods are invoked as executioners of the curse against whoever will damage the inscription:

> "(15) And whoever shall destroy this inscription, Baʿal-Ṣemed, (the god) of *GBR*, shall smash (his) head, (16) and Baʿal-Ḥammōn, (the god) of *BMH*, and Rākib-El, the lord of the dynasty, shall smash (his) head."

As noted by some scholars, the mention of three distinct deities, Baʿal-Ṣemed, Baʿal-Ḥammōn, and Rākib-El, as the tutelary deities of *GBR*, *BMH*, and the dynasty of *ḤY'* and his descendants, respectively, suggests a dynastic change between *GBR* and *BMH*, and between the latter and

ḤY', which establishes the dynastic line of all subsequent Sam'alian kings. What is important for our discussion on the role of the Phoenician language in the *KLMW* inscription is that the tutelary deities of *GBR* and *BMH* bear Phoenician names. Therefore, we could imagine that the Phoenician element was very prominent during the reign of *KLMW*'s predecessors, although we have no direct evidence for this.[31] If our assumption is correct, *KLMW*'s choice did not only depend on the necessity of mitigating the "Assyrian-ness" of his self-presentation; it could also represent a direct link to the tradition of the kings of Sam'al. Possibly, it was his final tribute to an old tradition, as Bar-Rākib would do one century later, dismissing the Sam'alian dialect from the epigraphic practice in favour of the standard Old Aramaic after honouring his father *PNMW* II with a long inscription in Sam'alian (KAI 215).

The importance of the Phoenician language in Northern Syria in the 9th century BCE is also testified by the following passage in the inscription KARKAMIŠ A15b §§ 19–22, where Yariris, the regent of Carchemish, professes his writing and linguistic skills:

> (§ 19) […] URBS-*si-ia-ti* ¦SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti zú+ra/i-wa/i-ni-ti*(URBS) ¦SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti-i a-sú+ra/i*(REGIO)-*wa/i-na-ti*(URBS) ¦SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti-i ta-i-ma-ni-ti-ha*(URBS) SCRIBA-*li-ti* (§ 20) 12-*ha-wa/i-'* ¦"LINGUA"-*la-ti-i-na* (LITUUS)*u-ni-ha* (§ 21) ¦*wa/i-mu-u ta-ni-ma-si-na* REGIO-*ni-si-i-na-'* ¦INFANS-*ni-na* ¦("VIA")*ha+ra/i-wa/i-ta-hi-lá/í-ti-i* CUM-*na* ARHA *sa-ta* (DOMINUS)*na-ni-i-sa á-mi-i-sa* ¦"LINGUA"-*la-ti* SUPER+*ra/i-'* (§ 22) *ta-ni-mi-ha-wa/i-mu* (*273)*wa/i+ra/i-pi-na* (LITUUS)*u-na-nu-ta*
> "[…] in the writing of the city, in the writing of Tyre (Phoenician), in the Assyrian writing and in the Taimani (Aramaic?) writing. And I knew twelve languages. By travelling, my lord raised a son of every country for me regarding language, and he caused me to know every skill"[32].

The so-called *KLMW* sceptre inscription is the earliest documentation of the Northwest Semitic language called Sam'alian (also Ya'udic in older publications), which becomes the language of the monumental inscriptions of the Sam'alian kings until the reign of Bar-Rākib, who,

31 Note that the only inscription found in the Sam'alian region possibly preceding the reign of *KLMW* is the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription found at Pancarlı Höyük, but its attribution to a Sam'alian king is uncertain.

32 Translation according to Payne 2012: 87.

as mentioned above, uses it one last time to commemorate his father *PNMW* II before switching to the standard Old Aramaic for his own monumental inscriptions. Bar-Rākib's choice concerning the monumental language should perhaps be seen together with other innovations he introduced, namely the adoption of the external denomination of the reign, Samʾal, replacing the internal one Yadiya, and the break with the Luwian dynastic name tradition, which had characterised all his predecessors (with the possible exception of Bar-Ṣūr, if indeed he ever was king). These three aspects seem to point to a specific will of Bar-Rākib to acquire a more international flavour, whereby these deletion operations of the local element were possibly aimed at closely linking his throne to the Assyrian one, to which he owed his accession after his father's death:

> "Because of the loyalty of my father and because of my loyalty, my lord [Tiglatpileser, king of Assyria,] has caused me to reign [on the throne] of my father, *PNMW*, son of Bar-Ṣūr" (KAI 215: 19–20)[33].

As far as it can be read, the Ördekburnu funerary stela is also inscribed in Samʾalian. This inscription can be dated to between 820 and 760 BCE (i.e. between *KLMW*'s and *PNMW* I's reigns) based on palaeographical criteria.[34] Little can be said about the author of the text, since the inscription is badly damaged and barely legible, but the term *ḥlbbh* 'power, kingship, succession (or the like)', the mention of a *mqm mlky* '(resting) place of the kings', and the presence of Rākib-El may point to a member of the royal family,[35] possibly a queen, if some female symbols – two spindles – can be recognised as such in the relief surmounting the inscription.[36]

More difficult is the evaluation of the seal of ʿOzbaʿal, an official bearing a Phoenician name (Deutsch/Heltzer 1995: 75–76, No 74)[37]:

> *lʿzbʿl·· / ʿbd brṣr*
> "(Belonging) to 'Ozba'al, servant of Bar-Ṣūr."

33 See also KAI 216: 4–7 and the small fragment KAI 219.

34 Cf. Lemaire/Sass 2013: 126.

35 Note that Rākib-El does not appear among the deities receiving offerings listed in the stela of the official *KTMW* (cf. Lemaire/Sass 2013: 128 n. 169).

36 Cf. Lemaire/Sass 2013: 72–74, 128–129.

37 Provenance unknown; purchased on the antiquities market in Israel (see Deutsch/Heltzer 1995: 59).

The palaeography suggests a date not later than the 8th century BCE, thus strongly supporting the identification of *brṣr* with the Sam'alian Bar-Ṣūr, *PNMW* II's father, who, in consequence, should be possibly regarded as a king. The structure of the inscription is fully parallel to that on the Aramaic seal of Bar-Rākib; however, from a linguistic point of view, we cannot be sure of the language of the text, because of its shortness and the lack of diagnostic elements.[38]

The recently found *KTMW* stela also belongs to an official (*ʾbd* 'servant'), bearing instead a Luwian name and serving under a king named *PNMW*, probably to be identified with *PNMW* II, according to the palaeography of the inscription.[39] The text shows at least two main peculiarities: 1) the list of deities receiving offerings reflects a local Luwian pantheon, whereas the Sam'alian gods we know from royal inscriptions do not appear; 2) the language of the inscription is neither Sam'alian nor Old Aramaic but something in between, displaying features both of the Sam'alian dialect and of the Old Aramaic (see below). The inclusion of this new language in the context of the Sam'alian corpus has been discussed by Pardee, the editor of the text:

> "A possible scenario is that Samalian was the archaic dialect of Aramaic used by the royal dynasty at Zincirli, that it was maintained in use for royal inscriptions at least at the ancient cult site of Gercin down to the time of Barrakib, that the new dialect is to be identified as a second, parallel, archaic dialect or a linearly developed form of Samalian used by other strata of society, including royal officials, and that the use of standard Old Aramaic in the inscriptions of Barrakib represents a conscious adoption, at the time of submission to the Assyrians, of the more widespread dialect in current usage in the area" (Pardee 2009: 69).

We will return later to this inscription and its interpretation.

It is highly uncertain whether the bronze plate (a shield ornament) with bucranium and an alphabetic Semitic inscription belonging to the Axel Guttmann Collection of Berlin should be included in our corpus; however, according to Krebernik and Seidl (1997: 102–103), its closest parallel is an analogous bronze plate found in Zincirli. The inscription is very short:

38 Cf. Lemaire 2001: 187.

39 Cf. Pardee 2009: 54–57, 59.

[ʿ?]ˈ*k*ʔ ˈ*rkdy rb mšmʿt*
"ʿ?ˈ*k*ʔˈ*rkdy*, chief of the bodyguard."

The only element that can give hints about the language of this inscription is the feminine form *mšmʿt*, derived from *šmʿ* 'to hear': if it is a singular, the form should be Phoenician, since Samʾalian and Aramaic have the f.sg.abs. ending *-h* /-ā/; if it is a plural, it could be Phoenician or Samʾalian, since Aramaic has *-n*.[40]

Interestingly, according to Lemaire (2001: 187–188), it is possible to read [*l*]ˈ*t*ˈ*rkdy* '(belonging) to Tarku(n)dî' (perhaps Tarhunazi) at the beginning of the text, thus retrieving a good Luwian name, which fits well in the Samʾalian milieu. However, as noted above we have no data on the place where this object was found, and its relevance for our discussion is questionable.

Two other small fragments, perhaps written in Aramaic, have recently been found in Zincirli, but few letters are preserved. Other inscriptions, possibly Aramaic, are found on a couple of amulets from Zincirli.[41]

Finally, we also have some evidence of the use of the Luwian language in the reign of Samʾal: 1) a golden seal ring bearing the name of Bar-Rākib (Hawkins 2000: 576), found in the site of Zincirli; 2) a stela with a banquet scene on the obverse discovered at the nearby site of Karaburçlu (5 km north of Zincirli), stylistically dated to the early 9th century BCE,[42] whose text, running on the left, upper, and right sides, is too damaged to be extensively discussed; 3) the recently published inscription found at Pancarlı Höyük (1 km southeast of Zincirli), which seems to date to the 10th–9th century BCE (see Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016: 56–60), although the name of its author, probably a ruler,[43] is unfortunately lost: it could be an unknown Neo-Hittite ruler unrelated to the Samʾalian dynasties – if we assume that Samʾalian rulers did not use the Luwian language for their monumental inscriptions – or a Samʾalian king, namely *GBR* or one of his successors, thus providing data for the scribal practices in the reign before *KLMW*.[44] Finally, we should add to this list two so far unpublished Hieroglyphic Luwian doc-

40 Cf. Krebernik/Seidl 1997: 105.
41 On all these inscriptions, see Fales/Grassi 2016: 246–247, with references.
42 Cf. Hawkins 2000: 276.
43 Cf. Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016: 65.
44 Cf. Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016: 68–69.

uments: a seal stamp found in a 7th-century domestic context[45] and a fragment of lead strip found in a late 8th- or 7th-century context, "attesting to the continued use of Luwian by some people at Sam'al for everyday purposes".[46]

4 THE SAM'ALIAN LANGUAGE AS OPPOSED TO PHOENICIAN AND OLD ARAMAIC

Now that we have outlined the linguistic scenario of the kingdom of Sam'al based on its documents, it is worth discussing in greater detail the three main Semitic languages involved – Phoenician, Aramaic, and especially Sam'alian – briefly sketching the distinctive features of their phonology, morphology, and lexicon, before analysing the peculiar case of the *KTMW* stela.[47]

4.1 Phonology

Here we will limit our discussion to the main phonological changes involving the Semitic languages of Zincirli, referring to Tropper (1993: 179–188) for a complete exposition.

Sam'alian shares with Old Aramaic the graphemic representation <q> for the Proto-Semitic lateral *ś [tɬ'] (although we do not have data on the exact phonetic realization of this <q> in the two languages),[48] whereas the Canaanite group has <ṣ>.

One of the changes characterising Sam'alian and Zincirli Old Aramaic, although with different modalities, is the dissimilation of emphatic consonants: in a root with *q* followed by another emphatic consonant, *q* dissimilates in the Old Aramaic of Zincirli (**qṭl* > *kṭl*), whereas the change affects the following consonant in Sam'alian (**qṭl* > *qtl*).[49] The

45 Cf. Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016: 65 n. 54.

46 Cf. Herrmann/van den Hout/Beyazlar 2016: 68 n. 82.

47 Most of what follows is based on Tropper 1993, although explicit quotation of this work in footnotes will be limited to some specific points, in order to avoid weighing down the text.

48 See Huehnergard 1995: 278 and Noorlander 2012: 209–211 for a broader discussion.

49 However, according to Noorlander 2012: 213 with n. 27, a root **qtl*, directly reflected in Sam'alian (as well as Arabic and Ethiopian), may have been the original form.

dissimilation of initial *q* is the main distinctive feature of so-called "Mesopotamian Aramaic",[50] which includes, beside the inscriptions of Bar-Rākib, two inscriptions from Nērab, the proverbs of Aḥiqar, and the Aramaic dockets on Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform tablets.[51]

A regular sound law in Aramaic seems to be the change /n/ > /r/ when it is the second element of an initial consonant cluster (#C*n*- > #C*r*-): in Zincirli, this change is seen only in *br* 'son' < **bn* (the plural is regularly *bnn*)[52], which occurs in Samʾalian, Aramaic, and also Phoenician (instead of the regular *bn*).[53]

Other changes involving Samʾalian consonants are: 1) the voicing /p/ > /b/ in *nbš* 'soul' (< *npš*), found in all the Semitic languages of Zincirli, in the verbal form *tʾlb*, from the root **ʾlp* 'learn', and possibly also in *ḥlbbh* 'reign, succession', if it derives from *ḥlp* 'succeed';[54] 2) the change /m/ > /n/ in final position; 3) in some contexts, the loss of final -*t*.[55]

Only in Aramaic, /ss/ > /rs/ in the word for 'throne', *krsʾ* /kursiʾ/ < **kussiʾ*, vs. Phoenician *ksʾ* /kussiʾ/ in *KLMW* inscription (in Samʾalian we find only *mšb* for 'throne').

Samʾalian agrees with Aramaic on the aphaeresis of the initial syllable in the numeral 'one', m. *ḥd* /ḥad/ < **ʾaḥad*; f. *ḥdh* /ḥadā/ < **ʾḥadat*. The

50 Cf. Kaufman 1974: 8–9 and Greenfield 1978: 95.

51 According to some scholars, this change in Aramaic originated from Akkadian. This is highly unlikely, however, as shown by Kaufman 1974: 122. Noorlander 2012: 213 points out that *qtl* is also attested in Arabic and Ethiopian and could have been the original form.

52 Data point to a Proto-Semitic root **bn* for the singular, **ban* for the plural (see Testen 1985).

53 Tropper 1993: 180 regards *br* in the Phoenician inscription of *KLMW* as a loanword. Huehnergard 1995: 278 points out that the occurrence of *br* only before proper names in Samʾalian (in the phrase 'son of PN'), as well as in the Phoenician *KLMW* inscription, could undermine the evaluation of *br* as a true Samʾalian word. According to Noorlander 2012: 209, it could be an areal phenomenon, although "we cannot rule out the possibility either that /bar/ was a basic kinship term in Samʾalian itself surfacing as the local dialect (and the native language of the scribe) in the Kilamuwa inscription or, perhaps, through borrowing". However, the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, since areal phenomena must originate in one language before spreading to the languages of the same region. Therefore, *br* could be a common Samʾalian and Aramaic innovation, spread in Phoenician at Zincirli, or an Aramaic innovation, spread both in Samʾalian and Phoenician.

54 This is not a sound law, but a sporadic sound change, as per Noorlander 2012: 207 n. 10.

55 See Tropper 1993: 182.

same phenomenon involves, only in Samʾalian, the particle *mt* 'truly' < **ʾmt*.[56]

Finally, in the Samʾalian word *ʾšm* 'name' we find prothesis (< **šim*), as well as in Sfīre Old Aramaic and Classical Arabic.[57]

4.2 Morphology

4.2.1 Noun

The major features distinguishing Samʾalian from Phoenician and Old Aramaic are found in the noun morphology, the most evident ones being the total lack of the article and the preservation of the case endings in the plural, both of which are generally regarded as retentions.

As is well known, Phoenician has a prepositive article *h-*, whereas most of the Aramaic dialects have a postposed article -ʾ/-ā/, also referred to as emphatic state: Samʾalian does not have any article, although in some old studies one finds the claim that it is instead present, though not written.[58] As for the case endings, both Phoenician and Aramaic show no case distinctions, whereas Samʾalian retains the endings *-w* /-ū/ and *-y* /-ī/ for the nominative and the oblique of the masculine plural absolute, respectively.[59] Hence, while Phoenician has the mimation (m.pl.abs. *-m* /-īm/) and Aramaic has the nunation (m.pl.abs. *-n* /-īn/), Samʾalian does not have either.

Furthermore, the feminine singular absolute ends in *-h* /-ā/ (< **-at*)[60] in Samʾalian as well as in Aramaic, vs. Phoenician *-t* /-at/; however, the Samʾalian feminine plural absolute has *-t*, possibly /-āt/, as in Phoenician (*-t* /-ūt/ < -ōt < -āt), unlike Aramaic, which shows *-n* /-ān/.

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56 See Tropper 1992.

57 The feminine relative pronoun *ʾzh* /ʾiḏā/ (see § 4.2.2 below) possibly shows the same phenomenon; however, note that "La prothèse d'*alef* à un pronom dont la base est /*d*/ est abondamment illustrée en phénicien, avec toute une variété de graphies extravagantes en punique" (Dion 1974: 115).

58 For a summary of this issue see Dion 1974: 135–138.

59 According to Gianto 1995: 142, followed by Noorlander 2012: 224–225, these case endings are not mere archaisms, but result from the loss of the nunation (which should be traced back to Proto-Semitic), in analogy with the loss of the final *-n* in the third- and second-person plural of the imperfect, which in turn would be due to contact with Canaanite. Noorlander also adds the case of the proper name *ḥy*(ʾ) /Ḥayyā/, *KLMW*'s father, possibly occurring as *Ḫa-ja-a-nu* in the Assyrian sources, but the presence of *-n* in the latter could be a matter of adaptation.

60 See § 4.1 for the loss of the final *-t*.

4.2.2 Pronoun

Samʾalian shows some peculiarities also in the pronoun system: the first-person singular independent pronoun is *ʾnk*(*y*) /ʔanōkī/ as in Phoenician (possibly /ʔanākī/ in Samʾalian[61]), while Aramaic has the shorter form *ʾnh* /ʔanā/.

Conversely, in the third-person masculine singular of the suffixed pronoun Samʾalian agrees with Aramaic having *-h* both for the possessive and the accusative form, whereas Phoenician has -Ø /-ô/ (< *-*a-hū*) for the first and *-y* /-yū/ (< *-*hū*) for the latter.

The masculine singular demonstrative pronoun is *zn*(*h*) /ḏinā/ in Samʾalian and *znh* in Aramaic, but *z* /zī/ in Phoenician; the relative pronoun is *z*(*y*) /ḏī/ in Samʾalian and Aramaic, but *ʾš* in Phoenician. In addition, Samʾalian developed a feminine relative pronoun *ʾzh* /ʔiḏā/, totally absent in Phoenician and Aramaic. The relative-indefinite pronouns are *mn* 'who(ever)' and *mh* 'what(ever)' in both Samʾalian and Aramaic, vs. Phoenician *my* 'who(ever)' and *m*(ʾ/*h*) /mū/ 'what(ever)' (< *mō* < *mā*),[62] but Samʾalian also shows the compound pronoun *mz* 'whatever' (< *mh* + relat. *z*), corresponding to the Phoenician *mʾš* (< *m* + relat. *ʾš*), which, according to Tropper (1993: 278), is a calque on the Samʾalian form.[63]

4.2.3 Verb

In the verbal domain, we find some Phoenician-Samʾalian isoglosses, such as the possible preservation of the N-stem,[64] totally lost in Aramaic (except for the dialect of the Deir ʿAllā inscription, which however shows several Canaanisms[65]); possibly the Gt-stem built with an infix

61 Cf. Tropper 1993: 185–186. According to Noorlander 2012: 219–220, it could be a Phoenician loanword.

62 These are also interrogative pronouns, but in Samʾal they are documented only as relatives and indefinites.

63 The only Phoenician occurrence is in the *KLMW* inscription (KAI 24: 4), but it is also found in Neo-Punic (cf. Krahmalkov 2000: 266; 2001: 111).

64 However, there is one single (albeit uncertain) example in Samʾalian. See also Noorlander 2012: 220–221, who also suggests the possibility of a Phoenician loanword (thus already Gianto 1995: 143). Note that the loss of the N-stem is regarded by Huehnergard (1995) as one of the distinctive features of Aramaic in respect to the other Northwest Semitic languages; therefore, the correct evaluation of the Samʾalian example is crucial to understanding the relationship between Samʾalian and Aramaic.

65 KAI 312, cf. Hackett 1984: 62.

-t-[66] (which seems to be an innovative feature[67]) whereas Aramaic has a prefix *t-* (with the exception of the Old Aramaic-Assyrian bilingual inscription from Tell Fekheriye[68]); the precative with the prefix *l-*, lost in Aramaic (once again apart from the Tell Fekheriye inscription); and the first-person singular perfect suffix *-t*(*y*) /-tī/, vs. Aramaic *-t* /-et/.

In other features, Samʾalian agrees with the rest of Aramaic: the third-person feminine singular and plural perfect have the shape *qtlt* /qatalat/ and *qtl* /qatalā/, respectively, whereas in Phoenician we find /qatala/ (/-at-/ only when followed by a suffixed object pronoun) and /qatalū/ (i.e. the extension of the corresponding masculine form).[69]

4.2.4 Conjunctions and particles

Beside the copulative conjunction *w-*, Samʾalian has a conjunction *p*(), generally introducing a new topic,[70] of which we find one instance in an Old Aramaic inscription of Bar-Rākib (KAI 216: 18), where it is probably an isolated Samʾalian loanword.[71]

In Samʾalian, the *nota accusativi* is *wt-*, attested in KAI 214: 28 and in the *KTMW* stela, l. 2 (in both cases followed by the third-person singular pronoun *-h*), whereas in Phoenician and Aramaic we find *ʾyt* (also *ʾt* in Phoenician). In later Aramaic dialects a compound particle *lwt* is sometimes found, but *wt-* never occurs alone.

Among the languages attested in Zincirli, the particle *gm* ‘also, even’ occurs only in Samʾalian. Outside Zincirli, this particle is found only in Hebrew and Moabite,[72] but not in Phoenician, which would have been a more likely source for a loanword.[73]

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66 The only example in Samʾalian is *ytmr* in KAI 214: 10, from *ʾmr* ‘to say’, which, according to Tropper 1993: 67–68, 212, probably reflects /yîtamVr/ < **yiʾtamVr*. In *KLMW* Phoenician inscription (l. 10) we find *ytlk!n*, which seems to be best explained as a Gt-form of the verb *hlk* ‘to go’ (see Tropper 1993: 39–41).

67 According to Lieberman 1986: 614–617, the original form had a prefixed *t*-affix, which, in some languages, becomes an infix through metathesis.

68 KAI 309, cf. Lipiński 1994: 35.

69 Cf. Krahmalkov 2001: 160–162.

70 See Tropper 1993: 241–242 for a full listing of its functions.

71 For a comprehensive study of this conjunction among the Semitic languages, see Garbini 1957, who suggests that it represents an Arabic innovation that then spread in the Syrian area.

72 In some Aramaic dialects, *gm* occurs as a Hebraising variant of *ʾp* (cf. CAL).

73 According to Dion 1974: 177, “L’usage de *gm* en yaoudien doit donc remonter à une période de communauté linguistique préhistorique avec la souche de l’hébreu et du moabite”.

4.3 Semitic loanwords and calques

4.3.1 Samʾalian/Aramaic loanwords and calques in the Phoenician Kulamuwa inscription

In the Phoenician inscription of *KLMW* we find some Samʾalian or Aramaic loanwords and calques. As we have already seen, the word for 'son' is *br* instead of Phoen. *bn* and 'soul' is *nbš* instead of Phoen. *npš*.

Among the verbs, *nzq* 'to damage' and (maybe) also *šḥt* 'to crush out' can be regarded as Samʾalianisms or Arameisms, since they do not occur outside the *KLMW* inscription. As for *ḥzy* 'to see', quoted as a loanword by Tropper (1993: 278), we should note that it also occurs in a Phoenician graffito from Abydos (KI 38).

Furthermore, the Phoenician compound pronoun *mʾš* 'whatever' is possibly calqued on Sam. *mz* (see § 4.2.2) and *bmtkt* 'in the midst', occurring only in the *KLMW* inscription, could be a calque of Samʾalian *bmṣʿh/t* or Aramaic *bmṣʿt* (vs. Phoen. *btkt* in KAI 10: 5)[74].

4.3.2 Samʾalian loanwords in Bar-Rākib Old Aramaic inscriptions

Some Samʾalian words are possibly found also in the Aramaic inscriptions of Bar-Rākib, but, in general, their status is more difficult to evaluate than those occurring in Phoenician.

According to Tropper (1993: 282), the noun *nbš* 'soul' is a Samʾalian loan also in Aramaic; however, it occurs elsewhere in Old Aramaic, and thus we cannot exclude the opposite path.[75]

Conversely, as mentioned before, the conjunction *p*, with only one occurrence in Zincirli Old Aramaic, is most likely an isolated loanword from Samʾalian.

Another possible Samʾalian influence is seen in the Aramaic verbal form *hyṭbth* 'I made it better' (KAI 216: 12, cf. Sam. *hyṭbh* 'he made it better' in KAI 215: 9), since in the later Aramaic dialects the H-stem of a I*y* verb is remodelled in analogy to the I*w* verbs.[76] However, the two forms are also distinguished in other Old Aramaic inscriptions (Tell Fekheriye and Sfīre).

74 Tropper 1993: 278 suggests that also the noun *lpny* 'predecessor' should be regarded as a possible calque on Aram. *qdmy*, but the latter does not appear in Zincirli Old Aramaic, and the former, although as an adjective, occurs elsewhere in the Phoenician corpus (see Krahmalkov 2000: 262).

75 See Noorlander 2012: 218–219.

76 See Tropper 1993: 136.

More problematic is the case of Zincirli Old Aramaic *rṣt* 'I ran' in KAI 216: 8: the root does not occur in Old Aramaic, and becomes *rhṭ* in the later dialects; however, it does not actually appear in Samʾalian, because *rṣ* in KAI 215: 12 is restored after the Aramaic inscription of Bar-Rākib (the two passages are almost identical, but we cannot know for sure the form of the verb).

4.3.3 Phoenician/Canaanite loanwords in Samʾalian

As we have seen, some Samʾalian forms agree more with Phoenician than Aramaic (e.g. the first-person singular independent pronoun *ʾnk*(*y*)), but, since they are in general conservative features, it is uncertain if we should speak of Phoenician influence on Samʾalian or rather if they are inherited features retained in Samʾalian.

According to Tropper (1993: 66), Sam. *mšb* 'throne' could be a Canaanite loanword, if it represents /môṯab/ < **mawṯab*, since the change /aw/ > /ô/ does not seem to occur. However, as Tropper notes, other vocalizations are possible. In any case, we can exclude a Phoenician loanword, since the Phoenician word for 'throne', also occurring in the *KLMW* inscription, is *ks'*.

4.3.4 Akkadian loanwords in Samʾalian

Two Samʾalian words could be Akkadian loans: *snb* (a unit of weight), from Akk. *šinip*(*u*),[77] and possibly *nš* 'oath', from Akk. *nīšu* (but highly uncertain).[78]

As shown by Kaufman, Samʾalian *prs* (a measure of capacity)[79] and *šql* 'shekel'[80] should not be considered as Akkadian loanwords.

5 THE *KTMW* STELA

In 2008, the expedition of the University of Chicago discovered a new inscribed stela, belonging to an official bearing a Luwian name, "*KTMW*, the servant of *PNMW*" (probably *PNMW* II, according to palaeographical criteria). The language of the inscription, as stated before, is in between Samʾalian and Aramaic, since as Samʾalian it does not have

77 Cf. Kaufman 1974: 103, 152.

78 Cf. Kaufman 1974: 153.

79 Kaufman 1974: 80.

80 Kaufman 1974: 29.

the definite article, but as in Aramaic loses the case endings. For these reasons, Pardee (2009: 69) speaks of "a second, parallel, archaic dialect or a linearly developed form of Sam'alian used by other strata of society, including royal officials".

However, since certain other linguistic features shown by this text clearly point to Sam'alian – the first-person singular independent pronoun *ʾnk* in l. 1 (cf. § 4.2.2), the precative particle *lw* in l. 8 (cf. § 4.2.3), and the *nota accusativi wt-* in l. 2 (cf. § 4.2.4) – it is unlikely, in our view, that the language of the *KTMW* stela represents a parallel dialect. More plausibly, we should explain the loss of case endings in terms of variation within Sam'alian, possibly under Aramaic influence.[81]

Furthermore, the text shows some Luwian influence, which should not be surprising in an inscription made for a Luwian official.[82] From a cultural point of view, we should note that the pantheon of the inscription is fully Luwian, although the names of the gods are partly Semiticised:

(3) … *šwr . lhdd . qr/dpd/rl . wybl . lng*(4)*d/r . ṣwd/rn . wybl . lšmš . wybl . lhdd . krmn* (5) *wybl . lkbbw* …
"A bull for Hadad *QR/DPD/RL*, a ram for *NGD/R ṢWD/RN*, a ram for Šamš, a ram for Hadad of the Vineyards, a ram for Kubaba."

Some of the Semitic gods we find in the Sam'alian inscriptions – first and foremost Rākib-El – are missing here. Our list starts with an otherwise unattested hypostasis of Hadad/Tarhunza, who bears the epithet *QR/DPD/RL*, possibly reflecting Luw. **ḫarpatalli-* 'ally' as per Yakubovich (2011: 181). The identity of the following deity is rather unclear: *contra* Pardee (2009: 61), who doubtfully opts for the reading *ngd* 'officer', Masson (2010: 53) suggests that the writing *NGD/R* could represent the Luwian deity Nikaruhas/Nikarawas,[83] who ultimately is the Sumerian goddess Ninkarrak/Gula, as shown by Gelb (1938). Her determiner, *ṢWD/RN*, is more problematic: possible explanations include 'provisions'

81 Cf. Noorlander 2012: 228–229. Another difference is the demonstrative pronoun *znn*, occurring in ll. 8 and 9 of the *KTMW* stela and so far unattested in the Sam'alian language of the royal inscriptions.

82 Unlike the Luwian names of the Sam'alian kings, which were probably only dynastic names, it is likely that *KTMW* was the real name of the owner of the stela.

83 The spelling *NGR* suggests a reading **Nigar*, not fully corresponding to the Luwian name. The same deity possibly occurs in Sfire I: 10 (*nkr* = **Nikkar*), according to Barré 1985: 208 n. 20.

(Aram. *ṣwd*), 'hunts/hunters' (Aram. *ṣyd*), and possibly 'mountains' (Hebr. /ṣūr/, but Aram. *ṭwr*). According to Masson, since Nikaruhas/Nikarawas is usually associated with dogs, 'hunters' seems to be the best solution.[84] Conversely, according to Fales/Grassi (2016: 208), the most likely reading would be *ngd ṣwdn* 'ufficiale delle cacce', which may indicate another common Anatolian deity, the stag-god Runtiya. The other gods do not present particular problems: Šamš is the Sun deity, Hadad of the Vineyards is the Luwian *tuwarsassis Tarhunzas*, sometimes occurring in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions,[85] and *KBBW* is the Anatolian goddess Kubaba,[86] also found in the Ördekburnu funerary stela (l. 6).

From a linguistic point of view, beside the aforementioned possible loanword *QRPDL* < Luw. **ḫarpatalli-*, we should mention the case of *nbš* 'soul'. The word occurs twice in the inscription, first in the final part of the offering list, and then at the end of the text:

(5) … *wybl . l**nbš**y . zy . bnṣb . zn .*
"and a ram for my 'soul' that (will be) in this stela."

(10) … *wyh*(11)*rg . b**nbš**y*
"He is also to perform the slaughter (prescribed above) in (proximity to) my 'soul'."

Against Pardee's (2009: 54) translations, quoted here, which imply that the soul of the deceased remained in the stela after having left the body,[87] Hawkins (2015) suggests that *nbš* 'soul' represents a loan translation of Luw. *atr*(*i*)- 'self, image', referring to the representation of *KTMW* on the stela.

84 As an alternative, we may suggest that *ṣwrn* are the 'Tyrians', although we have not found any evidence of the goddess Ninkarrak/Gula in Phoenician. Alternative explanations, such as *ndg ṣwrn* 'officer of the Tyrians' or *ngr ṣwrn* 'herald of the Tyrians', are possible, but equally unattested as divine epithets.

85 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-zá-na tu-wa/i+ra/i-sà-si-i-na* in SULTANHAN § 2, *tu-wa/i+ra/i-sa-sa* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* in SULTANHAN § 8, and (VITIS)*tu-wa/i+ra/i-*«*sa*»*-si-na* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-na* in BOR § 4.

86 According to Younger 2009: 166–170, the spelling *KBBW* could reflect an Assyrian vocalization /kubābu/, matching the pseudo-logographic writing *kù*-KÁ (= *kubābu*) occurring in personal names in Neo-Assyrian documents.

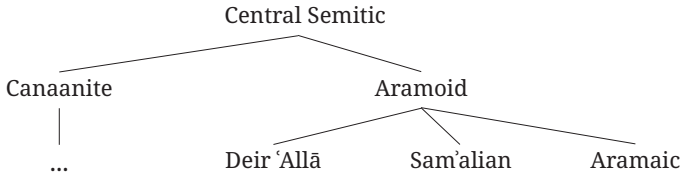
87 See also Melchert 2010. The translation of *nbš* as 'funerary monument' given by the CAL for this passage should be rejected.

Finally, Masson (2010: 55) suggests that *wʿt* 'and now' (*w-* + *ʿt*) in l. 6, elsewhere unattested in Samʾalian, could correspond to Luw. *zila* and *ziladuwa*/*zilatiya* 'then, subsequently', "qui ouvrent le propos final des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques au IIe et au Ier millénaire". However, Pardee (2009: 63) notes that a similar form, *wkʿt*, occurs in Sfīre Old Aramaic (KAI 224: 24), and the use of the conjunction *w-* plus the word 'now' is well attested in the Northwest Semitic languages as a mark of transition from topic to comment.

All in all, the language of the *KTMW* stela can be provisionally considered as a diastratic variety of Samʾalian, which shows some innovative characteristics compared to the language of the royal inscriptions, as well as a noticeable Luwian influence.

6 SAMʾALIAN AS A LUWIAN-INFLUENCED VARIETY OF ARAMAIC?

In his work on the genealogical tree of the Semitic languages, Huehnergard (1995) proposed a rather flat *Stammbaum*, which he derived by critically assessing the limited number of regular distinctives on which more fine-grained models were based. In his view, Samʾalian would not be a sister-language to Aramaic, but the two would simply derive from common Proto-Northwest-Semitic, together with Proto-Canaanite. Previously, Tropper had proposed a more complex model for the genealogical representation of Northwest Semitic, which, as far as Aramaic was concerned, reconstructed a phase of *Uraramäisch*, from which *Früharamäisch*, the mother-language to *Sam'alisch* and *Altaramäisch* had derived. More recently, Kogan (2015: 600) tried to combine Huehnergard's pessimism with the data that Tropper had highlighted and proposed a relabelled version of the tree, which we reproduce:



What all of these models have in common, however, is an approach that relies entirely on the internal comparative method, without taking into consideration the possibility that intense phenomena of interference and contact may have shaped some of the local varieties of the Aramaic, or Aramoid, languages. If, however, we consider the peculiar features of Samʾalian, it is immediately evident that two types of such traits emerge: those that are in common with Phoenician, but not with standard Old Aramaic (dark green background in the table), and those that are opposed to both (pale green):

Feature	Phoenician	Samʾalian	Old Aramaic
Article/definiteness marker	h-	Ø	-ʾ (Ø in ʿUmq and Deir ʿAllā)
f.sg.abs.	-t /-at/	-h /-ā/ < *-at -t /-ât/ (?) (III inf.) -y /-î/ (III y) -w /-ū/ < *-ūt	[-h /-ā/] [-y /-î/ (III y)] [-w /-ū/ (III w)]
f.pl.abs.	[-t /-ūt/]	-t /-āt/	[-n /-ān/]
Case endings	Ø	nom.pl.abs. -w /-ū/ obl.pl.abs. -y /-ī/ nom.pl.cs. -y /-ay/ (?) obl.pl.cs. -y /-ay/ nom.pl.pron. -Ø /-ū/ obl.pl.pron. -y /-ay/	Ø
Mimation / nunation	m.pl.abs. -m /-īm/	Ø	m.pl.abs. -n /-īn/
N-stem	preserved	preserved(?) (1x)	Ø (exc. Deir ʿAllā)
Gt-stem	t-infix	t-infix	t-prefix (exc. Tell Fekheriye)
Precative	l- + jussive	l /lū/ + jussive	Ø (exc. Tell Fekheriye)

The grammatical features that are common to Phoenician and Sam'alian may or may not be induced by contact. Indeed, since both languages are Northwest Semitic, all shared morphs may have been inherited independently. However, since Sam'alian is either a variety of Aramaic or a language closer to Aramaic than to Phoenician, this picture seems unlikely. Given the number of shared traits in the table, and the geographical exposure of Sam'alian to the Phoenician language spoken, for instance, in the area of the Orontes and in Cilicia, it seems more likely that some of these common grammatical features were, in fact, induced locally by contact.

As for the other two main peculiarities of Sam'alian (morphological inflection of the noun and absence of definiteness marking suffix -'), they are not shared by any other Northwest Semitic language of the region. However, as outlined above in sections § 1–§ 3 and § 5, the coexistence of the local Aramaic population with a Luwian demographic component important enough to be the object of *KLMW*'s social reform is well documented in the history of the city. While a small number of Luwian loans and loan translations in the Semitic inscriptions of the city-state have already been discussed above (sections § 3 and § 5), we would like to emphasize that the two grammatical features that oppose Sam'alian to the other Northwest Semitic languages of the area are, in fact, shared by Luwian, and that they may have been borrowed from it:

Article / Definiteness-assigning device				
Luwian	Sam'alian	Neo-Assyrian	Old Aramaic	Phoenician
Ø	Ø	(Ø)	-'	h-

Case system				
Luwian	Sam'alian	Neo-Assyrian	Old Aramaic	Phoenician
yes	yes	(unclear)	no	no

Whether this influence was "active" – inducing Sam'alian to produce innovative categories – or "passive" – tending to make the language retain archaic categories resistant to innovation – is debatable. Morphological case inflection almost certainly existed in Proto-Semitic, so the

influence of Luwian would have induced Sam'alian to maintain it while other varieties of Northwest Semitic throughout the region underwent morphological decay.[88]

While the hypothesis that Luwian influenced the morphosyntax of the Sam'alian language, and not just the lexicon, cannot be proved in a conclusive fashion, the data collected in this paper strongly indicate that, unless one were to defend the unlikely idea that no contact-phenomena existed in a multi-cultural and multilingual area such as the region of Zincirli, grammatical interference involving Aramaic, Phoenician and Luwian is a model that can successfully account for the rather complex pattern of evidence deriving from the sources.

7 APPENDIX: THE READING OF THE NAMES OF *PNMW* AND *KLMW*

The vocalization of the personal names *PNMW* and *KLMW*, deliberately omitted in this contribution, is problematic. As for the first, Assyrian evidence would point to a reading *Panamuwa*:

^{m}*pa-na-am-mu* [^{KUR}*sa*]-*ma-al-la-a*-[*a*] (RINAP 1.35 iii 17)
^{m}*pa-na-am-mu-u* ^{URU}*sa-am-'a-la-a-a* (RINAP 1.14: 12; 1.27: 4; 1.47: r. 8)
^{m}*pa-na-am-mu-ú* ^{URU}*sa-am-'a-la-a-a* (RINAP 1.32: 4)

While this is certainly possible and consistent with the consonantal pattern attested in Aramaic, it does not admit a clear interpretation in Luwian. While the *-muwa* element is quite unproblematic, the initial *pana-* (probably *panna-*, if it is indeed a disyllable in a compound) is unrecognizable given the current state of our knowledge of the Luwian lexicon. A Greek fragment from Limyra, possibly dating to the 4th century BCE, however, contains an anthroponym that is in all likelihood connected:

88 As for East Semitic, the variety of Akkadian that was possibly in contact with Sam'alian is Neo-Assyrian, which, in all likelihood, had already dropped the oppositional case-system that was still present in earlier phases, and was probably on its way to becoming a chancellery language. This was probably a consequence of the diffusion and influence of Old Aramaic and Empire Aramaic. Thus, it is extremely unlikely that Akkadian played a role in inducing Sam'alian to retain its nominal inflection.

Σελλιος τοῦ Ποναμοα (H II 33; Limyra, 4th century BCE (?))

In this case, the name presents an o-vocalization which might go back to the Luwic form *Puna-muwa* instead. The name *Puna-muwa* is indeed attested in Lycian in Üsümlü (= TL 35: 12 cf. Neumann 2007: 292), while a Carian *punm*[-]*ś* is recorded by Schürr (2003: 95) and Adiego (2007: 405).

While we cannot reach a conclusive solution, it is important to note that the regularity in the Assyrian rendering of Luwian vowels is all but perfect, and cases of exchange of /a/ and /u/ are attested (at least with *Lubarna* for *Labarna*, cf. Simon 2018: 128). At the same time, the rendering in Lycian/Greek is not very regular, but the evidence from Lycian and Carian argues strongly for *u*-vocalization.

We will limit ourselves to conceding that both reconstructions are still possible but wish to add that if the reading were indeed *Puna-muwa-*, a connection to Luwian "all"-words *puna-* and *punata-* would be possible, which would make the name interpretable as a compound with the meaning 'Force of everyone/thing' or, perhaps, an exocentric 'Almighty (*vel sim.*)'.

As for the second name, *KLMW*, the traditional reading is *Kula-muwa*, with a connection to the Luwian substantive for 'army', *kwalan-*. In this case, the corresponding form in a Greek inscription from Delphi corroborates the hypothesis of such a vocalization:

FD 3, 4: 74[2] (Delphi, 50–75 AD; Daux 1984: 403–405)

1 Δελφοὶ ἔδ[ωκαν — — — — — καὶ — — — — — τοῖς]
2 Κολαμοα Τα[ρσεῦσιν, αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις],
3 προμαντείαν, [προξενίαν, προ]ḍ̣ι̣[κίαν, ἀσυλίαν, προ]-
4 εδρίαν, ἀτέλε[ιαν, γᾶς καὶ οἰκί]ας ἔνκ[τησιν καὶ τἆλ]-
5 λα̣ τ̣είμια ὅσα τ̣ο̣ῖ̣ς̣ [καλοῖς κ]αὶ ἀγαθο̣[ῖς ἄνδρασι]
6 δίδοται › ἄρχοντ̣[ος Μην]ο̣δώρου̣ [τοῦ Μηνο]-
7 δώρου, › βουλευ[όντων traces — — — τοῦ — —]- κλέους καὶ Εὐκλ[είδα τοῦ Ἀστοξένου].

In conclusion, the personal name *PNMW* may have had a vocalization *Panamuwa-* or *Punamuwa-*, the former supported by Akkadian evidence (in which, however, the vocalization of foreign names does not always match the model), the latter supported by data from Greek, Lycian and Carian as well as by a possible etymology (and thus, possibly,

to be preferred). As for *KLMW*, both the etymological analysis and the Greek occurrence from Delphi indicate a reading *Kulamuwa-*.

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KROISOS, KÖNIG DES LANDES MIRA?

Das Königreich Lydien und Ephesos – eine besondere Beziehung und ihre Ursache

Winfried Held

Abstract: The Lydian kings of the Mermnad dynasty who ruled over Lydia from the early 7th to the mid-6th century BC had a very close relationship to the Ionian city of Ephesos, especially to its sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia. To date, there has been no plausible explanation for this exceptionally close relationship. The engagement of the Lydians, especially the Lydian kings, was not confined to the erection of columns of the archaic dipteros for the Ephesian Artemis by King Kroisos, but begins already in the first quarter of the 7th century BC with the earliest Temple of Artemis. The paper argues that it was erected by King Gyges, the founder of the Mermnad dynasty. The reason for the Lydian interest in Ephesos proposed in this paper is based on a new interpretation of the historical, epigraphical and archaeological sources and goes far back to the period of the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The kings of Bronze Age Mira, who were expelled by the Greek settlers from their capital Apasa, may have been the – true or alleged – ancestors of the Lydian Mermnads. Thus Artemis Ephesia would have been the old protecting goddess of the Lydian kings, and Ephesos/Apasa their true capital.

Keywords: Lydia, Ephesos, Artemision, Artemis of Ephesos, Sardeis, Gyges, Kroisos, Mira, Apasa

Zur Zeit des lydischen Königreichs der Mermnaden, das wir historisch vom frühen 7. bis ins mittlere 6. Jh. v. Chr. fassen können, bestand eine enge Verbindung Lydiens und seiner Hauptstadt Sardeis mit der ionischen Küstenstadt Ephesos.[1] Dies betrifft insbesondere das Heiligtum der Artemis von Ephesos und die lydische Königsdynastie. Es fehlt je-

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doch bisher eine plausible Erklärung für diese Verbindung, zumal sie erheblich enger war, als man es für ein Heiligtum in der zwar benachbarten, aber doch außerhalb des Lyderreichs gelegenen ionischen Polis Ephesos erwarten würde. Die folgenden Überlegungen haben zum Ziel, anhand der literarischen, epigraphischen und archäologischen Überlieferung eine Antwort auf diese Frage zu finden.

1 HISTORISCHE ÜBERLIEFERUNG ZU DEN MERMNADEN UND ARTEMIS VON EPHESOS

Das lydische Königtum gliederte sich nach Herodot[2] in drei Dynastien: Lydos, der Sohn des Atys, begründete die Dynastie der Atyaden. Darauf folgte die Dynastie der Herakliden, die in 22 Generationen 505 Jahre lang herrschte. Nimmt man die 505 Jahre der Heraklidendynastie ernst, so wäre der erste Dynastiewechsel von den Atyaden zu den Herakliden im 12. Jh. v. Chr., also der Umbruchszeit am Übergang von der Bronze- zur Eisenzeit, anzusetzen.[3] Diese Datierung ist von Herodot wohl so beabsichtigt und mag eine Konstruktion sein; ein historischer Kern, die Erinnerung an ein einschneidendes Ereignis in jener Zeit, könnte dennoch darin enthalten sein.

Gyges tötete den letzten König der Herakliden, Kandaules (nach Nikolaos von Damaskos Sadyattes[4]), und begründete die Dynastie der Mermnaden. Gyges scheint es nötig gehabt zu haben, seine Herrschaft zu rechtfertigen, wie die überlieferte Geschichte der Königwerdung Gyges' nahelegt. Nach Herodot und Nikolaos von Damaskos gab es dagegen auch bewaffneten Widerstand, drohte gar ein Bürgerkrieg.[5]

Die literarische Überlieferung zu den Ioniern und dem Lyderreich hat Norbert Ehrhardt ausgewertet.[6] Aus ihr geht hervor, dass die lydi-

1 Ehrhardt 2005; Kerschner 2005; Kerschner 2006a; Kerschner 2008; Kerschner 2010.

2 Hdt. 1,7. Zu Herodot als Quelle für lydische Geschichte sowie den Atyaden und Herakliden s. Payne/Wintjes 2016: 10–15, 24–30; Högemann/Oettinger 2018: 93–95.

3 Geht man von Gyges' Regierungsbeginn ca. 680 v. Chr. aus, käme man auf ca. 1185 v. Chr.

4 Nikolaos von Damaskos, FGrHist 90, F47,1–8.

5 Hdt. 1, 8–13; Nikolaos von Damaskos, FGrHist 90, F47, 9–14; Payne/Wintjes 2016: 28–30; Högemann/Oettinger 2018: 28–37, 46–47.

6 Ehrhardt 2005.

schen Könige von Gyges bis Kroisos das Ziel verfolgten, die ionischen Städte unter ihre Kontrolle zu bringen. Dies taten sie mit Kriegszügen ebenso wie mit Allianzen. Die zahlreichen Kriegszüge der Lyder gegen die ionischen Städte erklären Peter Högemann und Norbert Oettinger überzeugend als Einforderung von Tributzahlungen.[7] Mit den ephesischen Tyrannen aus der Familie der Basiliden schlossen die Mermnaden auch dynastische Ehen. Die lydischen Könige stellten in Heiligtümern des griechischen Mutterlands sowie Ioniens viele kostbare Weihgeschenke auf. Die weitaus meisten überlieferten Weihungen der Mermnaden erhielt das Apollonheiligtum von Delphi, dessen Orakel eine besondere Rolle für die Mermnaden spielte und etwa die Herrschaft des ersten Mermnaden Gyges legitimiert haben soll.

In Ionien stifteten die Mermnaden vor allem in das Apollonheiligtum von Didyma und das Artemision von Ephesos.[8] Hierzu zählen auch die von Aristophanes überlieferten lydischen Mädchen (Λυδῶν κόραι) als Dienerinnen der Artemis von Ephesos.[9] Teffeteller[10] nimmt an, dass es sich um Sängerinnen handelte, entsprechend den Mädchen um Sappho.

Der letzte Mermnade Kroisos hatte sich darüber hinaus im Streit um die Nachfolge Alyattes' unter den Schutz der Artemis Ephesia gestellt und ihr eine große Stiftung versprochen, wenn er den Thron erringen würde.[11] Nachdem er siegreich aus dem Thronstreit hervorgegangen war, stiftete er laut Herodot der ephesischen Artemis „goldene Rinder und die meisten der Säulen" des Tempels.[12] Bald nach seinem Regierungsantritt belagerte und eroberte er Ephesos.[13]

In der literarischen Überlieferung ist eine besonders enge Beziehung der lydischen Könige zu Ephesos nicht deutlich zu erkennen; dominierend ist vielmehr das Apollonheiligtum von Delphi, dessen Orakel von den lydischen Königen häufig zu Rate gezogen wurde und sogar interne lydische Konflikte schlichtete. Die wichtigste und ausführlichste Überlieferung ist Herodots lydischer *Logos*;[14] hinzu kommen einige erhal-

7 Högemann/Oettinger 2018: 125–136.

8 Eine Auflistung der überlieferten Weihungen bei Kerschner 2006a: 281.

9 Aristoph. *Nub.* 599–600.

10 Annette Teffeteller, Vortrag zu dieser Tagung.

11 Hdt. 1, 92; Nikolaos von Damaskos, FGrHist 90, F 65, 3–4. Skeptisch zur Historizität dieser Episode Michels 2012: 84–85.

12 Hdt. 1,92.

13 Hdt. 1,26.

14 Hdt. 1,6–94.

tene Passagen des hellenistischen Geschichtsschreibers Nikolaos von Damaskos.[15] Xanthos der Lyder, ein Zeitgenosse Herodots, verfasste im 5. Jh. v. Chr. die *Lydiaká*, eine Geschichte Lydiens, die jedoch bis auf wenige Fragmente verloren ist.[16]

Herodots lydischer *Logos* ist in Hinsicht auf seine historische Verlässlichkeit problematisch und umstritten. Dass Gyges schon gegen 680 v. Chr. das von Lydien aus im fernen Westen jenseits der Ägäis gelegene Orakel von Delphi befragte und Apollon Pythios kostbarste Weihgeschenke stiftete, erscheint erstaunlich – nicht nur wegen des frühen Zeitpunkts der lydisch-delphischen Kontakte, sondern auch aufgrund der fraglichen Autorität, die Delphi für die Beilegung eines innerlydischen Konflikts und die Legitimierung des Usurpators Gyges als König Lydiens den Lydern gegenüber haben musste. Dennoch wird dies meist für historisch gehalten. Man würde jedoch eigentlich erwarten, dass Gyges sich dafür an die wichtigste Gottheit seines Landes gewandt hätte, nicht an die eines fremden Stadtstaats.

Die Dynastie der Mermnaden beginnt mit Gyges gegen 680 v. Chr. Die Regierungsdauern der beiden letzten Mermnaden Alyattes und Kroisos, nach Herodot 57 bzw. 14 Jahre, und die lange als gesichert angesehenen Regierungsdaten von Kroisos 560–547/546 v. Chr. werden jedoch zunehmend und begründet in Zweifel gezogen. Insbesondere irritiert die erstaunlich lange Regierungszeit von Alyattes, in der wenig passiert zu sein scheint, und die sehr kurze Regierungszeit von Kroisos, der in den ersten sieben Jahren seiner Regierungszeit fast ganz Kleinasien westlich des Halys erobert haben soll.

Robert Wallace hat überzeugend deutlich gemacht, dass die Zahlen Herodots mehr symbolisch als historisch sind.[17] Herodot verwendet sehr häufig die Zahlen sieben oder zweimal sieben (δὶς ἑπτὰ), auch das Alter Kroisos' von 35 Jahren (= 5 × 7) bei seinem Regierungsantritt passt dazu. Seine Herrschaft teilt sich entsprechend in sieben glückliche Jahre vor seinem Treffen mit Solon und sieben unglückliche danach und endet mit der 14 Tage dauernden Belagerung von Sardeis. Seinen Scheiterhaufen teilen mit ihm zweimal sieben lydische Knaben. Hinzu kommen Inkonsistenzen mit Begegnungen Kroisos': Solons Besuch etwa muss im Jahrzehnt nach dessen Archontat 594/593 v. Chr. stattgefunden haben. Kroisos bekam Rat von Bias von Priene, Pittakos von Mytilene und Tha-

15 FGrHist 90, F 44–68.

16 FGrHist 765; Payne/Wintjes 2016: 7–9.

17 Wallace 2016; s. auch Dale 2015.

les, deren Wirken in die Zeit zwischen 600 und 580 v. Chr. datiert wird. Auch wenn es sich zumindest teilweise um fiktive Geschichten handeln dürfte, wäre zu erwarten, dass die Fiktion in sich stimmig ist. Wallace kommt überzeugend zu dem Schluss, dass Kroisos' Regierungsbeginn bereits in die 580er Jahre fällt.

Auf der anderen Seite haben Robert Rollinger und Angelika Kellner das Datum der persischen Eroberung von Sardeis durch Kyros und damit das Regierungsende Kroisos' 547/546 v. Chr. in Zweifel gezogen; insbesondere weisen sie nach, dass der angebliche Fixpunkt der Nabonid-Chronik sich tatsächlich auf einen Feldzug Kyros' gegen Urartu bezieht[18] und das Datum 547 eine Konvention der griechischen Geschichtsschreibung ist, die einer nachträglich geschaffenen Chronologie der hellenistischen Zeit entstammt. Die Eroberung von Sardeis ist damit lediglich in den Zeitraum zwischen 547 und 530 v. Chr. einzugrenzen und könnte sogar noch nach Kyros' Eroberung von Babylon 539 v. Chr. stattgefunden haben. Kroisos dürfte damit 30 bis 40 Jahre lang regiert haben, was besser zu den zahlreichen Errungenschaften und Ereignissen passt, die Kroisos zugeschrieben werden.

2 EPIGRAPHISCHER BEFUND

Dem Bild Herodots, dass Delphi das wichtigste Heiligtum für die lydischen Könige gewesen sei, widerspricht der epigraphische Befund. Historisch mögen die dortigen Weihungen von Kroisos als Zeugnisse seiner Außenpolitik zu bewerten sein.[19] Die früheren Weihungen, insbesondere von Gyges, sind zumindest zu bezweifeln.[20] Im archäologischen und epigraphischen Befund von Delphi sind keine lydischen Weihungen belegt.[21]

Das ephesische Artemision war mit dem Heiligtum der Artemis von Sardeis durch eine Prozession verbunden, die durch eine im Bereich des ephesischen Prytaneions sekundär verbaute Inschrift des 4. Jhs. bezeugt ist.[22] Sie berichtet, dass sich eine ephesische Festgesandt-

18 Rollinger/Kellner 2019; s. auch Ehrhardt 2005: 106 n. 108.

19 Krumeich 1991: 53–56; Michels 2012.

20 Kaplan 2006: 131; Kerschner 2017: 58 n. 280.

21 Jacquemin 1999: 72–73, 340 nennt als Belege nur die literarisch überlieferten Votive.

22 Knibbe 1961–1963; Fleischer 1973: 200–201; Hanfmann 1983: 221.

schaft „nach dem väterlichen Brauch“ von Ephesos zum Fest „bei den Chitonen für Artemis“ nach Sardeis begab. Sie brachte heilige Gegenstände zum „Heiligtum der Artemis in Sardeis, das von den Ephesiern gegründet wurde“. Auf dem Wege wurden die Gesandten von Räubern überfallen und die heiligen Gegenstände geschändet. Die 45 Schuldigen wurden dafür zum Tode verurteilt.

Die Verehrung der ephesischen Artemis in Sardeis ist seit dem 6. Jh. v. Chr. in mehreren lydischen Inschriften bezeugt. Sie wird dort als *Artimus ipsimšiš* bezeichnet, im Unterschied zur Artemis von Sardeis (lyd. *Artimus sfardav*).[23] Die Inschriften belegen, dass das in der Inschrift aus Ephesos bezeugte Filialheiligtum der Artemis Ephesia in Sardeis mindestens seit dieser Zeit existierte, was entsprechend auch für die Prozession gelten dürfte.

3 ARCHÄOLOGISCHER BAUBEFUND IM ARTEMISION VON EPHESOS – VOM GYGESTEMPEL ZUM KROISOSTEMPEL?

Der vom Ausgräber Anton Bammer geometrisch datierte Peripteros im Artemision, der jetzt als Naos 1 bezeichnet wird, ist der älteste bezeugte Tempelbau im Heiligtum (**Abb. 1**). Er stammt nach der neuen stratigraphischen Datierung durch Michael Weißl und Michael Kerschner aus dem zweiten Viertel des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.[24] Die 6,3 m × 11,1 m große Cella war ganz aus Kalkmergelplatten errichtet und damit nicht nur der älteste Peripteros, sondern auch einer der frühesten Steinbauten Ioniens. Die Cella war von 4 × 8 hölzernen Stützen umgeben, die auf Grünschieferbasen standen. Der Naos 1 trug das früheste bekannte ionische Tondach, das Ulrich Schädler und Peter Schneider dem Bau mit stichhaltigen Gründen zuweisen.[25] Es ist nicht nur in den gleichen Zeit-

23 Payne/Wintjes 2016: 97–100; zur Datierung der Inschriften s. Euler/Sasseville 2019.

24 Bammer/Muss 1996: 33–38; Weißl 2002: 321–327; Kerschner 2005: 120; Kerschner/Prochaska 2011: 77–82. Einen noch etwas späteren Ansatz um 660/640 v. Chr. vertritt Kerschner 2017: 33–38.

25 Schädler/Schneider 2004: bes. 41–44 (dort nach Bammers Chronologie dem Naos 2 zugewiesen, was nach der neuen Chronologie jedoch auszuschließen ist); Schädler/Schneider 2008. Weißl 2011: 214 lehnt die Zuweisung des Tondachs an Naos 1 ab und rekonstruiert diesen Tempel mit einem Flachdach. Dagegen spricht aber, dass es im Artemision kein anderes Gebäude in dieser Zeit gibt, dem man das Tondach zuweisen könnte, zudem wäre die Erfindung der Peristase für einen Tempel mit Flachdach schwer nachzuvollziehen.

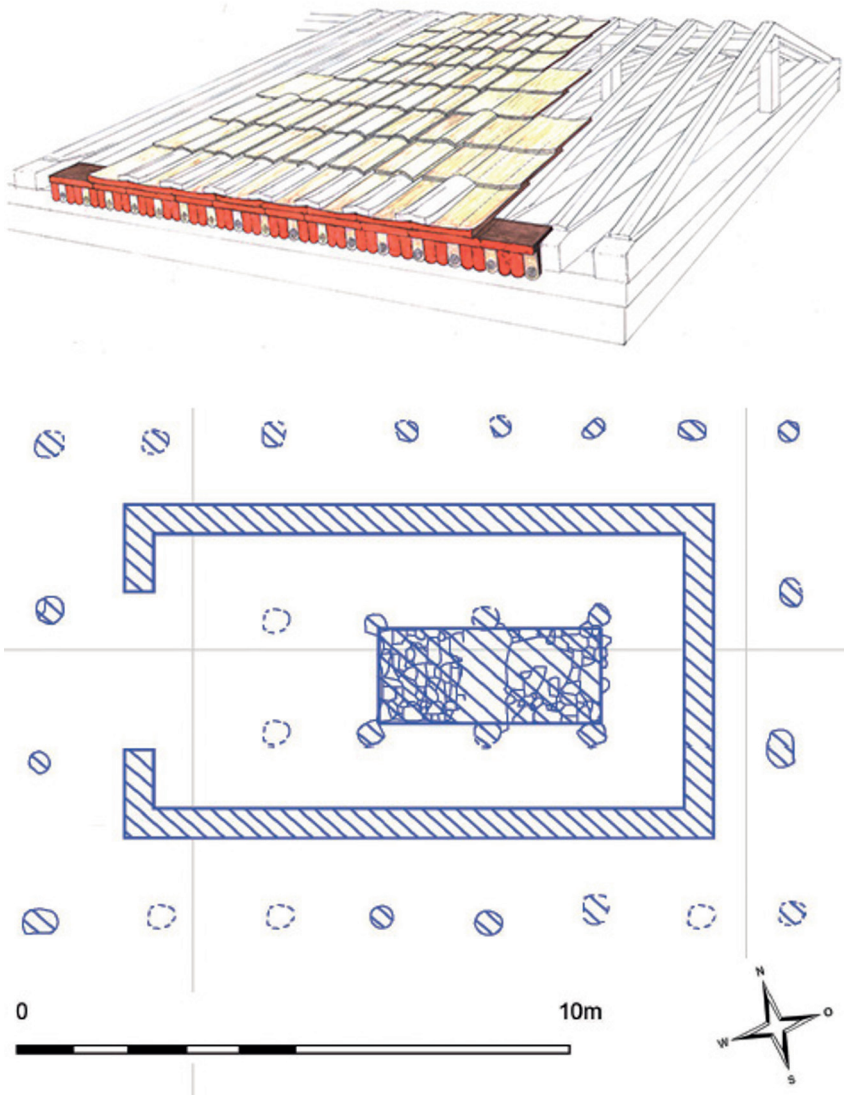

Abb. 1. Ephesos, Artemision, Grundriss und Tondach des Naos 1. Ein von Gyges gestifteter lydischer Tempel? (nach Schädler/Schneider 2008: Taf. 21 und Kerschner 2015: 212, Abb. 13).

raum, das zweite Viertel des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., zu datieren, sondern passt auch in der Größe zum Peripteros. Der wiederum hatte trotz seiner lichten Cellabreite von nur 5,3 m zwei Reihen von Innenstützen, auch standen die Peristasenstützen mit nur 1,2 m Abstand recht nah an der

Cellawand. Für die Überdeckung des Tempels mit einem traditionellen Flachdach wären Innenstützen nicht erforderlich gewesen; sie erklären sich aber schlüssig aus der hohen Last des Tondachs und der dafür erforderlichen hölzernen Dachkonstruktion. Generell sind griechische Tondächer des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. nur von Tempeln belegt.

Das Tondach des Naos 1 ist nicht nur das früheste bekannte Tondach Ioniens, sondern auch zeitgleich mit den ältesten ‚protokorinthischen' Tondächern in Korinth, Isthmia, Perachora, Delphi, Olympia und Nemea. Es unterscheidet sich zudem von den mutterländischen Dächern: Anstelle von Kombinationsziegeln hat das Dach in Ephesos getrennte Flach- und Deckziegel; anstelle eines Walmdachs ist es als Satteldach mit Giebeln zu rekonstruieren; formal eigenständig sind die Gestaltung der Dachränder und die Geisonverkleidungsplatten. Es handelt sich damit um einen Vorläufer der späteren archaisch-ionischen Dächer, der aber aus einer vom griechischen Mutterland unabhängigen Tradition stammt. Schädler und Schneider vermuten, dass dieses System im „lydisch-ionischen Raum"[26] entwickelt worden sei. Dies trifft sicher zu, zumal die Tradition von Tondächern in Anatolien älter als in Griechenland ist und die Eigenheiten des ephesischen Dachs mit phrygischen Tondächern zu verbinden sind.[27]

Der Naos 1 ist in seiner Architektur damit ein in vieler Hinsicht außergewöhnlicher Bau, der nicht nur eine Reihe von Neuerungen wie Quadermauern, Peristase, Tondach und Giebelfassaden aufweist, sondern sich auch sonst von zeitgenössischen Tempeln unterscheidet. Die Entwicklung griechischer Sakralbauten zu einer Monumentalisierung im 7. und bis in das frühe 6. Jh. v. Chr. hinein zeichnet sich durch eine Längung der Cellae aus. Dies war bautechnisch problemlos möglich, während sich bei zunehmender Breite irgendwann das Problem der Überdeckung der Cella stellt. Dieses wurde dann zunächst, wie z. B. beim Hekatompedos von Samos, dem Naxier-Oikos in Delos, dem Tempel in Neandria oder dem archaischen Athenatempel in Milet,[28] durch Mittelstützen im Inneren und eine damit zweischiffige Gestaltung der Cella gelöst. Erst im fortgeschrittenen 6. Jh. v. Chr. wurden dreischiffige

26 Schädler/Schneider 2004: 45–49; Schädler/Schneider 2008: 259.

27 Euler 2018/2019: bes. 17–18. Die Verbindungen der phrygischen und lydischen mit der ostionischen Architektur bearbeitet Katrin Euler im Rahmen ihres Dissertationsprojekts.

28 Held 2000: 45–66. Eine Ausnahme ist der mit Naos 1 ungefähr gleichzeitige Tempel III von Yria, der ebenfalls eine dreischiffige Cella aufweist, s. Gruben 2001: 375–380.

Cellae üblich. Mit seinem gedrungenen Grundriss und der dreischiffigen Cella ist Naos 1 damit ein Sonderfall in der Architekturgeschichte früharchaischer griechischer Tempel.

Die Besonderheiten, insbesondere die vermutlich älteste belegte Ringhalle eines griechischen Tempels, führte Weißl auf den Einfluss ägyptischer Architektur, insbesondere von Stationskapellen, zurück, die eine Ringhalle aus Rechteckpfeilern aufweisen und dort von den griechischen und karischen Söldnern im Dienst von Psammetich gesehen und rezipiert worden seien. Als Parallele verweist Weißl auf Helmut Kyrieleis' Ableitung der ionischen Kouroi von ägyptischer Plastik.[29] Letztere ist jedoch deutlich zu relativieren, da Fahri Işık überzeugend die anatolische Tradition Ioniens in den Vordergrund stellt,[30] eine These, die durch die neue Chronologie von Gordion zusätzliche Bestätigung erfuhr.

Ein Vergleich des Grundrisses und der Technik der Steinmauern mit lydischer Architektur wäre aufschlussreich, doch sind lydische Sakralbauten der Mermnadenzeit bisher nicht bekannt geworden. Zwei archaische Marmormodelle von reliefgeschmückten Tempeln aus Sardeis sind erst in der Regierungszeit von Kroisos oder kurz danach entstanden.[31]

Spätestens aus der Erbauungszeit des Naos 1 stammt hingegen das Tempelmodell aus Daskyleion (**Abb. 2**), das laut Tomris Bakır in einer 670–650 v. Chr. datierten Schicht gefunden wurde.[32] Das Modell wird bisher entsprechend ihrem Fundkontext ins zweite Viertel des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert, doch gibt dieser nur einen *terminus ante quem*; das Modell kann daher auch älter sein. Es handelt sich um das Modell eines Gebäudes mit gedrungenem, rechteckigem Grundriss, Satteldach und zwei Giebeln. Die Dachneigung von 53° lässt auf ein stroh- oder schilfgedecktes Dach schließen.[33] Auf die durch die eingetieft dargestellte Tür markierte Eingangsseite sind zwei Säulen mit Volutenkapitellen aufgemalt. Eine Architektur mit vorgestellten Säulen, deren reales Vorbild Suat Ateşlier als Prostylos rekonstruiert, ist in Daskyleion damit spätestens in der Bauzeit des Naos 1, womöglich sogar früher, belegt.

29 Weißl 2011.

30 Işık 2003: bes. 66–68.

31 Schattner 1990: 85–89, Kat. 44–45, Taf. 23; Ratté 2011: 16, Abb. 262–263 (mit älterer Lit.).

32 Bakır 1995: 273, Abb. 23; Ateşlier 2006.

33 Schattner 1990: 182–183, 186–188.

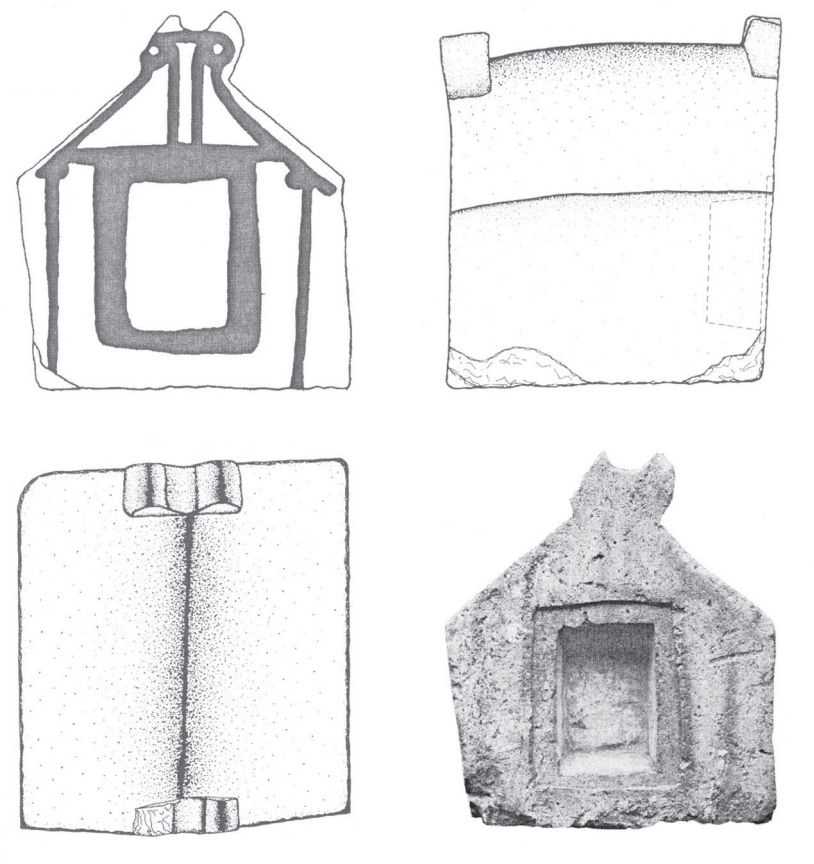

Abb. 2. Daskyleion, Tempelmodell (nach Ateşlier 2006: 151–153, Abb. 1. 7–9).

Ein ebenfalls gemalter senkrechter Balken im Giebel, der den Firstbalken trägt, hat Parallelen in den westphrygischen Felsfassaden, etwa in Midas-Stadt, und zeigt die Verbindung zu phrygischer Architektur. Der gedrungene rechteckige Grundriss und die Giebelfassaden mit vorgesetzten Säulenstellungen des ephesischen Naos 1 lassen sich damit in die Tradition westanatolischer Architektur stellen.

In Naos 1, dem ältesten bekannten Tempel im Artemision, stand das Kultbild der Artemis von Ephesos. Es wurde in den folgenden Jahrhunderten bis zum Ende der Nutzung des Heiligtums bewahrt und stand dabei immer an derselben Stelle. Seine Ursprünge datiert Robert Fleischer in das 7. Jh. v. Chr. oder früher, wobei die ältesten fassbaren Elemente in das 7. Jh. v. Chr. weisen. Es handelt sich um einen westanato-

lischen Kultbildtypus, dessen Vertreter ganz überwiegend aus einem Gebiet stammen, das ungefähr mit dem Königreich Lydien identisch ist.[34]

Nach der literarischen Überlieferung ist das Kultbild jedoch erheblich älter und wurde nach Kallimachos von den Amazonen, also bereits vor der ionischen Eroberung von Ephesos, unter der heiligen Eiche aufgestellt.[35] Während der Heilige Baum als Kultmal durch die spätere Tempelarchitektur mit Sekoi nachvollzogen werden kann und offenbar über die Jahrhunderte an seinem Ort bewahrt worden ist,[36] ist die Existenz eines hölzernen Götterbilds (βρέτας) vor dem 7. Jh. v. Chr. unsicher, da es zur Aufbewahrung einen Tempel oder Schrein benötigte. Im Artemision ist kein Gebäude gefunden worden, das älter wäre als Naos 1. Für den Bau des Naos 1 wurde das Gelände jedoch planiert, wobei ein Schrein auch zerstört worden sein könnte. Diesen müsste man sich recht klein und einfach gestaltet vorstellen wie z. B. den geometrischen Schrein im Athenaheiligtum von Milet.[37] Somit mag das Kultbild tatsächlich erheblich älter als der Naos 1 gewesen sein, was ja auch seinen besonderen religiösen Wert ausmachte.

Das Kultbild war damit vermutlich keine Neuschöpfung des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. für den Naos 1, vielmehr wurde der Naos für das Kultbild errichtet. Seine anatolischen Bezüge, darunter der Gürtel phrygischen Typs, könnten aber gut mit einer Neufassung des Kultbilds zu verbinden sein, das ja mit realer, damit auch variabler Kleidung und Schmuck ausgestattet war.

Auch wenn das Tondach von Naos 1 aus ephesischem Ton besteht und demnach in Ephesos hergestellt worden ist, benötigte es die Kenntnis der Technologie zur Herstellung eines Tondachs, die in Phrygien und wohl auch in Lydien bereits vorhanden war. Da die Errichtung des Tempels kurz nach dem Beginn der Mermnadendynastie und in die Regierungszeit von Gyges von ca. 680 bis 644 v. Chr. zu datieren ist,[38] könnte es sich daher um ein frühes mermnadisches Bauprojekt von Gyges handeln. Seine insgesamt in der frühen ionischen Architekturgeschich-

34 Fleischer 1973: 123–128, 386–392, Karte II; zuletzt Fleischer 2008; s. auch Radner 2001; Held 2018.

35 Call. *Artem.* 237–250.

36 Kerschner 2015.

37 Held 2000: 35–45.

38 Gyges kam bei der Einnahme und Plünderung von Sardeis durch die Kimmerier zu Tode, die Askold Ivantchik 644 v. Chr. datiert, s. Ivantchik 2005: 121–126.

te ganz ungewöhnliche Gestaltung wäre dann damit zu erklären, dass Naos 1 letztlich ein lydischer Tempel war.

Naos 2 wurde um 640/620 v. Chr. errichtet und war ein weitgehender Neubau des Naos 1 auf den vorhandenen Fundamenten, aber mit erhöhtem Bodenniveau.[39] Er verzichtete auf die Peristase und die Innenstützen. Das schwere Tondach dürfte er demnach nicht mehr getragen haben; zu rekonstruieren wäre damit ein flaches Lehmdach, mit dem die lichte Weite der Cella von 5,3 m auch ohne Innenstützen gut überspannt werden konnte. Entwicklungsgeschichtlich ist dies ein erstaunlicher Rückschritt gegenüber dem Naos 1, mit Ausnahme der Kultbildbasis, die in sehr qualitätvollem Mauerwerk aus Grünschieferquadern errichtet wurde. In dieser Phase ist ein Gründungsdepot gefunden worden, das im Inneren der Grünschieferbasis sowie an zwei Stellen unter dem Cellaboden niedergelegt war. Es bestand aus kostbaren Objekten aus Gold, Silber, Elektron, Elfenbein und Bernstein überwiegender lydischer Herkunft. Kerschner hat daher bereits vermutet, dass ein lydischer König nicht nur das Gründungsopfer gestiftet, sondern auch den gesamten Tempel errichtet habe. In Frage kämen dafür die lydischen Könige Ardys oder Sadyattes.[40] Dies ist tatsächlich sehr wahrscheinlich und stünde, sofern die hier aufgestellte These, dass Gyges den Naos 1 stiftete, zutrifft, bereits in einer dynastischen Tradition. Die schlichtere Gestaltung des Naos 2 wäre mit der Schwächung der Mermnaden und Lydiens durch die erst kurz zuvor erfolgte Einnahme und Plünderung von Sardeis um 644 v. Chr. plausibel zu erklären.

Auf den Naos 2 folgen die Sekoi 1 und 2, die kurz nacheinander um das Ende des 7. Jhs. und um 600 v. Chr. errichtet wurden,[41] deren fragmentarische Befunde aber keine weiterreichenden Schlüsse erlauben.

Die von Herodot überlieferten Säulenweihungen Kroisos' beziehen sich auf den Dipteros 1 und finden ihre Bestätigung durch Fragmente von griechischen Stifterinschriften auf Säulenfüßen: ΒΑ[ΣΙΛΕΥΣ] ΚΡ[ΟΙΣΟΣ] ΑΝ[Ε]ΘΗΚΕΝ, „Kroisos der König hat es geweiht".[42] Da die Profile leicht voneinander abweichen, gehörten sie zu mehreren Säulen. Hinzu kommt das Fragment einer runden Plinthe mit einer lydi-

39 Kerschner/Prochaska 2011: 82–88; Kerschner 2017: 43–48, 52–56.

40 Kerschner 2017: 54.

41 Weißl 2002: 327–329; Kerschner/Prochaska 2011: 88–91; Kerschner 2017: 56–58.

42 IvEphesos V Nr. 1518; Bammer/Muss 1996: 45–53, Abb. 48. 49; Rumscheid 1999: 28–30, Abb. 5; Ohnesorg 2007: 128–129.

schen Inschrift wohl gleichen Inhalts.[43] Da der archaische Tempel als ionischer Dipteros einen ganzen Wald von 106 kolossalen Säulen aufwies, war Kroisos' Säulenstiftung die größte aller überlieferten Weihungen an Artemis. Der Tempel und sein monumentaler Altar waren zugleich die ersten Marmorbauten im Artemision. Am Tempelbau arbeiteten auch lydische und karische Steinmetze mit, wie unter anderem aus ‚karoiden' Inschriften im Marmorsteinbruch von Belevi hervorgeht, in dem die Blöcke für den Dipteros 1 gebrochen wurden. Sie haben Parallelen in Sardeis, wo neben Lydern offenbar auch Karer die Werksteine bearbeiteten.[44]

Der Baubeginn des archaischen Dipteros 1 ist um 580/570 v. Chr. anzusetzen, weil die aufwendige Fundamentierung in dem sumpfigen Gelände wohl mehr als zehn Jahre erforderte. Dies entspricht auch der stratigraphischen Datierung des mit dem Dipteros 1 errichteten Monumentalaltars.[45] Der Baubeginn fiele nach traditioneller Chronologie in die Regierungszeit von Alyattes und vor die lydische Eroberung von Ephesos. Das könnte erklären, warum Herodot Kroisos nur die Säulen und nicht den gesamten Tempel zuschreibt, denn dessen Baustelle wäre in Herodots Chronologie zu Kroisos' Regierungsbeginn bereits weit fortgeschritten gewesen.[46] Mit der These von Wallace, den Regierungsbeginn von Kroisos schon in den 580er Jahren anzusetzen,[47] würde der Baubeginn jedoch durchaus in Kroisos' Regierungszeit fallen. Der archäologische Befund unterstützt damit Wallace' Chronologie und spricht zugleich dafür, dass Kroisos nicht nur „die meisten Säulen", sondern den ganzen Tempel gestiftet hat.

Als Motiv für den Bau eines Riesentempels in Ephesos wird meist vermutet, dass Kroisos damit eine Konkurrenz zu Didyma aufbauen wollte, zumal das Artemision für Ephesos auch von wirtschaftlicher Bedeutung war. Bisher unbeachtet blieb jedoch die Frage, warum Kroisos ein solch gewaltiges Projekt überhaupt in Ephesos verwirklichte und nicht in der lydischen Hauptstadt Sardeis. Wenn es zutrifft, dass Gyges für

43 Hanfmann 1975: 11; Ohnesorg 2007: 52, Kat. 135 n. 342; Kerschner 2010: 256, Abb. 4.

44 Ratté 2011: 55–57, 62; Kerschner/Prochaska 2011: 129–131.

45 Kerschner/Prochaska 2011: 91–108. Durch die Identifizierung des „Hekatompedos" als Altar des Kroisostempels hat Kerschner auch Bammers Theorie eines „pluralistischen Heiligtums" mit mehreren Kultplätzen konkurrierender Familienverbände widerlegt; s. auch Kerschner 2017: 48–52 zu den Basen A bis E.

46 Kerschner 2006a: 263; Ohnesorg 2007: 128–129.

47 Dale 2015; Wallace 2016.

den ältesten Tempel, den Peripteros, verantwortlich war, könnte man hier eine Linie zum Kroisostempel ziehen, und es wäre zu erwarten, dass auch die Sekoi 1 und 2 mit den Mermnaden zu verbinden sind.[48]

4 ARCHÄOLOGISCHE FUNDE IM ARTEMISION VON EPHESOS

Der Befund der Votivgaben im ephesischen Artemision bestätigt das Bild des Baubefunds, wie Kerschner ausführlich herausgearbeitet hat.[49] In der geometrischen Epoche sind die Votive im Vergleich zu Heiligtümern wie dem Heraion von Samos, Olympia oder Delphi noch eher bescheiden, und es kommen nur wenige Weihungen fremder Herkunft vor.[50]

Dieses Bild ändert sich grundlegend ab der Zeit um 680 v. Chr. Nunmehr finden sich unter den Weihgeschenken des Artemisions zahlreiche wertvolle Gegenstände lydischer Herkunft, darunter Elfenbeinschnitzereien,[51] goldener Schmuck, mit goldenen Gewandappliken verzierte Gewänder[52] und Elektronmünzen[53]. Diese sind als Weihungen der lydischen Könige und der lydischen Oberschicht zu interpretieren.[54] Häufig dargestellt ist der Falke (μέρμνος), das eponyme Tier der Mermnaden.[55]

Insbesondere die Fülle der Goldvotive ist auffällig und unter den Votivbefunden griechischer Heiligtümer einzigartig. Das Gold kam aus Lydien und wurde in der Region von Sardeis seit dem frühen 7. Jh. v. Chr. gewonnen.[56] Gyges brachte darüber hinaus auch die Goldvorkommen bei Abydos und bei Atarneus unter seine Kontrolle.[57] Der darauf beruhende lydische Reichtum war sprichwörtlich.

48 Verlockend wäre es, die fünf archaischen Tempelphasen (Naos 1, Naos 2, Sekos 1, Sekos 2, Dipteros 1) mit den fünf überlieferten mermnadischen Königen zu verbinden. Die Datierung dieser fünf Bauphasen würde zu ihren Regierungszeiten, soweit sie zu rekonstruieren sind, sogar recht gut passen. Doch muss dies spekulativ bleiben.

49 Kerschner 2005; Kerschner 2006a; Kerschner 2008; Kerschner 2010.

50 Kerschner 2017: 30–32.

51 Muss 2008.

52 Scheich 2001; Pülz 2001; Pülz 2003; Pülz 2005; Pülz 2009.

53 Karwiese 2001; Karwiese 2008.

54 Kerschner 2006a: 267–272; Kerschner 2008: 224–227 (mit weiterer Lit.).

55 Bammer/Muss 1996: 79–81, Abb. 96.

56 Ramage/Craddock 2000; Kerschner 2006a.

57 Kerschner 2006a: 253.

Darüber hinaus wurden im ephesischen Artemision zahlreiche bronzene ‚phrygische Schalen', ‚phrygische Fibeln' und ‚phrygische Gürtel'[58] des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. gefunden, deren Fundkontexte ab dem zweiten Viertel des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. einsetzen. Diese wurden überwiegend nicht in Phrygien hergestellt, sondern sind Nachahmungen, deren Werkstätten, aufgrund der zahlreichen Funde im ephesischen Artemision und weiteren Heiligtümern Ioniens, in Ephesos und anderen ionischen Städten vermutet werden; in Milet und Smyrna sind sogar Gussformen von Fibeln phrygischen Typs gefunden worden.[59] Da die Nachahmungen jedoch erst nach dem Untergang des Phrygerreichs und mit dem Beginn der Mermnadendynastie einsetzten, wäre eine zumindest teilweise Produktion in Lydien ebenso plausibel. Kerschner vermutet, dass mit dem Untergang des phrygischen Königshofs Metallhandwerker nach Lydien auswanderten, von denen wiederum einige nach Ionien weiterzogen.[60] In jedem Falle muss die Vermittlung über Lydien stattgefunden haben. Sicher lydisch sind goldene Fibeln phrygischen Typs.[61]

Der Gürtel gehörte zur lydischen Tracht der Königin. Dies geht aus der Überlieferung hervor, dass Kroisos den Schmuck und den Gürtel seiner Gattin dem Apollon von Delphi geweiht habe.[62] Bezeichnend ist, dass auch Artemis Ephesia selbst, d. h. ihr möglicherweise von Gyges gestiftetes oder neu ausgestattetes Kultbild, einen Gürtel phrygischen Typs trug, der noch in der kaiserzeitlichen Nachbildung der ‚großen' Artemis Ephesia wiedergegeben ist.[63]

Die engen Beziehungen zwischen Lydien und Ephesos belegen auch die in Ephesos, insbesondere im Artemision, bezeugten lydischen Keramikgattungen, die teilweise auch lokal in Ephesos hergestellt worden ist. Eine Besonderheit ist die sehr qualitätvolle ‚Ephesische Ware', die ionische und lydische Traditionen vereint und sowohl in Ephesos als auch in Sardeis gefunden wurde; in anderen ionischen Städten kommen nur vereinzelte Importstücke vor.[64] Bezeichnend ist, dass sie in Ephesos nur im Artemision bezeugt ist. Schließlich belegen Hunde-

58 Klebinder 2001; Klebinder-Gauß 2007: bes. 208–210; Klebinder-Gauß 2008.

59 Kerschner 2005: 127.

60 Kerschner 2005: 128–129.

61 Kerschner 2005: 131–132.

62 Hdt. 1,51.

63 Fleischer 1973: 14, 62, 89, Abb. 1, 2, Taf. 12–17.

64 Kerschner 2005: 134–139; Kerschner 2006a: 272–275; Kerschner 2008: 227–229 (mit weiterer Lit.).

knochen mit Schnittspuren lydische Hundeopfer, wie sie in Sardeis für Kandaules überliefert sind.[65]

Generell war auch die lydische Mode bei den Ioniern sehr begehrt und wurde von reichen Ioniern nachgeahmt.[66] Kerschner hat deutlich gemacht, dass die kulturellen Beziehungen so intensiv waren und lydische und ephesische Goldschmiede so eng zusammenarbeiteten, dass im späten 7. und der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. eine klare Trennung beider Kulturen und die Lokalisierung der Produktionsorte, vor allem der Goldvotive, nicht mehr möglich ist.[67] Er stellt zu Recht in Frage, ob die Trennung von ‚ionisch' und ‚lydisch' in der Sachkultur überhaupt möglich und sinnvoll sei. Dies gilt in erster Linie für Ephesos, aber auch für weitere nordionische Städte wie Smyrna.

Jeder einzelne dieser historischen, epigraphischen und archäologischen Belege wäre allein durch die Nachbarschaft der Lyder und der Ephesier zu erklären. In ihrer Summe gehen sie jedoch weit über einen üblichen Austausch hinaus, weshalb George Hanfmann dem ephesischen Artemision bereits einen „Mixo-Lydian character" bescheinigte.[68] Es zeigt sich damit auch ein markanter Unterschied zu den importierten Weihungen anderer bedeutender ionischer Heiligtümer, in denen lydische Gegenstände keine so dominierende Rolle spielen und auch Votive aus Gold erheblich seltener vorkommen.[69] So überwiegen in den Heiligtümern von Milet oder im Heraion von Samos unter den Importen Objekte aus Ägypten, der Levante, Nordsyrien und Zypern, die auf dem Seeweg dorthin gelangten.[70]

Vor allem ist aber erklärungsbedürftig, warum die Artemis von Ephesos für die lydischen Könige der Mermnadendynastie eine so große Bedeutung hatte und offenbar wichtiger war als die eigene Artemis von Sardeis. Kerschner vermutet, dass die Strahlkraft der Artemis Ephesia darauf beruhte, dass sie die Stadt vor den Kimmeriern gerettet habe,[71] doch reicht dies als Erklärung nicht aus – zumal sie ja Sardeis damals nicht geschützt hatte. Da Kult und Religion konservativ sind und oft

65 Kerschner 2008: 229 (mit weiterer Lit.); Kerschner 2017: 25–27.

66 Kistler 2012.

67 Kerschner 2005: 131–133, 140–141; Kerschner 2008: 226–227.

68 Hanfmann 1975: 13.

69 Kerschner 2006a: 276. Einen vergleichbar großen Anteil lydischer Weihungen weist lediglich das Athenaheiligtum von Smyrna auf.

70 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985; Held 2000: 173; Kerschner 2005.

71 Kerschner 2017: 39–43.

Verhältnisse vergangener Jahrhunderte bewahren und tradieren, sei dazu ein Blick in die ältere Vergangenheit gerichtet.

5 EPHESOS AM ÜBERGANG VON DER BRONZE- ZUR EISENZEIT

David Hawkins gelang es durch seine neue Lesung der Inschrift von Karabel, die Identifizierung von Ephesos mit dem bronzezeitlichen Apasa zu sichern, das im 14./13. Jh. v. Chr. Hauptstadt des Königreichs Mira war.[72] Durch die Felsreliefs und -inschriften von Karabel und Suratkaya sowie die Stele von Karakuyu lässt sich die Ausdehnung von Mira nachvollziehen, die ungefähr dem späteren Lydien und Ionien entsprach und im Süden bis nach Karien hinein reichte.[73] Archäologisch sind geringe Siedlungsreste auf dem Ayasoluk-Hügel untersucht, die eine Siedlungskontinuität bereits seit der frühen Bronzezeit bezeugen. Neben der lokalen spätbronzezeitlichen Keramik sind auch mykenische Importe aus der Argolis belegt.[74] Erwähnt sei auch das wohl spätbronzezeitliche Felsrelief am Bülbül Dağ einer von zwei Tieren flankierten Figur mit Keule.[75]

Das Artemision liegt am Fuße des Ayasoluk-Hügels, also des bronzezeitlichen Apasa. Es befand sich damals an der Mündung eines kleinen Flusses ins Meer. Die ältesten Schichten im Artemision entstammen ebenfalls der späten Bronzezeit, sind aber nur in einem kleinen Bereich ergraben. Sie enthielten Keramik des späteren 14. und des 13. Jahrhunderts, aus der eine sakrale Funktion des Ortes nicht sicher abzuleiten ist.[76]

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72 Hawkins 1998.

73 Hawkins 1998; Peschlow-Bindokat/Herbordt 2001; Ehringhaus 2005: 87–94; Işık/Atıcı/Tekoğlu 2011; Işık 2016; Müller-Karpe 2019a; Herbordt 2019.

74 Büyükkolancı 2000; Büyükkolancı 2007; Kerschner 2006b. Die zunächst bronzezeitlich datierte Befestigungsmauer stellte sich inzwischen als archaisch bis klassisch heraus, s. Büyükkolancı 2009: 223–224, 231.

75 İçten/Krinzinger 2004.

76 Kerschner 2006b; Forstenpointner/Kerschner/Muss 2008; Kerschner 2017: 8–12. Die von Anton Bammer und Ulrike Muss angeführten Belege für eine Kultkontinuität seit der Bronzezeit (u. a. Bammer/Muss 1996: 25–28; Muss 2001) sind größtenteils eisenzeitlich und stammen auch aus geometrischen bis archaischen Kontexten, s. Kerschner 2017: 10 n. 38. Sarah Morris identifiziert Artemis Ephesia mit der *Potnia Aswiya* der mykenischen Texte von Pylos, eine Bezeichnung, die sie mit der auf einer Silberplatte des mittleren 6. Jhs. v. Chr. aus dem Artemision inschriftlich bezeugten „ephesischen Herrin“ [ΔΕΣΠ]ΟΙΝΗ ΕΦ[ΕΣΙΑ] verbindet (Morris 2001; so auch Högemann/Oettinger 2018: 79). Die Ableitung dieser frü-

Nach der Überlieferung Strabons[77] war die Stadt ursprünglich von Karern und Lelegern bewohnt. Androklos habe diese vertrieben und an ihrer Stelle die mit ihm hierhergekommenen Ionier angesiedelt. Pausanias[78] nennt Leleger und Lyder, die vor der ionischen Eroberung in Ephesos wohnten, sowie „andere" als Schutzflehende, darunter Amazonen, die um das Heiligtum wohnten. Androklos habe die Lyder und Leleger in der Oberstadt vertrieben, die „um das Heiligtum Wohnenden" aber durften nach einem Austausch von Eiden bleiben. Dass das Heiligtum schon vor der ionischen Eroberung bestanden habe und von den Amazonen aufgesucht worden sei, schrieb laut Pausanias bereits Pindar, und Kallimachos verbindet mit den Amazonen auch die Heilige Eiche als Kultmal sowie das darunter aufgestellte Kultbild.[79]

Mit dem Heiligtum dürfte, wie Mustafa Büyükkolancı annimmt, das Artemision gemeint sein, die Oberstadt wäre der Ayasoluk-Hügel. Pausanias wusste demnach noch von der damaligen Topographie der Stadt, obwohl Ephesos zu seiner Zeit längst in das Gebiet zwischen Panayır Dağ und Bülbül Dağ verlegt worden war. Die Leleger, die wir seit der geometrischen Zeit auf der Halbinsel von Halikarnassos lokalisieren können,[80] stehen hier wohl stellvertretend für eine anatolische Bevölkerung; die Nennung der Karer und vor allem der Lyder, die auch später in der Nachbarschaft von Ephesos siedelten, dürfte hingegen eine zutreffende Überlieferung sein.

Der archäologische Befund auf dem Ayasoluk-Hügel und dem Artemision bestätigt diese Darstellung im Grundsatz:[81] Die spätbronzezeitliche Keramik auf dem Ayasoluk-Hügel und im Artemision ist ganz überwiegend einheimisch-westanatolisch mit nur wenigen mykenischen Importgefäßen. Im Keramikbefund des Artemisions ist dagegen die Präsenz von Griechen ab der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jhs. v. Chr. durch protogeometrische Keramik belegt, von der ein hoher Anteil aus Athen – der überlieferten Heimat des griechischen Anführers Androklos – importiert wurde. Ob zwischen der spätbronzezeitlichen

hen Bezeichnung der Artemis Ephesia von der *Potnia Aswiya* lässt sich jedoch nicht sichern, und es kann sich bei letzterer ebenso gut um eine Göttin aus der Region von Pylos handeln. Gander 2015: 453, 459–460, 490 verbindet diese Göttin überzeugend mit der lakonischen Athena Asia.

77 Strab. 14, 1, 21.

78 Paus. 7, 2, 7–8.

79 Call. *Artem.* 237–250; Kerschner 2015: 202–210.

80 Rumscheid 2009: 176.

81 Kerschner 2006b; Kerschner 2017: 12–30.

westanatolischen und der protogeometrischen griechischen Phase ein Hiat war oder nicht, ist noch unsicher; die Namenskontinuität Apasa – Ephesos spricht jedoch für eine Kontinuität der Siedlung, ebenso der Gründungsmythos der griechischen Eroberung von Ephesos.

Das Artemision war mindestens seit der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jhs. v. Chr. ein Heiligtum, wie Miniaturgefäße und Rinderterrakotten unter den Funden belegen. Diese archäologischen Daten passen recht gut zur Überlieferung des *Marmor Parium* und Eusebios' von Kaisareia, die für die ionische Eroberung von Ephesos Daten kurz vor oder um die Mitte des 11. Jhs. v. Chr. geben. Die „anderen" Bewohner des Gebiets um das Heiligtum bei Pausanias verbindet Kerschner mit dem Anteil von 5 % westanatolischer Keramik der protogeometrischen Zeit.

Dass der ephesische Gründungsmythos im archäologischen Befund eine weitestgehende Bestätigung gefunden hat, macht es zumindest wahrscheinlich, dass auch das überlieferte hohe Alter des Artemisheiligtums zutrifft und Artemis Ephesia auf die bronzezeitliche Schutzgöttin von Mira zurückzuführen ist.

6 DER ARCHÄOLOGISCHE BEFUND IN SARDEIS

In Sardeis stammen die frühesten Siedlungsschichten aus dem Zeitraum zwischen dem 14.–12. Jh. v. Chr. Danach ist eine Siedlungskontinuität bis ins 6. Jh. v. Chr. archäologisch gut belegt. Darüber hinaus wurde ein früheisenzeitlicher Brandzerstörungshorizont mit protogeometrischer Keramik beobachtet.[82] Umstritten ist, seit wann hier die Lyder ansässig waren. Ob die von Homer genannten Maionier[83] mit den Lydern identisch sind oder nicht, ist unsicher. Für eine Identität spräche Herodots Überlieferung,[84] dass die Maionier in Lyder umbenannt wurden – auch wenn seine Aitiologie der Benennung nach König Lydos, dem Sohn des Atys, erkennbar konstruiert ist. Ein stärkeres Argument bietet die Kontinuität von Toponymen von der Bronze- bis in die Eisenzeit, die zusammen mit der archäologisch überlieferten Kontinuität dafür spricht, dass bereits am Übergang von der Bronzezeit zur Eisenzeit hier Lyder lebten.[85] Mit ihnen dürften die bronzezeitlichen befes-

82 Hanfmann/Waldbaum 1975: 28–29; Spier 1983: 20–25; Roosevelt 2010: 57.

83 Hom. *Il.* 2, 864–866.

84 Hdt. 1, 7. Vgl. Ratté 2009: 136–137; Payne/Wintjes 2016: 25.

85 Roosevelt 2010: 56–61.

tigten Siedlungen rund um den Marmara Gölü nahe Sardeis, vor allem Kaymakçı, zu verbinden sein.[86] Högemann und Oettinger lokalisieren das spätbronzezeitliche Siedlungsgebiet der Lyder dagegen in Nordwestanatolien einschließlich Troias und gehen davon aus, dass diese in der frühen Eisenzeit nach Süden gewandert seien.[87]

Das Heiligtum der Artemis von Sardeis war in archaischer Zeit erheblich bescheidener ausgestattet als das ephesische Artemision. Belegt ist nur ein archaischer Altar, während der monumentale Tempel erst in frühhellenistischer Zeit errichtet worden ist. Nach neuesten Ergebnissen sind die frühesten Bauten im Artemision von Sardeis erst ab der Mitte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. errichtet worden und damit in der Regierungszeit von Kroisos oder kurz danach. Dabei handelt es sich um den Altar LA 1, das Gebäude mit der L-förmigen Mauer, das Sandsteinfundament in der Mitte der späteren Tempelcella und vielleicht Gebäude Q. Sie stehen auf Schichten, die durch einen Erdrutsch um die Mitte des 6. Jhs. entstanden sind. Diese Katastrophe könnte ältere lydische Befunde zerstört haben.[88]

Diese Bescheidenheit steht in einem eklatanten Gegensatz zum kolossalen archaischen Dipteros für Artemis Ephesia, der mindestens zu erheblichen Anteilen von Kroisos finanziert worden ist und wohl insgesamt eine mermnadische Stiftung war.

7 VERSUCH EINER REKONSTRUKTION

Aus der schriftlichen Überlieferung allein lassen sich die beschriebenen Besonderheiten und Merkwürdigkeiten im Verhältnis zwischen den Mermnaden und dem ephesischen Artemision nicht schlüssig erklären. Nimmt man jedoch alle genannten literarischen, epigraphischen und materiellen Überlieferungen zusammen, lässt sich aus ihnen, bei aller Unsicherheit in den Details, ein in sich stimmiges Bild rekonstruieren:

Die Atyaden Herodots waren die Könige von Mira. Sie residierten im 14. bis 12. Jh. v. Chr. in ihrer Hauptstadt Apasa/Ephesos. Die Schutzgöttin von Stadt, Staat und Königen war die später als Artemis von Ephesos bezeichnete Göttin. Ihren damaligen Namen kennen wir nicht, er

86 Roosevelt 2010: 48–57.

87 Högemann/Oettinger 2018: 1–2, 65–74.

88 Cahill/Greenewalt 2016: bes. 493–498; s. auch Ratté 2011: 123–125, 263–265, Abb. 266–272.

könnte aber der archaisch überlieferten [ΔΕΣΠ]ΟΙΝΗ ΕΦ[ΕΣΙΑ],[89] „Herrin von Ephesos“, entsprochen haben.

Um die Mitte des 11. Jhs. v. Chr. eroberte eine Gruppe von Griechen Apasa. Die einheimische Bevölkerung wurde vertrieben, der möglicherweise bis dahin noch hier residierende König von Mira wurde abgesetzt oder getötet. Die alten Bewohner von Apasa zogen sich daraufhin in das anatolische Hinterland zurück, eroberten Sardeis und begründeten dort die neue Dynastie der Herakliden. Vielleicht ist der Brandhorizont in Sardeis mit diesem Ereignis zu verbinden. Die einheimische Bevölkerung könnte sich aufgeteilt haben in Luwisch Sprechende in Apasa und dem westlichen Mira und Lydisch Sprechende, die im östlichen Hinterland lebten. Oder war das Luwische der Inschriften von Akpınar, Karabel, Suratkaya und Karakuyu die Schrift- und Bildungssprache der sonst Lydisch sprechenden Bevölkerung Miras, so wie Latein im europäischen Mittelalter?[90]

Gegen 680 v. Chr. begründete Gyges die neue Dynastie der Mermnaden. Die alte Schutzgöttin Artemis Ephesia bekam nunmehr eine gesteigerte Bedeutung für die Könige. Gyges entstammte einer vornehmen Familie, die ungehinderten Zugang zum Palast hatte. Er wurde zum Usurpator und tötete den letzten Herakliden-König Kandaules. Gegen Gyges als neuen König Lydiens gab es in Sardeis heftigen Widerstand, ein Bürgerkrieg drohte. Gyges stand damit unter dem Druck, seine Herrschaft zu legitimieren. Glaubwürdiger als die von Herodot überlieferte Einschaltung des delphischen Orakels wäre, dass Gyges dazu an das alte Königtum von Mira anknüpfte. Vielleicht stammte Gyges von den Atyaden ab oder behauptete das zumindest – vergleichbar mit den Sasaniden, die nach den Jahrhunderten der Herrschaft der parthischen Arsakiden bewusst wieder an die Tradition der persischen Achämeniden anknüpften. Seine Herrschaftslegitimation bestand dann in der Wiederherstellung der früheren Herrschaft einschließlich der Hauptstadt Ephesos und des Heiligtums der Hauptgöttin. Dies würde die folgende, mit diplomatischen und militärischen Mitteln geführte expansive Politik der Mermnaden erklären, die aufgrund einer solchen Legitimation dazu geradezu verpflichtet waren. Ein programmatisches Anknüpfen an das Königtum von Mira würde auch erklären, warum

89 Morris 2001.

90 Die Sprachgeschichte in Lydien, insbesondere die Frage, wer wann in Lydien Luwisch oder Lydisch sprach, ist heftig umstritten, s. Payne/Wintjes 2016: 22–24.

die Mermnaden-Könige Sadyattes und Alyattes keine lydischen, sondern luwische Namen trugen.[91]

Das wichtigste Ziel der lydischen Könige musste demnach die Kontrolle über Ephesos und das Heiligtum der Artemis Ephesia, der alten königlichen Schutzgöttin, sein. Politisch vermehrten die Könige ihren Einfluss in Ephesos zunächst durch dynastische Ehen und Diplomatie. Gyges stattete das Artemision mit einem steinernen Tempel aus, der als Peripteros mit Tondach alle anderen Heiligtümer Ioniens überstrahlte. Im Tempel stellte er das Kultbild der Artemis Ephesia auf, ein unterlebensgroßes hölzernes Götterbild, das damals bereits uralt und mythischer Herkunft war, und bekleidete es mit vornehmen lydischen Gewändern, Schmuck und einem Gürtel phrygischen Typs. Ob das Kultbild tatsächlich noch das der bronzezeitlichen Göttin von Apasa war, spielt dabei keine Rolle, entscheidend ist, dass es zu Gyges' Zeit dafür gehalten wurde.

Dass die Mermnaden in den folgenden anderthalb Jahrhunderten besonders zahlreiche goldene Weihgeschenke nach Delphi und erheblich weniger nach Ephesos stifteten, wie es vor allem Herodot überliefert, trifft zumindest in dieser Gewichtung nicht zu. Nach dem archäologischen Befund liegt der Schwerpunkt königlicher und sonstiger vornehmer und kostbarer Weihgeschenke aus Lydien keineswegs in Delphi und weiteren Heiligtümern des griechischen Mutterlands, sondern eindeutig im Artemision von Ephesos. Zu den Weihungen aus Gold, Elfenbein und Bronze kommt die Entsendung lydischer Dienerinnen, vielleicht Sängerinnen.

Gyges' Nachfolger Ardys erneuerte den Tempel (Naos 2), der aufgrund der Kimmerierzerstörung von Sardeis schlichter ausfiel als sein Vorgänger; vielleicht sind auch die Sekoi 1 und 2 von Sadyattes und Alyattes errichtet worden. Wurde die Bautätigkeit im Artemision nunmehr zu einer Art ritueller Pflicht des lydischen Königtums?

Erst Kroisos gelang es, Ephesos zu erobern und damit den Anspruch von Gyges einzulösen. Er übertraf seine Vorgänger auch als Bauherr, errichtete im Artemision einen gewaltigen Kolossaltempel, den Dipteros 1, mit einem ebenso monumentalen Altar, und verewigte seinen Namen in Stifterinschriften auf Griechisch und Lydisch an den Säulen.

Kroisos gründete auch den Filialkult in Sardeis und verband die Heiligtümer der Artemis von Sardeis und der Artemis von Ephesos durch eine Prozession miteinander. Entgegen der verbreiteteren Ansicht,

91 Gander 2015: 486–487.

dass das Filialheiligtum der Artemis Ephesia noch nicht entdeckt sei,[92] vermuteten bereits Dieter Knibbe und George Hanfmann, dass es sich dabei um das Heiligtum der Artemis von Sardeis handle.[93]

Diese These wurde nun durch die Identifizierung des lydischen Qλdãns mit Kroisos durch Katrin Euler und David Sasseville erhärtet.[94] Die Temenos-Inschrift LW 23, die im Artemisheiligtum von Sardeis in der Nähe des Altars gefunden wurde und vermutlich beim Altar aufgestellt war, bezeichnet demnach das Heiligtum als Temenos des Kroisos und der Artemis von Ephesos. Damit ist nicht nur das Artemisheiligtum von Sardeis als Filialheiligtum der Artemis Ephesia identifiziert, darüber hinaus belegt die Inschrift, dass sich die enge Verbindung von Kroisos und Artemis Ephesia sogar über den Tod Kroisos' hinaus fortsetzte und der nunmehr vergöttlichte Kroisos sich ein Heiligtum mit Artemis Ephesia teilte. Die Schriftzeugnisse des vergöttlichten Kroisos stammen vermutlich aus der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. und entstanden bald nach der persischen Eroberung von Sardeis 547/530 v. Chr.

Nach dem archäologischen Befund im Heiligtum ist es nicht eindeutig zu beantworten, ob Kroisos dieses Heiligtum noch selbst errichtete oder ob es nach seinem Tod für ihn und Artemis gebaut worden ist. Rollingers späterer Ansatz der Persereroberung von Sardeis macht es jedoch zumindest wahrscheinlich, dass Kroisos das Heiligtum gründete. Die Existenz des Heiligtums vor Kroisos ist hingegen fraglich.

Nach der griechischen Überlieferung endete Kroisos bei der Eroberung von Sardeis durch den persischen Großkönig Kyros auf dem Scheiterhaufen.[95] In der Version Herodots[96] verurteilt der siegreiche Kyros ihn zum Tod durch Verbrennen, Kroisos wird aber durch göttliches Eingreifen gerettet. Kyros vergibt ihm daraufhin und macht ihn zu seinem Berater. In der Version von Bakchylides hingegen verbrennt Kroisos sich auf dem Scheiterhaufen selbst. Das Feuer wird jedoch von Zeus mit einem Regenguss gelöscht. Kroisos wird von Apollon daraufhin mitsamt seinen Töchtern zu den Hyperboreern geleitet, was auf seine

92 Z. B. Fleischer 1973: 200–201; Kerschner 2008: 229.

93 Knibbe 1961–1963; Hanfmann 1983: 221–222 vermutet, dass Artemis von Sardeis (lyd. *Artimus sfardav*) und Artemis von Ephesos (lyd. *Artimus ipsimšiš*) verschiedene Gottheiten seien, die sich aber ein Temenos teilten. Zu Artemis in Sardeis und ihren verschiedenen Epiklesen s. Payne/Wintjes 2016: 97–100.

94 Euler/Sasseville 2019.

95 Zum archäologischen Befund der Eroberung s. Cahill 2010.

96 Hdt. 1, 86–91.

Vergöttlichung zu beziehen ist.[97] Letztere Version identifizieren Euler und Sasseville überzeugend als die glaubwürdigere, da der Selbstmord eines besiegten Herrschers und die Vergöttlichung verstorbener Könige im alten Anatolien mehrfach belegt ist. Sie wird auch durch die älteste Überlieferung zu Kroisos' Tod bestätigt: das Vasenbild der Amphora von Myson (Louvre G 197) von ca. 490 v. Chr., das den thronenden Kroisos auf dem Scheiterhaufen zeigt, während er eine Trankspende ausgießt und ein Diener zugleich den Scheiterhaufen entzündet. Ungewöhnlich bleibt dabei jedoch, dass die Vergöttlichung unter der Herrschaft der siegreichen Perser und nach dem Untergang des Lyderreichs stattfindet. Die Wertschätzung, die Kyros laut Herodot dem besiegten Kroisos entgegenbrachte, dürfte der wahre Kern seiner Geschichte sein. Sie erklärt, wie es möglich war, dass Kroisos als besiegter König unter der Fremdherrschaft von Kyros vergöttlicht werden konnte. Die Überlieferung, dass Kroisos nach der Eroberung durch Kyros weiterlebte und als Kyros' Berater tätig war, trifft insofern zu, als Kroisos nunmehr zum unsterblichen Gott und *synnaos* der Artemis wurde.

Euler und Sasseville identifizieren das ‚Pyramidengrab' von Sardeis[98] als das Grab des vergöttlichten Kroisos, eine wenn nicht beweisbare, so doch plausible These, zumal das Grab auf einem Sporn liegt, der sowohl von der Stadt als auch vom Artemisheiligtum aus zu sehen ist. Es wäre ein weiterer Beleg für den Respekt, den der siegreiche Kyros dem besiegten Kroisos entgegenbrachte. Es wurde seit langem erkannt, dass das ‚Pyramidengrab' mit dem Grabbau des siegreichen Kyros in Pasargadai eng verwandt ist,[99] doch sind die Gründe dafür bisher ebenso unklar wie die Frage, welches der beiden Gräber das Vorbild des anderen war.

Das Pyramidengrab als Grab von Kroisos könnte tatsächlich das Vorbild für das Grab des Großkönigs in Pasargadai gewesen sein. Dafür spricht, dass das Kyrosgrab in Parsa keine Vorläufer hat und sowohl in der Bautechnik – Quadermauern mit Anathyrose und Schwalbenschwanzklammern – als auch in formalen Details wie der *cyma reversa*, welche den Türsturz und die Außenwände bekrönt, an lydische und ionische Architektur anknüpft. Darüber hinaus entspricht die Grabkammer in ihren Dimensionen annähernd der Grabkammer im Alyattes-Tumulus. Generell waren in Pasargadai westanatolische Steinmet-

97 Bakchyl. *epin.* 3,23–62.

98 Ratté 1992; Ratté 2011: 94–99, Abb. 151–161.

99 Nylander 1970: 91–102; Stronach 1978: 24–43, Taf. 19–39.

ze tätig, wie Carl Nylander nachgewiesen hat.[100] Die äußere Gestalt des Pyramidengrabs ist allerdings auch für Sardeis ungewöhnlich, da dort sonst Tumuli üblich sind, wie z. B. der Tumulus von Alyattes.

Für eine historische Verknüpfung der lydischen Könige mit den Königen von Mira spricht darüber hinaus das lydische Wort für König *qaλm(λ)u*, das in den Fragmenten des archaischen ephesischen Dichters Hipponax als Lehnwort πάλμυς erscheint[101] und von Ilya Yakubovich auf den luwischen, nicht-lydischen Personennamen Kwalanamuwa zurückgeführt wird.[102] Er ist am Sipylos bei Manisa neben dem berühmten, bereits in der Antike mehrmals beschriebenen Felsrelief der „Niobe“ oder „Göttermutter“,[103] das tatsächlich wohl einen männlichen Berggott darstellt, in der hieroglyphen-luwischen Inschrift Akpınar 1 aus dem 14./13. Jh. v. Chr. als „Prinz Kwalanamuwa“ bezeugt. Er wird von Horst Ehringhaus als möglicher Prinz des Landes Seha interpretiert,[104] doch könnte er, angesichts der immer noch großen Unsicherheiten in der Rekonstruktion der politischen Geographie Westkleinasiens im zweiten Jahrtausend, vielleicht auch ein Prinz – und später König – von Mira gewesen sein. Da der Name auch auf zwei weiteren Felsreliefs in İmamkulu und Hanyeri, im anatolischen Hochland östlich von Kayseri, sowie auf einem Siegelabdruck aus Kayalıpınar/Samuha bezeugt ist,[105] handelt es sich entweder um einen mehrfach vorkommenden luwischen Königsnamen oder vielleicht um einen hethitischen Prinzen, der dann unabhängiger Herrscher in Westanatolien wurde.

Hinzu kommen mit *ẽnwaλa-* und *tiwdal(i)-* zwei weitere lydische Apellative luwischer Herkunft, weshalb Ilya Yakubovich von einem luwischen Substrat im Lydischen spricht.[106] Selbst der Landesname Lydia könnte von Luwiya abgeleitet sein.[107]

Nach Herodot liegt die Tragik der Herrschaft von Kroisos darin, dass der Mord seines Vorfahren Gyges an Kandaules einen Fluch auf das

100 Nylander 1970: bes. 143–147 n. 382 (Parallelen zur Bautechnik in Pasargadai und am ephesischen Dipteros 1); sein Buch hätte er auch „Lydians in Pasargadae“ betiteln können.

101 Ehrhardt 2005: 109–110.

102 Yakubovich 2019: 310–313.

103 Hom. *Il.* 24, 614–617; Ov. *met*. 6, 309–312; Paus. 1, 21, 3; 3, 22, 4.

104 Ehringhaus 2005: 84–87.

105 Ehringhaus 2005: 70–80; Müller-Karpe 2019b: 232–233, Abb. 7, 8.

106 Rieken/Yakubovich (im Druck); Yakubovich (im Druck).

107 Beekes 2003; Widmer 2004 und Gérard 2003 kamen unabhängig voneinander zu diesem Ergebnis.

Mermnadengeschlecht legte, den er in fünfter Generation büßen musste. Die wahre Tragik Kroisos' war jedoch offenbar eine andere: Er vollendete die von Gyges als Herrschaftslegitimation gestellte Aufgabe der Mermnaden, das alte Reich von Mira wiederherzustellen und die Kontrolle über die Hauptstadt Apasa/Ephesos und ihre Göttin wiederzuerlangen, als er Ephesos eroberte und den kolossalen Dipteros für Artemis Ephesia errichtete. Das alte Unrecht der ionischen Eroberung von Ephesos war damit revidiert und die angestammte Herrschaft der Könige von Mira über Apasa wiederhergestellt. Die Eroberung wird kurz nach Kroisos' Regierungsantritt stattgefunden haben, nach Wallace gegen 580 v. Chr. Dass dieses Motiv historisch nicht überliefert wurde, mag darin begründet sein, dass das Lyderreich wenige Jahrzehnte danach, zwischen 547 und 530 v. Chr., von den Persern erobert worden ist, aber auch in dem Umstand, dass die Griechen über das bronzezeitliche Anatolien, Mira und das Hethiterreich nichts überliefert haben. Diese Epoche war, bis auf wenige mythische Reminiszenzen,[108] aus ihrem Bewusstsein verschwunden. Die lydische Sicht der Dinge lässt sich daher nur rekonstruieren. Die einzige bekannte historische Quelle, die uns darüber hätte Auskunft geben können, sind die bis auf wenige Fragmente verlorenen *Lydiaká* des Lyders Xanthos aus dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.

Das Ergebnis ist eine These, die sich nicht beweisen lässt, aber zumindest eine plausible Erklärung für das auffällige Engagement der Mermnaden im ephesischen Artemision liefert und damit einen Beitrag zur heftig diskutierten Frage einer Kontinuität in der Geschichte Westkleinasiens in den Jahrhunderten zwischen dem Ende der Bronzezeit und der früharchaischen Zeit leisten kann.[109] Ob es sich bei der postulierten Kontinuität des Königtums von Mira bis zu den Mermnaden um eine historische Realität handelt oder um ein historisches Konstrukt der Zeit Gyges', spielte dabei zumindest für die Mermnaden keine maßgebliche Rolle, solange ihre Sichtweise akzeptiert wurde. In jedem Falle müssen sie eine profundere Kenntnis der Geschichte von Mira bzw. Lydiens und Ioniens seit der Spätbronzezeit gehabt haben als die Griechen.

108 Müller-Karpe 2019a.

109 Denkt man sie weiter, könnte sie vielleicht auch dazu beitragen, die altorientalischen Verbindungen Homers zu erklären, wie es schon Peter Högemann annimmt, der in Sardeis vielsprachige Schreiberschulen vermutet (Högemann 2005: bes. 3–5, mit weiterer Lit.). Zur Diskussion um die Kontinuitätsthese s. unter anderem Starke 1997; Hawkins 1998; Rollinger 2004.

Die Lyder waren dabei vielleicht nicht nur Vermittler zu späthethitischen Fürstentümern, sondern könnten auch literarische Texte aus dem zweiten Jahrtausend tradiert haben, wie sie aus der Hethiterhauptstadt Hattuša bekannt sind. Warum sollten lydische Könige, die luwische Namen und einen luwischen Königstitel tragen, nicht die luwische Sprache beherrscht und ein luwisches Archiv gehabt haben? Das Archiv mag mit der Persereroberung von Sardeis untergegangen sein, deren furchtbare Zerstörungen archäologisch gut dokumentiert sind;[110] die spätere literarische Überlieferung konnte darauf nicht mehr zurückgreifen.

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BETWEEN AMORGES AND TISSAPHERNES

Lycia and Persia in the Xanthos Stele[1]

John O. Hyland

Abstract: The Xanthos stele, a multilingual Lycian dynastic monument of the late 5th century BCE, testifies to the importance of diplomatic interaction between Xanthos' rulers and Achaemenid Persian administrators in western Anatolia. Yet the stele's Persian references are unevenly and selectively distributed between its Lycian and Lycian B inscriptions, and entirely absent from its Greek epigram. Amorges, a satrap's son turned rebel, appears briefly in the Lycian and Lycian B texts, but scholars debate whether they present him as friend or foe of Xanthos; in contrast, the final section of the Lycian text celebrates the famous satrap Tissaphernes as an ally of Xanthos, but the Lycian B omits him entirely. This paper analyzes the stele's Persian content and proposes that its designers added the material on Tissaphernes in a late stage of composition, trying to exploit his patronage in the context of local dynastic politics.

Keywords: Lycia, Xanthos, TL 44, Achaemenid Persia, Tissaphernes

The inscribed funerary pillar in the agora of Xanthos bears a unique importance for the study of Lycian history and language, due to its preservation of the longest surviving texts in both Lycian and the related poetic dialect known as Lycian B, as well as a Greek epigram that speaks to the multicultural milieu of western Anatolia. Since their 19th-century discovery and publication in Ernst Kalinka's *Tituli Asiae Minoris* I as TL 44, the Xanthos stele's inscriptions have attracted continuous scho-

1 I am grateful to the organizers of the Ascona conference, to the many colleagues who provided feedback during and after the paper session (particularly Henry Colburn, Craig Melchert, and Ilya Yakubovich), and to David Sasseville, Wilhelm Müseler, and Diether Schürr for valuable comments and critique on revised paper drafts.

larly attention.[2] They provide important evidence for Lycian dynastic politics and religious practice, and have tantalized generations of Classical historians with enigmatic allusions to events of the Peloponnesian War. The interpretation of the Lycian and Lycian B texts is fraught with difficulty due to lingering questions over vocabulary and syntax, not to mention the lacunae that obscure the name of the monument's principal honoree in the Lycian and Greek inscriptions; the coin record suggests a sequence of dynastic rule at Xanthos by Kheriga, Kherẽi, Ddenewele, and Erbbina that spanned the last several decades of the 5th century BCE, but precise regnal dates are sadly lacking, and scholars continue to debate whether Kheriga or Kherẽi was buried in the pillar tomb and which of the two can be viewed as protagonist of the stele's epigraphic narratives.[3] In spite of the daunting textual and historical challenges, ongoing efforts at decipherment and interpretation can offer valuable insights into the Xanthos rulers' self-representation, their rivalries with dynastic competitors in other regions of Lycia, and especially their diplomatic relations with the Achaemenid Persian Empire, as represented by the satraps of Sardis.

The stele's most intriguing Persian references concern two notables of the late 5th century: Amorges, son of the Sardis satrap Pissouthnes, both of whom are known from Greek histories for their uprisings against the Great King Darius II between 421 and 412 (Thuc. 8.5.5; And. 3.29; Ctes. FGrH F 15 53); and Tissaphernes, who defeated and replaced Pissouthnes at Sardis, and later put down Amorges' revolt in 412 with

2 For editions, see Kalinka 1901; Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999. For the broader historical context, see especially Childs 1981; Keen 1998; Thonemann 2009; Müseler 2016.

3 Earlier studies preferred Kherẽi, who is mentioned in the military narrative on sides a and b, and whose coin issues are the most prolific in the late 5th-century Lycian numismatic corpus, as the dynast celebrated in the Lycian and Greek texts (Childs 1979; Childs 1981; Bryce 1986: 109). Scholarship published after the 1980s shifted to a virtual consensus in favor of Kheriga, who is explicitly named as the hero of the Lycian B inscription, with the caveat that a successor probably completed the construction of Kheriga's funeral monument and should be viewed as an additional honoree (Bousquet 1975: 139–140; Bousquet 1987: 126–127; Keen 1998: 9, 129–131; Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999: 33–36; Gygax/Tietz 2005: 96–97; Eichner 2006: 235–236; Thonemann 2009: 168, 183 n. 9; Sasseville (forthcoming); Oreshko (forthcoming: §§ 5, 6, n. 64). In the last decade, several new studies have revived a case for Kherẽi as the honoree of a complex monument that also advertised the achievements of his predecessor Kheriga, and may have been completed after Kherẽi's death by his successor Ddenewele (Schürr 2009; Schürr 2012; Schürr 2016; Müseler 2016; Lotz 2017; Müseler/Schürr 2018); see further discussion below.

help from a Spartan fleet (Thuc. 8.28). Both the Lycian and Lycian B inscriptions mention Amorges (a 55, c 49) while celebrating the Xanthos ruler's battles or victory dedications. The Lycian text, after an interval of sixty-five lines, pays even more extensive attention to the dynast's interactions with Tissaphernes, naming him four times in fifteen lines (c 1, 11, 14, 15); but Tissaphernes remains absent from the Lycian B text, and neither inscription refers to direct interaction between the Persian rivals.

The appearances of Amorges and Tissaphernes prompt important questions about Xanthos' relationship with Persian imperial authority. Scholars long assumed that the Lycian references to Amorges dealt with his rebellion, asserting Xanthos' loyal support of Tissaphernes against the Persian renegade.[4] This view raised a problem, however, for the context and understanding of the Lycian text – why would the sections of the inscription that mention Amorges omit reference to Tissaphernes if they were attempting to boast of Lycian involvement in the satrap's campaign?[5] In the last two decades, Diether Schürr and Peter Thonemann have reinterpreted the syntax of the relevant Lycian lines, arguing that they present Amorges as an ally of Xanthos who battled their common Athenian enemy before the time of his revolt.[6] But the new interpretation, if correct, leads to further questions about the reasons for the stele's silence on Amorges' revolt and its positive treatment of both Amorges *and* Tissaphernes. In either case, the depiction of external allies in a monument intended to exalt local indigenous rulers requires careful explication.

Previous studies have concentrated on discrete sections of the Lycian text, either the Amorges or the Tissaphernes passages, but rarely both together; unpacking the stele's presentation of Persia requires expanded attention to both sections and the distinctions that separate them. Although the Amorges passages seem to include military cooperation with Persians among a larger group of Lycian dynastic achievements, the Tissaphernes section develops a more explicit theme of *political* partnership between the Xanthos ruler and the Persian satrap. This shift in focus demands some attention to the problem of the monu-

4 Childs 1981: 64; Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999: 48; Keen 1998: 136–137; Briant 2002: 609; Gygax/Tietz 2005: 94; Hajnal (forthcoming); Sasseville (forthcoming).

5 Cf. Müseler/Schürr 2018: 389.

6 Schürr 1998; Thonemann 2009; Schürr 2009: 168–170; see also Oreshko (forthcoming: §§ 5, 10).

ment's composition, and the concluding section of the paper will develop a hypothesis of multiple composition phases that might account for both the absence of Tissaphernes from the Lycian B text, and the Lycian prose text's evolving emphasis on Achaemenid satrapal favor.

1 AMORGES: FRIEND OR FOE? (A 51–55)

Discussion of the stele's Persian contents must begin with Amorges' appearance at the bottom of side a's Lycian "war narrative": is he depicted as the Xanthos ruler's friend or foe? In the Lycian text, Amorges' name appears in the accusative case in association with the infinitive *ese-tebãna*, 'to smite' or 'attack' (a 54–55), and traditional readings long made him the victim of that attack, at the hands of Xanthos and/or its Persian allies. But Schürr and Thonemann consider Amorges the subject within a subordinate clause, governed by the action of the *haχlaza* at Kaunos (a 51), whom they interpret as a Persian official or military commander. This man is probably the Hystaspes (*wizttasppazñ*) named in the corresponding section of the Lycian B text (c 48); he may be Amorges' brother, a son of Pissouthnes, son of Hystaspes.[7] According to Schürr and Thonemann, the *haχlaza* directs Amorges to carry out attacks (*pabrati… ese tabãna*) against an "Ionian" army allied with Athens.[8] Based on topographic references and the preceding discussion of a Lycian battle against the Athenian general Melesandros in 429 (a 44–45 and Thuc. 2.69), they associate Amorges' action with the destruction of an Athenian force near Mount Mykale in 428 (Thuc. 3.19).[9] Their reading of the passage does not explicitly report Lycian service in Amorges' campaign, but Thonemann proposes that the narrative celebrated the Lycian victory over Melesandros in the south in tandem

7 For the common identification of the *haχlaza* as Hystaspes, see Schürr 1998: 156; Thonemann 2009: 177; Schürr 2009: 170; Schürr 2016: 176; Sasseville (forthcoming). For Hystaspes as the probable son of Pissouthnes, see Schürr 1998: 156; Schürr 2016: 185; Hyland 2018b: 39, 183 n. 9. Oreshko (forthcoming: § 9) argues instead that the *haχlaza* is an individual named Herikle who appears in a 50.

8 Oreshko (forthcoming: § 5) critiques the traditional translation of *ese-tebãna* as 'attack' and argues that the preverb *ese-*, 'with', points towards a positive combined action, 'to join forces' with the indirect object of the verb, in order to defeat a separate enemy.

9 Schürr 1998: 152–154; Schürr 2009: 168–170; Thonemann 2009: 175–180. See also Lotz 2017: 160; Hyland 2018a: 23–24, 26–30; Hyland 2018b: 39, 183 n. 9.

with a friendly Amorges' success against the Athenians in the north.[10] Rostislav Oreshko's forthcoming paper advocates for a stronger Xanthian-Persian association here, arguing that the dynast actually fought the enemy at Thorax and "joined forces with Amorges."[11]

The arguments of Schürr and Thonemann have the virtue of chronological compression, placing the Amorges episode directly after the battle with Melesandros instead of seventeen years later, and neatly matching Thucydides' references to coastal Anatolian skirmishes in the early years of the Peloponnesian War.[12] But the revisionist theory raises the troubling question of why the monument would record Xanthian collaboration with Amorges, in light of his subsequent treason and conflict with Xanthos' later ally Tissaphernes. Are we dealing with a selective political memory in which the value of Lycian association with a prominent Persian victory outweighed the identity of the specific Persian leader? Schürr has suggested that the Lycian B text could have been composed at an earlier date, and awareness of Pissouthnes' revolt at Sardis might have prompted the Lycian inscription's composer to omit the name of his son Hystaspes; but if that were the case, we should ask why both texts mention Amorges instead of consigning him to *damnatio memoriae* as well.[13]

The case for Amorges' depiction as the ally of Xanthos, therefore, is historically plausible but not ironclad, and David Sasseville's forthcoming study strongly restates and expands on the traditional view that Amorges is the object of *ese-tabãna*.[14] Accepting the *haχlaza* as a Persian regional official, Sasseville suggests that he directed a campaign *against* Amorges, in which the Lycians may have participated. This would shift the context back down from 428 to 412, and would make the *haχlaza* a subordinate of Tissaphernes; the chronological gap can be explained by taking the text as a summary of the dynast's most notable victory dedications rather than a detailed biographical narrative.[15] Sasseville's solution removes the problem of the monument's positive characteriza-

10 Thonemann 2009: 181.

11 Oreshko (forthcoming: § 10–11).

12 Thonemann 2009: 174.

13 Schürr 2016: 185.

14 Sasseville (forthcoming). Sasseville also argues that Kherẽi and Trbbẽnimi should be taken as accusative objects, making both the objects of Kheriga's attacks, and challenging the traditional view of Kherẽi as Kheriga's partner.

15 Sasseville (forthcoming). Older attempts to erase this gap through an imaginative reading of Athenian epigraphic evidence to postulate a second Melesandros, also

tion of a rebel against the Great King, instead highlighting the Xanthos dynast's action against the enemies of his Persian friends.

On the other hand, association of the passage with Amorges' downfall is not without its own difficulties. If Hystaspes, the probable *haχlaza*, was Pissouthnes' son and Amorges' brother, it is harder to envision him opposing their rebellions.[16] Kaunos, the *haχlaza*'s base of operations, rebelled against Athens in the early 420s but was back in Athenian hands by 421, and is first attested in Tissaphernes' possession after Amorges' defeat; it is not certain that it would have been available as a Persian base against the rebels earlier in 412.[17] The topography of the passage also fits somewhat poorly with Thucydides, as Amorges' defeat took place not at Mykale or Thorax but at Iasos (8.28), and the Lycian place name that former editions associated with Iasos is better read as Ialysos, one of the poleis of Rhodes (a 52); furthermore, the Spartan fleet, rather than Tissaphernes' troops, carried out the decisive attack on Amorges (Thuc. 8.28.1–4).[18] Finally, if the intent was to boast of Lycian involvement in Tissaphernes' campaign against Amorges, it is unclear why the text does not name Tissaphernes in this context.[19]

Both interpretations thus raise a number of historical problems, apart from and in addition to the ongoing philological debate. Overall, the 428 date seems somewhat more plausible than 412, and fits more comfortably with the reconstruction of the monument's composition process advanced below, but decisive proof remains elusive. In either case, we should note that this section of the stele places only limited emphasis on actual Lycian cooperation with Persian authorities, apart

destroyed in Lycia, are unpersuasive (*contra* Thompson 1967 and Childs 1981: 64); see Keen 1998: 131; Lotz 2017: 160 n. 91.

16 A family split in the context of rebellion would not be impossible; see the notorious betrayal of Ariobarzanes by his son Mithridates during the 4th-century satrapal revolts (Xen. *Cyr*. 8.8.4). Alternatively, Oreshko's identification of the *haχlaza* as Herikle would remove the problem.

17 See Hyland 2018b: 183 n. 12, 59.

18 For Ialysos instead of Iasos, see Schürr 2009: 169; Müseler 2016: 55 n. 348; Lotz 2017: 160 n. 94; Schürr 2017/2018: 265; Oreshko (forthcoming); Sasseville (forthcoming). The case for tying the passage to Amorges' final defeat depended heavily on the connection with Iasos (cf. Keen 1998: 136), although it is not impossible that Tissaphernes fought Amorges further to the north at an earlier stage of the campaign (see Thuc. 8.19.1–2, 8.20.2); for further analysis of the context see Hyland 2018b: 57–59, 189 n. 36.

19 Müseler/Schürr 2018: 389.

from possible ideological echoes of Achaemenid royal imagery.[20] But any Persian overtones here are not essential for the characterization of the dynast's victories. The Greek poem can describe his glory with no mention of Persians whatsoever; the Kaunos *haχlaza* remains anonymous and appears only briefly in the Lycian text, and higher-ranking Achaemenid leaders – the satrap and the King – are absent from this portion of the narrative. In contrast, when the later sections of the Lycian inscription make direct reference to the Great Kings and Tissaphernes, they call more explicit attention to the politics of Xanthian-Persian collaboration.

2 THE XANTHOS DYNASTY AND THE GREAT KINGS (B 59–60)

A few allusions to more specific, political interaction with Persia stand out amidst side b's narrative of internal Lycian conflict and cultic activities. A damaged section mentions "laws" (*mere*, b 25), the title "satrap" in association with "the Lycians" (*χssadrapahi trm̃mili*[..], b 26), then Ionia (or Greece), Spartans, and Athenians (*ijãnisñ sparttazi atãna*[*zi*], b27), and a list of west and central Lycian localities, Xanthos, Pinara, Tlos, and Phellos (b 30), that may delineate the core territory of the Xanthos dynasty. These lines seem to point to an administrative linkage between the Achaemenid state and Xanthos and perhaps a further connection with the Peloponnesian War, but the surrounding lacunae prevent full understanding of the implications and precise chronological context.[21]

After dealing with strictly Lycian political and religious matters for twenty-eight lines, the narrative reiterates the Persian connection by referring to the "decrees" (*azzalãi*) of the Great Kings Darius and Ar-

20 See Nieswandt 1995: 42–44; Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999: 47; Keen 1998: 138–139; Briant 2002: 609; Schürr 2009: 159–161; Dusinberre 2013: 192–195. A reference to "Lycian and Median horse" (*esbedi hẽmenedi trm̃mil*[*ije*]*di se medezedi*, a 36–37) might allude to cooperation with Persian troops but the sense remains obscure; see Keen 1998: 133; Schürr 2009: 160–161; Tuplin 2010: 120–121.

21 See Keen 1998: 141. This passage also raises a separate problem deserving of further attention, although there is not space to explore it here in full. The translation of *sparttazi* as "Spartans" depends on the juxtaposition with "Athenians" in this passage; but the formal name of the polis was Lakedaimon, rather than Sparta, and its citizens were known as Lakedaimonioi. It is unclear why the Lycians would adopt onomastic terminology familiar in modern usage but alien to ancient Greek practice.

taxerxes (b 58–60).[22] It is tempting to speculate that the mention of "decrees" alludes to Persian endorsement of the Xanthian dynasty's political primacy in Lycia.[23] Schürr suggests that a subsequent reference to the central Lycian dynast Teθθiweibi (b 60–61) indicates the latter's recognition of Xanthian hegemony within the greater region, influenced by the show of Achaemenid royal support.[24]

The naming of two monarchs, instead of only the most current King, also highlights a long-term continuity in Xanthos' Persian alliance. Many scholars, assuming their appearance in chronological sequence, have identified them as Darius II and Artaxerxes II, but there are good reasons to prefer a different interpretation.[25] The stele's genealogies of Lycian rulers begin with the current monarch before listing his relatives and ancestors (a 1–3, 30–31); if the same pattern holds in the passage on the Great Kings, this would suggest a reference first to Darius II and then to his father, Artaxerxes I. The synchronisms between Artaxerxes I and the Lycian victory over Melesandros, and between Darius II and Tissaphernes' visit to Kaunos, strengthen the case for this reading.[26] In this case, the mention of the two Achaemenid rulers as wielders of legitimate authority over Lycia would also assume the legitimacy of Darius' succession, silently passing over the challenges to his power in western Anatolia by Pissouthnes and Amorges, and setting the stage for the appearance of Tissaphernes, who restored legitimate imperial power in the region.

22 See Melchert 2004: 7; Schürr 2012: 132; *contra* Neumann 2007: 32 ('Fest, Bankett, Speiseopfer?'). I am not persuaded by Shevoroshkin 2000: 206–207, arguing that *azzala-* means 'state/union/alliance' and refers to the Persian Empire itself.

23 Cf. Hajnal (forthcoming).

24 Schürr 2012: 133–134; Müseler/Schürr 2018: 391. Teθθiweibi minted at Phellos and Kandyba around the third quarter of the century, but Kheriga's coins then overlap or replace his issues at Phellos; see Müseler 2016: 37–38.

25 Childs 1981: 66; Nieswandt 1995: 22; Keen 1998: 9 n. 69; Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999: 49; Gygax/Tietz 2005: 93; Hajnal (forthcoming).

26 Deecke 1888: col. 828; Schürr 2012: 133; Lotz 2017: 161; Müseler/Schürr 2018: 390. Schürr assumes the first name refers to Darius I, suggesting an endorsement for the Xanthos dynast's ancestors by the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty (Schürr 2012: 134; Müseler/Schürr 2018: 391); but reference to Darius II seems more plausible in light of the subsequent attention to his satrap Tissaphernes.

3 TISSAPHERNES, XANTHOS, AND PERSIAN-LYCIAN RECIPROCITY (C 1–16)

Tissaphernes' arrival completes the connection between Achaemenid patronage and the success of the Xanthos dynasty. He is named four times in the concluding section of the Lycian text (c 1, 11, 14, 15).[27] Tissaphernes' exceptional status is also indicated by the inclusion and repetition of his patronymic (c 1–2, 11–12); the only other persons in the Lycian text with named fathers or ancestors are the members of the Xanthian royal family (a 1–2, 30–31) and the Achaemenid Kings themselves. The repeated first-person statements in the same section are also suggestive of a uniquely personal interaction between Xanthos' ruler, perhaps to be distinguished from one or more predecessors in the earlier part of the narrative, and the Persian satrap.[28]

As interpreted in Craig Melchert's groundbreaking 1993 study, lines c 1–4 report the dynast's assumption of a new type of authority in the context of Tissaphernes' arrival: "When (?) Tissaphernes and the Persian at Kaunos and the (allies?) of Sp[art]a(?) battled against the Athenians, I became *maraza* for them."[29] The proper names point to a date in early 411, a few months after the end of Amorges' revolt, when Tissaphernes met with a Spartan delegation at Kaunos to negotiate the Peloponnesian War treaty between Sparta and Persia (Thuc. 8.57).[30] Melchert translated *maraza* as 'judge', suggesting that the dynast claimed to act as an arbiter in the contentious talks between the Persians and their Greek allies.[31] Günter Neumann preferred a translation of *maraza* as a title referring to local civic or military authority, suggesting that the Xanthos ruler became in some sense a formal deputy of the Persian satrap.[32] It is worthwhile to remember that Tissaphernes' activities and interests

27 Schürr 2012: 131 postulates that variant spellings of his name (*Zisaprñna, Kizzaprñna*) may indicate a change of carver, but this is not the only possible explanation, and a single scribe may have written multiple variants due to the difficulties in rendering initial sounds that are foreign to Lycian speech (pers. comm. David Sasseville).

28 c 4 (*aχagã*); c 15 (*aχa*); c 18 (*-taχa*, *-aχã*); see Schürr 2009: 158.

29 Melchert 1993: 31.

30 See Childs 1981: 68; Melchert 1993: 31; Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999: 50; Keen 1998: 137–138; Schürr 1998: 150; Thonemann 2009: 180; Schürr 2012: 133; Schürr 2016: 149; Lotz 2017: 161.

31 Melchert 1993: 32–34. This need not reflect diplomatic reality so much as the dynast's self-aggrandizement.

32 Neumann 2007: 195.

at Kaunos need not have been limited to the Spartan negotiations and conflict between the Greek powers. The satrap was far from his usual seat at Sardis, and in the wake of Amorges' suppression, this may have been the first time that he toured his province's Carian-Lycian periphery.[33] He probably took the opportunity to conduct some local business, while the Xanthos ruler jumped at the chance for direct contact with the satrap as opposed to lesser Persian officials. With this in mind, the inscription's statement that they erected several stelai in the precincts of local deities (c 5–9), while synchronized with Tissaphernes' Spartan conference, is perhaps better associated with Lycian-Persian agreements concluded at Kaunos.[34]

Tissaphernes' next appearance follows an obscure statement involving commands, kingship, and horses (*mei ti puweti azzalã ddeu trbbeite mẽ esbẽte xñtawatedi unabãñme se mẽ kizzaprña widrñnahe*, c 9–11).[35] He is now accompanied by a second Persian named Erijamana, best viewed as a satrapal deputy, who may have been stationed at Kaunos like the *haχlaza* who governed there in the early 420s.[36] A textual clue in c 16 raises the possibility of Erijamana's identification as Tissaphernes' son, a neat parallel with the earlier *haχlaza* Hystaspes if he was the son of Pissouthnes.[37] Tissaphernes and Erijamana appear to cooperate in a joint activity with respect to Xanthos, after which "Tissaphernes and the Persian" reappear as subjects or recipients of a second action (*se mẽ kizzaprña widrñnahe sewerijamãna telẽzijehi qlã arnñas*

33 See Hyland 2018b: 71–73. Xenophon refers to Tissaphernes' possession of an estate (*oikos*) in Caria in the 390s (*Hell.* 3.2.12, 3.4.12), but its exact location and acquisition date are unknown.

34 Cf. Schürr 1998: 150; Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999: 36; Raimond 2004: 391–393.

35 The words *azzalã* and *xñtawatedi* may reflect an echo of the Achaemenid royal reference in b 58–60. Is someone giving or inscribing (*puweti*) a decree, following the establishment of stelai in the previous lines?

36 Cf. Debord 1999: 214.

37 See further discussion below on *tideimi ehbi* (c 16); cf. Shevoroshkin 2000: 207. Neumann 2007: 345 reads *telẽzijehi*, the term following Erijamana's name, as a title of military office ('general' or similar), and its genitive ending might point to a patronymic function ('son of the general', that is, Tissaphernes), but other scholars prefer to take *telẽzijehi* as a modifier for *qlã* (see b 13, where they also occur together, and references in note 38 below). Erijamana is usually identified with the Hieramenes named just after Tissaphernes in the Persian-Spartan treaty at Thuc. 8.58.1; if he was Tissaphernes' son, his appearance would parallel the treaty's reference to the sons of the late Daskyleion satrap Pharnakes. On the other hand, this would rule out his identification with the brother-in-law of Darius II who appears in Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.8–9 (*contra* my assumption in Hyland 2018b: 72).

kehixñta erbbedi ñtube τer[*ñ*?] *kizzaprñna epriti se parza*, c 11–14). Finally, the Xanthos ruler takes several actions with respect to Tissaphernes (*me-ñ*[*ne*] *t*[*a*?]*mã aχa se ñtepi kizzaprñnã ttli*[……]*e*[..] *tideimi ehbi arusñ nene χla*[…..], c 14–16).

Interpretation is complicated by the lacunae, the limits of our vocabulary, and persisting uncertainties over the separation of clauses and placement of sentence breaks. Despite these problems, it seems safe to associate Tissaphernes' and Erijamana's activities with the *qla*, a sacred precinct or public space at Xanthos, plausibly identified with the purified *temenos* of the Greek inscription (c 22), and connected here in some obscure way with violent conflict (*erbbedi*).[38] The majority of syntactical readings take *ñtube* as the key verb, although its precise translation remains a matter of debate.[39] Perhaps we should think in terms of the satrap and his deputy protecting, granting, or helping to dedicate the space where the stele was erected. Alternatively, as suggested in a new translation by Sasseville, the ruler of Xanthos may have offered the use of the precinct to Erijamana for some temporary purpose related to military activities, which culminated in the arrival of Tissaphernes and the Persian(s) (*kizzaprñna epriti se parza*).[40] The translation of the verb *epriti* preferred by Melchert and Schürr, 'to hand over', could involve a similar overall sense, with Tissaphernes and the Persian(s) bestowing a grant in addition to their initial benefaction.[41] Might this suggest that

38 See van den Hout 1995: 159; Neumann 2007: 345. If *telẽzijehi* refers to *qlã*, this would connect the sanctuary to a public authority associated with military leadership (van den Hout 1995: 159–160 translates 'military headquarters', and Schürr 2004: 188 has 'fürstliche Temenos', cf. Schürr 2012: 133). Schürr 2004: 189 suggests that *erbbedi ñtube τer*[*ñ*] refers to the defeat of a hostile army in battle, the consequences of which affected the situation in Xanthos; but Sasseville (forthcoming) argues that *τerñ* is a conjunction rather than a noun meaning 'army'.

39 See Melchert 2004: 75: 'to offer/dedicate' (related to the Luwian noun *ubati-*, 'land-grant, estate'; cf. Neumann 2007: 253); Sasseville 2019: 313 'to donate'. For restoration as a form of *tub*(*e*)*i*, 'to smite', see Schürr 2004: 188–189; Schürr 2017/2018: 262. Yakubovich 2005: 249 dissents from the verbal interpretation entirely, arguing for *ñtube* as a noun meaning 'stele'.

40 Sasseville 2019: 132 and 313: "As the community of Xanthos donated a military precinct to Ieramenes as *kehixñta* because of the war (and) Tissaphernes and the Persians came as backup."

41 For *epri-* as 'to hand over', see Melchert 2004: 111; Schürr 2004: 191. If *τer*[*ñ*] is taken as the accusative singular of *tere*/*τere*, meaning 'territory' (Melchert 2004: 63; Neumann 2007: 347), this would suggest a land donation; but see Sasseville's argument for *τer*[*ñ*] as a conjunction, noted above. Yakubovich 2005: 249, taking *ñtube* as a noun and object of *epriti*, translates "where (*τer*[*e*]) a stele (?) will be

Tissaphernes not only negotiated with the Lycians at Kaunos, but traveled further east and dignified Xanthos with a personal visit?

The next phrase brings the Xanthos dynast back to the foreground, as he carries out an action in the first person "for them" (*me-ñ*[*ne*]), that is Tissaphernes and the Persian(s); this seems to involve erecting a building or monument (*t*[*a*ʔ]*mã aχa*).[42] A second verb, its ending lost, follows the final reference to Tissaphernes, who now appears in the accusative case (*se ñtepi kizzaprñnã tlli*[…]). The verb is most likely a form of *tlli-*, 'to pay';[43] but if this recorded an offering to Tissaphernes, it is unclear why his name would not appear in the dative. Perhaps the accusative carries the sense of respect, recording an action or offering in Tissaphernes' presence.[44]

The action concludes with a fragmentary sentence mentioning someone's son (*ehbi tideimi*), then a phrase which seems to mean "superior to (his) brothers" (*arusñ nene*).[45] Diether Schürr proposes a further restoration, [*Ddene*]*welẽ*, the accusative form of a personal name known from numismatic evidence as a late 5th-century ruler at Xanthos. Diether Schürr and Wilhelm Müseler, viewing Ddenewele as Kherẽi's son and successor, propose that the passage alludes to his selection for a position of future leadership.[46] But the reference to someone's son, using the third-person rather than the first-person pronoun, may involve a child

prepared (?) for Tissaphernes and the Persians." Several studies have interpreted *kizzaprñna…se parza* as dative beneficiaries rather than nominative subjects of this clause, based on the assumption that "the Persian" would be awkward as a singular subject (Melchert 2004: 97; Yakubovich 2005: 249); but one could compare the Achaemenid inscription DNa § 4, in which the spear of a singular "Persian man" represents the expansion of the empire.

42 Schürr 2004: 188 n. 10; Yakubovich 2005: 249.

43 See Melchert 2004: 68 (although Neumann 2007: 383 considers *ñtepi* a preverb and restores *tlli*[*di*…], doubting its connection with *tlli-*). Despite the missing ending, a first person singular seems likely, paralleling *aχagã maraza* in c 4 and *aχa* in c 15; see Schürr 2009: 158.

44 Alternatively, Schürr 2004: 192 makes Tissaphernes the subject of a relative clause, bestowing a payment on the Xanthians or the dynast.

45 For this translation of *arusñ nene*, see Schürr 2014: 16–18, superseding older interpretations of *arus* as 'citizenry' or 'Demos' (Melchert 2004: 5; Neumann 2007: 24).

46 Schürr 2014: 17. For Ddenewele as the son and heir of Kherẽi, based on the close association between their coinage minted at Xanthos, see Müseler 2016: 57–58, 61; Müseler/Schürr 2018: 398–399. Their reading, of course, depends on the dating of the Amorges passage to 428, and would be irreconcilable with the argument of Sasseville (forthcoming) that Kheriga battled Amorges in 412.

of Tissaphernes, perhaps Erijamana, acting on the satrap's behalf.[47] Reading *tideimi ehbi* as a nominative subject, contrasting with the accusative phrase that follows (*arusñ nene χla*[..*Ddene*]*welẽ*), one could take the phrase to mean that Tissaphernes' son recognized Ddenewele's superiority over his brothers, an act of Persian investiture that enhanced the political legitimacy of Xanthos' next ruler. Although the restoration of Ddenewele is not the only possible reading, and the involvement of Kherẽi's heir would be less likely if one followed Sasseville's theory that the text on side a records Kheriga's victory over a hostile Kherẽi, the sequence of references to satrap, dynast, offspring and siblings indicates that the passage reports a benevolent Persian involvement in the Xanthian dynastic succession, regardless of the dynasts' specific identities.

What emerges from the Tissaphernes section in its entirety, despite the numerous textual controversies, is a clear and striking emphasis on Lycian-Persian reciprocity.[48] Tissaphernes and the Xanthos dynast alternate as subjects of clauses, bestowing services and honors on one another in turn. This closing passage of the stele's Lycian inscription links the dynast to Tissaphernes as *maraza* for the Persians, without depicting him as the Persian's lackey; rather, it celebrates his acquisition of an imperial favor which benefits the entire Xanthian community. In highlighting the partnership between city and satrap, it bears comparison with the famous Lycian stater M 221, the obverse of which depicts a rider in Persian dress, captioned with the name of Xanthos (*arñna*), while the reverse pairs the helmeted head of Athena or Maliya with the name of Tissaphernes (*zisa*[*prñ*]*na*).

Silvia Hurter, in the original publication of the "Tissaphernes Hoard" in which the coin appeared, stressed the close resemblance between its Athena image and those used on the reverse sides of Ddenewele's issues at Xanthos, albeit with the dynast's name in place of the satrap's. Müseler and Schürr, building on this similarity, argue that Ddenewele was responsible for minting the Tissaphernes coin.[49] Their dating of the issue to the early 4th century remains problematic, but a case can be made for a closer chronological association between the Tissaphernes stater and the diplomacy at Kaunos in 411, which in turn would

47 Müseler/Schürr 2018: 393–394; cf. Hyland 2018b: 48, 187 n. 63.

48 Cf. Hyland 2018b: 59.

49 Hurter 1979: 100–101; Müseler 2016: 58, 61; Müseler/Schürr 2018: 399. See also Alram 2012: 75 for the coin as an issue of Xanthian civic authorities, honoring Tissaphernes, rather than a minting at satrapal orders.

strengthen the plausibility of Ddenewele's association with the stele's Tissaphernes narrative.

Hurter compared the Persian rider on the obverse, unique in the Lycian coin corpus, with issues of Cilician Tarsus containing a similar Persian equestrian image on the obverse and a hoplite on the reverse, which Colin Kraay had assigned a speculative date at the beginning of the 4th century.[50] Consequently, Hurter associated the Tissaphernes coin with his service as *karanos* of western Anatolia between 400 and 395. But Kraay's original chronological argument, disputing an earlier 5th-century dating of the Tarsus series, is based on a dubious assumption about an episode in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the flight of the Cilician queen Epyaxa from a sudden mock attack by Cyrus' Greek mercenaries (1.2.14.18), which Kraay interpreted as proof that the Tarsians were unfamiliar with hoplites in 401 (despite Epyaxa's bodyguard of soldiers from the polis of Aspendos at 1.2.12).[51] Müseler's recent study picks up on the Cilician connection and advances a new argument for placing the Tissaphernes stater around 400, hypothesizing that both Ddenewele and Syennesis of Tarsus were among the client rulers who sought Tissaphernes' favor in the wake of Cyrus' rebellion to excuse their previously equivocal loyalties (cf. Diod. 14.35.2–3).[52] But this scenario remains unconvincing for several reasons. After Cyrus' downfall, the Cilician king more likely fell under the authority of a nearby Persian general in the Levant as opposed to a distant *karanos* at Sardis, and it is questionable that Ddenewele would have been among the rulers who supported Cyrus and subsequently needed to make amends.[53] Finally, Tissaphernes' recorded 4th-century activities took place in Ionia, Lydia, and northern Caria, with no recorded travel in the Lycian border region;[54] he appears to have severely neglected the financial maintenance of the Persian fleet at Kaunos in 396–395, which secured back pay from authorities at Sardis only after his execution (*Hell. Oxy*. 22.3).[55] With all

50 Kraay 1962: 10, 14; Hurter 1979: 101.

51 For cogent analysis of this episode, see Rop 2019: 36–38.

52 Hurter 1979: 101; Müseler 2015: 23–24; Müseler 2016: 58, 61; Müseler/Schürr 2018: 399.

53 Cyrus' rebellion probably lacked support in Caria, from which Tissaphernes rode to warn the King in 401 (Xen. *an*. 1.2.4; cf. *Hell*. 3.2.12; Plut. *Art*. 10.3, 11.5, 12.3); and the Xanthos stele's honors to Tissaphernes do not suggest that Cyrus would have found sympathy among its commissioners.

54 Cf. Childs 1981: 68.

55 For further discussion see Hyland 2018b: 144–145.

this in mind, it is preferable to associate the Tissaphernes stater with his earlier career as Sardis satrap, and more specifically with his visit to Kaunos and contact with the ruler of Xanthos in 411.[56] In the summer of 411, a few months after the Kaunos meetings, a Persian royal fleet assembled in Phoenicia and sailed along the Cilician coast as far as Aspendos, where Tissaphernes took over its command (Thuc. 8.59, 78, 87); this provides a more plausible context for the similarity of equestrian scenes on the coins of Tarsos and Xanthos than the situation in 400 to 395.[57] I would propose that the minting of the Tissaphernes coin occurred in close proximity to the commissioning of the Xanthos stele's honorary references, and that both may have served to express a shared message celebrating the political linkage between Ddenewele, his predecessors, and their Achaemenid patrons.

4 CONCLUSION: THE COMPOSITION OF THE XANTHOS STELE AND LYCIAN-PERSIAN RELATIONS

This brings us back to the question of the stele's composition and Persia's significance in the later sections of the Lycian inscription. If the designers of the monument wished to call attention to the symbiotic relationship between the Xanthos dynasty and the Achaemenids, why did they refrain from doing so in the Greek and Lycian B verses? Was it simply a matter of space, related to the incomplete ending of the Lycian B text on side d?[58] This is unlikely, as the Lycian B was not simply a translation of the Lycian, and its composers should have been able to plan for the inclusion of the Kings and Tissaphernes if they considered them vital to its message. It is more fruitful to stress the thematic common ground between the Greek and Lycian B texts and the Lycian "war narrative", and the divergent focus on the issue of Persian alliance in the Lycian inscription's later sections.

This divergence is best explained by a model of extended composition, with a later date for the passages of the Lycian text that deal with

56 Cf. Hyland 2018b: 189 n. 48.

57 The fleet was meant to support the Spartans against the Athenians, but was delayed at Aspendos and then recalled to Phoenicia for reasons debated heavily among Greek contemporaries (Thuc. 8.87); see Hyland 2018b: 76–91 for further discussion and interpretation of Persian motives.

58 For the Lycian B text's final lines see Eichner 1993: 130–131; Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999: 26; Gygax/Tietz 2005: 95; Schürr 2016: 148.

Tissaphernes. This is not to say that the Lycian B (or Greek) carving preceded the Lycian narrative's composition, as argued by Marc Domingo Gygax and Werner Tietz.[59] On the contrary, as the Lycian inscription begins at the top of the stele's south side and appears to be complete with room to spare, it must have been carved on the rock before the Greek epigram, which begins twenty lines down from the top of the north side, and the unfinished Lycian B text that follows the Greek.[60] But it is plausible that the monument's designers *planned* the inscriptions in at least two principal stages, separated by a chronological hiatus. In the initial phase, they commissioned three complementary but separate texts – the Lycian side a (and side b?) narrative, Greek poem, and Lycian B verses – to memorialize the heroic leadership and piety of the dynast (either Kheriga alone, or Kherẽi and Kheriga as his predecessor).[61] In stage two, before the actual epigraphic labor began, someone ordered the expansion of the Lycian prose narrative with additional material, containing the references to interactions with Tissaphernes, while choosing to leave the Greek and Lycian B texts unaltered. This likely occurred in reaction to new political developments, perhaps including the demise of the monument's original honoree and succession of the individual responsible for the textual additions, as well as a heightened interest in Persian diplomatic contact following Amorges' suppression and Tissaphernes' visit to the Carian-Lycian border region in 411.

It seems clear that the monument's comprehensive subject matter spanned the reigns of at least two Xanthian dynasts. The proximity of Kheriga and Amorges in the Lycian B poem suggests that whether or not the monument served as his final resting place, Kheriga reigned through some of the earlier events covered in the Lycian inscription, including and not limited to the defeat of the Athenian Melesandros in 429. At some point thereafter, Kherẽi appears to have succeeded to power at Xanthos, as suggested by his extensive coinage (although acceptance of Sasseville's theory of his conflict with Kheriga would require revision of this scenario). There is no explicit evidence for a succes-

59 Gygax/Tietz 2005: 94–96.

60 Cf. Nieswandt 1995: 29; Thonemann 2009: 185 n. 23.

61 The recent adherents of Kherẽi as the honoree in the initial Lycian narrative and the Greek poem have acknowledged Kheriga's primacy in the Lycian B composition (cf. Schürr 2016: 183; Lotz 2017: 151–152, 164; Müseler/Schürr 2018: 395–396). For parallel compositions as opposed to translation of a "primary" text in multilingual inscriptions, see also Melchert's paper on "Bilingual Texts in First-Millennium Anatolia" in this volume.

sion date, but the first-person statements in the Tissaphernes narrative may point to the presence of a different ruler in 411 as opposed to the earlier events recounted on side a. It could have been either Kherẽi or Ddenewele who interacted with Tissaphernes at the time of the Kaunos visit, and the latter may have overseen the final phase of monumental composition and epigraphic labor.[62] But Ddenewele seems to have reigned only briefly before losing control of Xanthos to the rival dynast Erbbina, perhaps in the final decade of the 5th century.[63] If he assisted in completion of the Xanthos stele in the meantime, the looming internal competition in Lycia lent a particular urgency to appeals for further Persian patronage. In such a context, the addition of the Tissaphernes material to the Lycian inscription could have highlighted Ddenewele's close relationship with the satrap in order to bolster his own political legitimacy and advertise the strength of his Achaemenid connections. Alternatively, if Ddenewele issued the Tissaphernes stater but Erbbina or another rival oversaw the stele's completion, we might postulate a sort of bidding war in which multiple contestants invoked the name of Tissaphernes in an attempt to solidify their authority over Xanthos.

In summary, the monument's Persian references support the hypothesis that the Xanthian leader(s) responsible for the stele's completion viewed the support of Tissaphernes as a critical advantage in contests against local rivals; and expanded attention to Persian partnership on a monument celebrating Xanthian dynastic hegemony, as well as the minting of the Tissaphernes coin, were manifestations of this develop-

62 See Müseler 2016: 58; Lotz 2017: 163–164. For alternative reconstructions of a multi-stage construction by other relatives of Kheriga, see Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999: 49–50; Keen 1998: 9, 145; Gygax/Tietz 2005: 96.

63 For Ddenewele's probable overthrow by Erbbina, as suggested by the replacement of his numismatic issues as well as the Symmachos poem's reference to Erbbina's sack of Xanthos, see Müseler 2016: 62–64; Lotz 2017: 162–163; Müseler/Schürr 2018: 399. Earlier reconstructions overlooked the more obscure Ddenewele and pitted Erbbina against either Kherẽi (Bousquet 1987: 127; Konuk 2008: 197) or other, anonymous rivals (Keen 1998: 142–145). The argument that this occurred in the 390s (Müseler/Schürr 2018: 399) depends on the unnecessarily late dating of the Tissaphernes coin, which I prefer to place around 411 as discussed above. On the other hand, if we were to accept Sasseville's model in which Kheriga continued to reign and campaigned against Amorges in 412, this would require a significant down-dating of the subsequent Xanthian rulers, and would probably necessitate placing Kherẽi in the last decade of the 5th and Ddenewele and Erbbina somewhere in the early 4th century.

ing political strategy.[64] The attraction was hardly one-sided; Xanthian courtship of Tissaphernes bore real value for the satrap and his royal master as well. From an imperial perspective, the consolidation of a loyal client-kingdom at Xanthos exemplified the restoration of order at the margins of the Sardis satrapy after the disturbance of Pissouthnes' and Amorges' rebellions; it also offered the strategic opportunity for control of the greater Lycian coastal region, especially significant in 411 as Tissaphernes prepared for the planned voyage of the Persian royal fleet from Phoenicia to the Aegean.[65] It is possible that the satrap also saw expanded contact with the Xanthos dynasts as an opportunity to renew imperial access to the Lycian labor pool visible at an earlier date in the Persepolis Fortification archive.[66]

The Xanthos Stele thus illustrates the crafting of a mutually beneficial alliance between the local dynasts and the Achaemenid satrap, but it would be amiss to conclude without noting the limitations of this relationship. If Ddenewele was responsible for the stele's completion and the Tissaphernes coin, his ties to the satrap were insufficient to prevent Erbbina from seizing power at Xanthos, and Tissaphernes' authority declined sharply after the cancellation of the planned Persian naval expedition of 411, culminating in his subordination to Cyrus the Younger from 407 to 401. The chaotic infighting between Tissaphernes and the Achaemenid prince, especially in 403–401, may form part of the background for Erbbina's campaign of conquest in western Lycia, with Tissaphernes lacking the ability to intervene on behalf of his preferred Xanthian leaders.[67] The outcome underscores the fragility of alliances

64 This is preferable to the conjecture in Borchhardt et al. 1997–1999: 52, that this monument was established for the dynast because of his services to Persia, which comprise a minority of the overall content.

65 For Lycia's strategic importance to the Persian navy, see Keen 1993; Keen 1998: 126–128; Müseler 2016: 66. On the Phoenician fleet in 411 and the reasons for the expedition's cancellation, see Hyland 2018b: 76–91.

66 For the enormous Lycian work force attested in the Persepolis Fortification archive, see Tavernier 2015. Two unpublished Persepolis Fortification tablets (Fort. 2030A–101:7–9 and Fort. 0036–101:16–19) indicate the involvement of the Sardis satrap Artaphernes in the authorization of Lycian travel parties' movement from Anatolia to Persis; I am grateful to Matthew Stolper for allowing me to see the most recent collations, and hope to discuss them further in a separate study.

67 Lotz 2017: 162–163 notes that Erbbina claims to have been twenty years old when he seized Xanthos (SEG 39 1414.23); if one follows the traditional identification of Erbbina's father Kheriga as the earlier Xanthos dynast (despite the doubts raised by Müseler 2016: 63), this would accord well with a date in the last decade of the

based on personal connections between individuals whose grasp on power remained tenuous. If the Xanthos Stele demonstrates an intersection of local and imperial agendas in the borderlands of southwest Anatolia, it also shows the potential for internal factionalism to corrode political stability within the spheres of the Lycian dynasts and Persian satraps alike, a problem that would grow more serious over the course of the 4th century.

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5th century. Lotz assumes that Kherẽi succeeded Kheriga by 430, before the Melesandros battle, and therefore places Erbbina's victory at Xanthos around 409 at the latest; but if Kheriga lived longer (as suggested by his appearance alongside Amorges in the Lycian B text), this would permit Erbbina's ascendancy to correspond with the dates of Cyrus' Anatolian command.

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THE BESTOWING OF WREATHS ON THE TOMBS OF MEREHI AND PAJAWA

Tamás Péter Kisbali

Abstract: This article provides a closer examination of the motif of crowning with a wreath that appears on two Lycian funerary monuments: the tombs of Merehi and Pajawa from Xanthos. It is argued that these scenes were intended to reflect ideas of hierarchy and subordination in the complex socio-political situation of late 5th- to early 4th-century Lycia. The bestowing of honours was represented in order to commemorate the deeds of the main tomb owners, but also to strengthen the position of their families. The wreath was a symbolically charged element in itself, but equal or even greater importance was attached to the fact of its transference and to the specific participants of the event.

Keywords: Lycia, Lycian art, wreath, iconography, Xanthos, Merehi, Pajawa, Achaemenid Lycia

There are a total of three depictions of a person being crowned with a wreath on two famous Lycian monuments, the tombs of Merehi and Pajawa from Xanthos (**Fig. 2**; **Fig. 3**; **Fig. 5**). The two structures, notable for their intra-urban placement and monumental execution, were erected for high-ranking members of Lycian society. Merehi and Pajawa actively involved themselves with the complex power structures of the region, and were associated with Lycian dynasts and Achaemenid satraps. As such, they had the resources and permission to create such exquisite monuments, and also the ambition and pride to have their achievements represented through the introduction of specific visual formulae.

Before (or, for that matter, after) the creation of the sarcophagi of Merehi and Pajawa, scenes of crowning with a wreath are absent from the Lycian monumental record.[1] Depictions of wreath-bearers are also

1 Depictions of athletic and heroic deeds were an important theme of Lycian aristocratic funerary monuments of the 6th century BC, such as the Pillar Tomb 1 at Isinda or the Wrestler's Relief from Xanthos (Draycott 2007; Colas-Rannou 2009).

rare – although some figures on the east side of the Harpy Tomb from Xanthos originally had metal headbands or circlets attached (Smith 1892: 57). The coinage of the dynast Xerẽi in the late 5th century BC provides an intriguing case. The common type depicts Athena, with three olive leaves on her helmet. Its obverse shows the head of Heracles, or sometimes a ruler (likely Xerẽi himself) wearing a *bashlyk* (Mørkholm/Zahle 1976). In some instances, the dynast is depicted with a laurel wreath over his cap.[2] It is tempting to connect this idiosyncratic coin type with the appearance of the wreath on Merehi's sarcophagus – after all, they are roughly contemporary. However, such coins are extremely rare, and thus don't offer strong evidence for the understanding of wreaths in Lycian culture during the given period.

On the one hand, crowning with a wreath is an established iconographic scheme from the late 5th to the early 4th centuries BC, paralleled in the ancient Greek repertoire. Their shapes and functions vary, but almost always they serve to mark a special event or signify a person's excellence. Wreaths are associated with triumph and victory (in martial and athletic contexts) as well as the celebration of marriage, and are also a highly frequent feature of funerary iconography (Blech 1982). On the other hand, their use on these Lycian tombs is more complex, and should be examined in detail. Some scholarly effort has already been directed at this problem, from both a generalist ancient Greek and a more specialized Lycian points of view. Given that in two instances out of three the wreath is bestowed upon a nude youth, the scenes are commonly interpreted as the demonstration of the athletic prowess of the deceased. For example, in Michael Blech's treatise on the meanings and iconographic variations of wreaths in ancient Greek culture, the tombs of Merehi and Pajawa are simply listed under the heading "Ehrung des Siegers mit Kränzen, Zweigen und Tänien" (Blech 1982: 427–428).[3] Corinna Hoff examined the use of this theme in her extensive study of Lycian iconographic patterns. She concluded that the primary role is that of a funerary wreath ("Totenkranz"), with allusions to not

However, there the emphasis was on the struggle, and not so much on the subsequent prize-giving.

2 E.g. https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=346455 and https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=346455 (Accessed on December 27, 2018).

3 Blech's group of "Bekränzung des Siegers durch sitzenden Athlotheten" includes another Lycian monument – the tomb of Xñtabura in Limyra (Blech 1982: 427, no. 14). This is a misunderstanding: the nude athlete standing between two seated figures is not receiving anything (Borchhardt 1993: 63, Tf. 26).

just the athletic, but to a broader spectrum of agonistic meanings (Hoff 2017: 264).

In recent years, important progress has been made towards a socio-historical interpretation of the combined evidence of the inscriptions and reliefs of the Pajawa sarcophagus. Diether Schürr presented his views of the Pajawa reliefs in several articles (e.g. Schürr 2010; Schürr 2012) and the tomb and its iconography was also the subject of an article by İsa Kızgut (Kızgut 2018).

In this article, I would like to offer a further exploration of this theme.

1 THE TOMB OF MEREHI

The lid of this tomb was acquired by the British Museum in 1848.[4] The lower part of the sarcophagus, bearing the inscription TL 43, remains in situ in Xanthos. From the inscription we learn that "Merehi, son of Kudala" built the tomb for "his household", and that he served as a military commander under the dynast Xeriga, sometime in the latter part of the 5th century BC.

The best-known and most thoroughly studied feature of the Merehi sarcophagus are the reliefs with the depictions of the *apobates* race on each side of the lid (Szemethy 1996). The usual iconography of the armed warrior jumping onto the chariot is extended by the inclusion of the Chimera and a panther: a conscious attempt at connecting the *apobates* scene (already a heroic motif) to the locally important myth of Bellerophon. At the same time, the *apobates* is unlikely to be Bellerophon. His iconography was already established by the 5th century BC, and he was never depicted on a chariot (Smith 1900: 54). Furthermore, with the appearance of the panther, a mythical dimension is projected onto the aristocratic hunt practices of Lycia (Childs 1978: 101; Poggio 2017). These reliefs thus demonstrate the freedom and creativity with which visual schemes were combined and recombined on the monuments of South-Western Anatolia.

More reliefs are found on the crest beam of the sarcophagus. The north side depicts a single, unified battle frieze. The clash of armies

4 British Museum, no. 951; Demargne 1974a: 88–96, Pl. XXXI–XXXII, 46–51; Hoff 2017: 79–83.



Fig. 1. The Tomb of Merehi, south side of the crest beam, drawing by George Scharf. © Trustees of the British Museum.

takes place under the walls of a besieged city.[5] This image was studied by William Childs in his work on Lycian "city reliefs", and belongs to Type I, "sketch of a city wall next to a battle frieze" (Childs 1978: 17–18).

The south side of the crest beam contains several images, organized in separate groups (**Fig. 1**). The frieze is framed by a family banquet on one side, and a royal or satrapal audience on the other. These two types of scenes are mainstays of Lycian funerary imagery.

The crowning scene appears after the banquet (**Fig. 2**). On the right side, we see a nude Polykleitan youth, the receiver of the honours. The bestower of the wreath is an older man. He is characterized by a rather stern profile and distinctive shoulder-length hair. With his left hand, he upholds the edge of his himation. His right arm extends forward and over the head of the youth. The actual wreath, now lost, was probably a metallic attachment, meaning that it would have hovered over the young man, extending beyond the boundaries set by the framing of the relief.

The next two episodes depict what can be tentatively labelled as "meetings": two men extending their arms towards each other (in the first pairing) and shaking hands (in the second pairing).

In the descriptions of the monument, scholars identify these depictions only in

5 But where is Merehi in the battle frieze? Jenkins identifies the seated commander next to the city wall as "perhaps Merehi himself" (Jenkins 2006: 178). Childs refers to this person as "seated figure" or "seated ruler" – the second variant indirectly suggests that the scholar doesn't recognize him as Merehi (Childs 1978: 18, 45).



Fig. 2. The Tomb of Merehi, south side of the crest beam, detail with the crowning scene. © Trustees of the British Museum.

general terms: "scenes of daily life",[6] "peaceful episodes from the life of Merehi" and "scenes of civic life" (Jenkins 2006: 178) or figures borrowed from the civic context of the Greek agora or funerary iconography (Demargne 1973: 268; Demargne 1974b: 166). Although true on a superficial level, these approaches feel somewhat simplified, and thus should be developed further. I think it is appropriate to assume that these images were to be understood as references to precise events.

Let us examine the three pairs in the middle of the frieze. It is clear that considerable attention was devoted to the differentiation of the people by age, and in certain cases, status. In the first "frame", a mature bearded man is crowning a younger person: the youth is marked by heroic/agonistic nudity, while the bestower of the wreath is his senior in age, and represents a certain authority. His appearance is not copied from any prototype, but reflects the local Lycian style. In Greek art, the nude "heroic" youth is usually depicted receiving trophies or honours from either the goddess Nike, or an *agonothetes* figure, a man supervis-

6 British Museum online collection, URL: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1848-1020-143 (Accessed on January 11, 2019).

ing the competition.[7] Here, the central figure is a person contemporary spectators were able to recognize (due to his hairstyle and other details), either as a specific individual or as the representative of a type of authority or relevant jurisdiction. His presence and approval legitimize the younger man's position in society.

The men in the second and third "frames" belong roughly to the same age group, but are distinguished from each other by beard- and hairstyle. It is tempting to read the two pairs as a "frame-by-frame" sequence of a single event. The images might represent the same pair twice – or the same type of situation, but with different participants. The left figure in the third "frame" is quite similar to the bestower of the wreath, and also the reclining man in the banquet scene (all three wear their hair shoulder-length, but have trimmed their beards closer to the face). It seems possible that they are the same person, participating in three different events.

To sum up these observations: far from being generic filler motifs, the scenes are best understood as a conscious attempt to reflect specific formative events and stages in the life of the deceased. Thus, we have something akin to a biography, the story of Merehi.[8] The scenes on the two sides of the crest (the battle and the "civic" episodes) should be understood not as a juxtaposition of "war and peace", but rather as the inevitable or even *obligatory* presence of both aspects in Merehi's life. Without his participation in fierce battles and sieges, his biography wouldn't be complete. The same applies to the episodes depicted on the "peaceful" side.

An additional important aspect of the crest frieze is its clear episodic and sequential nature. This might be connected to a worldview that

7 See, for example, in vase painting, roughly contemporary to the Lycian sarcophagi under discussion: a young actor receiving a wreath from Nike on an Apulian bell krater: British Museum, no. 1836,0224.175, c. 400–380 BC; a youth dismounting from a horse receiving a wreath from Nike on a Lucanian bell krater, British Museum, no. 1978,0615, c. 390–370 BC. For numerous examples in South Italian and Sicilian vase painting of the 5th–4th centuries BC, see Trendall 1989: draped female figure offering wreath – ill. 73, 75; Nike offering wreath – ill. 122; Nike offering wreath to winner of horse-riding competition – ill. 67; female figure offering wreath to rider – ill. 157; female figure offering wreath to warrior – ill. 49, and so forth.

8 It's tempting to consider the whole crest frieze as a linear progression through time. However, this is hard to prove, and would be perhaps the only example in Lycian art of a linear composition with episodes set out in strict chronological order. As we shall see later, the Pajawa sarcophagus breaks up the "biography" into juxtaposed scenes, located on opposite sides of the tomb.

emphasizes a certain order of things. The Merehi tomb was created in a very special period, and perhaps some of its compositional choices can be explained by other structured relationships that existed (or were imagined) in Achaemenid period Lycia.

The first stage was, or might have been, an Achaemenid court education. Sources on this issue are external, fragmentary and sometimes contradictory, so "a holistic account" of Achaemenid court life is unobtainable.[9] The evidence represents a mix of actual practices, misunderstood information, and ideal schemes. However, a general idea of structure does emerge. One thing most authors agree upon is that there was a traditional way of educating the Persian elites, propagated by the court, both in the capital and regional centres. This education placed a great emphasis on training with weapons, both for hunt and combat, but also the transfer of knowledge about mythology and the deeds of prominent people, and the development of just and "ethical" behaviour. Ideas expressed in the "Cyropaedia" ("Cyrus's education") could have been the foundation (or a reflection?) of this approach.

Unfortunately, as mentioned above, the available sources cannot enlighten us as to what exactly went on in the different lands of the Empire. According to Xenophon, the satraps had to imitate and reproduce the practices and structure of the royal court in their own domain (Xen. *Cyr*. 8.6.10; Briant 2002: 347). One of their obligations was the education of their own children, but we can assume that training was extended to the children of local elites as well. To what extent such practices were implemented in Lycia remains an open question. However, even if there was no "official curriculum", the view of the world as a hierarchic system was still transferred and employed. Education, after all, was to play an important part in the integration of local elites into the Achaemenid network.

According to Strabo, during certain phases of the training, athletic competitions were held (running and "other contests of the *pentathla*"), where golden prizes were given to the winners. In the central court setting, it was the Great King himself who bestowed these gifts to the sons of the best of the Persians (Strab. 15.3.18).

It would seem logical, then, for the satrap or perhaps the dynast to organize competitions for the sons of local aristocracy. In this context, the naked youth could be the representation of a Lycian being crowned by a representative of authority for victory in a competition. Although

9 For an overview, see Tuplin 2010.

this is certainly not the ultimate interpretation, it does indicate the possibility that, even when expressed through "Hellenized" imagery, the athletic competitions themselves were not necessarily imported from Greek contexts. Furthermore, besides honouring the youth, this scene highlights the importance of the person who is bestowing the wreath. He can be interpreted not just as a generic "judge", but as a recognizable figure in the relevant Lycian elite hierarchy.

The two meeting scenes become more meaningful as meetings with influential higher ranking people, whose patronage eventually leads to an audience possibly with the satrap himself.[10] Overall, this episode stresses Merehi's personal strength and capabilities on the one hand, and his integration into the ideal "career track" prescribed for those who serve the Achaemenid Empire on the other.

The images chosen for the monument, and especially the crowning with the wreath, is a strong visual cue that activates several different levels. The "victory wreath" is no longer a purely "athletic" theme, but rather a broader agonistic feature. Athletic triumph is seen as proof of the prowess of the deceased, and is presented in a clear parallel with triumph in war. The *agon* concept also reinforces the *apobates* scenes on the lids of sarcophagi.

Such blending of the iconographies of athletic competition and victory in war was becoming the mainstream in the arts of the late 5th century BC. As Catherine Keesling writes, "the image of the *agon* (contest) and the victor's *arete* applied equally well to military victory and athletic victory, and both were suffused with heroic overtones" (Keesling 2017: 98–99). An important (albeit lost) example is the Lysander Monument at Delphi (Paus. 10.9.7). Dedicated by the Spartans after the victory at Aegospotami in 405 BC, this lavish sculptural group was centered around the commander, Lysander, who was being crowned with a wreath by Poseidon.

William Childs rightly points out: "In essence it seems clear that with the Merehi Sarcophagus a wave of Greek iconography and quite up to date stylistic traits appear in Lycia in specific context".[11] In this respect, the Merehi sarcophagus' iconography and crowning scene should be seen not as a provincial idiosyncrasy, but as an early implementation of

10 Not unlike how, according to the traditional narratives (e.g. FGrHist 90 F66), Cyrus gradually works his way from the bottom of the social hierarchy to the top by gaining the support of influential people at the court of Astyages.

11 Childs 1976: 309; see also Childs 2018: 165–166.

this idea. Using the motif of crowning with a wreath, the Lysander Monument elaborates on the relationship of a heroic mortal and a god. The wreath on the sarcophagus of Merehi exalts the tomb owner on the one hand, while highlighting the hierarchic relation between the bestower of the honours and the recipients in the complex social structure of Achaemenid-era Lycia on the other.

The problem of the identification of Merehi amongst all these figures remains open. Without inscriptions or other aids, we can imagine several hypothetical scenarios. Regarding the scene with the wreath, there are two possibilities: The first is that Merehi is the recipient of the wreath, with this scene possibly referencing one of his early achievements. Alternatively, it is the bestower of the wreath who is Merehi, by now a prominent and respected member of Lycian society, who educates and rewards. In this case, hypothetically, the nude youth could represent a member of his household, a son, for example. This is especially plausible if we recall that the wreath-giving is located right next to the banquet scene (**Fig. 1**), which represents a family unit.

2 THE TOMB OF PAJAWA

This funerary monument, now housed in the British Museum, also comes from Xanthos, where its base still remains in situ.[12] In many aspects it represents the next stage of the development of elaborate Lycian multi-tiered tombs. The lid is decorated both on its sides and its crest. The sides show the *apobates* scene, but without the additional animal figures. The crest beam is embellished with a hunting scene and a battle of cavalry and warriors on foot.

The carvings of the second tier represent, on the west side, another battle, with a prominently placed mounted warrior in Persian dress leading the charge. Presumably this is Pajawa himself. Opposite, on the eastern long side, we find an audience scene, which I will address later. We do not know Pajawa's exact status, but he was clearly an important "officer" or "commander" of sorts, connected to both the dynast Arttum̃para and the satrap Autophradates.

12 British Museum, no. 950; Demargne 1974a: 61–87, Pl. XXV–XXX, 27–45; Hoff 2017: 83–90.



Fig. 3. The Tomb of Pajawa, crowning scene on the north side.
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Crowning with a wreath is represented twice on the sarcophagus, on the north and south panels, albeit in different interpretations (**Fig. 3**; **Fig. 4**).

The crowning of a nude athlete takes up the middle tier on the north side of the sarcophagus (**Fig. 3**). The scene originally featured three standing men. The figure on the left is a naked youth, who is receiving a wreath from the older man in the centre. As Pierre Demargne rightly pointed out, the frontal positioning of the figures adds to the overall triumphal character of this image (Demargne 1974b: 166). The older man in the centre is bearded, with the distinctive hairstyle of heavy, curling locks, recognizable from figures on the sarcophagus and other Lycian monuments. He is dressed in a himation. He raises his right hand above the head of the athletic youth, in a gesture associated with the placing of a wreath. Unfortunately, the upper part of the relief is damaged, and the exact shape of the wreath is not definable.

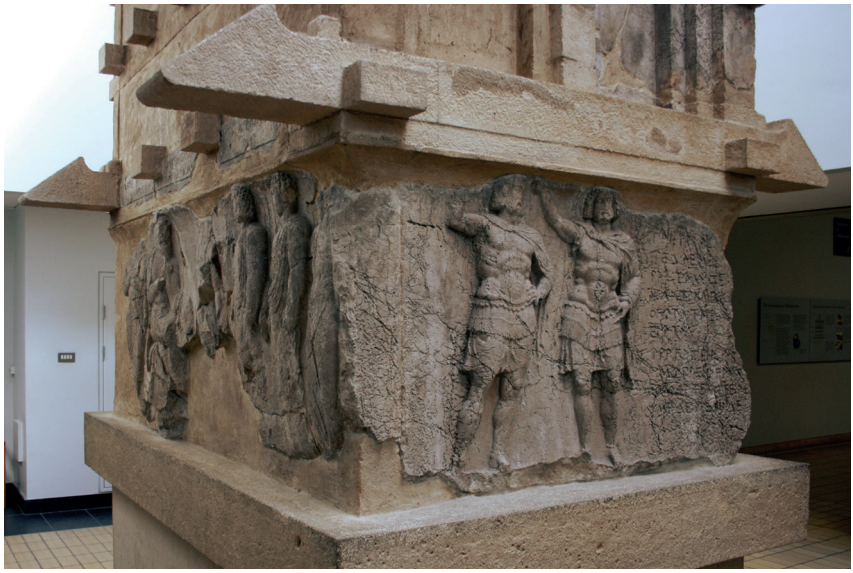

Fig. 4. The Tomb of Pajawa, view from the south-west. © Photograph by Mike Peel (www.mikepeel.net).



Fig. 5. The Tomb of Pajawa, crowning scene on the south side. © Public domain.

Recently, a new fragment of the Pajawa sarcophagus was identified (Prost 2012). It connects to the right-hand end of the British Museum reliefs, and depicts a youth dressed in a short tunic.[13] His contrapposto

13 The similarity between the completed north side and one of the coffer reliefs of

mirrors that of the nude athlete, which adds an element of symmetry to the overall composition.

The second crowning scene appears on the south side, next to the inscription TL 40c (**Fig. 4, 5**).

Two men are depicted, en face, standing next to each other. Their attributes such as hair, beard, armour and mantle, are almost identical.

The figure on the left has his left hand on his hip and holds out his right hand to the side. The most likely possibility is that he is leaning on a spear, which was either added in painting or as a metallic attachment. The warrior in the middle raises his right hand above the head of his companion. Unfortunately, the upper part of the relief is damaged, which makes it difficult to identify the precise action. But, although some scholars have attempted to see both figures as leaning on spears (Smith 1900: 52), it is surely undeniable that the scene depicts a crowning with a wreath. Despite some similarities (light contrapposto, left hand on the hip), the two men's postures reflect different movements. The left-side figure has his right elbow bent close to a 90° angle, whereas the figure on the right lifts his arm above the shoulder, and the elbow is only slightly bent. If we examine the iconographic evidence for 4th-century and Hellenistic warriors leaning on spears, we will recognize that the joints tend to form right angles (with slight variations stemming from the contrapposto stance).[14] The right-side man on the south side of the Pajawa sarcophagus extends his arm sideways, hovering over the other man's head. This composition can only be interpreted as a crowning.

An interesting and significant aspect of this image is the lack of clear hierarchical distinction between the two men. They are of the same "age group" – mature bearded men; and wear the same type of armour (unlike the pairs on the crest of the Merehi sarcophagus or on the north side of Pajawa's own). Their only differentiation is through their respective roles in this ceremony as granter and receiver of the honours.

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the early Hellenistic Mausoleum at Belevi has already been noted (Ruggendorfer 2016: 77–78, 118–119, Taf. 68.5, 71; Kızgut 2018: 77).

14 The image of the warrior leaning on his spear is a popular one. I would like to evoke as a parallel the painting from Tomb I of the Bella Tumulus in Vergina, ancient Macedonia (Brecoulaki 2006: vol. II, Pl. 59-1, 60-1). This work from the first half of the 3rd century BC not only demonstrates a clear formula for the depiction of the warrior leaning on his spear, but also combines him with a female figure, who is offering a wreath (Brecoulaki 2006: vol. I, 162–167, vol. II, Pl. 60-2). The Lycian imagery of the Pajawa and Merehi sarcophagi were, in many ways, the forerunners of this type of Hellenistic heroising visual discourse.



Fig. 6. The Tomb of Pajawa, audience scene on the west side.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

As far as identification is concerned, there is no consensus. Discussing the crowning scenes, Childs identifies Pajawa as the *receiver* of the honours in both cases: i.e., the nude figure on the north side, and the left man on the south side (Childs 2018: 166 n. 82). Demargne posits that on the south side Pajawa is granting the wreath to his peer (Demargne 1974b: 166). İsa Kızgut examines the problem in detail, concluding that on the south side Pajawa is the receiver of the wreath. The similarly dressed bestower can represent his "brother-in-arms", his father, or the Lycian dynast (Kızgut 2018: 71) – in this case, possibly Arttum̃para.

I will return to the problem of identification after a brief examination of the audience scene.

The overall arrangement of the audience scene presents two distinct parties (**Fig. 6**). The left half of the relief is taken up by the receiving side. The main dignitary, dressed in Persian fashion, is seated, with two attendants or servants behind him.[15]

Four people are approaching from the right. The figure of the leader of the "delegation", the man standing in front of the dignitary, is, unfortunately, heavily damaged. The second person is bearded, with the

15 The corner with the second attendant was found separately; see Jacobs 2007: 25, Abb. 2 for a composite photo of the relief fragments.

typical heavy curled hairstyle found on Lycian reliefs. He is followed by two younger men.

We expect, of course, to find Pajawa among this group of four – but which one is he, exactly? And who are the others?

The inscription TL 40d is located above the scene: it details the relationship between Pajawa and the Persian satrap Autophradates. We learn that Pajawa received a certain *χruwata* from Autophradates – the translation of the word is disputed (Hoff 2017: 87–89), but it is generally taken to mean an offering or gift. Diether Schürr proposes that it refers to the very item the enthroned man is presenting to his standing guest on the relief. Following Benndorf's description, Schürr defines the gift as a bowl ("eine Schale", Schürr 2012: 31); however the present condition of the sarcophagus precludes a positive identification of this detail.[16]

Diether Schürr studied this inscription and relief in several contexts, most notably in connection with the activities of the dynast Arttuñpara. Arttuñpara is not mentioned in TL 40d, but his name is tentatively reconstructed in 40c, next to the armoured men. Analyzing the inscription above the audience, Schürr suggests that the seated dignitary in this scene could be Arttuñpara, who is depicted in the act of passing on Autophradates's gift (the *χruwata*) to Pajawa (Schürr 2010: 154; Schürr 2012: 41).

However, the iconographic scheme could also support the idea that the seated figure is the Lydian satrap Autophradates himself. He is thus accepting Arttuñpara first and Pajawa second, passing on honours to Pajawa through the dynast's hand. This interpretation would mean that the first two men in the "delegation" are perhaps Arttuñpara, followed closely by Pajawa. In either case, the hierarchy is literally set in stone.

Diether Schürr's proposal (Schürr 2012: 29–30, Abb. 7), that the "Acropolis Pillar" in Xanthos might belong to the dynast Arttuñpara, and that he gave permission to Pajawa to set up his sarcophagus in the vicinity of the dynastic funerary precinct, is worth mentioning in this context as well.

But who are the ones standing behind them in the "Lycian delegation"?

16 If there was indeed an object being passed on the relief, a bowl is a good candidate. Luxury metal objects were a means for the royal and satrapal courts to "establish and then to consolidate relations with the local elite" (Miller 2010: 878), and were often gifted as a sign of recognition.

Let us recall that the crowning scene on the north side includes a second figure located on the right of the central bearded man (Prost 2012). Ian Jenkins proposes an interesting interpretation: he equates the two younger men on the north side with the younger participants of the audience scene (the third and fourth men in the "Lycian delegation", Jenkins 2006: 183). Unfortunately, he limits this observation to a single sentence, and does not elaborate or comment on the identity of the older man, the bestower of honours; however, the idea that he is Pajawa seems plausible.

On the one hand, Pajawa is the main owner and focus of the tomb. But he is not the sole beneficiary. Could the two youths represented on the north side and on the right in the audience scene, for example, be his sons? By incorporating them into the iconographic program of the tomb (which, in turn, represented a real-life audience with the dynast or satrap), Pajawa wanted to guarantee his children's place in the Achaemenid Lycian socio-political structure. Furthermore, we can consider the possibility that Pajawa's sons were the ones who set up the tomb and, as successors of their father, wished to be featured in its visual embellishments.[17] Taken together, the inscriptions and reliefs anchor Pajawa and his relatives in the hierarchical system of regional and superregional (satrapy- and/or Empire-wide) politics. I do not necessarily think that such structures were "imported" and imposed upon Lycia on a wholesale basis. But engagement with the Achaemenid hierarchy certainly facilitated the translation of Lycian traditional practices into clearer, more articulated structures. In an environment of constant power struggle, the idea of keeping and transferring authority was of foremost importance.

As a side note: perhaps a similar behaviour can be traced in another motif – the handing over of objects, especially weapons.[18] This was already featured on the Harpy Tomb (the offering of a helmet on the north side); but it is also found in some of the non-dynastic monuments. An outstanding example is the rock-cut tomb complex of Hurttuweti in the "sea necropolis" of Myra, accompanied by an inscription (TL 94) and several reliefs (Seyer 2009). A family banquet occupies the place

17 For a similar approach to the visual display of familial and dynastic ties, see the sarcophagus from the "Tomb of Hecatomnos" in Mylasa, Caria. The same figures (supposedly the satrap-king Hecatomnos and his children) are repeated on two sides of the sarcophagus, in the context of a *symposium* and a lion-hunt.

18 See also the discussion of "Waffenübergabe" and the "departure of the warrior" theme in Hoff 2017: 263.

above Tomb 9 (Seyer 2009: Abb. 13, 17). On the left side, two compositions are attached to this main panel. The organization of the figures in pairs and the array of types are highly similar to the Merehi and Pajawa tombs. First, there are two nude men, sculpted with an expressed contrapposto. Then an older man, accompanied by a boy who carries his shield. The man's hairstyle, beard, cuirass and pose are similar to the two warriors on the south side of the Pajawa sarcophagus (**Fig. 5**). He possibly represents the same "class" of eminent Lycians of the day – a mature armed man of high social standing, perhaps the main owner of the family tomb. These scenes represent a different modality, with a greater emphasis on "family ties" and an absence of audience- or battle scenes.

3 CONCLUSION

In the paper, I have examined the occurrence of the theme of crowning with a wreath on two Lycian tombs. These tombs belonged to people of high social standing, who were eager to express and reinforce their positions, have their deeds commemorated, and smooth the transmission of their privileges to their relatives. Certain staples of 5th- to 4th-century BC art take on new forms and meanings in Lycian funerary sculpture. As I have tried to demonstrate, these iconographic schemes must have been used to convey in visual form the complex hierarchical relationships between various actors of Lycian political and social life. The motif of crowning with a wreath is an easily understandable and highly symbolic visual cue.

Furthermore, it seems that not only was the wreath itself significant as an object, but that great importance was attached to the very fact of transference, the symbolic potential of rewarding one's loyal servants. This idea finds expression in the depictions in the crowning scenes on the tombs of Merehi and Pajawa.

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THE SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS OF LARISA (BURUNCUK) AND THEIR REFERENCES TO THE BRONZE AGE LEGACY

Ilgın Külekçi

Abstract: Based on the excavations at the beginning of the 20th century, recent architectural fieldwork at Larisa (Buruncuk) has re-drawn the layout of the site, placing an area of agriculture and livestock between two core settlements. “Larisa West”, with a fortified acropolis and representational buildings, an extensive necropolis of tumuli, and a regularly planned urban area, was obviously the locus of rulers and elite residents. “Larisa East”, on the other hand, was a modestly sized settlement dominated by a strong fortress on the hilltop and inhabited apparently by non-elite residents in the service of the greater urban organization. In addition to these spatially defined defensive, religious, and residential functions, the rural backdrop with cultivation terraces and buildings for agriculture completes the landscape. Although the visible remains are basically from the timespan between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, the settlement history goes back to the Neolithic period, which is evident from small finds, and the earliest architectural layers date to the end of the Early Bronze Age. With its compact layout, elite buildings and the archaeological evidence as principal indicators, Larisa can be considered closer to a Bronze Age urban model, or at least to a settlement constructed on much the same planning principles. In this article, following this preliminary hypothesis, the archaeological and architectural finds from the Bronze Age have been reviewed and the characteristics of the Aeolian settlement re-examined. Regarding the physical remains and historical geography, the urbanization process of Larisa can be considered both within its well-defined entity and in relation to the long-term dynamics of earlier periods.

Keywords: Larisa, Bronze Age, Aeolis, urban model, continuity, architecture, layout, fortification, Persian, Classical

Larisa (Buruncuk) is an Aeolian site in Western Anatolia, to the northwest of modern Izmir.[1] It overlooks the fertile valley of the River Hermos, which connects this ancient region with inland Lydia. The history of the settlement goes back to the Neolithic period, and the Bronze Age is represented by some wall fragments and small finds. However, the visible remains are basically from the timespan between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE. During this period, Larisa was a city under Persian rule and most probably remained loyal to the Great King of Persia. There exist no subsequent layers dating to after the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, which offers a great opportunity for the legibility of the settlement model for the Archaic and Classical periods, a topic that still remains as a desideratum in research today.

The site was excavated by a joint expedition of Swedish and German archaeologists at the beginning of the 20th century. The results were published in 1940 and 1942 in three *Larisa am Hermos* volumes, respectively on architecture, architectural terracottas and small finds.[2] From 2010 onwards, an architectural survey conducted by Professor Turgut Saner has been proceeding with the participation of scholars from Istanbul Technical University. The works are not supported by excavations, but based on field observations, documentations and the already revealed archaeological results. The survey and related research focus on topographical and architectural analysis.[3]

The lavishly conceived constructions of Larisa mainly point to Greco-Persian rulers, and the earlier periods are poorly represented. The remains are not sufficiently manifest, so that the 20th-century publications refer to the previous layers simply as "pre-Greek period" under a single title and concentrate on the "Greek" layers.[4] However, the continuity of some spatial functions from the pre-historical period is obvious from, among other features, a wall fragment of the fortification

1 This paper has been developed as part of a research question from my PhD thesis under the supervision of Turgut Saner.

2 Boehlau, Johannes/Schefold, Karl (ed.) 1940: *Larisa am Hermos. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1902–1934. I. Die Bauten*; Kjellberg, Lennart 1940: *Larisa am Hermos. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1902–1934. II. Die architektonischen Terrakotten*; Boehlau, Johannes/Schefold, Karl (ed.) 1942: *Larisa am Hermos. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1902–1934. III. Die Kleinfunde*.

3 For an overview of the survey studies, see Saner 2018a.

4 The remains cannot be dated as part of the architectural survey, nor can an archaeological re-evaluation be completed. All the datings (except Özdoğan 2018) and the word "pre-Greek" mentioned in this paper refer to the 20th-century publication, *Larisa am Hermos*.

system dated to the Bronze Age, a cult place, and several building foundations. The co-existence of Bronze Age and Classical finds in the same spots, along with a very similar architectural and urban layout, offers an opportunity to investigate the settlement trajectories. Since we have the layout, the architectural representation of the elite population, and the archaeological evidence from the Bronze Age as principal indicators, it can be hypothesized that Classical Larisa inherited an older plane, namely a Bronze Age model. In this paper, the characteristics of the *Aeolian settlement of Larisa,* dating between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, will be re-interpreted by discussing and questioning similarities to earlier settlement models.

1 SETTLEMENT LAYOUT

Larisa is located on a ridge projecting from ancient Mount Sardene (Dumanlı dağ) and dominates the Hermos (Gediz) valley. It is known that the coastline never reached the outskirts of Buruncuk, and Larisa has always been an inland site along the valley's periphery, even in the prehistoric period (Kayan/Öner 2016: 26). Strategically located on the Hermos River flowing to its south, the city was well known for its natural resources.

The two core settlements of Larisa are located on two hills of the Buruncuk ridge (**Fig. 1**). The lower hill to the west consists of an acropolis above a lower town, and an extensive necropolis with tumuli. The acropolis was reserved for rulers and enclosed with monumental defensive walls. The occupation area expanding towards the south was also fortified with city walls. The gentle slopes of the southern and southeastern parts of the hill offer quasi-plain areas for enlarging the settlement. Numerous wall fragments (around 70 in number), dispersed stone blocks, and small finds define the habitation traces. The wall fragments differ in masonry type and thickness, so that they can be identified as part of retaining walls, walls of monumental architecture, or standard domestic buildings. One particular set of wall remains gives the impression of a regular urban arrangement, possibly based on an *insulae* system. Given its immediate proximity to the acropolis, the regular settlement structure and monumental buildings, this area was obviously inhabited by the city's elite. Two main construction phases of Larisa, differentiated by masonry technique, date to the early



Fig. 1. Greater settlement layout of Larisa (Buruncuk) (Larisa Architectural Survey Archive).

5th and 4th centuries BCE.[5] In both periods, the acropolis was extensively fortified and furnished with representational buildings. Considering the similarity in construction techniques, and the terrace walls, we can assume that the extension of the lower city area coincided with major building activities.

The necropolis extends from the northeast of the acropolis along the ridge of the abandoned Buruncuk village, and reaches as far as the agricultural area.

The higher hill to the northeast is ca. 2 km from Larisa West, and by the early 5th century BCE was dominated by a strong fort. Habitation units are dispersed across the natural terraces below the eastern wall of the fort. Large retaining walls shape the natural topography, creating small terraces. The dwellings are irregularly scattered on three main terraces. Compared to the monumentality of the fort above, the modest size of the settlement, its arbitrary layout and imprecise boundaries without any circuit wall indicate the lower status of its dwellers. According to these features, the eastern settlement can be considered as a secondary focus or "outer town", regarding both its distance from the main urban center and the irregularities of the settlement structure.

5 Walls with Lesbian masonry are dated to the 5th century BCE, whereas rectangular masonry indicates the 4th century BCE. For a broader analysis, see Saner 2018b; Saner/Sağ 2012.

The area between the eastern and western hills is named "agricultural area" in the survey studies. The topography of this 40 ha area is characterized by gentle slopes, on which traces of ancient cultivation terraces and buildings for agriculture are visible. With the eastern town as its direct neighbour, this rural space was probably operated by the non-elite residents of Larisa East.

The greater settlement concept thus consists of both Larisa West and East, completed and separated by the necropolis and the agricultural area. The architectural layout enables us to interpret two different types of settlement and posit a social hierarchy among their residents. It is obvious that Larisa derived maximum benefit from its environmental and geomorphological features, dividing urban functions strictly along topographical lines. Besides the well-fortified acropolis and fort, the overall urban image also includes the settlement areas, reflecting a wider pattern of construction activity and social ranking.

Within this layout a well-organized entity is established, so that, with the western settled area covering around 9 ha (excluding the necropolis), and the eastern 2 ha, for the Classical period Larisa represents a small-scale city. During the Classical period, the fortification systems develop and encompass the entire city walls, enclosing a broader inner organization that became more complex. Housing plots were also developed in a more uniform way, as required by the increase in population. Most of these are distinguished by large peripheries, with areas of between 20–100 ha. Yet there is no typical settlement model for Asia Minor, especially in the 5th century BCE. Following the Ionian Revolt, continuous quarrels fragmented the political geography and, depending on which group was dominant, the cities were divided among Greeks, Persians and diverse local communities. Archaic period sites – including well-known examples such as Clazomenae and Miletus – were divided, re-founded or re-located. In Western Anatolia, the scarcity of archaeological and architectural evidence from the 5th century BCE confirms this constantly changing pattern. In this context, Larisa represents one of the few cases studied from the 5th century BCE and stands out with its extensive building programs displaying a coherent image in terms of settlement layout.

The plan of "early Greek" Larisa with its well-defined upper, lower and outer towns and special emphasis on central power is reminiscent of Bronze Age models. Such a comparison naturally derives from the topographical characteristics of the site, which in all periods provided

benefits and advantages. Besides, the small size supports this resemblance. As a recent archaeological survey in Western Anatolia shows, Liman Tepe, with its upper town of 1.5–2 ha and a total area of 10–15 ha, is considered as one of the largest Early Bronze Age settlements of this region (Ersoy/Güngör/Cevizoğlu 2011: 170–171). The Middle Bronze Age Kaymakçı (30 ha) and Late Bronze Age Troy (40 ha) represent the largest sites of their time (Becks 2015: 124, 126). In all these sites, in addition to a regional settlement hierarchy, the inner structure is also based on the following social system: under the dominance of a densely fortified citadel, the settlement is dispersed as far as the most distant areas for agriculture or animal pasture. Besides their radial site plan,[6] Western Anatolian Bronze Age sites such as Troy, Liman Tepe and, further inland, Kaymakçı and its surrounding settlements repeat this clear pattern with an enclosed upper town protecting the rulers' area as the main center, a lower town also surrounded by walls, and, beyond them, a spread of outer towns or lowland sites.

2 ARCHITECTURAL REPRESENTATION OF THE ELITE POPULATION

The western part of Larisa represents the residential area of the ruling class (**Figs. 2–3**). Along with the acropolis walls, the most important buildings are the temple, Megaron (a reception hall), the so-called old palaces and the New Palace. There were also large cisterns, storage buildings and a paved road which reached the acropolis from the north. The abundance of monumental structures and palaces shows that this area covered administrative and religious functions, as well as providing a prestigious residence for its rulers. The isolation of the palace district and the lack of an open public center bring this group of structures close to a Classical or Hellenistic *basileia* concept. Given that the main structures such as the temple and the Old Palace date to around the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, the acropolis of Larisa may be interpreted as one of the earliest *basileia*. Fragments of terracotta plates with aristocratic scenes and architectural fragments of monumental structures support the primacy of this enclosed area. The acropolis is heavily fortified with defensive walls including eight towers. The southern course of the acropolis circuit, which is also reinforced with towers, and the

6 *Anatolisches Siedlungsschema* defined by Korfmann 1983: 222.



Fig. 2. Plan of Larisa West and the necropolis (Larisa Architectural Survey Archive).

lack of a distinct connection between the lower residential area and the acropolis, support the idea of an internally developed organization. In the 4th century BCE, a larger complex, the New Palace, was constructed on the northern part. At the same time, the acropolis was enlarged towards the south and east and an outer ward was created with the addition of a *diateichisma*. The North Wall is also dated to this period and recent documentation on the northern slopes revealed scanty traces of a theater building.[7]

The 20th-century excavations do not cover any area outside the acropolis, so that neither layering nor detailed archaeological analysis

7 The research of this area has not yet been completed, but the northern slopes must have been included in the settlement by the 4th century BCE.



Fig. 3. Larisa West, acropolis and the urban area
(drone photograph by Sinan Kolay, Larisa Architectural Survey Archive).

of the city area can be completed. The 7.5 ha urban area is organized with terrace walls, *insulae* with domestic buildings and at least two monumental – or other specialized – buildings. The regular order of the settlement structure and the potential specialized areas increase the status of this area.

The large necropolis of Larisa might also have been used to mark hierarchal status. The majority of the grave units are tumuli surrounded by walls, dating mainly to the 6th century BCE,[8] with a ring-wall of 4–6 m in diameter but differing in masonry type and workmanship. The largest five of these, presumably attributable to prominent persons, stand on the crescent-shaped hill above the abandoned village of Buruncuk. The southeastern edge of the necropolis ridge is reserved for the Great Tumulus with a diameter of 54 m, overlooking the Hermos plain and affording a commanding view of the extra-urban settlements.

Compared to the non-elite quarter of the eastern habitation area, the monumentality of Larisa West is particularly accentuated. Especially the "chateau-like" enclosed acropolis with its bastioned walls is secluded from other parts of the settlement. Architecturally, the buildings show "aristocratic" and later on "Greco-Persian" style, respectively, suggesting the existence of powerful local rulers. Starting from the

8 See Saner/Külekçi 2017 for a catalogue of the necropolis.

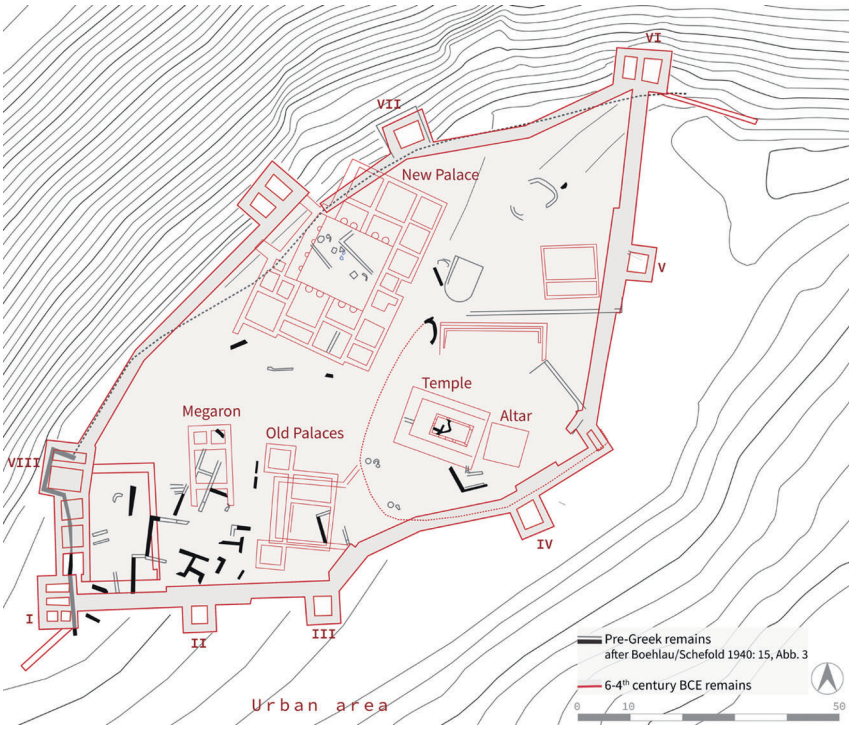

Fig. 4. Plan of the acropolis with "pre-Greek" remains adapted from Boehlau/Schefold 1940: 15, Abb. 3, and monumental buildings dating between 6th and 4th centuries BCE (Larisa Architectural Survey Archive).

6th century BCE, the ruling class preferred the western part of the acropolis, already the site of the main buildings of the Bronze Age (**Fig. 4**). Although the palatial buildings are outstanding, the relatively small size of the settlement and the lack of a wide-scale establishment call into question both the capacity and limits of absolute power. Beyond a discussion of cultural exchange, one can also investigate the development process on the basis of spatial and diachronic comparisons, especially with the Bronze Age. The representation of the ruling class constitutes a major feature of Bronze Age cities. The typology and development of special-purpose buildings differ from region to region, and in Western Anatolia they are relatively small in size and do not have large storage facilities (Çevik/Sağır 2016: 270). Starting from the Early Bronze Age, megarons and large building complexes in the citadels are considered royal residences, with the lower and outer parts remaining hierarchically subordinate. Basically, this architectural setting reveals the funda-

mental criteria for an "urban" character which can be related to both the Classical period and the Bronze Age.[9] Immediately after the collapse of well-established Bronze Age urban centers, settlement types and regional organizations lost their uniformity, and their designation as "urban" can no longer be evaluated with the help of Bronze Age criteria. Later, the rise of the Archaic and Classical sites becomes manifest again with more solid "urban" elements similar to those of previous millennia, centering around the "*polis*" concept. As Morris discusses, after the fall of Bronze Age civilizations, social and political hierarchies survived and evolved, and centralized power was located with the *basileus* or tyrant (1991: 43, 49).

For Western Anatolia in the 5th century, archaeological investigation of the settlement trajectories has not been systematic enough to form stereotypical examples. Textual sources suggest that the Persians established a garrison system throughout their Empire.[10] For the satrapy of Sardis, it is known that the Persians re-used and enlarged religious and prestigious Lydian areas such as sanctuaries, while abandoning most of the habitation areas inside or outside the walls (Cahill 2017: 313–314). Besides the actual function of Larisa in the regional system, one can plausibly suggest that, at the beginning of the Classical period, settlers constructed special buildings in previously occupied areas on their own initiative.

3 ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

As the ongoing survey at Larisa is limited to architectural documentation, the exact dating of the settlement relies on finds from the 20th-century excavations. Given the archaeological finds – today kept in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul –, the earliest pieces from Larisa date back to the late Neolithic/early Chalcolithic period, and are securely dated to the timespan between 6600 to 5600 BCE (Özdoğan 2018: 124). The third volume of the *Larisa am Hermos* publications (1942) presents the small finds chronologically, starting with "vorgriechische Funde". Boehlau and Schefold analyse the "pre-Greek" finds as belonging to two successive periods, the difference between which is marked by the

9 For a detailed discussion on the criteria for urbanism for Bronze Age and the Classical periods, see Preston/Owen 2009.

10 See Tuplin 1987 for further discussion.

adoption of the potter's wheel. The first "pre-Greek" settlement is dated later than Troy II, and the second contemporary to Troy V.[11] The discussion of the finds traces the similarities with Troy II and early Troy VI, and also with Boğazköy and Demircihöyük. Through comparison with Troy and Demircihöyük, the oldest occupation at Larisa is defined as rural in character.[12] In the subsequent, "pre-Greek" period, the settlement becomes "wealthier but still remains modest".[13] The most prominent Bronze Age finds that can be seen at the Museum today are a face-pot fragment, fragments of bowls and cups with a handle, a small jar, and various sherds (**Fig. 5**). As Özdoğan mentions, they exemplify the Early Bronze Age and "it is possible to surmise that, in the 2nd millennium, as it is the case with most other contemporary sites, the settlers of Larisa might have moved to bigger urban centres" (2018: 124).

The dating of the Bronze Age architectural remains cannot be done with any precision, which unfortunately only allows for a generalized Bronze Age attribution, since the excavators define the main remains only by a few comparison, without any further context or reference. 20th-century researchers locate the earliest architectural remains underneath the temple – below the western part of the temple's *cella* – and describe them as "a rectangular building with a hearth inside" (Boehlau/Schefold 1940: 15; Taf. 34a). Of these, the earliest two form an L-shape, and are 50 cm in width. The eastern wall fragment consists of an oval-shaped stone foundation with a small rectangular arrangement in the middle and mortar on its edge (*ibid*.: 57). The irregularities of the southern wall fragment indicate that this building had been renovated, and the excavators suggested that it might be an *oikos* or a *megaron*

11 "(…) Die älteste Besiedlung Larisas darf man also nicht zu früh ansetzen; nach der Keramik kann Larisa erst nach Troja II gegründet worden sein. Die mit Troja II gemeinsamen Formen der Steinwerkzeuge können länger, bis ans Ende des dritten Jahrtausends gelebt haben. Andererseits wird man Larisa I nicht erst Troja V gleichsetzen dürfen, mit dem manches in der Keramik übereinstimmt, denn Larisa II scheint schon in der Zeit von Troja V begonnen zu haben." (Boehlau/Schefold 1942: 4).

12 "(…) Dass die einheimische Keramik Larisas der vom Demircihüyük verwandter ist als Troja V mag sich daraus erklären, dass Troja eine städtische, Demircihüyük und noch mehr Larisa beschiedene dörfliche Siedlungen waren" (Boehlau/Schefold 1942: 3).

13 "Larisa II ist neben Troja und Boğazköy eine arme Siedlung; arm an Formen, Entwicklung, weitreichenden Verbindungen. Und doch ist es reich gegenüber Larisa I. Schon die Technik der Keramik, der neue Ton geben ein ganz neues Bild, lösen aus provinzieller Enge und zeigen Verbindungen mit den Hauptstädten" (Boehlau/Schefold 1942: 6).



Fig. 5. Bronze Age finds of Larisa (Buruncuk) in Istanbul Archaeological Museums (Özdoğan 2018: 136–141).

belonging to the ruler's residence.[14] Further remains near the temple include oval stone pits on the corner of the L-shaped wall fragments and also later, more circular features on the east of the *cella* around the rocks. They vary in size and masonry, and have an approximate diameter of 2 m. The rocky formations are thought to have been used as part

14 "Der urtümliche Bau unter dem Tempel läßt vermuten, daß die Felskuppe seit den Zeiten der ältesten Besiedlung Larisas einem Kult geweiht war, mag nun der Bau ein nach Westen geöffneter Oikos gewesen sein, oder das Megaron des Königshauses, dessen Herd zum Altar und dessen Mauern zum Tempel wurden" (Boehlau/Schefold 1940: 58).

of cultic practices, most probably related to Cybele (*ibid.*: 59). The cult place is dated to the so-called second pre-Greek architectural layer. We can thus assume that this area constituted the pre-Hellenic nucleus of the upper city and the cultic traditions on Larisaean ground in earlier periods.

Today the most evident architectural remains of the Bronze Age on site are the walls, including a bastion on the northwestern corner of the acropolis. It is situated just below the early 5th-century BCE tower VIII, and inside the bulwark between towers VIII and I (**Figs. 6**–7). They follow almost the same contour line as the Late Archaic acropolis circuit, but in a slightly different orientation by comparison. The construction of the acropolis circuit took into account the topography of the hill: the northern part, especially, stands on the edge of a steep slope, so that it also functions as a retaining wall. Below tower VIII lies the bastion, which measures ca. 8.5 × 4.2 m. To its immediate south, a 15.3 m long, quasi-curvilinear wall extends as far as Tower I. The wall's thickness cannot be investigated because of its retaining position and later infill on top. The stone blocks are approximately 30–40 cm in length, while the lower courses, partially visible in the south, are made of larger stones, 60–80 cm in length. The northern part of the wall is preserved to a height of about 1.5 m. The blocks have a roughly carved surface, whereas their corners are carefully shaped, which leads Schefold to judge this masonry similar to the early walls of Troy VI (Boehlau/Schefold 1940: 16, 44).[15] From the east, four short wall fragments approach in differing orientations. The two fragments in the north are parallel to each other and around 40 cm in thickness, while the two in the south are also parallel but, measuring 50 cm, are thicker, and oriented northeast-southwest. Their dating and their relation with the main wall remain unknown; however, they might likewise represent structures attached to the fortification wall.

Under the remains of Tower I, the wall probably continued southwards. Unlike the early 5th-century BCE wall circuit, the Bronze Age wall course would thus enclose a larger area than the Classical acropolis (*ibid.*: 44). In the northeast, a short wall fragment using similar construction techniques has been documented below the New Palace; it is considered an extension of the same wall circuit (*ibid.*: 95).

15 "Die roh zugehauenen ausgezwickten Quader der Fronten und die sorgfältig behauenen Ecken lassen sich mit den älteren Teilen der Mauer von Troja VI vergleichen" (Boehlau/Schefold 1940: 44).

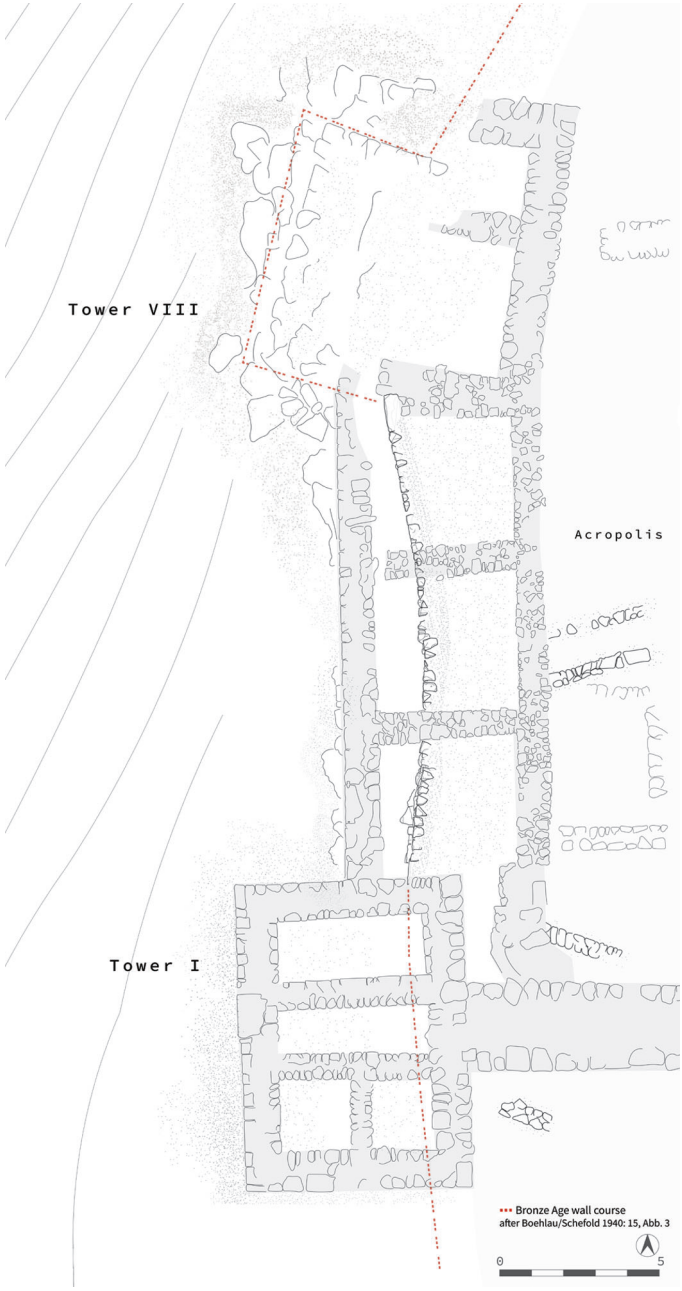

Fig. 6. Partial plan of the acropolis circuit between Tower VIII and Tower I with the Bronze Age wall course (The red continuation lines are adapted from Boehlau/Schefold 1940: 15, Abb. 3) (Larisa Architectural Survey Archive).



Fig. 7. Bronze Age wall course inside the bulwark, seen from north (Larisa Architectural Survey Archive).

As part of a re-fortification program of the acropolis in the early 5th century BCE, this area was particularly reinforced. Between towers VIII and I, two parallel walls were constructed with two inner walls, thus creating three rooms with almost identical dimensions (4.5 × 4.3 m). This particular construction recalls casemates of Bronze Age defense walls, especially well known in Central Anatolia. With Boğazköy and Alişar as its main examples,[16] this form is predominant in the 2nd millennium BCE, and particularly Hittite in character. In the case of Larisa, its original function and composition remain unknown, and cannot therefore be related to a specific typology.

To the south of the acropolis, the topography does not show sudden changes, in contrast to the steep northern part discussed above. The southern section of the circuit was therefore not constructed as a retaining wall; rather, it creates an inner separation between the acropolis and the city area, almost on the same ground level. This is also evident in the relative orthogonality of the southern courses.

Although the exact path of the Bronze Age wall circuit cannot be traced, it is obvious that the defense walls followed the same course in the northwest, and had similar functions to building phases of later periods: enclosing the highest area of the hill, and creating a reserved area for the settlement. As is visible on the "pre-Greek" acropolis plan,

16 See Vergnaud (2012: 100–103, 184–193) for further discussion of casemates/caissons, and the Hittite heritage.

the earliest remains are dispersed all around the acropolis, with a concentration in the southwest. Accordingly, the Bronze Age walls might have been covering a part of the Classical urban area, too, taking into account both the natural topography and the continuation of the Bronze Age wall fragment further to the south. However, since there has been no excavation in this area, one can only postulate the minimum size of the Bronze Age settlement, which corresponds to around 7500 sqm, with 350 m of walls.

The city walls of Classical Larisa extending southwards from tower I and VI follow the topography, and were constructed as large retaining walls. No towers have been identified, but some tower-like arrangements around rocky formations on the southeastern edge show their embeddedness within the topography. Additionally, large terrace walls, documented within the city area, support the idea of further internal arrangement, and call into question whether the settlement varied in size over time. The entire city wall, 1300 m in length, encloses a possible settled area of around 8.5 ha. There are no other suitable areas on the Buruncuk ridge that could have been densely inhabited. The Aeolian settlement took advantage of the site's topography, and distributed different functions along the ridge.

Finally, the discussions of the earlier layers allow us to characterize Larisa as having a special building phase in Early Bronze Age III, and a by comparison wealthier walled settlement in the Middle Bronze Age. It is certain that Larisa does not represent a leading urban center full of monumental structures and imports, but rather a site which remained close to the local culture.[17]

4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The combination of settlement layout, elite buildings and archaeological evidence in general suggests that Larisa was closer to a Bronze Age model, or at least that occupation followed similar planning ideas. Following our preliminary hypothesis, the article has reviewed archaeological and architectural finds from the Bronze Age and re-evaluated

17 "Larisa war immer eine Landstadt, reich nur an den Früchten des eigenen Bodens und Werken eigener Hände, arm an eingeführten Stoffen und Geräten. Deshalb sind Metallfunde ganz selten; dagegen ist die Zahl der Steinwerkzeuge im Verhältnis zur Kleinheit des ausgegrabenen Gebietes nicht gering." (Boehlau/Schefold 1942: 7).

the settlement scheme. Although it was not our aim to directly trace the Bronze Age image of Larisa, it is worth positioning it in the updated historical geography of the region. A secure dating for all Bronze Age finds within their context could not be established, thus leaving a large timespan to be considered. The period suggested by the excavators, i.e. between Troy II and VI (2350–2000/1950),[18] corresponds to the end of Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age.

In the larger Bronze Age context, Larisa can be included amongst the active settlement clusters in Western Anatolia. Its immediate neighbors are Helvacı I–II, Höyücek, Geren, Kumtepe and Panaztepe,[19] where ceramics are recorded (Meriç 2018). The latter, situated in a strategic position between the Hermos River and the Aegean, dominates the cluster in the Middle Bronze Age (Becks 2015: 124). Further to the south, Liman Tepe and Bakla Tepe are other large sites already fortified in the Early Bronze Age (Ersoy/Güngör/Cevizoğlu 2011: 169–170; Şahoğlu 2016: 176). Further inland in the central Hermos River valley, Kaymakçı appears as another large center from the Middle Bronze Age onwards; it has been proposed that this was the capital of Seha River Land (Roosevelt et al. 2018: 648). The decrease in the number of settlements from Middle to Late Bronze Age is interpreted as representing a population shift from smaller places to centers (Becks 2015: 123), which, as already established by Özdoğan, is also the case for Larisa.

For a layout comprising distinct upper and lower towns in the Western Anatolian Early Bronze Age, Troy II[20] and Liman Tepe V[21] are the best-known examples. The organization of the lower town at Larisa remains unknown, and was probably rather modest. Some settlements show large necropoleis near the habitation areas themselves, as documented at Panaztepe[22] and Bakla Tepe[23]. Bakla Tepe differs from the others through a plan which more closely resembles the radial Central Anatolian settlements (Erkanal 1996: 80). Occupied areas nearby, from citadel to farmstead, complete the settlement hierarchy and support a level of inter-dependency.

18 Blum/Thater/Thumm-Doğrayan 2014: 789; Pavúk/Schubert 2014: 866.
19 Erkanal/Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2011.
20 Jablonka 2006.
21 Ersoy/Güngör/Cevizoğlu 2011: 170.
22 Erkanal/Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2011.
23 Şahoğlu 2016; Erkanal 2008.

To gain a better understanding of the continuity of settlement structures, it is also essential to investigate later periods. For almost two centuries after the Bronze Age, Ionian settlements represent less permanent remains around smaller nuclei (Kerschner 2017: 497). Because larger sites such as Ephesus–Ayasuluk, Clazomenae–Liman Tepe and Panaztepe do not show a settlement history that preserves the same boundaries into Archaic and Classical periods, such settlement structures and their functions cannot confirm continuity from the Bronze Age. There are several possible reasons for this: one is that the previous layout could no longer accommodate an increased population; another could be geomorphological changes; another the deterioration of previous settlement remains or new priorities and planning principals. Cult activity, meanwhile, should be mentioned separately as a continuing element at the sites (Kerschner 2017: 496). Some Aeolian settlements, for instance Neandria, Gargara, Lamponeia in the Troad, were probably founded in previously un-occupied areas, even in the case of places that have not yet been fully excavated (Vergnaud 2012: 236). On the other hand, the archaic wall of Pergamon, still the subject of a re-dating debate, might be another example of a wall built at a later date partially following the same outline as the Bronze Age wall circuit.[24] Among these sites, Larisa represents an example of a settlement founded upon its previous remains, and even though there are some functional changes, a similar layout and size are estimated for both periods. Unfortunately, the periods between the Late Bronze Age and the 9th century BCE could not be identified archaeologically and have not been studied so far. The so-called "Pelasgians" are mentioned as the first who reinforced the city, though the evidence remains uncertain. The first structures of the prospering archaic city include the city walls, the "Oldest Palace" below the "Old Palace", the Temple, the Megaron and further non-identified wall fragments dispersed on the acropolis.

To conclude, Larisa was extensively built up in the early 5th century and then in the 4th century BCE, compared with its conditions in the 6th century BCE. The rulers' area and the elite residents' living sphere (Larisa West) were constructed with a view to high monumentality. The sophisticated urban design includes an extra-urban space (Larisa East) with non-elite contributions towards military and agricultural usage. The geographical and topographical conditions perfectly match the social roles of the city's ancient inhabitants. Architectural and ur-

24 See Hertel 2011 for further discussion.

ban challenges far beyond a modest settlement reveal the presence of an absolute authority. These qualities lead us to define Larisa as a "small-but-ambitious" city. As the foundation history of Aeolian cities is still under debate, due to the lack of on-site excavation work, the exact scheme of the transition of Larisa is not clear. However, the stratigraphy of the fortification system and the location of finds reveal the presence of a fortified settlement in the Bronze Age, sharing a similar spatial focus to the period under Persian dominance. Although Bronze Age Larisa was not a major center, its inhabitants probably benefited the rocky topography of the western hill-top and shaped the core of the occupation area around basic functions. Individual sites in Western Anatolia created their own particular traditions, and were mostly shaped by local dynamics, which accounts for the diverse cultural impact. It cannot therefore be said that urbanism developed gradually. Instead of a continuity through the ages, settlements flourished when profiting from contemporary dynamics. In such a context, Larisa would represent an ambitious monarchic city that benefited most from its strategic location in the Classical period. The highly compact layout of Larisa was dictated by natural boundaries, which might have been advantageous during the turbulent period of the 5th century BCE. Thus one can postulate that both topographical features and traces of the preceding settlement would have served to shelter a powerful local ruler, while the city's physical capacity was sufficient to fulfil its settlers' ideals.

That Bronze Age and Classical finds were found in the same spots and reveal a very similar architectural layout suggests that Larisa marks a special case for investigating settlement trajectories of the Classical period, including the presence of the Persians, with links to the remains dating to the (end of the Early–Middle) Bronze Age. While shaped under strict internal control, the city seems to have acted as a prosperous stronghold developed on the foundation of earlier palatial traditions.

Thus, Larisa can be considered an example of a settlement from the 5th century BCE, which was based – most likely – on a local, Bronze Age pattern. Ongoing research will continue to develop the preliminary thoughts presented here, and seek support from a re-investigation of finds from an archaeological perspective.

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PISIDIAN TOPONYMY

Method and results

Lauriane Locatelli

Abstract: This paper focuses on Pisidian toponymy and ethnonymy and the persistence of Anatolian languages in the toponymy of the region. Toponymy and ethnonymy tell us much about territorial control of individual settlements, whether they be Anatolian or of exogenous (mainly Greek and Roman) origin. Indeed, by identifying the language used to create a place name or ethnonym, we learn more about the region. Most of the names in the corpus are attested in Greek, but they are often explained by Anatolian languages because the place name survives the language that gave birth to it. I will explain the method which enabled us to study the 87 names contained in the corpus: source collection, analysis and conclusion. Three examples of Pisidian toponyms will illustrate my approach. I will then present the results thus obtained, in the form of a toponymic panorama, comprising a linguistic and a semantic classification of the toponyms according to the semantic repository (water, relief, vegetation, etc.).

Keywords: Pisidia, Anatolian languages, onomastics, toponymy, Asia Minor, methodology, linguistics

INTRODUCTION

Pisidia, the mountainous region that was home to the famous Pisidians, is located in south-western Asia Minor. Both green and rocky, this country features several lakes as well as numerous rivers criss-crossing the land. Thanks to its inland position and terrain, Pisidia, more so than its neighbours, was able to resist foreign domination and preserve its cultural and linguistic wealth. Its position gave it the role of linguistic and therefore cultural conservator, since language conveys culture.

Since Pisidia has not been fully excavated, the toponyms provided by Greek sources are rare vestiges of the language spoken in this region

in the 1st millennium BCE. It is all the more relevant to study toponyms as they are also markers of culture and identity. Place names provide information such as the language used to form the place name and, at the same time, the aspect of the place that was considered distinctive by the speakers, because a place name is first and foremost an identifier.

The aim of this paper is to elucidate the underlying Anatolian culture still present in the Pisidian toponyms of the Greco-Roman period and to study the proportion of Anatolian toponyms and what that implies. We need to look for the origin of the place names and ethnonyms of Pisidia in the Anatolian languages. And we need to look for the meaning of these names, as this allows us not only to study their distribution according to their origin, but also to understand what these place names tell us about the Hellenization of Pisidia. This paper aims to demonstrate that, in ancient Pisidia, toponymy reflected territorial control. Even though this is not a new idea in itself, this is the first study of its kind in the context of ancient Pisidia.

Names, as linguistic elements produced by human beings, carry the vision of speakers of the language in question, and may also represent an object named. The naming process in toponymy differs from the naming process in anthroponymy because an anthroponym is sometimes given as a talisman, an omen: the mental representation precedes the existence of the characteristics of the person. On the other hand, for toponymy, the place precedes the naming process and the place name is more an identifier than anything else. The name designates, identifies and singles out the place to which it refers. The purpose of the toponym is to isolate and distinguish a place.

1 METHODOLOGY

For my onomastic investigation, I first created a toponymic corpus. In order for it to be both manageable and representative, my corpus includes the names of urban settlements, ethnonyms, hydronyms and oronyms, while excluding the names of villages (the κώμαι). All Pisidian toponyms attested in numismatic, epigraphic and literary sources are collected in order to establish a list of names of urban agglomerations, ethnonyms, hydronyms and oronyms, forming a corpus composed of 87 names. The first sources taken into consideration were numismatic sources. An initial list of 42 names was put together with the names of

cities that issued money. Then, the corpus was expanded to include 30 additional city names attested in literary sources (such as Strabo, Ptolemy, Livy, etc.). These 30 additional names contain oronyms, lake names (these being absent from numismatic sources), as well as additional city names. Regarding river names, the results vary: while the rivers of the hinterland are present through river-gods in numismatic sources, this is not the case for the rivers of the Lycio-Pisidian confines, which are to be found only in literary sources. Only coastal rivers are attested in both numismatic and literary sources. In addition to this, 15 names are attested only in epigraphic sources: these are ethnonyms and names of small urban settlements.

Next, data relating to each name was collected: the location (possible correspondence with a modern city, GPS coordinates), the environment (topography, geological characteristics) and the literary, numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological attestations. I have provided new translations of the literary passages of interest. Once the sources were collected, I established the date of the oldest attestation and the reference spelling. For this purpose, numismatic sources were considered more reliable than epigraphic and literary sources, because they include the official name and the document can often be dated.

Regarding the origin and etymology of the place name, I also considered previous hypotheses. The analysis of each place name was conducted using secondary literature and dictionaries[1] to determine the language in which the place name was created and to find the meaning of the name, but also the reason for choosing that name.

I also established correspondences concerning the notation of Anatolian names using the Greek alphabet, since most of the names appear in Greek sources. In the case of Hittite and Greek, we are dealing with two close but different phonological systems. Furthermore, as well as these different phonological systems, Hittite and Greek have different writing systems. For names of Hittite or Luwian origin – languages which used a graphic system based on a syllabary – alphabetic notation presents certain issues. As far as vowels are concerned, there is no full consensus as yet about the "plene writing", accent and vowel quality or quantity in Hittite. While Greek has *eta* and *omega* to denote long vowels, in Hittite no clear distinction is made in writing. We are not fully aware of the rules concerning the length of vowels according to their

1 del Monte/Tischler 1978; Zgusta 1984; Tischler 2001; Kloekhorst 2008; Beekes 2010; Tischler/Vanséveren 2016.

Hittite	Greek	Examples
a	α	***A**riya*> **Α**ριασσός ***A**ska* > **Α**σκανία *ḫ**a**p**a*** > Κ**α**β**α**λεῖς *K**a**ttanna* > Κ**α**τεννεῖς
a + 2 consonants	ε	*K**a**st**a**raya* > Κ**έ**στρος *s**a**lḫ*-> Σ**έ**λγη *t**a**rm**a*** > Τ**ε**ρμησσός
ḫ	γ	*salḫ*-> Σέλ**γ**η *puḫla*> Πῶ**γ**λα
i	ι	*t**i**ttiya* > Τ**ι**τυασσός
iy	ι	*Ar**iy**a*> Άρ**ι**ασσός *w**iy**ana*> Υ**ι**α
k	κ	*As**k**a* > Ά**σκ**ανία ***K**astaraya* > **Κ**έστρος
l	λ	***l**aḫpa*> **Λ**αγβυ *Mi**l**u* >Μι**λ**υάς
m	μ	***M**uwa*- > **Μ**οατρα *tar**m**i*- > Τερ**μ**ησσός
n	ν	*Wata**nn**a* > Έτε**ννα**
p (initial position)	π	***P**addaniyasa*> **Π**εδνηλισσός
P (inner position)	β	*-**p**ura* > Ἀνά**β**ουρα *laḫ**p**a*> Λαγ**β**υ *ḫa**p**a*- Κα**β**αλεῖς
r	ρ	*Ar**r**iya* > Ά**ρ**ιασσός *tar**r**ma* > Τε**ρ**μησσός
s	ς	***s**alḫ*-> **Σ**έλγη *Kas**s**taraya* > Κέ**σ**τρος
t	τ	*Kas**t**araya* > Κέστρος
t	δ	*Atta**t**ar* > Ἄδα**δ**α

Hittite	Greek	Examples
tt and dd	δ	*A**tt**atar* > Ἄ**δ**αδα *Ku**tt*- > Κο**δ**ρουλα *Pa**dd**aniyasa* >Πε**δ**νηλισσός
u	ο	*k**u**dra* > Κ**ο**δρουλα *H**u**rma* > Κ**ό**ρμασα *M**u**wa*> Μ**ο**ατρα
	ου	*-p**u**ra* > Ἀνάβ**ου**ρα *M**u**la* > Μ**ου**λασσεις ***U**ra* > **Ου**ραμμα
	ω	*pu**ḫ**la*> Π**ῶ**γλα
	υ	*Mil**u*** > Μιλυάς *T**u**na*> Τ**υ**ναδα
w	υ	***w**iyana*> **Υ**ια
	ø	***W**atanna* > ØἘτεννα *Mu**w**a*-> Μοøατρα

Fig. 1. Correspondence of graphemes between Hittite and Greek.

position. Whereas Greek distinguishes several graphemes for /o/ and /u/ in writing, namely ο, ου, ω, υ, Hittite only has the vowel u – it is not known whether ú could represent /o/. Greek, like Hittite, features occlusive consonants. However, the interpretation of occlusives in Hittite is controversial, because the Hittite signs are ambiguous. Some scholars assume that there is no distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants in Hittite, as there is in Greek, for example. A distinction is rather made between strong (*fortis*) and soft (*lenis*) consonants – double spelling denotes a strong (*fortis*) consonant, whereas single spelling denotes a soft (*lenis*) consonant. Greek is one of the few Indo-European languages with aspirated consonants – vestiges of Indo-European. In Greek, there are aspirated consonants, such as *phi*, *theta* or *khi*, whereas equivalents do not seem to exist in Hittite. The graphic system of Greek contains double consonants like *zeta*, *xi* and *psi*. The Anatolian

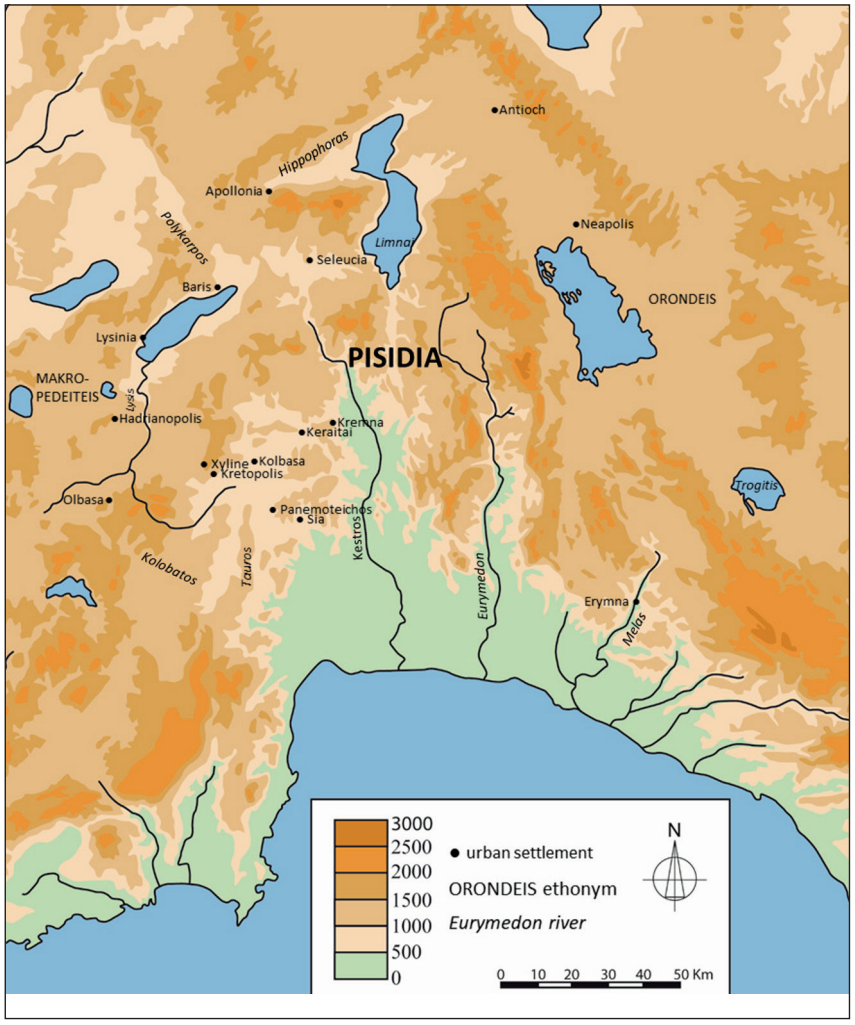

Fig. 2. Spatial distribution of toponyms of Greek origin.

names of my corpus written in Greek are written using only 18 of the 24 Greek letters. The letters *zeta*, *theta*, *xi*, *phi*, *khi* and *psi* are not used in the transcription of Pisidian toponyms of Anatolian origin into Greek.

The credibility of the linguistic analysis has been verified through comparison with the topography of each place, so as to check whether the meaning of the proposed place name can be applied to the place to which it refers, according to the topography of each place and its context. The goal was to figure out the topography at the time of the creation of the toponym, taking into consideration changes in the land-

scape, and to determine whether the name permits clear identification of the place as well as its location in space, this being after all the main purpose of place names. To conclude the study, it was necessary to distinguish between names about which we are certain, those for which we can offer a probable hypothesis, and those which remain obscure.

For each name, the following elements are provided: the reference spelling, the location and the data relating to the identification of the site, the various attestations and the translations of the literary sources; and finally the etymology heading, featuring any hypotheses previously proposed as well as new hypotheses and supporting arguments.

2 RESULTS: TOPONYMIC PANORAMA

The comparison of typological, linguistic and semantic classifications highlights the type of names most frequently attested, the proportion of names of Anatolian origin compared to the names of Greek origin, and different semantic categories. The typological classification is the following: oronyms, hydronyms, choronyms, ethnonyms and names of urban settlements. There are 3 oronyms, 17 hydronyms, 2 choronyms, 9 ethnonyms and 56 names of urban settlements.

The names of places related to human activity are, therefore, more numerous than place names related to the natural environment: the latter represent less than a quarter of the names of the corpus (23%). 20 out of a total of 87 names refer to the natural environment (3 names of cities and 17 hydronyms) while 67 out of 87 names designate inhabited places (56 names of urban settlements, 9 ethnonyms and 2 choronyms).

The linguistic classification is more subjective, because it relies less on typological classification than on an understanding of place names. In terms of language ranking, my corpus has: 39 names of Anatolian origin,[2] 28 names of Greek origin,[3] 3 names of Semitic origin,[4] 2 names

2 Adada, Alassos, Anaboura, Andeda, Ariassos, Arimmatta, Askania, Etenna, Hyia, Isinda, the Kabaleis, Kabalitis, the Kestros, Kodroula, Kolbasa, Komama, Kormasa, Kotenna, Lagbe, Malos, Milyas, Moatra, Moulasseis, Ouramma, Parlais, Pednelissos, Pitassa, Pogla, Sagalassos, Sanantarwa, Sandalion, Selge, Selgics Mountains, Sinda, Tarbassos, Termessos, the Tioulos, Tityassos and Tynada.

3 The Anthios, Antioch, Apollonia, Dyrzela, Erymna, the Eurymedon, Hadrianopolis, the Hippophoras, Keraitai, Kremna, Kretopolis, the Kolobatos, Limnai, Lysinia, the Lysis, Makropedeiteis, the Melas, Neapolis, Olbasa, Ormeleis, Panemoteichos, Perminoundeis, Pisidia, the Polykarpos, Seleucia, Sia, Trogitis and Xyline.

4 Kibyrates, Mount Solyma, Solyms.

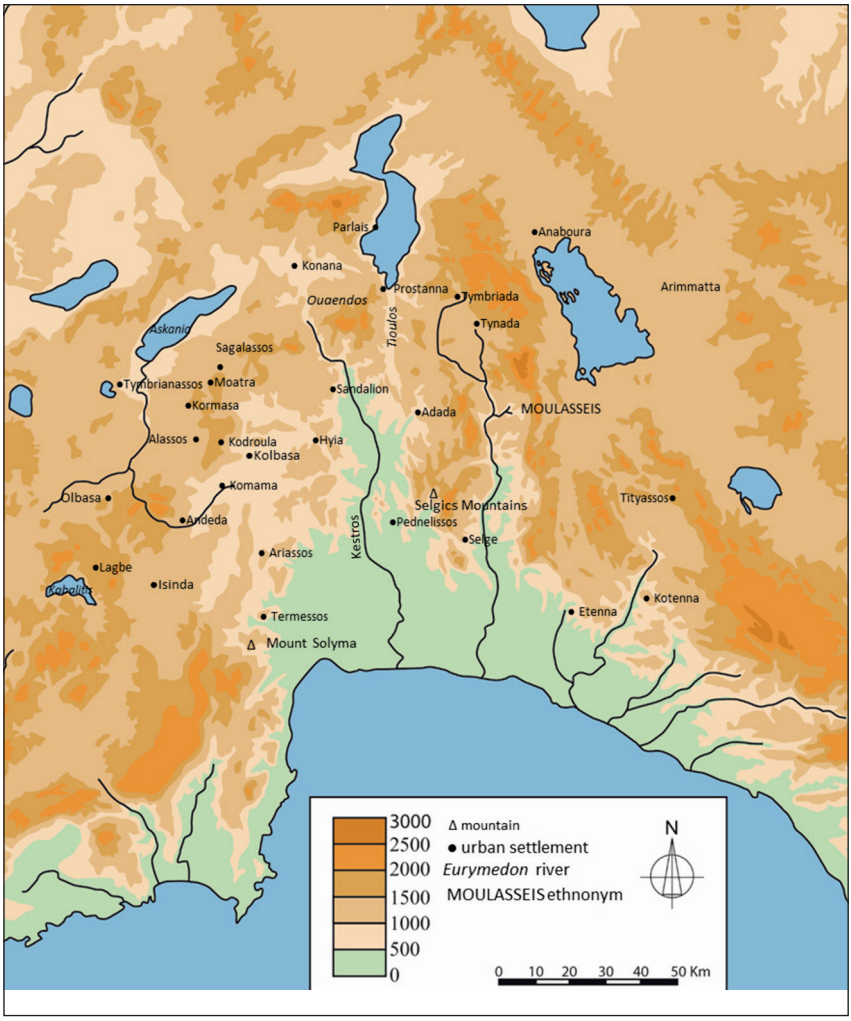

Fig. 3. Spatial distribution of toponyms of Anatolian origin.

of Latin origin,[5] 2 names of Phrygian origin[6] and 13 names of undetermined origin.[7]

If we combine typological and linguistic classification, it becomes apparent that most of the names of urban establishments are of Anatolian

5 Verbe and Vinzela.

6 Tymbriada, Tymbrianassos.

7 Amblada, Baris, Caularis, the Milyeis, Orbanassa, Orondeis and Sibidunda, and 6 names which can be linked to an Indo-European root, but not to a specific language: Karalis, Konana, the Ouaendos, Prostanna, and Mount Taurus and the river Tauros.

origin (34/56, against 15/56 of Greek origin.) The situation is different when it comes to hydronyms, because the majority of hydronyms are of Greek origin (10/17, as against 5/17 of Anatolian origin).

Fig. 2 and **Fig. 3** show the names of places and peoples based on the language used in the process of name creation. These maps do not represent Pisidia at a particular moment in time, but rather allow us to visualize the distribution of toponyms and ethnonyms according to their original language over a longer period. We can see that cities, peoples, lakes and rivers with Greek names are concentrated in the west and the north, near traffic lanes, while urban settlements, lakes and rivers with names of Anatolian origin are found in mountainous areas or plateaus.

Besides the language used in the process of creating the name and its meaning, I also studied the formation of names. My corpus contains 61 constructed names (46 derived names and 15 compound names), 22 simple names and 4 names whose structure remains uncertain. Compound nouns are mainly Greek, whereas simple nouns tend to be of Anatolian origin. Indeed, 73% of the compound names are of Greek origin (11/15).

Etymology is essential for the purposes of this study, as it is a distinctive feature that allows the reader to clearly distinguish this approach from studies of historical topography aimed at identifying ancient sites. We cannot study the persistence of toponyms without having understood the meaning of place names through etymology. In most cases, of course, the etymological investigation does not lead to definite conclusions, only to hypotheses and constructed argumentation. The goal of etymology is to search for the origin of words by following their evolution, starting from the most ancient attestations. According to Orr, etymology is "la recherche d'un rapport de forme et de sens entre deux mots, ou bien le résultat, le fruit de cette recherche. Le plus souvent, cette recherche est diachronique, c'est-à-dire qu'elle vise à établir un rapport entre un mot qui existe, ou qui a existé, et tel mot d'une époque antérieure".[8] As for the meaning of these names, I was able to identify different categories: hydrology, vegetation, terrain, fortifications, historical figures, soil type, location and power. It is possible to state that 16 names are related to hydrology,[9] 14 names are related to the

8 Orr 1954: 129.

9 Alassos, Anthios, Caularis, Etenna, the Eurymedon, the Hippophoras, Kabales, Kabalitis, the Kestros, the Kolobatos, Konana, Limnai, Lysinia, the Lysis, the Melas and the Ouaendos.

terrain,[10] 12 names are related to vegetation,[11] 5 names are related to fortifications,[12] 4 names are related to historical characters,[13] 3 names are related to the nature of the soil,[14] 3 names are related to location,[15] and 2 names are related to power.[16]

Combining linguistic and semantic classification reveals that the names of Anatolian origin related to the nature of the soil represent 66% of Pisidian names of this type. This linguistic ranking also makes it apparent that all dedicatory toponyms are of Greek origin. Similarly, 80% of Pisidian names related to fortifications are of Greek origin, compared to 50% of names related to water, 27% of names related to vegetation, and only 14% of names related to terrain. The fact that the majority of the dedicatory names and names related to fortifications are of Greek origin can be linked to the Seleucid domination of Pisidia.

Concerning dedicatory place names, Antioch seemingly bears the name of its founder Antiochus I Soter. The name Apollonia may refer to the name of the wife of Attalus I. Hadrianopolis is most likely derived from the Roman emperor Hadrian. The name of Kretopolis commemorates the possible founder of the city, Nearchus the Cretan, companion of Alexander the Great and satrap of Lycia-Pamphylia. Seleucia was founded by Antiochus I Soter and named after his father; similarly, Apamea of Phrygia bears the name of his mother. These cities are located in the north of Pisidia and near the main roads. These toponyms are said to be dedicatory or dynastic and different from other toponyms, which are mostly descriptive.

As for toponyms related to fortification, Baris can be compared to the Greek βᾶρις, 'fortress, fortified domain'. The name of Erymna comes from the Greek ἐρυμνός, 'fortified', while the element *-teichos* in Panemoteichos contains Greek τεῖχος, 'wall, fortress'.[17] Toponyms ending in -τεῖχος thus refer to fortified settlements. According to Pi-

10 Ariassos, Arimmatta, Kremna, Makropedeiteis, Orondeis, Ouramma, Pednelissos, Sagalassos, Sandalion, Selge, Mount Solyma, Solyms, Taurus Mountains, and Termessos.

11 Hyia, Kolbasa, Kormasa, Moatra, Pisidia, Polykarpos, Sanantarwa, Tarbassos, Tityassos, Verbe, Vinzela and Xyline.

12 Baris, Dyrzela, Erymna, Kodroula and Panemoteichos.

13 Antioch, Apollonia, Hadrianopolis and Seleucia.

14 Alassos, Isinda and Karalis.

15 Andeda, Olbasa and Pitassa.

16 Kibyrates and Moatra.

17 von Aulock 1977: 42; Arena 2005: 221.

mouguet-Pédarros,[18] τεῖχος may designate "une agglomération rurale ceinte par un mur", and the Seleucids are known to have implemented a policy of urbanization by founding new cities with walls. Baris and Panemoteichos were on Alexander the Great's itinerary. Since Alexander left garrisons in Pamphylia and Pisidia, one may wonder whether the foundation of the city of Baris is not to be attributed to those same garrisons. Alexander did, after all, travel past Kretopolis, about twenty kilometres from Panemoteichos, and as we have just seen, the foundation of Kretopolis is to be attributed to Nearchus, companion of Alexander.[19] The foundation of Panemoteichos may be placed in the same context. As for Erymna, "the fortified", it could perhaps have been founded at the time when Antiochus III the Great made an expedition to Pisidia in 193 BC, since the place name is of Greek origin and Erymna is located near Etenna, a probable target of Antiochus' Pisidian campaign. Both the Greek presence in Pisidia and the Seleucid urbanization policy have thus had repercussions on the toponymy and fortification of the region – and require us to include fortifications in our study of toponymy.

3 THREE EXAMPLES

3.1 Lagbe

Regarding the place name of Lagbe, situated north of lake Söğüt Gölü (now dry), an Anatolian origin can be assumed. Since /γ/ can denote Hittite [ḫ], as in the Parḫa / Perge equation, the place name of Lagbe can be likened to the Hittite *laḫpa*,[20] 'ivory', a word of foreign origin which passed into Hittite. Accordingly, Lagbe would be a descriptive toponym referring to the colour of the stone of the region and its hardness, since the place (modern Kırkpınar) is characterized geologically by a very thick stratum of limestone (thirty to forty metres thick).[21] Naour,[22] in describing the place, evoked a valley "enserrée entre des hauteurs calcaires parsemées de genévriers" (enclosed between limestone heights dotted with juniper trees). The comparison with ivory would thus refer

18 Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000: 116
19 Sekunda 1997: 217, 219.
20 Puhvel 2001; Tischler/Vanséveren 2016: 189.
21 Okay 1989: 52.
22 Naour 1976: 128.

both to the white colour of the soil and to its hardness. It is common to find place names that refer to the nature of the soil as a defining characteristic of a location.

3.2 Konana

The toponym Κονάνη can be understood in the sense of "confluence", and is derived from the Indo-European root **ken-*,[23] 'compress'. Indeed, the ancient site of Konana is located at the confluence of two rivers, the modern Kızıldere and Gönen Deresi. The concordance between the meaning of the place name ("confluence") and geographical reality (the confluence of the rivers Kızıldere and Gönen Deresi) supports this hypothesis. Furthermore, the toponym persists to this day with vowel harmonization and fall of the final -η, since the ancient Konana is now called Gönen.[24] The existence of the toponym Κονδαία, designating a city in Thessaly located at the confluence of the two rivers, the Pene and the Titarisios, parallels this example. If rivers are spatial landmarks, confluences are all the more so, as they designate a precise place on a hydrological network.

3.3 Askania

The origin of the toponym Askania can be found in the Hittite substantive *aska-*, meaning 'gate, gateway'.[25] The toponym could be composed as follows: **aska-(w)ani-a*. The epithet of the god Men Askaenos also seems to be derived from this Hittite substantive.[26] Considering the origin of the name, Zgusta wonders whether the epithet is taken from the toponym, or whether the anthroponym first gave rise to the epithet and only later to the toponym.[27] It should be noted, however, that the sanctuary of Men Askaenos of Antioch in Pisidia is about a hundred kilometres from Askania Lake (Burdur Gölü). As Labarre and Özsait point out, "pour un lac, le sens nous échappe en partie".[28]

23 Pokorny 1959–1969: 558–559.
24 Zgusta 1984: § 569, 283.
25 Tischler 2001: *s.v. aska-*; Kloekhorst 2008: 221–222; Labarre 2010: 44.
26 Labarre 2010: 44.
27 Zgusta 1984: 102.
28 Labarre/Özsait 2018.

This raises the question how *aska-*, 'gate', should be interpreted in this context. In all cases, the term indicates a closed space. *Aska-* also implies the idea of access. The question is whether the lake or its surroundings allowed access from one area to another, or if the lake took the name of a fortified city which limited access to an area. The term could also have been applied to a narrow passage in a mountainous area, such as the Cilician Gates, and could thence be understood in the sense of "défilé, gorge". The hydronym Askania could be linked to a gorge in the mountains east of Antioch, in the direction of Philomelion, on the site of the Roman road. Moreover, the road that crosses the mountains bears the name Yalvaçbeli Deresi, that is to say "vallée de la passe de Yalvaç" (valley of the pass of Yalvaç).[29] It is possible that the valley leading to the lake was called Askania, with the lake taking the name of the valley.

4 SYNTHESIS

The toponyms studied are mainly related to the physical characteristics of inhabited places: terrain, hydrology and vegetation. Of the 87 identified names, 13 have unknown meanings, which leaves a corpus of 74 names for which hypotheses can be formulated as to their meaning. More than half of these names (41/74) are related to a physical description (terrain, hydrology and vegetation). Most toponyms related to terrain (8/14) are of Anatolian origin. Most river names (8/10) are of Greek origin. The majority of toponyms related to fortifications (5/6) are of Greek origin.

Comparison of the linguistic and typological classification of the 15 names connected with water revealed that all names of Greek origin were hydronyms. Comparison between the semantic and linguistic classification revealed that all names of Anatolian origin relating to water evoke the liquid element itself, never a characteristic of the watercourse, whereas all the names connected to water that are not of Anatolian origin evoke a particular feature of a lake or river.

After investigating every toponym in detail, I was able to assess with certitude the meaning of 24.14% of the names (i.e. 21 toponyms)[30]

29 Christol/Drew-Bear 1998: 145.

30 Oronyms: The Taurus, the Selgics Mountains. Hydronyms: the Hippophoras, the Lysis, the Melas, the Ouaendos, the Polykarpos, the Tauros, the Makropedeiteis.

and to provide plausible hypotheses for the meaning of 67.82% of the names (i.e. 57 toponyms); only 8.04% of the names (i.e. 7 toponyms) remain obscure.[31]

5 DEFENDED THESIS

The basic postulate was that although the majority of place names and ethnonyms of Pisidia came to us through Greek sources, it is necessary in many cases to look for an origin in Anatolian languages. This led to the conclusion that 39 of 87 names were of Anatolian origin. Concerning the distribution of place names and ethnonyms, it turns out that toponyms of Anatolian origin tend to be found in mountainous areas and on plateaus, whereas toponyms of Greek origin are found in the west and north of Pisidia, near the major roads.

The purpose of this study was also to investigate to what extent place names reflect political influence within a specific territory. Dedicatory toponyms illustrate the Seleucids' desire to stamp their authority on an area, even if only symbolically. Descriptive toponyms differ from dedicatory toponyms in that the former probably result from a popular naming process formulated by the inhabitants, while the latter suggest an official dimension and response to a political will. Dedicatory names (e.g. Apollonia, Antioch, Seleucia) are linguistically arbitrary since they do not refer to any physical characteristics of a location but rather encode cultural–historical references. While a toponym is an identifier, it is also a marker of culture and identity, and the choice of language in which it is formulated makes up a significant part of territorial memory.

Finally, toponyms and ethnonyms have proven to be valuable keys to understanding the topography of a region by providing information such as the language used to form the toponym, or the meaning of the place name. The persistence of Anatolian toponyms through the centuries is worthy of note, since 39 names of Anatolian heritage are attested until the Greco-Roman period; some, in modified form, exist to this day.[32] Names are very often related to human occupation, the spatial

Urban settlements: Baris, Termessos, Erymna, Hadrianopolis, Kremna, Kretopolis, Antioche, Apollonia, Seleucia, Xyline, Neapolis and Olbasa.

31 Amblada, Lagbe, the Milyans, Orbanassa, Orondeis, Prostanna and Sibidunda.

32 Anaboura–Enevre, Erymna–Ormana, Konana–Gönen, Kotenna–Gödene, Parlais–

distribution of which depends on the distribution of resources. Areas that allow easier access to water encourage human settlement. Pisidian toponyms often originate from Anatolian languages, remaining stable despite later influences under Greco-Roman and Persian domination.

Although Persian hegemony in Asia Minor lasted a little over two centuries, to my great surprise I found almost no Persian contribution to the toponymy and ethnonymy of Pisidia except for the name Orondeis. This study did not reveal clear theophoric toponyms, apart from hypotheses concerning Apollonia, Sandalion or Sia which could be theophoric toponyms referring respectively to Apollo, Sanda/Santa and Zeus. Again, this contrasts with the anthroponymy of the region, which records ample theophoric names including those evoking Artemis, Asklepios, Zeus, Men, Apollo, the mother goddess, Helios and Hermes, but also names based on θεός, 'God'.

6 LIMITS

Many hypotheses have been formulated concerning the origin and meaning of toponyms and ethnonyms. However, many Pisidian sites have yet to be excavated, so the sources currently available are unlikely to represent the complete record. The present study is thus limited by availability of sources. Moreover, place names perpetuated only by oral tradition necessarily escape us: *verba volant, scripta manent*… Also, the fact that we do not know the precise meaning of all Hittite words has been a hindrance in establishing the meaning of some toponyms. That is why it has often been necessary to refer to Indo-European roots only. The notation in Greek of supposedly non-Greek names further complicates the search for the oldest attestation of those names in earlier Hittite or Luwian sources. Furthermore, it is not easy for a Greek speaker to record an Anatolian name with different sounds in the Greek script, especially if the meaning eludes him. Lastly, the graphological form provided by ancient authors may include transcription errors.

The linguistic analysis of toponyms is a difficult science that presents many traps, in particular because of the multiplicity of forms. Although the meaning of place names may often be rudimentary, an inability to understand their meaning complicates the work of the modern researcher, many of whose questions must remain unanswered. Thus,

Barla, Sagalassos–Ağlasun and Pogla–Fuğla.

there is rarely a single formula that explains the origin and meaning of a toponym: rather, toponyms give rise to various assumptions, explanations and hypotheses.

7 CONCLUSION

Most of the place names are descriptive and refer to features of the landscape. In conclusion, I would suggest that this methodology can be extended to other regions of Anatolia so as to increase our comprehension of Anatolian toponyms and of Anatolia itself, since toponyms are a means of territorial memory.

Furthermore, this study chose not to take into account the toponyms from the lists of members of the *Xenoi Tekmoreioi*,[33] a religious community dating from the 3rd century AD in the region of Antioch in Pisidia. To do so would require us to consider not only ethnicities within these lists, but also the names of the individual members, i.e. anthroponyms. Similarly, a study of names of villages (the κώμαι) of Pisidia should be conducted. While my doctoral thesis limited itself to Pisidia, a study of the toponymy and ethnonymy of each region of Asia Minor should be considered along the lines of Zgusta's *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*.[34] More specifically, I believe there is a need for a study of the toponymy of Phrygia, since other areas bordering on Pisidia, such as coastal regions open to external influences, conserve Anatolian culture to a lesser degree than Phrygia. Finally, a study of Phrygian toponymy would lead to a better understanding of the history of Phrygia and a better understanding of the organization of the territory.

Because of the continuity of toponyms, this study is based on toponyms and ethnonyms attested in classical sources. However, it may be useful to establish a further corpus of place names attested in the Byzantine period, in order to study the persistence of toponymy and perhaps enable us to locate more precisely certain cities that have not yet been identified. Similarly, a study of current toponyms could be done to determine the proportion of Turkish names whose meaning is intelligible to the population, and the proportion of names of older origin whose meaning is no longer understood. Lastly, it would be wise to study the proportion of present-day toponyms that are descriptive, and

33 SEG 31 (1981), n.° 1131.

34 Zgusta 1984.

observe whether this proportion is comparable to that found among ancient toponyms.

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THE ANATOLIAN WORDS FOR 'SON' AND THE SEMANTICS OF *MUWA*-

Elena Martínez Rodríguez

Abstract: In this article, I will explore the kinship vocabulary of the Anatolian branch of languages, placing special emphasis on the nature of the words for 'son' attested during the 1st millennium. As will be seen, the Anatolian set of 'son'-lexemes appear to be distinct from each other, a trait that contrasts with the general homogeneity of the rest of the kinship terms in the languages of this branch. For the purpose of the study, the semantics of the *muwa*- element and its productivity by derivation in the formation of the Anatolian words of 'progeny' will be analysed and contrasted with some literary formulae that appear in all the Anatolian languages and which can shed light on the semantics of these *muwa*- derivatives.

Keywords: Anatolian languages, kinship lexicon, son, progeny, *muwa*-

1 INTRODUCTION[1]

Generally speaking, the 'family' lexicon is a conservative section of the vocabulary of a language, a characteristic that makes it a source of particular interest for the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European. In the concrete case of the Anatolian languages, its linguistic material is doubly revealing: not only is it the oldest Indo-European linguistic family

1 I am indebted to Ignasi Adiego (Barcelona), Mariona Vernet (Barcelona), and Bartomeu Obrador (Madrid) for their fruitful comments and discussions. I owe special gratitude to Ilya Yakubovich (Marburg) for his suggestions regarding the orthography and transcription of the Luwian terms, a system that I have adopted for this article (following Yakubovich 2015), and also to Matilde Serangeli (Jena), who has generously sent her most recent contribution on Anatolian kinship terms to me. Errors are naturally my own.
This study was made possible by the research project Los dialectos lúvicos del grupo anatolio en su contexto lingüístico, geográfico e histórico (Ref. FFI2015-68467-C2-1-P), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry, and Competitiveness.

attested, it also stands in close contact to the culture of neighbouring Mesopotamia, which both predated and influenced it.

A first examination shows that the Anatolian kinship lexicon appears to differ from the Core-Indo-European languages, especially in its *baby-talk* words for 'father' and 'mother' (see below), a feature that has led some scholars to suggest that the typical family terms in *-ter* were replaced by new Anatolian nursery words in this subgroup (Gamkrelidze/Ivanov 1995: 167 n. 44; Clackson 2007: 200; Puhvel 2007: 108). Nevertheless, this trait might also be interpreted as a sign of early separation from the main bulk of the Indo-European languages, a question that will be left for future research.

In terms of the individual Anatolian languages, the kinship terms show a notable homogeneity (see below). Particularly striking is the continuity of the words for 'father' (in the basic stop-vowel repetition, *VttV*/*tVtV*/*pVpV*), 'mother' and 'grandson' and also, to some extent, the terms for 'grandfather', 'grandmother' and 'brother'. The words for 'son', however, represent a curious exception to this general trend.

In the 2nd-millennium Anatolian languages, only the Cuneiform Luwian word for 'son' *tidaimm*(*i*)- can be attested with certainty, although it is highly probable that CLuw. DUMU-*ni*- (LuvLex 287, ACLT *s.v.*) conceals the word known in Hieroglyphic Luwian as *niwarann*(*i*)- 'son'. On the other hand, the Hittite and Palaic 'son'-lexemes are attested in their logographic form, thus making it hard to identify the underlying term (Hitt. nom. sg. DUMU-*la-sa*/ DUMU-*la-as* 'son'; nom. sg. DUMU.MUNUS 'daughter', Steitler 2017: 480).

The interesting point is that, leaving aside the unknown Lydian lexeme,[2] the words for 'son' appear to differ in all the 1st-millennium languages in which they are attested: HLuw. *nimuwiza*- and *niwarann*(*i*)-, Lyc. *tideime*/*i*- and Car. *mno*-.

From a typological point of view, it should be noted that several Indo-European languages present at least two terms designating 'son': for example, Lat. *nātus* from **ǵenh$_1$*-, *filius* from **d^{h}eh$_1$(i̯)*- and *puer* from

2 The identification of Lydian 'son' remains elusive. Nevertheless, Schürr (2006: 1572) supports Gusmani (LW 97) in proposing Lyd. *sulo*- (hapax, in nº 11.7) as a plausible candidate, linked to the Indo-European root **seuH*- 'born'. Also, Yakubovich (2017: 289) has recently revived the interpretation of º*mna*- in *mlimna* (inscription nº 22, cf. Gk. Μερμνάδες) as a patronymic suffix, linked to Car. *mno*-, 'son', alongside other dynastic names such as Gk. Ἑκατόμνως, cf. Car. *ktmno*-, *ḱtmño*- (Yakubovich 2017: 289 n. 27; Adiego 2007: 375, 378). On Lyd. *wora*- 'son/child' see most recently Serangeli 2020: 203.

*peu̯-/*pu-*; Gk. τέκνον from **teḱ-*, beside υἱός from **seu̯H-/*suH-* or πάῖς from **peu̯-/*pu-*; as well as Indo-Arian *sūnu* from **seu̯H/*suH-*, *putrá-* from **peu̯-/*pu-*, or *jātá-* from **ǵenh*$_1$-. Therefore, we might ask whether the different terms for 'son' in Anatolian respond to a natural situation of the Indo-European languages. Even if this were the case, the roots that repeatedly appear in the mentioned Core-Indo-European instances do not seem to have been inherited in Anatolian. For these reasons, an examination of these roots in Anatolian is still desirable:

Father: Hitt. *atta-*, Pal. *papa-*, Luw. *tad(i)-*, Lyc. *tede/i-*, Lyd. *taada-*, Car. *ted-*

Mother: Hitt. *anna*, Pal. *anna*, CLuw. *ann(i)-*, HLuw. **annatt(i)-*, Lyc. *ẽne/i-*, Lyd. *ẽna-*, Car. *en-*

Son: Hitt. DUMU-*la-*, Pal. DUMU, CLuw. *tidaimm(i)-*, HLuw. *nimuwiza-/niwarann*(*i*)-, Lyc. *tideime/i-*, Lyd. *sulo-/ºmna-*(PN)/ *wora-* (?), Car. *mno-*

Daughter: Hitt. DUMU.MUNUS, Pal. DUMU.MUNUS, Luw. *tuwatr(i)-*, Lyc. *kbatra*, Lyd. *tutr-*

Brother: Hitt. *nekna-*, CLuw. *nan(i)-*, Lyc. *nẽne/i-*

Sister: Hitt. *neka-*, HLuw. *nanasr(i)-*

Grandfather: Hitt. *huhha-*, Luw. *huha-*, Lyc. *xuga-*, Car. ºquq- (PN)

Grandmother: Hitt. *hanna-*, Luw. *hana-*, Lyc. *xñna-*

Grandchild: Hitt. *hāšša-*, Luw. *hams(i)-*, Lyc. *xahba-*, Lyd. *esa-*

To study the matter in depth, the first part of this article will be devoted to a morphological and etymological analysis of the different words for 'son', thus providing the linguistic basis for subsequent comparisons. In the second part, possible connections of this range of lexemes with other Indo-European languages will be explored, while the productivity of the *muwa-* element and its role in the semantics of 'son' and 'progeny' will be compared with lexemes of the 1st-millennium languages whose meaning or morphological interpretation is still doubtful. Finally, the presence of these lexemes in literary formulae will be studied as a further tool for identifying their semantics.

2 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The available data suggest that the Anatolian languages preserve three different items related to the meaning 'son': one element is derived from the PIE verbal root **d*^{h}*eh*$_1$*(i̯)-* 'to suck (milk)', found in Lycian

(*tideime*/*i*-) and Cuneiform Luwian (*tidaimm(i)*-), while another set denotes an idea of incapacity or inability, which is present in Hieroglyphic Luwian (*niwarann(i)*- and *nimuwiza*-). Finally, the second element of HLuw. *nimuwiza*- (i.e. *muwa*) may be related to the Carian word for 'son', *mno*- (Adiego 2007: 383) as well as to Lyc. *muwẽte*- 'progeny' and, perhaps, to Lyc. *muneita*-.

2.1 Derivatives of *$*d^{h}eh_{1}(i)$*- 'to suck (milk)'

Both Lycian *tideime*/*i*- (nom. sg. *tideimi*, acc. sg. *tideimi*, gen. sg. *tideimi*(?), dat.-loc. sg. *tideimi*, nom. pl. *tideimi*, acc. pl. *tideimis*, gen. pl. *tideimẽ*, dat.-loc. pl. *tideime*, DLL 66) and CLuw. *tidaimm(i)*- (KBo 2.1 i 33 and 40, in Hittite context with *Glossenkeil*) present the same formation, a lexicalized participle from the verbal root *$*d^{h}eh_{1}(i)$*- 'to suck (milk)' and appear clearly connected to CLuw. neut. *tīdan*- 'breast, teat' (cf. Hitt. neut. *tēta*(*n*)- '*id.*'). Despite its reduplicated appearance, Kloekhorst (EHD 876–877) has argued that initial Hitt. *tē*- cannot correspond to a reduplicate formation (*$*d^{h}i$-$d^{h}h_{1}$-*i̯e*/*o*-). Instead, he reconstructs a Luwian denominal verb *$*tidai*$- (< *$*d^{h}éh_{1}i$-*to*-*i̯e*/*o*-), which is in turn derived from the Luwian noun *tida(n)*- (*$*d^{h}éh_{1}i$-*to*). In my opinion, we are then forced to assume a recharacterization of unattested *$*tida*$- into the neuter class *tida(n)*- in order to explain the absence of the nasal phoneme in the verbal form.

With regard to the Lycian term *tidere/i*-, it is generally explained as a compound of *$*tide*$- 'teat' and *$*are*/*i*$- 'companion', thus with the meaning 'breast-feeding companion' (see DLL 66 with ref.). This interpretation might, however, face two objections: firstly, the reconstruction *$*are*/*i*$- with the meaning 'companion' is not attested in Lycian; and secondly, the instances of *tidere*/*i*- (TL 119.3*, 128.1, 135.1) only appear in a Limyra type of tomb with a certain Hellenistic influence that cannot be dated earlier than the 4th century (Schweyer 2002: 177), and thus suggests a specific use of this term in later times. In addition, on two of the three occasions where it is attested, *tidere*/*i*- appears accompanied by the Limyra dynast name *Trbbẽnimi*-, pointing to a high-ranking title rather than a family term.

2.2 Derivatives of the Anatolian *muwa-* lexical element

The Hieroglyphic Luwian meaning 'son' (and/or 'child') is represented by the lexemes *nimuwiza-* (nom. sg. (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, dat. sg. *ni-mu-wa/i-zi*, cf. ACLT *s.v.*) and *niwarann(i)-* (nom. sg. INFANS-*ni-i-sa*, acc. sg. INFANS-*ni-na*, dat. sg. INFANS-*ni-i*, instr. INFANS.*NI-na-ti-i*, nom. pl. INFANS-*ni-zi*, acc. pl. (INFANS)*ni-wa/i+ra/i-ni-zi*, cf. ACLT *s.v.*), which is very possibly present in Cuneiform Luwian under the logogram DUMU-*ni-* (LuvLex 287).

These compounds of the *bahuvrihi*-type are formed by an initial negative particle (PIE **ne-*) and an adjectival element denoting capacity or ability: **muwint-* (derivative from *muwa-* 'power, fertility', see **3.2**) in the case of *nimuwiza-* (lit. 'lack of virility', according to Melchert 1990: 204), and **wara-n-* (the probable base noun of HLuw. *wariya-*: noun 'help, assistance' and verb 'to help') in the case of *niwarann(i)-* (lit. 'helpless').

The Carian word for 'son' *mno-* is attested as nom. sg. *mnos* (C.Eu 1, C.Ka 5) and gen. sg. *mnoś* (E.Me 10, E.Me 12, E.Me 16, E.Me 27, E.Me 39, E.Me 43b, C.Ka 1, C.Kr 1, see Adiego 2007: 383). In terms of cognates, Car. *mno-* does not appear to be directly comparable to any other Anatolian word for 'son'. However, on the basis of a possible connection with HLuw. *nimuwiza-* proposed by Adiego (2007: 398), a relation with the Luwic *muwa-* element will be studied (see **3.2** below).

3 COMPARISON

3.1 Indo-European connections

Even though the Anatolian kinship terms have been traditionally regarded as an isolated creation among the Indo-European languages (cf. Gamkrelidze/Ivanov 1995: 167 n. 44; Clackson 2007: 200), there is some evidence to the contrary: for instance, the words for 'son' show that clear connections can be established.

Firstly, Lyc. *tideime/i-* and CLuw. *tidaimm(i)-* 'son' have their origins in a root (**$d^{h}eh_{1}(i)$-*) widely spread in outer-Anatolian languages, whose Indo-European derivatives sometimes present the meaning of 'son' as well. Note, for example, the cognates of **$d^{h}eh_{1}(i)$-* (1) in a verbal form: Ved. *dhinoti* 'feed', *dháyati* 'sucks', Oss. *dœj-* 'suck', OIr. *denait* 'they

suck', Gk. θέσατο 'sucked', θῆσαι 'to milk', Arm. *diem* 'suck (milk)', Goth. *daddjan* 'suck', OSwed. *dæggia* 'suck', OHG. *taen*, OCS. *dojǫ* '(I) breast-feed', Latv. *dêju*, *dêt* 'suck' (LIV^{2} 138); (2) as the patient of the action: OCS. *dĕti* 'children' (Derksen 2008: 104), Arm. *didik* 'child' (Martirosyan 2009: 238), and Lat. *filius* 'son' and *filia* 'daughter'; and (3) as the agent of the action: Lat. *femina* 'woman', Lith. *dienì* 'pregnant' (Walde/Hoffmann 2008: I.476). On the other hand, expressive formations have developed in several languages by means of a reduplication such as: Gk. τιθήνη [f.] 'wet nurse' (Beekes 2010: 1483) and τίτθη 'mummy', τιτθός 'mother's breast' (Walde/Hoffman 2008: II.685).

Secondly, the Luwian creations *nimuwiza-* ('son', lit. 'without power') and *niwarann(i)-* ('son', lit. 'helpless') are directly comparable to the constructions found in Lat. *nepōs*, Ved. *nápāt-* 'grandson', OIr. *nïa* 'nephew', Alb. *nip*, Phr. *nevos* 'male descendant', *niptiyan* 'female descendant', Gk. ἀνεψιός 'cousin', where the *alpha*-privative presents a recharacterization of the negative particle,[3] or OGer. **nefō̃-* among others (see NIL 520–524). All these are derived from the compound of the *bahuvrihi*-type **ne-poti-*, lit. 'powerless', and present the same compositional structure as that found in Anatolian: a privative particle followed by a verbal derivative or adjective that semantically denotes a capacity or ability. This semantic domain corresponds to Lat. *infans* 'child' (lit. 'nonspeaking') as well.

In conclusion, Lyc. *tideime/i-* and CLuw. *tidaimm*(*i*)- have solid Indo-European bonds from an etymological point of view, while HLuw. *nimuwiza-*/*niwarann*(*i*)- shows the same phraseological structure as other Indo-European words referring to 'son' or 'child' which use a compound formed by the Proto-Indo-European initial privative particle **ne-*.

3.2 The *muwa-* set of lexemes in the Anatolian languages

In contrast, when searching for outer-Anatolian connections, the element *muwa-* appears as an inner creation. Since its etymology is unknown,[4] only the Luwic origin of this lexeme can be accounted for (Pro-

3 I am grateful to my colleague Bartomeu Obrador (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) for this observation.

4 See Serangeli (2017: 696 n. 5) for a summary with references of the proposed Indo-European connections of *muwa-*, based on the Indo-European verbal root **meuh$_{1}$/$_{3}$-* 'to be (reproductively) powerful'.

to-Luwian **muu̯é- per* Frotscher 2012: 167). This is supported not only by the presence of Luwian suffixes in some of the Hittite lexemes (EHD 590), but also by its absence in Lydian. Despite its elusive etymology, it has a rich presence in the different grammatical and lexical categories of the Luwic languages and Hittite, as can be seen in the following compilation of *muwa-* derivatives:

Nouns: Hitt. *mūwa-* 'an awe inspiring quality'; Mil. *muwa-* 'might, power'.

Derivatives (N/Adj.): Hitt. *mūwanu-* 'terrifying', *mūwat(t)allahit-* 'the king's or Storm-god's ability to inspire awe(?)', *mūwatallatar* 'ability to inspire awe (?)' ; CLuw. *mū(wa)tti(ya/i)-* 'mighty', *mūwattall(i)-* 'overpowering, mighty', **mūwattalahit-* 'overpowering might (?)'; HLuw. *muwatta-* 'conquest', *muwatall(i)-* 'mighty, potent', (*462)*muwid(a/i)-* 'seed, progeny (?)', *nimuwiza-* 'child'; Lyc. *ᵒmudija* (PN), *muwẽte-* 'progeny'; Mil. *mutale/i-* 'mighty'.

Verbs: CLuw. *muwa-*(*i*) 'to overpower'; HLuw. *muwa-*(*i*) (*273) 'to conquer'; Mil. *muwa-* 'to overpower'.

Doubtful: CLuw. *muwizza-* 'dance movement (?)'; Lyc. *muneita-* '(?)', Mil. *muwilada-* '(?)'.

With regard to its semantic domain, a polysemic nature can be perceived from the *muwa-* derivatives shown above. On the one hand, we can infer that a meaning related to 'force' or 'power' has prevailed across Hittite, Luwian and Lycian. On the other hand, a semantic connotation linked to the general semantic field of 'fertility' is widely attested in Hieroglyphic Luwian. It is noteworthy that, from the range of meanings shown in Luwian, the semantics in the Hittite lexemes especially coincide with the ones for 'power' and 'conquest', which are attributed to a terrifying divinity, or are associated with a Hittite royal member or land (see CHD L–N 314), as in the case of Hitt. adjective *mūwanu-*.[5] In any case, Hittite clearly excludes the meanings related to seed and progeny that appear in Hieroglyphic Luwian: (*462)*muwid*(*a*/*i*)- 'seed, progeny (?)',[6] and *nimuwiza* 'son'.

5 See HEG L–M 243 with literature. Note that a derivation with the verbal factitive suffix *-nu-* in *mūwanu-* would oblige us to assume a (perhaps problematic) substantivization, i.e., 'the one who causes awe'. With regard to CLuw. *mū(wa)tti(ya/i)-* (adj.) 'mighty', Serangeli (2017: 695–704) accounts for its Lycian reflex in PN *Pẽmudija*, where the second element *ᵒmudija-* would go back to Lyc. **muwadije-*, the lenited counterpart of the Luwian example.

6 The logogram *462 seems to be linked to the lexeme *muwid(a/i)-* 'seed, male/female issue' (Hawkins 2000: 104/179), at least in the sole occurrence where

However, it is worth considering whether this second meaning, related to the semantic domain of fertility, can be found in other *muwa-* cognates of the 1st-millennium Luwic languages. Especially in Lycian and Milyan, we find a handful of potential derivatives from *muwa-* that deserve attention. A clear candidate in this regard is Lyc. *muwẽte-*, whose meaning 'descendant' has already been proposed (EHD 590, but '?' *per* DLL 41). From a morphological point of view, it can be compared to HLuw. *nimuwiza-*, 'son', if we take the nasalized vowel in Lyc. *muwẽte-* as a result of a *(V)nt-* derivation (**muwent-*), a segmentation that can fall into HLuw. *nimuwiza-*, i.e. **nimuwint-s-*.[7]

In my opinion, however, Lycian presents another formation which can be connected with this set of lexemes and whose meaning is to be potentially related to 'progeny', that is, *muneita-* (TL 44b.20, TL 90.3 and TL 127.2). Unfortunately, the material attesting to the term *muneita-* is restricted to only three inscriptions, whose forms were analysed by Neumann (2007: 226) as a verb (*muna-*, 3rd pl. pres. *munaiti* in TL 90.3, cf. Hajnal 1995: 153, 'verbieten') and nouns (nom. sg. *muneita* in TL 44b.20 and dat. pl. *muneite* in TL 127.2), a categorization suggested in view of its double vocalism.

Although the scarcity of the sources does not permit us to infer much more information, it is plausible to link Lyc. *muneita* to the *muwa-* set of lexemes if we consider the effect of the common contraction *-uwa-* > *-u-* and *-iya-* > *-i-* (also known as syncope), a recurring phenomenon in all the Anatolian languages. Hence, under the evidence of the *muwa-* > *mu-* contraction that can be perceived, for instance, in Mil. *mutale/i-* and PN *Mutlẽi*, the feasible cognates of HLuw. adj. *muwatall(i)-* 'mighty', CLuw. adj. *mūwattall(i)-* 'overpowering', and CLuw. adj. *mū(wa)tti(ya/i)-* 'having overpowering might', Lyc. *muneita-* can be understood to have undergone the common contraction *-uwa-* > *-u-*, and thus, to be included in the group of the *muwa-* derivatives.[8] Especially interesting is the

it appears with a full phonetic spelling (KARKAMIŠ A11b–c 4§28: (*462)*muwa/i-i-tà-na*). Three further attestations contain the logogram *462 and are related to *muwid(a/i)-* in all likelihood: VIR_2.*462 (TILSEVET 1 § 3), FEMINA*462-*ti* (TILSEVET 2 § 4), and FEMINA.*462-4?-*tà* (KARKAMIŠ A11b–c § 29), to be read as (FEMINA.*462)3-*tà* according to Payne (2019: 81). See Payne (*op.cit.*) on the interpretation of VIR_2.*462 and FEMINA.*462 as determinative compounds.

7 The morphological implications of assuming an old *nt*-stem for *nimuwiza-* will be presented in a forthcoming publication.

8 This phenomenon, which is still a matter for debate, is also known as 'sporadic' syncope (Rieken 2001: 369–380; Melchert 2003: 183; GHL 1.76, Yakubovich 2015: 5.2.1), and is attested independently in almost all the Anatolian languages (e.g.

possible connection that can be established between Lyc. *muneita-* and the Carian word for 'son', *mno-* (see attestations in 2.2) in the light of the mentioned contraction *muwa-* > *mu-*. Note that the connections suit the semantics linked to the fertility field of the proposed polysemic value of *muwa-*, which was more widespread in the 1st-millennium Luwic languages. Both meanings, the warfare and the fertility connotation, are conceptually well interconnected in the 2nd-millennium Luwian sphere, as the existence of an Arzawan ritual (CTH 393, VBoT 24), for both the recovery of the sexual and the military power, accounts for.[9]

In addition, the semantics of Lyc. *muneita-* can be delimited in the light of the context in TL 127.2, where the two adjacent terms, *tuhes* 'nephew' and *xahba* 'grandson/great-grandson', point to the kinship semantic domain of *muneita-* (probably a member of the family, one or two generations below the owner of the tomb, as suggested by Hajnal 1995: 154, or even someone belonging to the extended family, according to Schweyer 2002: 194).

3.3 Anatolian kinship word pairs

There is a further element that can shed light on the status of Lyc. *muneita-*, that is, the collocation in the inscriptions TL 127.2: *se tuhe se muneite se* [*x*]*ahbe* ('to nephews, *muneite* and grandsons'). Although this is a single instance, it is worth noting that the kind of collocation in this sentence recalls in a way the formulae referring to 'further progeny' (lit. 'grandson and great-grandson') that appear widely attested in Luwian and Hittite.

In Hieroglyphic Luwian, for example, the following collocations to express 'progeny', either word pairs or enumerations, can be found: *nimuwiza- hams(i)-* ('son, grandson', KARABURUN § 9); *hams(i)- hamsukkala- nimuwiza-* ('grandson, great-grandson, son', SHEIZAR § 4, § 5); *hams(i)- hamsukkala-* ('grandson, great-grandson', KÖRKÜN § 6); *niwarann(i)- hams(i)- hamsukkala-* ('son, grandson, great-grandson', KARKAMIŠ A4a § 12). In Cuneiform Luwian, the combinations attested are *hamš(i)- hamšukkala-* ('grandson, great-grandson' KUB 32.10+) and

Lyd. *mruwaa-* ~ *mru-* 'tomb', see LW 168; Lyc. *wawa* ~ *uwa* 'cow', see DLL 78; CLuw. *dūwandu* ~ *dūndu* 3rd pl. impf. 'to put', see Melchert 2003: 183; Hitt. *šu-wa-an-ta-an* ~ *šu-u-un-ta-an* 'full', see GHL 1.76). See most recently a different interpretation of Lyc. *muneite* in Serangeli 2020: 202.

9 According to Bawanypeck 2013: 162–163, this is one of *Anniwiyani*'s rituals and was addressed to a high ranking officer.

DUMU.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ *hamši- hamšukkala-* ('sons, daughters, grandsons, great-grandsons' KBo 29.6). Likewise, Hittite presents the well-known expressions for 'offspring': *hašša- hanzašša-* ('grandson, descendants' KUB 26.43 Vs. 60–61, also under the formula *katta haššaš hanzaššaš* 'down to grandsons and great-grandsons', KUB 57.63 ii 3), and the enumeration DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ *hašša hanzašša* ('sons, daughters, grandson, great-grandson', KUB 15.34 ii 18).[10]

4 FINAL REMARKS

In this short study, I have tried to offer a broad picture of the different lexical elements that occur in the creation of the 1st-millennium Anatolian words for 'son'. Despite the formal diversity of the terms for 'son', the analysis has shown how each 1st-millennium Anatolian language created its own lexeme from a base element that already existed in another Anatolian language. Moreover, there are clear connections with the Indo-European family of languages, both from the etymological and phraseological point of view (**ne-poti*, lit. 'no power' and PIE root **d*^{h}*e*$_{1}$(*i*)- 'to suck'), which challenge the traditional view of a "substitution" of the Indo-European kinship terms in Anatolian.

With regard to the semantics of Luwic *muwa-*, a clear polysemy ('power' and 'force' *versus* 'seed' and 'progeny') has been identified in the distribution of its derivatives, where, interestingly, the sense 'progeny' is only attested in the *muwa-* derivatives of the 1st-millennium languages. Furthermore, through a comparison of these *muwa-* derivatives across all Anatolian languages, and with consideration of the evidence of the Anatolian *-uwa-* > *-u-* contraction, I propose that Car. *mno-* 'son' and Lyc. *muneita-* are possibly close cognates derived from *muwa-* with a meaning related to the semantic field of fertility. In addition, comparison with literary formulae has offered the possibility of delimiting this meaning.

Working with fragmentary languages like those from 1st-millennium Anatolia obliges us to resort to different types of materials and to adopt multidisciplinary approaches in order to fill the gaps caused by the lack of inscriptions. In this study, I hope that I have provided new perspec-

10 See Martínez Rodríguez 2019 for a compilation of the word pairs and enumerations containing family terms that are found in the Anatolian languages.

tives to study the diversity of the Anatolian words for ‘son’ and the semantics of *muwa-* throughout the Anatolian languages.

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BILINGUAL TEXTS IN FIRST-MILLENNIUM ANATOLIA[1]

H. Craig Melchert

Abstract: It is typically assumed that one version of a bilingual is the primary text, from which the other is translated. I argue based on the Greek and Lycian versions of the Létôon trilingual and the Phoenician-Luvian bilingual of Karatepe that we should entertain another model, by which the commissioner of an inscription dictated to those responsible the desired content, entrusting textual composition to writers fluent in the respective idioms—not precluding that they also had familiarity with the other language. Rather than one version being primary and the other dependent on it, we may be facing parallel, but independent compositions, whose commonality consists in their content and discourse structure, but only partially in their diction.

Keywords: bilingual, Greek, Karatepe, Létôon, Luvian, Lycian, Phoenician

1 INTRODUCTION

The standard premise by which one version of a bilingual text is primary ("original") and the other a translation of it is surely often correct. The Lycian-Greek tomb inscriptions TL 6 and 117 are, based on word order and lexical substitutions, translations from Lycian to Greek, while the votive text N 312 is more likely a translation from Greek to Lycian. However, in some cases evidence is inconclusive. Witness the controversy over priority and directionality in the Akkadian-Hittite bilingual "Acts of Hattušili I". Some have argued for Hittite to Akkadi-

1 The present text incorporates several revisions vis-à-vis the oral version. I thank all colleagues who offered comments during the subsequent discussion, Federico Giusfredi, Diether Schürr, and Zsolt Simon for respectively sending me pdfs of very helpful and relevant articles, David Goldstein and Stephen Colvin for help with Greek matters, K. Lawson Younger on KARATEPE 1, and above all Dennis Pardee for truly invaluable help with the Phoenician. I of course remain solely responsible for the contents.

an (Melchert 1978: 3–5 and *passim* with references to previous claims for both directions). De Martino (2003: 24–28) after a thorough review stated no opinion. Devecchi (2005: 28 and 113–127) made compelling arguments for the *literary structure* of the text as reflecting Akkadian influence and *tentatively* supposed an Akkadian original. See also van den Hout 2009a: 29–35 and 2009b: 94–95 with general arguments for Akkadian originals for all pre-Telipinu Hittite texts.

I will plead here for consideration of an alternative model—parallel, in tandem creation of texts, with more than one possible scenario. First, the commissioner of the text (typically for public display) dictates, directly or through an intermediary, the desired content to authors most competent in each language. I stress that in a multilingual environment (at least in terms of written texts) each would know the topoi and typical phraseology from both traditions. Second, both texts may be created by a single bilingual author, either a full bilingual (i.e., a pre-adult learner of both languages) or someone for whom one of the two languages is a second language. This alternative presupposes a genuinely multilingual speech community. Unavoidably, a single author must compose one text before the other, but one need not be directly modeled on the other. My idea of an alternative to direct translation is not new: see Amadasi Guzzo/Archi 1980: 86–87 and Giusfredi 2018: 117–118 for a similar viewpoint. In assessing the relationship of the two texts to one another, we should also bear in mind that the respective versions were likely directed at different audiences: various members of the community, visitors, and higher authorities not in residence. The author(s) may have thus adjusted both the content and its expression accordingly.

2 FIRST CASE: THE LYCIAN AND GREEK VERSIONS OF THE "LÉTÔON TRILINGUAL" OF XANTHOS

2.1 Translation from Greek to Lycian

Was a Greek original translated into Lycian? This has to my knowledge not been seriously considered, but it is easily disproven by multiple instances of elaborated Lycian content absent in the Greek version (citations after Laroche 1979: 53–54 and Metzger 1979: 32–33):

(1) N 320, Lycian 5–9 = Greek 5–8
me=hñti=tubedẽ: arus: se(j)=epewẽtlm̃mẽi: arñnãi: m̃maitẽ: kumezijẽ: θθẽ: xñtawati: xbidẽñni: se(j)=arKKazuma: xñtawati:
"The __ *authority t*-ed, and the Xanthian perioikoi *m*-ed, the sacred installation for the King of Kaunos and King Arggazuma."
ἔδοξε δὴ Ξανθίοις καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις ἱδρύσασθαι βωμὸν Βασιλεῖ Καυνίωι καὶ Ἀρκεσιμαι,
"It pleased the Xanthians and the perioikoi to erect an altar for Basileus Kaunios & Arkesimas."

Schürr (2014: 13–15) compellingly argues that the previous syntactic analysis of this passage with a conjoined subject of the first verb and a "dependent" reading of the second is impossible by the facts of Lycian syntax. Adiego's objection (2015: 11 n. 7) is wholly unjustified: the assumed structure is not "chiastic", but shows merely "gapping". See independently Storme (2014: 135–137) for similar arguments. Despite the efforts of Schürr (2014: 19–21) the sense of the two verbs remains elusive ('to build' for *m̃m(a)-* remains possible, but unproven), but *arus* surely belongs with *aruwãt(i)-* 'high' and refers to some high authority of the city of Xanthos (Schürr 2014: 17–19). The Greek formulaic ἔδοξε collapses the distinct collaborative roles of the city and the perioikoi clearly delineated in the Lycian.

(2) N 320, Lycian 12–18 = Greek 12–16
s=ed(e)=eliñ=tãtẽ: teteri: se(j)=epewẽtlm̃mẽi: hrm̃mada: ttaraha: me=xbaitẽ: zã: ese=xesñtedi: qñtati<=ti>: se=pigrẽi: sẽ=ñte=ñte=km̃mẽ: se(j)=ẽti: θθẽ: sttati=teli: se=tahñtãi xñtawatehi: xbidẽñnehi: se(j)=arKKazumahi:
"And the city and the perioikoi transferred land plots belonging to city. They *bound over/established* the portion <that> X. and P. cultivate, and however much is therein, and where the installation is put down, and the buildings (shall) belong to the King of Kaunos and Arggazuma."
καὶ ἔδωκαν ἡ πόλις ἀγρὸν ὃγ Κεσινδηλις καὶ Πιγρης κατηργάσατο καὶ ὅσον πρὸς τῶι αγρῶι καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα εἶναι Βασιλέως Καυνίου καὶ Ἀρκεσιμα,
"And the city has given the field that K. and P. have cultivated, and whatever adjoins the field, and the buildings, to belong to Basileus Kaunios and Arkesimas."

For *eliñ=tãtẽ* as 'ceded the rights to, transferred to another' (cf. Latin *alienāre*) see Rieken/Yakubovich (forthcoming). Schürr (forthcoming) emends to *qñta<tẽ>* following Eichner 1983: 62, but cultivation of the plot donated to the sanctuary surely is to continue, and scribal error is much easier to motivate if one assumes haplography of the second <ti> in **qñtatiti*. Schürr plausibly derives the expected 'to cultivate' from an extension **qñt(a)-* of *qã(n)-* 'to strike'. As he argues, that *xbaitẽ* means "irrigated" (e.g. Melchert 2004: 82, after Laroche 1979: 68) makes no sense. A connection with Cuneiform Luvian *ḫap(a)i-* 'to bind' is semantically apt, but formally problematic. The context requires merely that *xbaitẽ* express the donation of everything to the deities. Storme (2014: 130) refutes the analysis (Melchert 2000) that *se=t=ahñtãi* is predicatival 'also as the property'. Against Laroche (1979: 68) and Melchert (2004: 2) there is no motivation for a local particle *=te* and an alleged †*ahñtãi* as a calque on Greek τὰ ὄντα or ἡ οὐσία. As per Schürr (2016: 125), *tahñtãi* refers to the buildings (NB τὰ οἰκήματα!) associated with the altar *θθẽ* (both mean essentially 'installation'). The crucial point for present purposes is that the Lycian describes the donation of land and what belongs to it to the deities in *two* steps, a nuance the Greek unsurprisingly dispenses with.

(3) N 320, Lycian 40–41 = Greek 35
pigesereje: me=i(j)=eseri=hhati: me=hriqla: asñne: pzziti=ti
"To Pixodaros they shall defer (authority). The supreme *temple* authority is to carry out whatever he *decrees/wishes*."
Πιξώταρος δὲ κύριος ἔστω
"Pixodaros shall have authority."

For the syntax of the last two Lycian clauses see Melchert 1999, but the essential understanding is owed to Neumann 1998. The Lycian recognizes the supreme authority of the satrap expressed by the Greek formula, but adds a role for some authority in the Xanthian religious administration, a detail reasonably omitted in the Greek. It is hard to imagine that someone translating the Greek text would or could have made the extensive elaborations that are present in the Lycian. A Greek to Lycian translation may be definitively rejected.

2.2 Translation from Lycian to Greek

Was a Lycian original translated into Greek? This is the standard view: Metzger 1979: 42, Laroche 1979: 79 (with typical caution), Frei 1981: 359, Blomqvist 1982, Bryce 1986: 52–53 n. 14 and 21, Rutherford 2002, especially 207–208 and 217. However, not all the arguments presented as evidence for a translation are equally valid. Storme (2014: 127–130) has refuted those of Blomqvist (1982: 14–15) and Rutherford (2002: 207–208) that the Greek of the opening clauses is due to an error of the Greek translator. Storme (2014: 131–135) also shows that the opening in both versions is part of the narrative, not a framing device, leaving open (2014: 139) the question of a Lycian to Greek translation versus two parallel texts. Also false is the claim of Metzger (1979: 42) of a peculiar use of μετακινεῖν calqued on the Lycian (see below).

Nevertheless, most discrepancies between the Lycian and Greek are entirely compatible with a Lycian to Greek translation. Many are explainable as omissions and simplifications viewed as dispensable for a Greek readership. These include the passages treated above in section 2.1, as well as the following:[2]

(4) N 320, Lycian 16–18 Greek 14–16
sẽ=ñte=ñte=km̃mẽ: se(j)=ẽti: θθẽ: sttati=teli: se=tahñtãi x^{l}*ñtawatehi: xbidẽñnehi: se(j)=arKKazumahi:*
“And as much as is inside (the plot of land), and (the place) where the installation (altar) is put down, and the buildings (shall) belong to the King of Kaunos and Arggazuma.”
καὶ ὅσον πρὸς τῶι αγρῶι καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα εἶναι Βασιλέως Καυνίου καὶ Ἀρκεσιμα
“And as much as is at the field and the buildings shall belong to the King of Kaunos and Arkesimas.”

Here the omission is mildly substantive, since the property to be given to the two deities includes in the Lycian the space where the altar was erected, but the author of the Greek may have felt it to be self-evident that the altar could hardly be dedicated without the ground on which it

2 The clause in the Lycian lines 29–30 specifying that Simias and those close to him are to perform the rites is reasonably omitted in the Greek, since this may be inferred from his appointment as priest in the Lycian lines 9–10, duly matched in the Greek lines 8–11.

stood. By the illuminating analysis of Schürr (2010: 150–154), the syntax of the sanction formula in the two versions is also compatible with a translation Lycian to Greek:

(5) N 320, Lycian 37–38 = Greek 33–34
me=pddẽ: mahãna: sm̃mati: ebette:
"He will be the one responsible before these gods."
ἀμαρτωλὸς <ἔ>στω τῶν θεῶν τούτων
"He will be guilty before these gods."

As per Schürr, Lycian *sm̃mati* here is a noun *der Verpflichtete* to the verb *sm̃ma-* 'to oblige, make responsible for' (*verpflichten*). Only the context provides the specific sense 'guilty'.[3]

Just one extended passage raises serious questions about a Lycian to Greek translation:

(6) N 320, Lycian 30–38 = Greek 27–34
se=ije=hri(j)=aitẽ: tasa: mere: ebette: teteri: arñnas:
se(j)=epewẽtlm̃mẽi: arñnãi: me=t=epi tuwẽti: mara: ebeija: ẽti: sttali:
ppuwẽti=mẽ: ebehi: se=we=ne: xttadi: tike: ebi=ne=ñtewẽ: mahãna:
ebette: ebi=ne: ñtewẽ: kumazi: ebehi: xttade=me(j)=ẽ: tike: me=pddẽ:
mahãna: sm̃mati: ebette:
"The city of Xanthos and the perioikoi of Xanthos have taken oaths regarding these regulations, that they will carry out these regulations as one has written down on this stela. And no one shall do violence (to them?), neither with respect to these gods nor with respect to this priest. If anyone will have done violence (to them?), he will be the one responsible before these gods..."
καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκους Ξάνθιοι καὶ περίοικοι ὅσα ἐν τῆι στήληι ἐγγέγραπται ποιήσειν ἐντελῆ τοῖς θεοῖς τούτοις καὶ τῶι ἱερεῖ, καὶ μὴ μετακινήσειν μηδαμὰ μηδ' ἄλλωι ἐπιτρέψειν · ἂν δέ τις μετακινήσηι, ἀμαρτωλὸς <ἔ>στω τῶν θεῶν τούτων
"And the Xanthians and the perioikoi have taken oaths to carry out whatever has been written on the stela for these gods and the

3 The added specification in the Greek lines 10–11 that appointment of Simias and those close to him is τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον 'for all time' is also trivial, intended to clarify that the reference is to a (perpetual) successorship to Simias' priesthood, not to a contemporary collaboration.

priest, and not to modify anything nor to allow another (to do so). If anyone makes a modification, he shall be guilty before these gods..."

For the crucial new reading *se=ije=hri(j)=* instead of *se=i(j)=ehbij(a)=* in the first Lycian clause see Adiego 2012: 95–98, but his interpretation is erroneous, based on a misunderstanding of the matching Hittite phraseology. The Hittites swore oaths only to/before *gods*; *šer* (and Lycian *hri*) indicates the person or thing regarding which the oath is made. *Pace* Schürr (2014: 30), the treatment of *hri* 'for' as a preverb is entirely in order: cf. N 320, 3 *ñte=pddẽ=hadẽ: trm̃mile:* "installed before the Lycians", where *pddẽ* 'before' is treated as a preverb (for this analysis of *pddẽ* see Schürr 2010: 151–152, against Melchert 2000 and 2004: 48). Greek has telescoped the Lycian to merely "have taken oaths". Its added specification of "for these gods and the priest" could conceivably be a replacement for "regarding these regulations".

However, the following text shows a fundamental disagreement: the Lycian has a general formula "No one shall do violence...", and the threat is to *the gods and the priest*. The Greek prohibits modifying the *provisions of the text by the Xanthians and the perioikoi* or their authorizing anyone else to modify them. Against Metzger (1979: 42) μετακινεῖν cannot be a calque on the Lycian, which has 'to do violence' (with a different expressed target), and the sense of the Greek verb is the usual one of 'modify, alter, change' (also in Thucydides V, 21 by every modern translation, *pace* Metzger 1979: 39). The attempt of Laroche (1979: 74–75) to bridge the gap between the Lycian and Greek by supposing a sense 'to remove' for *xtta-* is entirely *ad hoc* (see the objection by Neumann 2007: 134).[4] But Schürr (2005: 151) points to the juxtaposition of *mara ebeija* and *se=we=ne xttaiti* in TL 45B, 4–5, and perhaps also the use of *tusñti* with *mara* ibid. 11 (cf. here *epi tuwẽti*). His rendering 'ändern' for *xttaiti* is based entirely on the alleged match between *xtta-* and μετακινεῖν in our passage, which is otherwise totally unsupported. One cannot separate the denominative verb *xtta(i)-* from the phrase *xtta...adi* 'does *xtta*' in TL 118,2, nor *xtta* 'violence' from CLuvian *ḫatta* 'violence' and Hittite *ḫatta-* 'to strike; pierce'. The discrepancy in the Lycian and Greek versions is thus serious and not easy to explain.

4 The Aramaic text does use *nṣl* 'to take away' (see Dupont-Sommer 1979: 137 and 153), but this merely shows that the Aramaic author did not know the true sense of Lycian *xtta(i)-* in the context.

One possible account presents itself: to assume that Lycian *xtta-* 'to do violence' had a use like Hittite *ḫulle/a-* 'to smash, defeat', used of stipulations in the sense 'to repudiate', including in contexts directly parallel to *waḫnu-* 'to change, alter'. Compare KBo 6.28 Vo 29 *kuiš=ma=an ḫullai* "But whoever repudiates it..." and KBo 1.28 Vo 8 *kuiš=ma=an=kan waḫnuzi* "But whoever alters it...", in both cases referring to the word of the king that is immutable. The absence of any overt object in the Lycian remains surprising, but perhaps could be inferred from the context, if we assume that *mara xtta(i)-* was in fact a collocation. The translator of the Greek rendered this freely but correctly with μετακινεῖν. One must further assume that on his own authority he altered the general "No one shall do violence/repudiate..." to a construction where the oath-takers are made the potential violators. This is a reasonable reformulation, since they as the chief interested party would in fact be the likeliest to seek to alter the provisions. There are sufficient discrepancies between the Lycian and Greek to leave this solution less than entirely assured, but I find it plausible enough that I tentatively conclude that this passage is also compatible with a translation from Lycian to Greek.

2.3 Summation

If we pose the apposite questions regarding the composition of a bilingual suggested by Giusfredi (2018: 117), the answer to the first is straightforward: there is no reason to doubt that the inscription was commissioned by those who established the cult it describes—the Xanthians, specifically the authority called an *arus* and the perioikoi.

The answers to the second and third questions—what scribe composed the text, and was there more than one scribe involved—are more difficult to answer. One must first stress that both the Lycian and Greek appear to be grammatical and mostly idiomatic (bearing in mind the limitations on our knowledge of what is "idiomatic" in Lycian!). This fact might suggest that indeed a Lycian native speaker composed the Lycian version, and a native (or at least very fluent) Greek speaker translated that into Greek. As already argued above, it is entirely in order that the latter might have simplified or abridged some passages, omitting niceties felt to be dispensable for a Greek readership.

However, one must acknowledge that whoever composed the Greek text must also have had a very strong command of Lycian, in order to render various Lycian expressions as freely and correctly as he did.

In the second clause of the Lycian *ñte=pddẽ=hadẽ trm̃mile* means "installed (*ñte=hadẽ*) before (*pddẽ*) the Lycians (*trm̃mile*)" (Schürr 2010: 151–152, *contra* Melchert 2000). Note the complication that the preposition *pddẽ* has very idiomatically been incorporated into the compound verb as a second preverb! Against Melchert 2000 *pddẽn-ehm̃mis* is not a figura etymologica with the verb, but is a compound '(ones) sitting-in front', comparable to German *Vor-sitz(end)e* 'chair(person)s'. The Greek accurately but freely renders all this as κατέστησε ἄρχοντας Λυκίας 'appointed (as) rulers of Lycia', with a genitive construction and a loose but contextually appropriate equivalent of the noun. In line 7 the Lycian collocation *kumezijẽ θθẽ* 'sacred/sacrificial installation' is correctly matched by the single Greek word βωμόν 'altar'. The Lycian two-clause construction with a relative clause *se=i pijẽtẽ arawã ehbijẽ esi=ti* "and they gave to him freedom (of) what is his" in lines 11–12 appears in the Greek as simply καὶ ἔδοσαν αὐτῶι ἀτέλειαν τῶν ὄντων "and they gave him freedom of his property". We do not yet know the precise sense of Lycian *hlm̃mi-pijata* in line 25, but it clearly is a compound of *pijata-* 'gift' with a first member meaning something like 'addition, extra-'. What is also clear is that the Greek of lines 23–24 καὶ ὅ τι ἂν ἐχφόριον ἐκ τούτων γίνηται "and whatever income may result from these (preceding provisions)" is a very free rendering of the Lycian *me=ije=sitẽni=ti hlm̃mipijata* "and the *addition*-gift that lies therein". As I have already discussed at length, the only way to reconcile the use of Greek μετακινεῖν 'to alter (improperly)' for Lycian *xtta(i)-* 'to do violence to' is to suppose that the author of the Greek understood that the Lycian in context referred to the act of repudiating the provisions of the text.

On the other hand, the Greek text is not entirely free of unidiomatic features. For Lycian *epi tuwẽti* "they shall carry out/execute" of lines 32–33 the Greek of line 29 has ποιήσειν ἐντελῆ "to bring to completion", a circumlocution unattested elsewhere in Greek before Lucian (2nd century CE). One might have expected ἐπιτελεῖν (found in Thucydides and Herodotus). It is important to stress that the Greek cannot be a calque of the Lycian (at least not the Lycian of our text!). There are also three instances of unusual Greek word order. This fact *per se* would hardly be significant, given the relative freedom of constituent order in Greek. However, it is highly suspect that in each case a different unusual word order matches the Lycian:

(7) N 320, Lycian 1 = Greek 1–2 (OVS)
ẽke: trm̃misñ: xssaθrapazate: pigesere: katamlah: tideimi
"When Pigesere, son of Katamla, began to rule Lycia as satrap..."
Ἐπεὶ Λυκίας ξαδράπης ἐγένετο Πιξώδαρος Ἑκατόμνω ὑός,
"When Pixodaros, son of Hekatomnos, became satrap of Lycia..."

(8) N 320, Lycian 12–14 = Greek 12–13 (VSO)
s=ed(e)=eliñ=tãtẽ: teteri: se(j)=epewẽtlm̃mẽi: hrm̃mada: ttaraha
"And the city and the perioikoi transferred/ceded land-sections belonging to the city."
καὶ ἔδωκαν ἡ πόλις ἀγρὸν
"And the city gave land."

(9) N 320, Lycian 30–32 = Greek 26–28 (VOS)
se=ije=hri(j)=aitẽ: tasa: mere: ebette: teteri: arñnas:
se(j)=epewẽtlm̃mẽi: arñnãi
"And the city of Xanthos and the perioikoi of Xanthos made oaths regarding these regulations."
καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκους Ξάνθιοι καὶ περίοικοι
"And the Xanthians and the perioikoi made oaths."

Such an "interference" effect on the Greek syntax might be taken to be confirmation that the Greek is a translation of the Lycian. However, we have seen above that the author of the Greek text had a very strong command of Lycian. I therefore submit that the Greek and Lycian may well have been composed by a single author, a native speaker of Lycian with an excellent knowledge of Greek,[5] but who in several instances carried over Lycian word order into the Greek (in the Lycian of examples (7)–(9) the word order undoubtedly had a discourse-information function, even if we cannot determine what it was). If we are dealing with a single Lycian author, he surely did compose the Lycian first.

The relationship of the two versions may be still more complicated. I cited above several cases where the idiomatic and rather free Greek rendering of the Lycian presupposes a thorough knowledge of the latter, but careful examination of some of them suggests that the author, who knew very well what the text(s) should convey, may have had to

5 In Xanthos in the mid-4th century BCE (on the dating of the text see Storme 2014: 131 with references) such bilingualism is a reasonable possibility. On the general topic see Rutherford 2002: especially 201–203.

create Lycian expressions for concepts that have straightforward exponents in Greek: *hlm̃mi-pijata* has the look of a neologism invented to convey 'income' (ἐχφόριον), as does *kumezijẽ θθẽ* 'sacred/sacrificial installation' for 'altar' (βωμόν); *pddẽn-ehm̃mis* for appointed rulers/overseers (ἄρχοντας) may be one as well. Finally, the structure of the relative clause *se=i pijẽtẽ arawã ehbijẽ esi=ti* "and they gave to him freedom (of) what is his" is decidedly awkward, since the syntactic relationship of "what is his" to 'freedom' must be inferred. I readily concede that the almost total absence of any comparable text in Lycian leaves the above assertion unverifiable (TL 45, probably a decree of Pixodaros, unfortunately is very fragmentary).[6] However, this argument cuts both ways: the dearth of decrees in Lycian (with or without accompanying Greek) may not be entirely an accident of transmission, and the author of the Lycian version of the Létôon text in part may have had to invent suitable phraseology for which Greek had ready-made collocations and vocabulary that were familiar to him. While proof is impossible, I believe that Occam's Razor justifies taking seriously the possibility that the author of the Lycian displayed his knowledge of such Greek diction in his own composition of the Greek version.

3 SECOND CASE: THE LUVIAN-PHOENICIAN BILINGUAL OF KARATEPE

3.1 Translation from Luvian to Phoenician

This is the predominant expressed opinion: see the references in Yakubovich 2015: 44. As Yakubovich correctly objects, this conclusion has been based mostly on sociolinguistic premises, not on a close linguistic analysis (but see Amadasi Guzzo/Archi 1980: 100–102 and Pardee 1987: 138 cited below!). Note also the dissenting opinion in Bron 1979: 173–174 and Schmitz 2008: 6.

6 I do note that the VSO word order of the opening of the Greek version appears to imitate the VS of the Lycian. The absence of a full nominal direct object in the Lycian, with only an enclitic accusative singular pronominal *-ẽ* "it" in a discourse-initial clause, remains puzzling.

3.2 Translation from Phoenician to Luvian

A translation from Phoenician to Luvian has now been proposed by Yakubovich (2015: 44–48) on linguistic grounds. He cites four types of evidence: (1) calquing of the Phoenician word order of major constituents, violating the elsewhere quite regular SOV pattern of Luvian, plus three instances of the non-Luvian order noun+demonstrative (§§ 63, 65, 66);[7] (2) expansion of Phoenician noun phrases into clauses in Luvian to avoid unidiomatic syntax; (3) mistranslations of the Phoenician; (4) lexical discrepancies more easily explainable by translation from Phoenician to Luvian than from Luvian to Phoenician. I will treat these issues in turn.

The calquing argument regarding non-SOV order needs refinement, but remains cogent. First, one must note that the fronted verb in §§ 5, 7, 25, 51, 52 and 59[8] marked by additive focus *=ha* or contrastive *=pa* is required by *Luvian* syntax and is thus not evidence for calquing. Second, it is noteworthy and likely not coincidental that instances of true calquing are not randomly distributed throughout the text: 53 of 65 relevant clauses (81 %) obey Luvian word order; seven examples of word-order calquing involve cases where a Luvian verb plus a preverb is used for a Phoenician simplex verb; finally, the three sure instances where Luvian simplex verb order is directly calqued on the Phoenician occur in the blessings-curses section: §§ 49, 55 and 63 (as do all three examples of noun+demonstrative). The last point is meaningful, since the blessings-curses portion of the text has by far the most formulaic and stereotyped diction, much of it being "boiler-plate" phraseology similar to that of other contemporary inscriptions.[9]

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7 On this point see Bauer 2014: 58–59. This feature requires no further comment. I follow the convention of using § to number clauses in the KARATEPE 1 inscription.

8 If one follows Yakubovich 2015: 46 in supposing that REX-*ta-ti-i=pa=wa/i* in § 59 contains a denominative verb "rules as king", but see Hawkins 2000: 56 for the alternative "if someone from among kings...". For the Phoenician of § 51 see Younger 1998: 20 with note 55.

9 *Contra* Yakubovich 2015: 45 there is no compelling evidence that the position of the simplex verb in §§ 26 and 37 is patterned on the Phoenician, since it may easily be motivated by native Luvian discourse structuring. In § 26 it likely marks a contrastive topic: "(And I also smote strong fortresses to the west), which prior kings *had not smitten*." In § 37, where the Luvian formulation differs markedly from that of the Phoenician (Phu/A II 7–8), the initial position of the adverb in BONUS+*RA/I-ya-ma-la=ha=wa/i* "And also peacefully..." is again required by the use of *=ha*, and the verb SOLIUM+*MI-ta* "dwelt" may easily be a fronted topic, as

The two most compelling examples of such calquing are not actually cited by Yakubovich:[10]

(10) § 21 (Hu) = Phu/A I, 15–16
NEG$_2$-*wá/í kwa/i-zi* |SUB-*na-na* PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*la/i-ta* |*mu-ka-sa-sa-na* |DOMUS-*ní-i*
"Those who had not *remained/been held* under the house of Muksas..."
ʾš bl ʾš ʾbd kn l-bt mpš
"None of whom had been servant to the house of MPŠ."

Calquing of the Phoenician word order *plus* the decision to render *ʾbd kn* 'be a servant to' as 'to __ under' (on which problem see Melchert 2014: 136 with references) results in an entirely ungrammatical "right dislocation" of *muksassan parni*, the object of the adposition *annan*.

(11) § 48 (Hu) = Phu/A II 19–III 2
wa/i-na |*i-zi-sa-tu-na ta-ya* ("FLUMEN")*há-pa+ra/i-sá* |OMNIS-*MI-i-sá* |(ANNUS)*u-si mara+ra/i* BOS.ANIMAL)-*sá* (*486)REL-*tu-na-ha* (OVIS.ANIMAL)*há-wa/i-sá* |"VITIS"()*há+ra/i-ha* OVIS.ANIMAL-*wa/i-sa*
"And every river-land shall begin to honor him: annually an ox, and at the *harvest*? a sheep, and at the vintage a sheep."
w-ylk zbḥ l kl h-mskt zbḥ ymm ʾlp 1 *w-bl-ʿt ḥ]rš š* 1 *w-b-ʿt qṣr š* 1
"And every *district* has brought to him an offering: an annual offering (of) one ox, at the time of plowing one sheep, and at the time of harvest one sheep."

The analysis of the Phoenician follows Amadasi Guzzo (2000: 79) against all others (cf. Younger 1998: 36–40 for extended discussion). Despite use of the Luvian idiom of 'to stand' plus infinitive to mean 'to begin to' and the culturally bound word 'river-land', the Phoenician must be primary. First, the fronted position of the *combined* infinitive+auxiliary *izistuna tai* would be inexplicable in standard Luvian.[11] Second, the use of 'to

in similar structures in Hittite. See below on § 58.

10 I cite the Luvian after Hawkins 2000: 48–58 and the Phoenician after Röllig 1999: 50–57.

11 It is conceivable that the infinitive alone might be "fronted" to mark some sort of saliency (though I know of no parallels), but fronting of the two-word syntagm would be unparalleled in Iron Age Luvian.

honor (the deity)' in the Luvian, with no direct object 'offering' as in the Phoenician, turns the offering list (in the Phoenician an extraposed apposition) into an awkward and strange *nominativus pendens* in the Luvian, and its relationship to the preceding clause must be inferred. The ungrammaticality of examples (10) and (11) thus justifies regarding the examples of "fronted" preverb+verb combinations also as attempts to imitate the order of the simplex Phoenician verb: §§ 4, 30, 63, 66, 71, 72 and 73.[12] However, in §§ 4 and 30 the preverb is marked with *=ha* 'also', so its fronted position is required in Luvian—only the accompanying fronting of the verb is motivated by the Phoenician. In the last five the Luvian word order appears to be purely an imitation of the Phoenician simplex verb. One should note, however, that in other instances the regular Luvian order with clause-final preverb plus finite verb is retained, despite the clause-initial Phoenician verb: §§ 13, 47, and 64. There is no obvious rationale for the differing treatment in these cases. In sum, Phoenician interference effects on the word order of the Luvian text of Karatepe are undeniable, but their concentration in the blessings and curses section (8 of 12 examples, 67 %) should be taken into account in any evaluation of their significance.

Yakubovich's second point (2015: 45–46) is that due to a language-internal constraint Luvian must necessarily expand into full clauses various instances of "gapping" in the Phoenician: §§ 9, 10, 37, 50, 52 and 75. The constraint definitely seems valid—the one example of "gapping" in the Luvian in § 72a involves a single constituent, whereas all the other instances appearing in the Phoenician either contain two constituents or a structure unattested in Luvian.[13] However, this difference by itself does not prove that the Luvian is translated from the Phoenician, since the Luvian would necessarily have whole clauses even if had it been composed independently.

Yakubovich's third argument (2015: 46) is that the Luvian shows instances of infelicitous or erroneous translations of the Phoenician. Besides (10) and (11) cited above there is clearly another failed attempt to adapt a Semitic literary figure to a Luvian one:

12 The clause-final position of Luvian *a-ta* AEDIFICARE-*ri+i-i* in § 71 is likely only an apparent exception, since the Phoenician *ʾm b-ḥmdt ysʿ* (Phu/A III 17) is also verb-final.

13 The Phoenician of § 75 uses a preposition 'like'. It is not clear that Luvian had any means to express such a comparison except a clause with the conjunction *kwari* 'as'.

(12) §§ 59–61 (Hu) = Phu/A III 12–13
REX-*ta-ti-i-pa-wa/i kwa/i+ra/i kwa/i-sa-há*
"If anyone rules as king/if anyone from (among) kings," (Yakubovich 2015: 46; Hawkins 2000: 56)
w-ʾm mlk b-mlkm
"If (there is) a king among kings,"
[No matching clause in Luvian!]
w-rzn b-rznm
"or a prince among princes"
ní-pa-wa/i-sa [1]CAPUT-*ti-sá* [1]CAPUT-*ti-ya-za-ha-wa/i-tu-ta á-la/i-ma-za*
"or he is a man, who also has a manly name..."
ʾm ʾdm ʾš ʾdm šm
"If (there is) a man who is a man of name..."

With Yakubovich, following Röllig (sic!) 1999: 60, the Phoenician reflects a Semitic rhetorical device with three potential perpetrators in a descending social hierarchy. The Luvian has destroyed this coherence, but not as per Yakubovich. One cannot (against Hawkins 2000: 56 and 60 and Yakubovich, *loc. cit*.) equate *ní-pa-wa/i-sa* [1]CAPUT-*ti-sá* "or he is a man" with *w-rzn b-rznm* "or a prince among princes", because *ní-pa-wa/i-sa* [1]CAPUT-*ti-sá* matches precisely *ʾm ʾdm* (thus correctly Pardee 1987: 141–142). This is confirmed by § 73, the apodosis to the long set of protases §§ 59–72: ("May Tarhunzas of Heaven... delete) *á-pa-sá* REX-*ta-hi-sa* |*á-pa-há-´* |REX-*ti-na* |*á-pa-há-wa/i* CAPUT-*ti-na* "that kingdom and that king and that man" = *h-mmlkt hʾ w-ʾyt h-mlk hʾ w-ʾyt ʾdm hʾ ʾš ʾdm šm* "that kingdom and that king and that man who is a man of renown". But Yakubovich's major claim stands: the Luvian has replaced the triple hierarchical figure with a merism "king" plus default "man", leaving out "prince among princes" entirely. The decorative epithet "who has a manly name" was kept in the protasis (mistakenly, since it makes no sense in the Luvian merism), but omitted in the apodosis.[14] Compare TOPADA §§ 35 and 37 "If he is a king... but if he is a lesser man..." and likewise ANKARA §§ 7 and 8 (Hawkins 2000: 454 and 560). More complex hierarchical lists of perpetrators do exist: e.g. MALPINAR § 19–22 and KULULU 5 §§ 7a–f (Hawkins 2000: 342 and 485), but none matches

14 For the third member of the hierarchy "a man of renown" (thus with Pardee 1987: 142 and Amadasi Guzzo/Archi 1980: 100) compare the Phoenician Aḥiram inscription.

that of the KARATEPE 1 Phoenician, which clearly was foreign to Luvian.

Yakubovich also points out that in § 32 the Luvian text repeats the gist of § 5, which in context is less felicitous than the Phoenician of Phu/A II 1–3. He also notes that neither version of the Luvian text has any clause matching § 17 of the Phoenician, describing Azatiwada's making peace with every king. One must agree that both discrepancies argue against a translation from Luvian to Phoenician, but I must insist again that they do not prove a translation from Phoenician to Luvian. They are equally compatible with separate Luvian and Phoenician compositions.

I cite here one more likely syntactic calque in the Luvian of the Phoenician, not involving word order:

(13) § 24 (Hu) = Phu/A I 17–18
("Indeed I built fortresses in those places,") |*á-TANA-wa/i-sa=wa/i*(URBS) *kwa/i-ti* |(BONUS)*wa/i+ra/i-ya-ma-la* |SOLIUM-*MI-i*
"so that Adanawa might dwell peacefully."
l-šbtnm dnnym b-nḥt lbnm
("And I built walls in those places,) in order that the Danunians might dwell in peace of their heart."

The Luvian shows regular SOV word order, but it is well known that the Indo-European Anatolian languages have no dedicated marker for final clauses. They use rather parataxis, with the final clause introduced by the respective clause conjunction marking progression: one must infer the sense from context. The only exception known to me is the present example, where uniquely in the Iron Age Luvian corpus the subordinating conjunction *kwadi* 'as' marks a final clause. This strongly suggests that the Luvian syntax is a calque on the Phoenician use of *l-* (for which see Bron 1979: 71).

I will not treat in full the arguments of Yakubovich (2015: 47–48) regarding lexical equivalents, since they only argue against a translation from Luvian to Phoenician and in no way prove a translation in the opposite direction. To cite only one example, Luvian had a word for 'city' (a common gender stem in *-n(i)-*, always written URBS(+*MI*)*-n(i)-*), distinct from (CASTRUM)*harnis(a)-* 'fortress'. If the author of the Luvian of KARATEPE 1 used consistently the latter, he may have had some reason for the choice.[15] One must agree that it would be very odd that

15 Hittite distinguishes between simple URU 'city' (*ḫappir(iy)a-*) and URU.BÀD 'forti-

the author of the Phoenician would introduce a distinction if he were depending on the Luvian, but nothing precludes that the author of the Luvian went his own way.

We turn now to the question of whether there is any evidence *against* a translation from Phoenician to Luvian. Most additions in the Luvian versus the Phoenician are trivial: "all" is added in §§ 10 and 15, and only the Luvian in § 31 has an explicit *zi-ta* (/zin=ta/) "from here" referring to the resettlement of Adanaweans "there", i.e., in empty occupied territory of forcibly relocated conquered inhabitants.

Four passages present serious challenges for a translation from Phoenician to Luvian, which I take up in ascending order of gravity:

(14) § 11 (Hu) = Phu/A I 8
kwa/i-pa=wá/í |(*255)*mara+ra/i-ya-ní-zi* |*ARHA* |*ma-ki-sa*ʔ*-há*
w-šbrt mlṣm

Despite attempts to interpret *šbrt* as a noun construed with the preceding clause (see the references in Bron 1979: 51 and Younger 1998: 31–32), it is generally taken as a finite verb "I broke", and *mlṣm* as its object 'rebels' or similar (Bron 1979: 52–53, Schwemer 1996: 32–33, Younger 1998: *loc. cit*., Röllig 1999: 51). The hapax Luvian verb is lexically quite unclear, but a "telicizing" *arha* is suitable for a verb of violence. The tentative suggestion by Hawkins (2000: 60) of a connection of /mariyannintsi/ with second-millennium *mariyannu* is unsatisfactory semantically and faces a serious time gap. Better is the ingenious derivation by Schwemer (1996: 34–35) from a rhotacized Iron Age Luvian cognate of Hittite *mad-* 'to resist'.

But as per van den Hout (2010: 236), the shared determinative L 255/256 of (*255)*mara+ra/i-ya-ní-zi* with words for 'granary' and a cereal measure is irreconcilable with 'rebel' or the like. He argues for an *iya*-derivative of a cognate of Hittite $^{A.ŠÀ}$*mariyana/i-* interpreted as 'grain field', 'that which belongs to the *mariyana*-field' > '*mariyana*-field crops'. He takes the verb *makisa-* (or *maki(ya)-*) as denominative to a **makk-* = Hittite *mekk(i)-* 'much', thus 'to exceedingly (*arha*) increase'. However, his account of Phoenician *šbrt* as a contamination of *ṣbr* 'to heap up' and *šbr* 'to buy grain' is less than compelling. However one

fied city' (**ḫappir(iy)a- šaḫešnant-* or simply **šaḫeššar* 'fortress'?). The author of the Luvian may have wished to underscore in §§ 38 and 51 that Azatiwadaya was the latter.

judges van den Hout's specific interpretation, what is most crucial is his observation (ibid. 240): the Iron Age Luvian asseverative adverb /k^{w}ipa/ 'indeed' (Goedegebuure 1998) has a climactic or resumptive function in KARATEPE 1 (see Hawkins 2000: 60, 62, and 66). Thus clause § 11 must go with the *preceding* boasts of ameliorative activities, *not* with the contrasted (=*pa*) removal of evils in §§ 12–13. Oreshko (forthcoming) makes the same point, but offers an alternative by which the reference is to the reclamation of land (expressed as "I drained the marshes/swamps"). The unavoidable conclusion is that by either intepretation, the association with the preceding ameliorative (mostly agricultural) activities precludes any match with the Phoenician as now analyzed.

I must stress, however, that other clauses in the Phoenician that were initially cruces have through the efforts of several scholars now been clarified, sometimes in light of the Luvian text (cf. Younger 1998: 28–35, but not all examples cited remain valid, and others have been elucidated since 1998). The current analysis of *šbrt mlṣm* in the Phoenician of § 11 is less than assured on internal grounds, especially the sense of *mlṣm* (cf. Bron 1979: 51–53). It is possible that Semiticists, presented with the new very different analyses of the Luvian, may yet explain the Phoenician in a way that it could be the basis for the Luvian.

This is unlikely for the remaining passages, the first of which is the following:

(15) §§ 68–69 (Hu) = Phu/A III 16
|a-wa/i za-ri+i |á-sa$_5$-za-ya
"and says thus:"
[No equivalent in the Phoenician!]
wa/i+ra/i-la-ya-wa/i "PORTA"*-la-na i-zi-i-wa/i*
"I will make (my) own gate."
w-ypʾl l šʿr zr
"and he makes for himself another gate."

Note first that the Luvian introduces the threatened violation with a verb of speaking, putting the threat in the mouth of the perpetrator in the first person (likewise in § 62). This obviously cannot be a translation of the Phoenician of Phu/A. However, as noted by Pardee (1987: 142), the Phoenician inscription C on the statue, which otherwise matches the wording of the two versions on the upper and lower gates (aside from necessarily replacing "from this gate" with "from this statue of

the god") differs in saying (IV 17–18): *w-yʾmr ʾpʾl sml zr w-št šmy ʾly* "and says: 'I will make another statue, and I will put my name on it'." The following threats continue in the first person (see Röllig 1999: 66). Thus the author of the Luvian texts may well have known of this Phoenician conceit, although he could not have translated it from the text of the Phoenician gate inscriptions.[16]

More serious is the role of *l* in the Phoenician of *w-ypʾl l šʾr zr*. Röllig (1999: 60–61 with reference to Gibson) interprets *l* as "for it", referring to the city, but as already argued by Pardee (1987: 142), the use of "(my) own" in the corresponding Luvian makes it more likely that the Phoenician means "for himself". This interpretation is strengthened by the matching clause *zy . qnt . ly* "who made for myself (this) stele" in the Aramaic inscription of Zincirli (see Pardee 2009: 53). Furthermore, Hogue (2019: 199) has presented strong arguments that the reflexive use of *l* (found only in Karatepe and Zincirli in Northwest Semitic inscriptions of this period) is a calque on Iron Age Luvian usage, where a reflexive "for myself/himself" precisely with the claim of having personally "made" a monument is attested at Carchemish (KARKAMIŠ A1*a* 25 and A15*b* § 11), also with the synonymous verbs "built" (KARKAMIŠ A15*b*+*c* § 6 and § 15) and "erected" (KARKAMIŠ A30 § 4).[17] However, the Phoenician of (15) can hardly be a direct translation of the Luvian, given that the latter is in the first person and uses the adjective /waralla/i-/, not a clitic reflexive pronoun.

An even more serious instance of primacy of the Luvian version is:

(16) §§ 56–58 (Hu) = Phu/A III 9–11
|ma-wa/i-za |ha-sá-tu-´
"May they beget plentifully for us,"
w-brbm yld
"And may they beget exceedingly,"
ma-pa-wa/i MAGNUS+*ra/i-nú-wa/i-tu-´*
"And may they raise/rear plentifully for us,"
w-brbm yʾdr

16 Existence of this rhetorical device in the Phoenician of the statue inscription relativizes the claim in Melchert 2019: 367, but the usage does exist in Iron Age Luvian: see MARAŞ 14 § 11. It is thus less than clear whether this diction is borrowed, and if so, in which direction.

17 See for the passages Hawkins 2000: *passim*, but he often mistranslates them with an emphatic reflexive instead of the proper self-benefactive "for my/himself". See also MARAŞ 14 § 3 and ÇİFTLİK § 22, with "buildings" as object.

"And may they be(come) exceedingly powerful,"
ma-pa-wa/i (CRUX)*pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-tu-u* (LITUUS)*á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-ya mu-ka-sa-sá-há-´* DOMUS-*ní-i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ta-*[*ti*] DEUS-*na-ti-há*
"And may they furnish households plentifully for Azatiwada and the house of Mopsos by Tarhunza and the gods."
w-brbm yʾbd lʾztwd w-l-bt mpš bʾbr bʾl w-ʾlm
"And may they exceedingly serve Azatiwada and the house of Mopsos by Baal and the gods."

The Luvian, whose true structure has been misunderstood, is rhetorically very coherent. In the preceding §§ 54–55, the inhabitants of Azatiwadaya and surrounding regions are to achieve wealth in sheep, cattle, grain and wine. The Luvian completes and brings to a climax the picture of idealized prosperity by wishing that they also beget many children, raise them to adulthood, and supply the needed human resources for Azatiwada and the house of Mopsos. Rendering the verb /uranu(wa)-/ as "let them make great" (Hawkins 2000: 57, et al.) is a non-sequitur and leaves the unexpressed object obscure; likewise interpreting /parnawantu/ as "let them be in service" is a slavish imitation of the Phoenician. We must assume rather that here /uranu(wa)-/, just like Hittite *šallanu-*, means 'to rear/raise to adulthood', as attested in KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §§ 13 and 15 (Hawkins 2000: 131). Furthermore, since the two preceding verbs are transitive, one expects the same for /parnawa-/, a denominative from /parn(a)-/ 'house'. This is confirmed by Hittite *parnaw(a)iške-*, certainly a loanword from Luvian. Against Güterbock/Hoffner 1995: 177 the Hittite verb does not mean 'to make into the property of the royal house' (for which Hittite would have used a collocation with LUGAL-*(w)aš per* 'house of the king').[18] Luvian /man/ 'much' is syntactically an adverb, not a direct object noun, hence my free translation 'plentifully', but it is quite clear that the reference is to the unexpressed direct objects.[19] Pardee (1987: 138) had already sug-

18 Both Hittite examples are more compatible with a sense like that in the Luvian: KUB 1.1 iv 62–63 "...Tarhuntassa, the place that my brother Muwattalli furnished with house(hold)s" and KUB 21.38 Ro 19–20 "And let them take the resettled persons, cattle, and sheep that they have with them and make them (into) households". Forming new households for the Hittite crown is the primary role of forcibly resettled people from conquered cities, and Puduhepa would have envisioned the same use for those sent to the Pharaoh.

19 As to the word order of § 58, the fronting of /man/ is required by the /=pa/, and

gested that the Phoenician *brbm* is an adverb calqued on the Luvian. Since primacy of the Luvian is confirmed by the mistranslation of transitive /uranuwantu/ "may they rear" by intransitive *yʾdr* "may they be powerful" and the very vague "let them serve" for the quite specific "let them furnish households", Pardee's analysis of *brbm* as a calque on the Luvian is likely also correct.[20]

Primacy of the Luvian is also undeniable in the very first clause of the text (thus already Amadasi Guzzo/Archi 1980: 100–101):

(17) § 1 (Hu)
|EGO=*mi* [l](LITUUS)*á-za-ti-i-wa/i-tà-sá* (DEUS)SOL-*mi-sá* CAPUT-*ti-i-sá* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ta-sa* SERVUS-*la/i-sá*
"I am Azatiwada, a man of the Sun-god (Tiwad), a servant of the Storm-god (Tarhunt/Tarhunza)."
ʾnk ʾztwd h-brk bʿl ʿbd bʿl
"I am ʾZTWD, the blessed of Baal, the servant of Baal."

There is no doubt about the sense of the second phrase: as everywhere in KARATEPE 1, the Luvian Storm-god Tarhunt/Tarhunza = Phoenician Baal, and /xudarlis/ (thus with Rieken/Yakubovich 2010: 205–206) = *ʿbd* 'servant'. *Pace* Yakubovich (2015: 42), *h-brk bʿl* cannot mean 'steward of (his) lord', following Goedegebuure (2009), but must have the same meaning as in ÇİNEKÖY § 1: 'the blessed of Baal' (thus with Bron 1979: 28, Hawkins 2000: 48 and 58, and tentatively Younger 1998: 33–35).[21] The already inherently implausible analysis by Goedegebuure of /tiwad/ramis/ as a continuant of the Hittite royal title [d]UTU=*ŠI* 'My Sun' = 'His Majesty' is entirely precluded in the present context.[22] Both

as in § 37 (see note 9) the fronted verb may be a new topic. While raising the offspring is a natural consequence of begetting them, their service to the house of Mopsos is not, but since it is the main point of the entire sequence, it is unsurprising that it is marked as salient.

20 As he remarks, the attempt to analyze *b-rbm* as a plural with a "beth essentiae" (e.g. Bron 1979: 109–110) leads to misinterpreting "many" in the second and third clauses as referring to the subject, not the object (see the translations of Bron 1979: 24 and Röllig 1999: 53).

21 Yakubovich himself, *loc. cit*., concedes this sense for ÇİNEKÖY § 1. For an extended discussion and references to the opposing interpretation of *h-brk bʿl* as 'steward of Baal' (thus also Pardee 1987: 140 and Röllig 1999: 58) see Younger 1998: 33–35. The latter would distance the Phoenician further from the Luvian, unless one takes it in a very general sense, not as a title of office.

22 The equation is inherently implausible because Hittite [d]UTU=*ŠI* (= Hittite *Ištanu(š)=mi(š)* 'My Sun') is a delocutory title, in origin a form of address in which

/tiwad/ramis t^{s}idis/ ‘man of the Sun-god’ (thus with Arbeitman 1980) and /tarxuntas xudarlis/ ‘servant of the Storm-god’ are *religious* honorifics (with Hawkins 1979: 153). The *human* lord of Azatiwada (Awariku the Adanawean king) is expressed in the appended relative clause! All examples of /tiwad/ramis t^{s}idis/ express the piety of the person, thus with Arbeitman ‘devotee of the Sun-god’, entirely parallel to ‘servant of the Storm-god’. That a person named Azatiwada (‘The Sun-god favors/has favored’!) declares himself both a devotee of the Sun-god and a servant of the Storm-god (in that order!), two chief male Luvian deities, is not merely self-evident, but trivial. The primacy of the Luvian here is unquestionable.

But the Phoenician cannot be an error of translation. The author of the Phoenician knew who Tiwad was. See § 73 CAELUM (DEUS)SOL-*za-sá* = *šmš ʾlm* ‘Sun-god of Heaven’ = ‘Eternal Sun’ as one of the punishing deities in the apodosis cited above. If there were a translation from Luvian to Phoenician, one would have to assume a willful suppression of any mention of the Luvian Sun-god. It is far more likely that the Phoenician text was independently composed with a West Semitic readership in mind, for whom ‘blessed of Baal’ (probably matching (DEUS)TONIT[RUS]-*hu-t*[*a-ti* (LITUUS)*á-za-mi-sa*] ‘loved/favored by Tarhunt’ in Luvian in ÇİNEKÖY § 1, as per Yakubovich 2015: 43) was far more resonant than ‘man/person of the Sun(-god)’. What strikes us as a glaring redundancy in *h-brk bʿl ʿbd bʿl* ‘blessed/steward of Baal, servant of Baal’ versus the Luvian would hardly have been viewed by the author of the Phoenician as a fault.

I have above referred to Tiwad, the Luvian Sun-god, as one of two chief male Luvian deities, but this characterization is colored by the facts of the Empire period and may be anachronistic for Iron Age Cilicia. A cursory search of the Iron Age Luvian corpus found less than two

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the king is equated with the Sun-god. It is thus always and only a noun, usually standing in apposition to the king’s name and other titles. On the other hand, *tiwadam(i)-* ‘of the Sun-god’ is, like *tarrawann(i)-* ‘just, upright’, primarily an adjective, an epithet, that only secondarily appears as a noun ‘the one of the Sun-god’, hence ‘devotee of the Sun-god’. In six of ten occurrences it modifies *zidi-* ‘person, man’. In no occurrence is the lord allegedly called “His Majesty” ever named. Furthermore, we know how the real title ‘My Sun’ was written in hieroglyphs: SOL$_2$, reflecting the equation of the king and the Sun-god. This is found not only in the Empire texts EMİGAZİ altars § 33a and YALBURT § 1, but also in the transitional texts of KIZILDAĞ 2, 3, and 4 and KARADAĞ 1. See Hawkins 1995: 130.

dozen mentions of the Sun-god versus more than 130 of the Storm-god.[23] Perhaps more significantly, despite the pride of place in the opening clause, the Sun-god plays almost no role in the rest of the KARATEPE 1 text (the punishing role as one of several deities in § 73 and the status as one of two eternal heavenly bodies in § 75 are quasi-universal). In § 3 it is the Storm-god who made Azatiwada "mother and father to Adanawa"; in §§ 10 and 58 the operative divine agents are the Storm-god and (all) the gods; in § 40 it is the Storm-god and the Stag-god who incited Azatiwada to build the eponymous fortified city Azatiwadaya; finally, in § 51 it is the Storm-god and the gods of the fortified city who are to bless Azatiwada with a long and prosperous life. It is thus understandable that the author of the Phoenician would mention only the Storm-god (in the guise of Baal) in the opening clause, either being unfamiliar with the purely religious epithet /tiwad/ramis t^{s}idis/ or not fully appreciating its significance for the commissioner of the text.

3.3 Summation

If we again pose the questions of Giusfredi (2018: 117) regarding the composition of a bilingual, once more the answer to the first seems straightforward: the one who commissioned the text was Azatiwada, a local ruler in Que (in Cilicia Pedias) bearing a culturally freighted Luvian personal name. However, he indicates that he was promoted to his position by a King Awarku of Adanawa (§ 2) and that the ruling house of Que was the "house of Mopsos" (Phoenician *bt mpš* in §§ 21 and 42, matched in the first by Luvian /muksassa/i- parna-/). This reference and other considerations have led several scholars to infer a significant presence of Greeks in Early Iron Age Cilicia (see Yakubovich 2015: 35–41 with references to other proponents and to opposing opinions). Most adherents of this viewpoint have argued that Greek speakers migrated into Cilicia in the period of upheaval following the fall of the Hittite Empire (early 12th century BCE) as part of the movements of the "Sea Peoples" (cf. e.g. Yakubovich 2015: 38), but as argued by Simon (2018: 314–318 with references), none of the evidence for Greek presence in Iron Age Cilicia actually proves this particular scenario. The inscriptional evidence supporting a Greek dynasty in Que dates from the 8th

23 It is also worth noting that the Storm-god frequently appears alone and almost always first when in the company of other deities, while the Sun-god mostly appears in lists and never first.

to 7th centuries BCE, and the name **Mok*^{w}*so-* was surely transmitted to Anatolia and Syria by Greeks, but the name is not analyzable as Greek and is better characterized as pre-Greek Aegean. The question of just when and from where the Greeks arrived in Cilicia remains open.

As to how many scribes took part in the composition of the bilingual text and their role(s) therein, the possibility of a single bilingual author, proposed above as a possibility for the Lycian-Greek text of the Létôon, may be definitively dismissed. There is simply no evidence for a significant presence of Phoenicians in Cilicia at the time of the composition (see Yakubovich 2015: 36 and Simon 2018: 320–323, both with references). Thus there is no basis for supposing a genuine bilingual speech community (a point also stressed by Yakubovich in the discussion of the oral version of this paper). We must therefore unavoidably conclude that the authors of the Phoenician and Luvian versions were different individuals.

As to the author of the Phoenician, there are sharply divergent opinions. Yakubovich (2015: 36) entertains two scenarios: (1) Luvian was still the principal official language of Que, and the use of Phoenician an attempt "to accommodate the international lingua franca of the time, the simpler and more accessible form of writing"; (2) if Luvian speakers were no longer the ruling elite, then the written use of Phoenician could be interpreted to "be the assertion of a separate cultural identity by the new elites, in contrast to the rulers of the neighbouring states". He opts (2015: 48) for the second alternative, based on his arguments for the primacy of the Phoenician version and the evidence for a Greek presence in Que, supposing that the dynasty of Mopsos of Greek origin "chose to engage Phoenician scribes for chancery purposes in the principality of Que". The last statement clearly implies that the scribes were native Phoenician speakers. Yakubovich does not address the question of how the Que elites (or those of Sam'al) acquired them.

Simon (2018: 321–326) objects that in the absence of evidence for any presence of Phoenicians in Que (or Samʾal) no one has presented a plausible account of where the Phoenician scribes came from or how they got to Que and Samʾal. He then presents a series of arguments (2018: 326–332) that it was Greeks from Cyprus who brought knowledge and use of Phoenician with them to Cilicia (and eventually to Samʾal). His argument that the Phoenician texts of Cilicia were produced by non-native speakers (2018: 320) is not compelling: one possible rendering of a Greek word in KARATEPE 1 § 47 (*krntryš* for unattested Greek

**korynētērios* 'mace-bearing') and the very arguable interpretation of *wlwy* in the Cebelireis Dağı inscription (Simon 2018: 314 after Röllig) are hardly sufficient to speak of "code-switching" in the Phoenician texts.[24] However, nothing precludes that Greeks from Cyprus brought with them Phoenician scribes, whose presence on Cyprus cannot be doubted (cf. Simon 2018: 321 and Giusfredi 2018: 118).

We need not choose between these alternatives: it is enough to state that with the cumulative progress made in the understanding of the Phoenician text there is no reason to doubt that the author had a native or near-native command of Phoenician. The suggested calquing of the reflexive use of *l* on Luvian is exceptional.

As to the Luvian text, there is also ample evidence for native-speaker competence: all constituents marked with "additive focus" *=ha* ('also') and contrastive *=pa* are properly "fronted" to the beginning of the clause, and their respective use is entirely idiomatic (not always fully expressed in the translation of Hawkins 2000: 48–58). The text of KARATEPE 1 is also our most extensive illustration of the use of the asseverative adverb REL-*ipa* (see Goedegebuure 1998). In clause § 40 the infinitive phrase shows the idiomatic use of the dative-locative for the object of the infinitive. As already noted, § 48 employs the periphrasis infinitive plus 'to stand' in the sense 'to begin/undertake to'. Finally, the peroration of §§ 74–75 shows a complex syntax in the service of rhetorical impact that only a native speaker could have produced (see Melchert 2006: 294).

I have affirmed Yakubovich's arguments against a translation from Luvian to Phoenician and added others. However, some of his arguments for a translation from Phoenician to Luvian are less than compelling, since their force depends on the unproven presumption that one version must unavoidably be a translation of the other. I also must insist that the Luvian of clauses § 1 and §§ 56–58 cannot be a translation of or even modeled on the Phoenician. I believe that these contradictions preclude a direct translation in either direction.

Nevertheless, there is clearly more evidence for Phoenician interference in the Luvian than vice-versa. Furthermore, Yakubovich (2015: 48) and Simon (2018: 326–327) argue persuasively that the respective

24 For an alternative interpretation of *bʾl krntryš* comparing *bʾl kr* in ÇINEKÖY, lines 16–17 and other evidence for a deity Kur(r)a see Younger 2009: 12–18. The resemblance of *wlwy* to Hittite *wellu-* 'meadow' carries no weight for Luvian, where *u*-stems are vanishingly rare.

positioning of the Phoenician and Luvian indicates that the former was intended to be more prominent. It would be unexpected that Azatiwada entrusted composition of the Luvian text to a provincial scribe who was clueless about how such a monumental display text should be formulated, and the prominence given to the Phoenician texts suggests that in late 8th-century/early 7th-century Que the relevant stylistic rules for such a composition were primarily those of Phoenician, not Luvian. See further Amadasi Guzzo/Archi 1980: 92–100 for the Phoenician/Semitic background of much of the specific phraseology of the text.

In favor of this supposition I cite a further linguistic argument. Anyone familiar with the Iron Age Luvian inscriptional texts knows that the protases of the sanction clauses in all regions are exclusively formulated as so-called "indeterminate" (better "conditional") relative clauses: "whoever does x to...". I have already stressed that the calquing of Phoenician word order in the Luvian version is concentrated in the blessings and curses section. I assert that the absence of the relative clause formulation in the Luvian sanction formulas and the use of *kwari* 'if' in § 51 to introduce the long following series of conditional clauses (marked as continuing the conditional force of § 51 by *nipa* 'or') are directly modeled on the Phoenician conditional formulation with *ʾm* 'if'. Therefore, while I believe a direct mechanical translation of the Luvian from the Phoenician gate texts is excluded, I see no reason to doubt that the many interference effects from Phoenician in the Luvian version are due to the author of the latter taking much of the phraseology from the multiple(!) Phoenician versions or similar models known to him.

However, the author of the Luvian version was surely keenly aware of the importance to his patron of highlighting the latter's special devotion to Tiwad, after whom he was named, and cast the opening clause accordingly. Nor is it likely that any Phoenician scribe in the employ of Azatiwada was wholly ignorant of the standard phraseology of Luvian inscriptions of the Early Iron Age, hence his calquing of the use of a reflexive with the verb 'to make' a monument, despite its absence in the Luvian text of KARATEPE 1. I also see no way to explain §§ 56–58 as anything other than a faulty translation from the Luvian to the Phoenician.

4 CONCLUSION

A reexamination of these two famous bilinguals has led to differing results. The Greek version of the Létôon inscription may well be a direct translation from the Lycian as commonly assumed, but the depth of knowledge of Lycian shown by the author of the Greek and a few unidiomatic usages in the latter justify entertaining the alternative of composition of both versions by a single bilingual Lycian author with a very strong command of Greek. In the case of the Karatepe bilingual, neither a single author nor a direct translation in either direction is credible. We are facing parallel texts whose shared features reflect the common cultural context in which they were created (thus already Amadasi Guzzo/Archi 1980: 87). The more extensive interference effects from Phoenician in the Luvian argue that the Luvian author was heavily influenced by Phoenician models, likely including those of Karatepe, but it also seems clear that the Phoenician author had knowledge of Luvian phraseology, in at least one instance that of the Luvian of Karatepe. Active consultation between the two authors or at least mutual sharing of each other's work seems probable.

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LES MONUMENTS LITHIQUES DE PHRYGIE

Archéologie d'un paysage

Patrick Maxime Michel

Abstract: The link between Phrygian lithic monuments (reliefs, niches, standing stones) carved in cliffs or rocky peaks during the Ist millenium BC and Hittite monuments has for a long time been underlined by Barnett (1953) and Roller (1999). For Archi (1973), religious practices also present a continuity, especially with regard to the festival dedicated to Cybele, which still attests to sacred processions and open-air worship.

The lithic monuments of Anatolia are nowadays called landscape monuments. As this newly coined term implies, they are incorporated into the rural landscape, having been located at geologically significant places (Harmanşah 2018b). The southern and western borderlands of the Hittite empire witnessed the construction of clusters of such monuments.

The study done by Berndt-Ersöz (2006) on the location of Phrygian monuments highlighted the connection of these places with both sources and city gates. Roller mentioned for example that a relief of Matar was situated close to the river Sangarios and that several reliefs were also situated near the Ankara River while monuments carved in the rock were directly connected to a spring like at Bahşayiş, Değirmen Yeri and Delikli Taş. A link seems then to emerge between these lithic monuments and their location near water that was used for religious practices. Furthermore, similar lithic monuments are also attested on the Armenian plateau during the same period (*vishapakar* stones), giving us the possibility to extend our corpus. As stated by Berndt-Ersöz, water was considered a magic force in Hittite religious practices; it played an important role in rituals for divination and Hittite texts also suggest that it was used as a purifying materia. The use of water still played an important role during the Phrygian period cultic ceremonies.

The location of lithic monument at doors during Hittite and Phrygian time is also briefly studied here. The practice of rituals at city gates is a phenomenon known from Hittite Anatolia, and these practices have continued with the Phrygians through the use of "step monuments" as attested in Midas City for example.

The Phrygians, in a way heirs of Hittite culture and lands, preserved this particular form of materialization of the divine by means of stones.

Keywords: Landscape archaeology, Hittite, Anatolia, Phrygia, standing stones, reliefs, *Phallossteine,* Matar

1 ARCHÉOLOGIE DU PAYSAGE ENTRE DÉFINITION ET APPLICATION

L'archéologie du paysage permet d'étudier les traces de l'homme dans le paysage et de comprendre l'influence culturelle passée sur l'évolution d'un territoire et l'adaptation des groupes qui y ont vécu. Au sein de l'archéologie, ce développement a été influencé par d'autres disciplines dont la géographie, mais aussi les sciences humaines et sociales, en particulier l'anthropologie.

> « Le paysage est exemplaire comme observation explicite des rapports de l'homme à lui-même et au monde, à l'histoire, à la cité, et à la Terre comme lieu de l'habiter et lieu énigmatique de la mémoire du monde. Nos paysages écrivent notre histoire. »[1]

> Pour Turner : « L'archéologie du paysage est par essence un domaine interdisciplinaire que les sciences humaines (particulièrement l'histoire et l'étude du monde antique), la biologie, la physique et les sciences sociales (particulièrement l'anthropologie et la géographie) ont façonné de manière significative. »[2]

La pertinence d'une telle approche réside dans le fait que les paysages ont toujours été interprétés et réinterprétés par les hommes et dans le fait que les hommes ont toujours adapté leurs monuments à leur environnement.[3]

En Anatolie, la pierre est partout. Il suffit d'admirer les paysages autour de Hattusha ou de Göreme en Cappadoce pour s'en rendre compte. Le paysage est aussi marqué par l'élément minéral dans la région du

1 Lapointe 2000.

2 Turner 2011.

3 Voir Hodder 1990; Barrett/Bradley/Green 1991; et Bradley 1993.

Türkmen Dağı. Cette nature ne laissa pas les Anciens sans impressions. D'ailleurs, à l'époque impériale hittite, soit entre 1350 et 1200 environ av. J.-C., de nombreux rituels décrivent précisément divers cultes rendus aux montagnes divinisées, aux sources ou à la divinité de l'Orage, qui résidait parfois au sommet des montagnes (par exemple Mont Daha à Zippalanda), tous matérialisés sous forme de pierre dressée (*ḫuwaši*[4]).

A l'époque hittite, les monuments lithiques se rangent en plusieurs catégories :

- Les reliefs rupestres
- Les niches
- Les pierres dressées
- Les stèles inscrites
- Les inscriptions sur les parois rocheuses

> « In the last two centuries of the Hittite empire (c. 1350–1175 BC) the southern and western borderlands of the empire witnessed the construction of clusters of 'landscape monuments'. As this newly coined term implies, they are incorporated into the rural landscape, having been located at geologically significant places such as prominent rock outcrops, mountain passes, mouths of springs, deep river gorges or the walls of caves. »[5]

2 LANDSCAPE MONUMENT

L'appellation « landscape monument » renvoie généralement aux traces humaines, ou aux traces d'activités humaines qui ont marqué et façonné les paysages. On les retrouve en dehors des limites physiques des centres urbains ou dans les zones liminales, et là où la nature offrait des éléments signifiants et marquait déjà naturellement fortement le paysage. « We use the term *landscape monuments* to capture a formally diverse range of monuments from dam constructions to monumental rock reliefs whose common feature is their location outside of, built, urban environments. »[6]

4 Voir Michel 2014 : 32–38 et Band III/2 du *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*.

5 Harmanşah 2018b : 52.

6 Glatz/Plourde 2011 : 34–35.

A propos de tels monuments, Harmanşah (2018b) note par exemple que les reliefs et les inscriptions appartiennent à une *koinè* de monuments en Anatolie utilisés surtout par le Grand roi hittite et les roitelets ou les élites politiques aux confins de l'empire. Le langage iconographique et linguistique partagé, à l'intérieur de la *koinè*, implique l'utilisation, à l'époque impériale, du louvite sur le plan linguistique et le recours à un corpus d'images divines et royales.[7]

Il est intéressant de souligner que ces monuments sont attestés sans discontinuité entre l'âge du bronze et l'âge du fer sur le plateau anatolien. Après la période hittite, on retrouve encore divers monuments lithiques durant la période phrygienne, l'époque hellénistique et l'époque impériale romaine. Et Harmanşah de noter « The archaeological evidence demonstrates that rock relief sites are never really created through a single moment of act, or a state-sponsored inscription of a previously untouched place. Instead, they are almost always sites of long-term cultural practice and particular engagements with the remote past. »[8]

Voyons à présent plus précisément la typologie des monuments attestés durant la période phrygienne (IX–VIe siècle av. J.-C.)[9].

3 TYPOLOGIE DES MONUMENTS LITHIQUES PHRYGIENS

- Façades et niches (parfois avec puits *shaft monuments*)
- *Step monuments* de la ville de Midas et autels
- *Phallossteine*
- Stèles
- Reliefs

En Anatolie, les monuments phrygiens s'inscrivent parfois dans la continuité de l'occupation de lieux particuliers déjà connus à l'époque hittite. A cela s'ajoute aussi la perdurance de certaines pratiques rituelles. D'ailleurs, le lien qui existe entre des rites et les monuments phrygiens (reliefs et niches) d'une part, et la pratique de certains rites et les monuments lithiques hittites, d'autre part, a depuis longtemps été souligné : par Barnett (1953) puis par Roller (1999), et plus récemment

7 Harmanşah 2018b : 52.

8 Harmanşah 2018a : 486.

9 Voir désormais Summers 2018.

encore par Berndt-Ersöz[10]. Au sujet des cupules (*cup-marks*) dans les pierres, Özkaya relevait « it is observed that the custom continues into the first millennium BC, as is proved by Late Hittite remains at Zincirli, Karkamis and near Karasu monument. This tradition found in Anatolia Iron Age civilisations is an extension of the Hittite religious culture. »[11] En ce qui concerne les chambres à puits « shaft monuments », placés derrière les façades phrygiennes, Özkaya estime que l'étroite relation qui existait entre les pics rocheux utilisés pour des offrandes alimentaires et les monuments religieux hittites offre un nouvel éclairage sur les monuments lithiques phrygiens. L'utilisation des puits creusés dans les falaises à l'époque phrygienne serait une forme évoluée d'une tradition déjà attestée à l'époque hittite « these examples suggest that the pits of the Hittite and Late Hittite might have been prototypes of the Phrygian shafts ».[12]

Archi reconnaissait aussi une analogie entre des fêtes saisonnières hittites, qui impliquaient la sortie de la divinité dans un sanctuaire de plein air, et le culte de la déesse Cybèle :

> « Parmi les fêtes concernant la sortie du temple de l'image divine, celle dédiée à Cybèle est célèbre. (…) les monuments rupestres d'époque phrygienne ou néo-hittite, en particulier les 'trônes vides' attestent les processions sacrées et les cultes en plein air ».[13]

Les monuments lithiques se situent le plus souvent en dehors de la ville, Harmanşah décrit ces lieux comme des lieux de puissance: « symbolically charged, wondrous places such as sacred caves, particularly abundant springs, places of healing, apparitions or other miraculous events, or liminal sites where humans, dead ancestors and divinities are believed to interact ».[14]

C'est donc surtout l'élément minéral (pic rocheux ou montagne) et / ou aquatique (source ou rivière) qui marque les paysages. Etudiant plus

10 Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 147 : « Parallels between Hittite spring cult and Phrygian cult have been suggested by earlier scholars » avec bibliographie; p. 186, Berndt-Ersöz propose également un parallèle entre les « bosses » attestées en lien avec les *step monuments* de Phrygie et l'installation cultuelle hittite de Kızlarkayası à Hattusha.

11 Özkaya, 1997 : 99. Voir aussi Neve 1977–1978 : 65.

12 Özkaya 1997 : 100.

13 Archi 1973 : 7.

14 Harmanşah 2018a : 488.

précisément les sites de Akpınar, Karabel[15] et Suratkaya (Mont Latmos) Harmanşah précise, « The terrain for all three rock sites [i.e. Akpınar, Karabel, Suratkaya – Mont Latmos] suggests a local fascination with mountainous landscapes and peaks in this region of lush river valleys and fertile plains ».[16]

Harmanşah[17] qui a aussi conduit une étude sur les liens entre territoire, paysages et vestiges archéologiques, soulignait d'ailleurs l'intérêt des reliefs montagneux et des monuments liés à des sources pour une archéologie du paysage :

> « Rock reliefs and spring monuments of pre-classical antiquity in the Near East and the Anatolian peninsula offer a rare opportunity for investigating places and testing new fieldwork methodologies for an explicitly archaeological approach to locality ».[18]

Nous verrons donc dans les pages qui suivent un aperçu de divers sites et monuments d'époque phrygienne dans les paysages aquatiques et minéraux. Enfin, nous aborderons aussi la question des monuments en pierre dans des espaces liminaux que sont les portes avant de terminer cette étude en nous intéressant à un type de monument lithique particulier, les *Phallossteine*.

4 MONUMENTS LITHIQUES ET EAU

Parmi divers monuments, Roller (1999) signale un relief de Matar près de la rivière Sangarios et plusieurs reliefs le long de la rivière Ankara. Mais lorsque l'on étudie la localisation des sites phrygiens, le lien entre les monuments lithiques phrygiens et des points d'eau est parfois

15 Voir aussi Harmanşah 2015 : 84.

16 Harmanşah 2018b : 55.

17 Harmanşah 2014. Harmanşah mène en effet un projet de recherche sur les monuments lithiques et les sanctuaires liés aux sources en Anatolie entre la fin de l'âge du bronze et l'âge du fer, afin d'en saisir : « the poetics and politics of places at mountainous landscapes, caves, springs, river sources, sinkholes, and other such odd geological formations, while attempting to articulate an archaeology of place and place-making at rock monuments that derives from this very particular historical context. » (2014 : 142). L'exemple étudié pour l'Anatolie est le site du village de Ayanis et sa plantation d'amandiers dans l'est de la Turquie.

18 Harmanşah 2014 : 142.

difficile à définir.[19] L'analyse faite par Berndt-Ersöz sur la localisation des monuments phrygiens a cependant permis de mettre en évidence le lien de certains lieux avec des sources[20] : Bahşayiş, Değirmen Yeri et Delikli Taş. Suivant Berndt-Ersöz, les monuments situés près de l'eau sont des monuments à puits. On notera en revanche que l'interprétation donnée par Berndt-Ersöz (2006) diffère de celle d'Özkaya (1997). Si ce dernier voyait dans les puits derrière les façades la pratique d'un rituel de *taurobolium*, Berndt-Ersöz préfère souligner l'utilisation de l'eau pour la pratique de la divination. En l'état actuel de nos connaissances, il est difficile d'interpréter les façades phrygiennes comme des chapelles strictement liées à culte de l'eau. La pratique de la divination par l'eau est certainement un élément à considérer, d'autant que des textes hittites attestent une telle pratique.

Dans les textes hittites, l'eau est avant tout un élément purificateur. On l'utilisait pour les lustrations et pour des bains dans les rituels, comme l'indique le fait que des rivières et des sources étaient divinisées. Lorsque les rivières ou les sources sont divinisées, les Hittites les associaient souvent à des montagnes. Nous pouvons citer quelques exemples qui illustrent la pratique de l'hydrophorie[21] :

> CTH 502.2. KBo 2.13 Rev. 3′–4′
> Les femmes *hazqara* à la source Warwatali, aux pierres dressées, elles amènent.

> CTH 519. KBo 2.8, Rev. 13′–14′
> On amène la divinité à la source. On installe la divinité devant la pierre dressée.

Enfin, les lieux liés à l'eau (bassins, rivières et sources) étaient aussi utilisés pour la divination (ichthyomancie dans des bassins : Yalburt,

19 Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 147

20 Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 147–152. Voir aussi Michel 2017.

21 Nous employons ce terme dans le sens de « j'emporte à l'eau », dans le cadre de rituel où une divinité est amenée à une rivière ou à une source. Peut-être attestée dans le texte CTH 525.3, l'hydrophorie est aussi présente dans le rituel dit EZEN ^{URUDU}ŠU.KIN « rituel de la faucille », qui se déroulait durant l'été et concerne un sanctuaire lithique dans la nature. Si la forme du rituel n'est pas très différente des autres rituels agraires, il a la particularité de mentionner une pierre près d'une rivière où l'on amène la divinité. Voir aussi Erbil/Mouton 2012.

Eflatun Pınar)[22]. Comme le relève déjà Berndt-Ersöz[23], l'eau (rivière ou source) possède une force magique dans la religion hittite; elle joue donc un rôle important dans les rituels de divination, et les textes rituels hittites soulignent le rôle purificateur de l'eau dans les rituels de divination.[24] A ce sujet il est important de mentionner une installation connue grâce à l'inscription du Südburg de Boğazköy qui nomme *la route de la terre* KASKAL.KUR, autrement dit le passage vers le monde souterrain.[25] Berndt-Ersöz souligne le fait que dans deux des trois inscriptions qui mentionnent le monument KASKAL.KUR, deux attestations l'associent directement avec un prêtre qui pratique des oracles et des libations. On peut alors penser que ce complexe servait à l'interrogation oraculaire ichthyomancique.

5 MONUMENTS LITHIQUES ET PORTE[26]

Un autre élément place l'utilisation des monuments lithiques en Phrygie dans la continuité du culte des pierres en Anatolie à l'époque hittite : leur localisation près des portes urbaines. Tous les types de monuments phrygiens, exception faite des façades monumentales, peuvent se trouver associés aux portes des villes.[27] Le cas le plus éclairant est certainement celui des monuments de la ville de Midas, entre Afyon et Eskişehir.

Il s'agit des monuments à escalier dits « *step monuments* ». Creusés dans la roche, ils présentent quelques marches menant à une ou deux « idoles » de pierre en forme de champignons (Berndt-Ersöz 2006 Nr. 70 = catalogue Haspels 6), ou à des autels comme le monument N°68 se trouvant à côté de l'entrée de la ville de Midas, au somment de la rampe d'entrée. Sur le site de Nallı Kaya, un monument de petite taille (N°51) se trouve également associé à l'entrée ; ce qui est également le cas sur le site de Fındık (N°48).[28]

22 Erbil/Mouton 2012 : 53.
23 Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 147.
24 Voir à ce sujet Haas 1994 : 880 et 909 et Lefèvre-Novaro/Mouton 2008.
25 Hawkins 1995 : 44–45.
26 Michel 2017 : 111–121.
27 Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 148.
28 Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 148.

Plusieurs éléments permettent de déduire que ces monuments avaient une fonction religieuse. Dans la ville de Midas, le monument N°68 à escaliers possède trois emplacements pour des cupules « *cup-mark* ». A Delik Taş (N°12), on trouve aussi plusieurs petites dépressions (cupules ?) au pied de la niche, devant ce qu'on nomme maladroitement idole.[29] On trouve aussi parfois des banquettes associées, comme avec le groupe de sculptures de la déesse Matar à Boğazköy.

Les monuments lithiques phrygiens étaient donc composés de divers éléments architectoniques : cupules (dépressions dans la pierre), bancs, podium et pierre dressée (aniconique). Berndt-Ersöz précise encore qu'on pouvait utiliser les bancs pour y déposer des offrandes. Quant au podium, il était parfois positionné dans un angle de 90° par rapport au monument aniconique.[30]

Le passage, dangereux, redouté, sensible mais nécessaire de l'intérieur vers l'extérieur de la ville, faisait l'objet de rituels précis, et de nombreuses précautions étaient prises. Ces installations cultuelles aux portes permettaient ainsi la pratique de rituels nécessaires dans cette zone limitrophe. La pratique de rituels aux portes des villes est un phénomène connu de l'Anatolie hittite,[31] et ces pratiques ont perduré avec les Phrygiens à travers les « *step monuments* » et leur « idole » fongiforme,[32] les niches et les reliefs de la déesse Matar.[33] Certains sites phrygiens ont d'ailleurs été construits directement sur d'anciennes installations hittites.[34]

Cependant, au-delà des similitudes dans la déification des sources et des montagnes, la forme et l'organisation des installations cultuelles près de sources ou près des portes de la ville, une différence majeure

29 A comprendre comme la matérialisation non-iconique du divin. Voir aussi Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 148.

30 Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 149 : « The benches may have been used to display offerings or votive gifts, as the idol found at Boğazköy perhaps indicates. We can further note that the position of the podium both at Boğazköy and Fındık is almost identical, situated at a 90 degree angle to the monument. The difference is that at Boğazköy there is an anthropomorphic image of Matar, whilst at Fındık there is a step monument with a semicircular disc on top ».

31 Michel 2017 et Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 149: « We can so far conclude that cup-marks, offering tables and rock-cut features such as podiums and steps are connected with the Hittite rituals related with city gates ».

32 On retrouve aussi un monument de ce type dans la région d'Alaca Höyük, sur le point le plus élevé de Kalehisar.

33 Pour une datation récente de ces monuments, voir désormais Summers 2018.

34 Roller 1999 : 42.

existe entre les Phrygiens et leurs prédécesseurs hittites. D'un panthéon hittite qui mêle des dieux et des déesses, intégrant des divinités étrangères, on passe, dans le monde phrygien, à la prépondérance d'une seule divinité : la Déesse-Mère Matar. Elle est la seule attestée dans l'iconographie et dans les sources épigraphiques.

Un autre type de monument particulier marquait le paysage durant l'âge du fer en Anatolie. Il s'agit des *Phallossteine*.

6 LES *PHALLOSSTEINE* : PIERRES DES MORTS OU PIERRES DES DIEUX ?

Ces pierres en forme de champignons sont attestées en basalte, en marbre ou en calcaire. Elles marquaient particulièrement le paysage lorsqu'elles couronnaient un *tumulus* en contexte funéraire. Les diverses appellations de ces pierres remontent essentiellement au XIXe siècle ap. J.-C.:

- *Pilzsteine/ mushroom stone*
- *Knaufmonument/ toadstools*
- *Phallossteine*

Au sud de la Paphlagonie, des *Phallossteine* remontant à l'âge du fer ou à l'époque hellénistique (VIIIe à fin IVe s. av. J.-C.) doivent en premier lieu être mises en relation avec des *tumuli*.

Pour Christof, qui préfère la dénomination *Phallossteine* communément acceptée, il s'agit de marqueurs de tombes aniconiques.[35] Ces pierres, taillées d'un bloc, présentent parfois un rétrécissement de la base, indiquant qu'elles pouvaient être plantées dans une base en pierre (exemplaires de Altın Taş[36], Bozüyük, Çamlıbel[37]), ou fichées dans le sol. En Phrygie, leurs tailles varient entre 65 et 90 cm. de hauteur.

35 Christof 2008 : 147–173.

36 La forme de son extrémité indique qu'elle était plantée dans une base en pierre.

37 Christof 2008 : 151 : « Dieses kleine Kalksteinaltärchen [mit Reliefdarstellungen von Reitern und Tieren] aus Boğazköy besteht aus einer schmalen halbrund abschließenden Stele, die mittels eines Zapfens in eine zweigliedrige Basis, zusammen nur 8 cm hoch, eingelassen war. Auf der Vorderseite der Stele befindet sich die Wiedergabe eines stilisierten Kopfes mit Schulteransatz und Amulett, die Schmalseiten sind durch eine Reihe von in leicht erhabenem Relief vom Untergrund abgesetzten Einzelbildern gestaltet ».

Ces cippes funéraires ont été utilisés dès les VII–VIe siècles av. J.-C. et ce, jusqu'à l'époque hellénistique, voire jusqu'à la période impériale romaine.

La relation de ce type de pierre avec le monde funéraire n'est cependant pas clairement établie. Certaines pierres ont servi de stèle funéraire uniquement en réemploi. A Daskyleion-Ergili, un exemplaire de *Phallosstein* montre une utilisation secondaire comme monument funéraire avec l'ajout postérieur du relief d'une femme.

Christof[38] admet que ces *Phallossteine* phrygiennes puissent parfois matérialiser des divinités et l'on doit à von Gall d'avoir établi un rapport possible de ces pierres avec l'architecture hittite tardive.[39] Pour Akurgal, il était clair que certains de ces monuments n'avaient aucun lien avec le monde funéraire.[40] Actuellement, les découvertes archéologiques continuent d'enrichir ce corpus.[41] La question de la forme de ces pierres a beaucoup interrogé les archéologues. Christof propose que la forme s'inspire de celle des « idoles », comme celles en marbre retrouvées à Afyon.[42] De ce fait, la forme pourrait renvoyer à la représentation d'une divinité, sans lien avec la forme phallique, mais en lien avec une représentation anthropomorphe.[43] Cette même forme se retrouve d'ailleurs parfois dans les idoles des *step monuments* de la ville de Midas.[44]

On peut peut-être ranger dans cette même catégorie les « bosses » attestées avec les *step monuments* en Phrygie et que Berndt-Ersöz comparait avec les pierres dressées de Kızlarkayası à Hattusha[45] et le monument Rock 2.[46] L'érosion de ce type de monument ne permet pas de connaître avec certitude la morphologie de la partie sommitale de ces bosses, mais on peut imaginer qu'elles pouvaient présenter un rétrécissement du col. Berndt-Ersöz interprète ces pierres comme des objets de culte qui recevaient des libations, de même que le monument de Arslan

38 Christof/Lafli 2012.

39 von Gall 1966 : 114.

40 Akurgal 1961 : 110.

41 Christof/Lafli 2012.

42 Christof/Lafli 2012.

43 (...) « abstrakte Menschendarstellungen. Der Kopf wird als Scheibe wiedergegeben, an die ein Hals und ein zum Rechteck zusammengefaßter Körper anschließen », la tête est reproduite comme un disque, auquel un cou et un corps combinés dans un rectangle sont connectés (Christof 2008 : 155).

44 Christof 2008 : 155.

45 Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 149.

46 Voir Neve 1977–1978.



Fig. 1. *Phallossteine* de Metsamor, provenant de divers endroits du site, ils ont été rassemblés devant l'entrée du musée avec le *vishapakar* (©Patrick M. Michel, avril 2017).

Taş qui comporte une représentation aniconique de la divinité Matar, désignée sous l'appellation générique de « pilier », et on doit à von Gall (1966 : 40) puis à Spanos (1975 : 147) l'appellation *bétyle de Matar*.[47] Cet ensemble de pierres ou piliers est mis en lien avec la pratique du culte des pierres et notamment l'onction dans le Proche-Orient ancien[48] et le rituel chypriote d'époque classique nommé *elaiochristiou* (onction d'une pierre avec de l'huile)[49].

Il est intéressant de signaler que des *Phallossteine* sont également attestées dans le Caucase, sans contexte funéraire. Sur le site de Lchashen (*marz* de Gegharkunik, Lac de Sevan, Arménie) diverses pierres, aujourd'hui au musée d'Erevan, ont été datées des XII–XIe siècles.[50] L'étude de ces pierres est relativement récente, tout comme celle des

47 Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 153.
48 Berndt-Ersöz 2006 : 186–187.
49 Voir aussi Michel 2014 : 227–229.
50 Dont l'exemplaire en andésite HMA 2477.

pierres-dragons[51] (*vishapakar*) des plateaux arméniens. Les *vishapakar*s sont difficilement datables dans la plupart des cas, mais une étude récente propose une datation à l'âge du bronze moyen pour le Caucase sud, notamment sur le site de Metsamor (*marz* d'Armavir, Arménie. **Fig. 1**)[52]. L'étude de Bobokhyan, Gilibert et Hnila (2015) mentionne un parallèle possible entre les pierres dressées d'Arménie et les *ḫuwaši* hittites :

> « The vishapakar phenomenon has parallels and echoes in the neighbouring regions, most notably in the Hittite-Hurrian world. For example, they remind us of the great importance of standing stones within the Hittite religion, e.g., the *ḫuwaši*-stones repeatedly quoted in texts. (…) And in Hurrian texts from Boğazköy a deity by the name of *vishashap* is mentioned, for which some scholars[53] proposed a connection with vishapakars. In conclusion, we begin to see a net of connections between the ritual and iconographic world of the vishapakars and that of the Hittite-Hurrian world ».[54]

Cette étude s'intéresse principalement aux pierres-dragons (*vishapakar*[55]) mais le site de Metsamor a révélé, en plus d'un *vishapakar*, à divers endroits du site, une série de pierres dites phalliques[56] remontant vraisemblablement à la fin de l'âge du bronze.

Ces éléments permettent de replacer la production de pierres dressées fongiformes ou phalliques dans un contexte géographique plus

51 Pierres dressées décorées de représentations animales gravées, elles se situent sur les hauts plateaux parcourus par les éleveurs durant l'été et étaient liées à des sépultures durant l'âge du bronze. Bobokhyan/Gilibert/Hnila 2012, et voir aussi 2015 : 93.

52 Voir par exemple Bobokhyan/Gilibert/Hnila 2015 : 206 : « In the literature, the vishapakars have been dated from the Aceramic Neolithic until the Iron Age. (…). However, a close analysis of the data at our disposal strongly indicates that vishapakars were first conceived at a certain point during the Bronze Age. » et Bobokhyan/Gilibert/Hnila 2012 : 117 : « Meanwhile, we work with a provisional dating to the South Caucasian Middle Bronze Age II–III (c. 2200–1600 BCE) ».

53 Les auteurs mentionnent Melikishvili 1954 : 113–114; Khanzadyan; 1969 : 163 et Israyelian 1973 : 91.

54 Bobokhyan/Gilibert/Hnila 2015 : 205. Voir aussi Cammarosano 2019 : 307.

55 Voir ci-dessus note 52. L'iconographie de certaines de ces pierres peut, parfois, rappeler des éléments de la mythologie hittito-hourrite, voir Bobokhyan/Gilibert/Hnila 2012 : 93 et Bobokhyan/Gilibert/Hnila 2015 : 205.

56 Ces pierres phalliques ont également été retrouvées à Lchashen, Shamiram, Karmir, Blur ou Oshakan.

large au cours de l'âge du bronze. Les typologies de pierres dressées sont certainement nombreuses,[57] mais un type particulier se caractérise par son aspect fongiforme décrit comme phallique dont la base pouvait être fichée dans un socle ou dans la terre. Notons, comme relevé plus haut, que cette forme caractéristique pourrait aussi être interprétée comme une tendance à l'anthropomorphisme si l'on admet que le rétrécissement au niveau du col permet la stylisation du chef.

À ce stade, on peut établir, d'une part, un lien entre les pratiques cultuelles phrygiennes et hittites, ainsi qu'entre la localisation des monuments lithiques en Phrygie et en Anatolie à l'époque hittite. D'autre part, on remarque que les pierres dressées phalliques sont plus largement attestées à la fin de l'âge du bronze, dans le Caucase notamment.

7 CONCLUSION

Inscrits dans les paysages du Proche-Orient ancien, en particulier sur le plateau anatolien, dans les régions montagneuses de l'est sur les contreforts du Zagros et dans le Caucase, les monuments lithiques sont attestés bien avant l'époque hittite en Anatolie et perdurent jusqu'à l'époque romaine. S'ils attestent l'identification par les Anciens de lieux puissants et singuliers dans la nature, ils expriment tout à la fois une volonté de marquer le paysage dans une politique de conquête mais aussi de constituer des lieux de culte. Dans une grande partie des cas, les monuments lithiques sont placés dans des lieux sacrés à cause de la présence de l'eau. Le monument lithique fournit alors un moyen de représentation performatif nécessaire pour entrer en relation avec le génie des lieux. Le monde minéral, par la durabilité de la pierre, devient une métaphore de l'éternité.[58] Dans les espaces liminaux, les monuments lithiques sont également privilégiés pour manifester la présence de la divinité et assurer la sécurité des portes urbaines.

Ces éléments généraux s'observent ainsi sur plusieurs millénaires et dans une région bien plus vaste que le plateau anatolien, comme l'attestent, durant l'âge du bronze moyen (II–III), dans le Caucase, les *vishapakar*s arméniens sur des sites où seront aussi attestées, ultérieurement parfois, des *Phallossteine*.

57 Michel 2019.

58 Harmanşah 2018a : 499.

Pendant l'âge du bronze récent, les textes hittites mentionnent couramment le culte de pierres dressées. Sur le site de Hattusha on a retrouvé des « bosses » (Kızlarkayası) mais aussi des installations sur les parois et les falaises (graffiti, inscriptions, reliefs) et des installations avec des podiums et des cupules. Les pics montagneux ou les rochers marquant le paysage ont été divinisés et ont donné naissance à des installations rituelles où l'élément minéral était le principal marqueur dans le paysage. De la chute de l'Empire hittite jusqu'à la fin du VIIIe siècle av. J.-C. le plateau anatolien est occupé par les populations indo-européennes phrygiennes qui nous ont laissé de nombreux monuments lithiques, des reliefs, des niches mais aussi des pierres dressées.

En Phrygie, comme nous l'avons évoqué, les pierres dressées sont encore attestées. Les Phrygiens, héritiers, en quelque sorte, de la culture et des terres hittites, conservèrent cette forme particulière de la représentation du divin au moyen de la pierre.[59] Avec le temps, la pierre dressée tend à s'arrondir,[60] matérialisant l'essence divine de la Déesse-Mère Matar, et tendant vers l'anthropomorphisme. La montagne sert alors d'écrin pour l'épiphanie du divin, et la monumentalité du site et des éléments architecturaux souligne encore la majesté de la divinité.

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59 Roller 1999 : 41–42 : « Yet the earlier cultures of Anatolia did indeed influence the identity and portrayal of the Phrygian goddess. Many of the symbols and cultic rituals associated with the Phrygians Mother were not limited to this divinity, but are also found among the Phrygians' predecessors in Anatolia. (...) Certain symbols found in Phrygian expressions of divinity were also prominent among these peoples: they include the sacred mountain, the sources of water that spring from the ground, and the links between the symbolism of animal predators and civic ritual ». Voir plus récemment Bachvarova 2016 : 357 : « One group new to the archaeological record in Anatolia is the Phrygians, who appear in the eleventh century. They were an Indo-European people speaking a language to be grouped with Greek and Armenian. Phrygian culture and religion assimilated many practices and beliefs of the indigenous peoples the Phrygians encountered when they entered Anatolia (...) ».

60 On peut peut-être trouver en Cappadoce les origines de ces formes. Les paysages naturels de la Cappadoce offrent une multitude d'impressionnants champignons de pierre. Les pierres dressées phrygiennes ne cherchaient peut-être pas à imiter l'humain, mais c'est peut-être l'homme qui voulait imiter la nature ?

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AZATIWADA, AWARIKU FROM THE "HOUSE OF MOPSOS", AND ASSYRIA

On the dating of Karatepe in Cilicia

Mirko Novák

With a contribution by Andreas Fuchs

Abstract: Several inscriptions from the 8th century BCE shed some light on the history of the "Neo-Hittite" kingdom of Hiyawa/Qawa/Que, located in Plain Cilicia. They mention the kings Awariku and Warika and a *de facto* ruler named Azatiwada, the latter famous through his foundation of Karatepe. So far, the chronological relationship between these persons as well as an accurate dating of the related sculptures and stelae could not be determined. Even the question of whether Awariku and Warika are one or two kings is unclear. Superimposed on these problems, further peculiarities of Hiyawa within the Neo-Hittite culture, such as a strong Cypriot influence in ceramic production or the frequent use of the Phoenician language and script, have remained largely unanswered. A first step in clarifying these problems is the exact dating of the people involved and also of the foundation of Azatiwadaya (Karatepe). In the following essay, all relevant historical and archaeological evidence is re-evaluated to elucidate the dating of Karatepe, and the identity of Awariku. The result places Azatiwada and Karatepe either before 765 BCE, if one accepts that Awariku and Warika are identical, or in the time between 765 and 740, in case of different persons, which seems more likely. Furthermore, a connection is established between Cypriot influence on the one hand and the use of the Phoenician script and language in Cilicia on the other.

Keywords: Cilicia, Iron Age, Karatepe, Iron Age chronology, Cypro-Cilician Pottery

1 INTRODUCTION*

The discovery of Karatepe-Aslantaş marked a milestone in the research of Iron Age Cilicia and the Near East in many aspects: the rich iconography showed a number of elements so far unknown in the "Neo-Hittite" art of Southern Anatolia and the Northern Levant. The bilingual inscription was decisive for the decipherment of Hieroglyphic Luwian and important as the longest Phoenician inscription known so far. Moreover, it gave insights into the history of *Hiyawa*, the "Land of Adana", a Neo-Hittite principality known as *Que* in Assyrian sources (**Fig. 1**). A surprising piece of information was that the founder of Karatepe-Aslantaş, a certain Azatiwada, acted on behalf of the true King Awariku, who was said to be a descendant of a certain Muk(a)sas/MPŠ,[1] likewise identified with a legendary figure named Mopsos known from Greek tradition. The same Awariku apparently appeared as Urik(ki) in Assyrian sources. In the following decades, more inscriptions were discovered which provide further information on Awariku and Warika.

Even though Urik(ki)'s reign can be dated with the help of Assyrian information, the precise date of Karatepe-Aslantaş remained a matter of controversial scholarly debate. However, the final publication of both the inscriptions[2] and the reliefs[3] established more or less an *opinio communis*, which sees Azatiwada as protégé of an already aged or deceased Awariku. Moreover, Awariku/Warika, or more precisely Urik(ki), is believed to have been still on the throne in 710/709, since he was mentioned in an Assyrian letter (SAA 1: 1). Finally, many scholars believe that Azatiwada was identical with a certain Sanduarri of Sissû and Kundu, who was punished by Aššur-aḫa-iddina (Esarhaddon) in 675 as result of his rebellion.[4] This leads to a historical reconstruction

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1 *Muksa* (*mu-ka-sa*) is the name in the Luwian inscriptions, *MPŠ* in the Phoenician. This name has been identified with the Greek version *Mopsos* from Mycenean **Moxos*. However, it is still much disputed whether it is an original Greek name that appeared already in Hittite sources of the Imperial period in Anatolia or a Luwic name that entered Greek literacy. See on this Bremmer 2008. I thank Federico Giusfredi for this information.

2 Röllig in Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000.

3 Çambel/Özyar 2003.

4 Leichty 2011: 17, RIMA 4, Esarhaddon 1, iii 20–38.

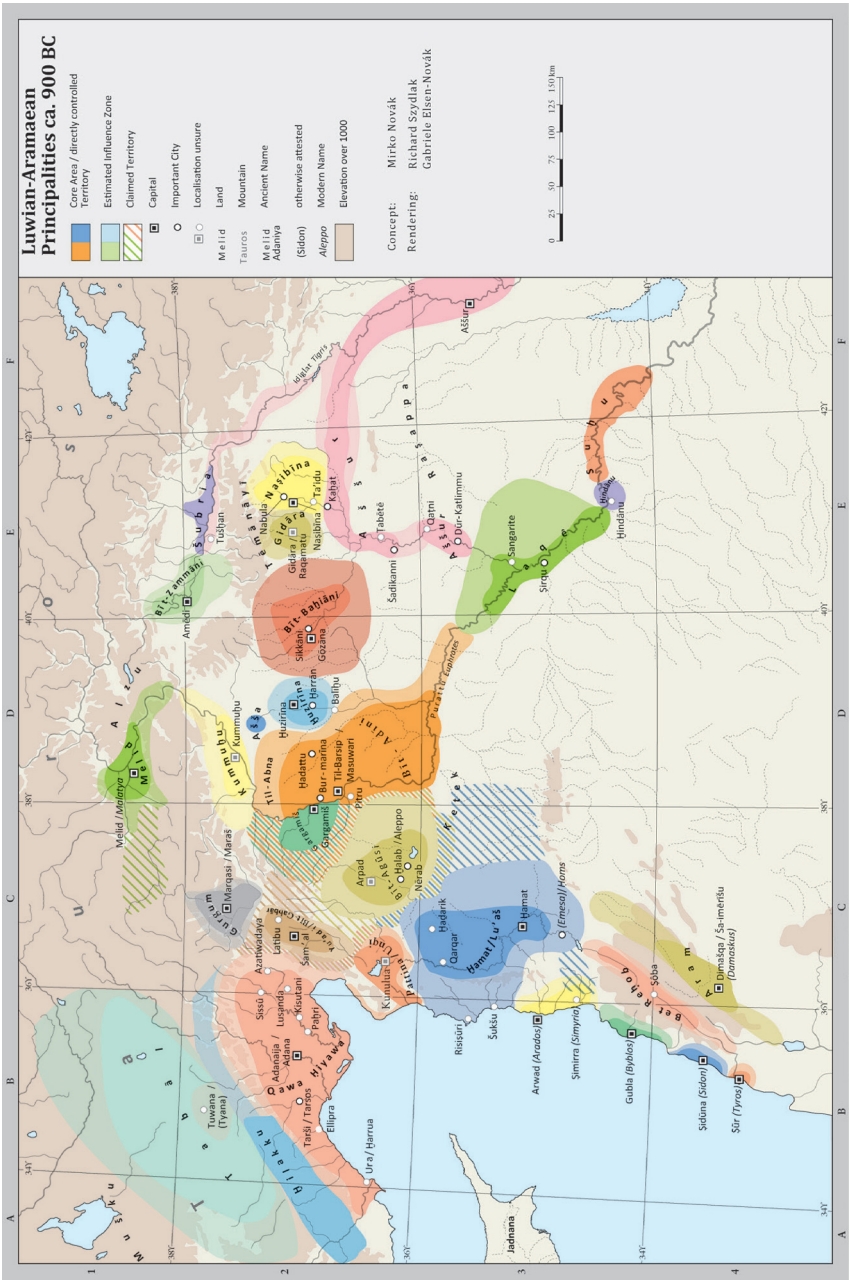

Fig. 1. Map of the Neo-Hittite entities (© IAW, Bern University).

where Que would have been independent from 696–685, the first year coinciding with the revolt of a certain Kirūa of Illubru,[5] while Sanduarri ruled beside an Assyrian governor until 675 BCE. Based on these assumptions, the foundation of Karatepe was believed to date to the time of an assumed independence between 696 and 685, or even later, just before 675 BCE.

However, this scenario creates several serious problems: First, the cities of the realm of Sanduarri, Sissû and Kundu,[6] are both situated in the east of Plain Cilicia (Gk. *Kilikiya Pedias*), indicating that Sanduarri was – contrary to what is known of Azatiwada – a local authority of just a small entity within Plain Cilicia rather than a ruler of all of Que. Second, the revolt of 696 took place only in the western part of Que, where all three cities involved, Illubru, Ingirâ and Tarzu, were located, as well Ḫilakku which offered external support (see below). Moreover, there is no explanation why Assyria is not mentioned in the Karatepe inscriptions under the presumed political circumstances. Additionally, the fact that we know of no parallels for local rulers being in charge alongside Assyrian governors in one and the same province, makes it most unlikely that Awariku was still king in and after 710/709 BCE. A further consideration is that the Karatepe reliefs show only very limited Assyrian influence, in contrast to the Çineköy statue, which dates to the rule of a certain Warika and is commonly considered (in case of Warika's identity with Awariku) to date earlier than Karatepe (see **Fig. 7 and 8**). If the dating of Karatepe to the early 7th century was correct, it should be one of the very latest examples of both Neo-Hittite art and Luwian hieroglyphs. Finally, the writing of the king's name Awariku/ʾWRK in the Karatepe inscription differs from that of Warika/WRYK in most of the other inscriptions attributed to the same king, leaving the question open as to whether the two persons are identical.[7]

Since all these problems are very significant, it seems necessary to re-evaluate all data – historical and archaeological – to examine the most likely date for Azatiwada and his foundation and thereby also of King Awariku.

Before doing so, a short overview of the political and cultural history of Plain Cilicia in the Iron Age seems necessary.

5 Grayson/Novotny 2012: 135–136, RIMA 3/1, Sennacherib 17, iv 61–91.

6 To be identified with Kozan and either Kadirli or Anazarbos or Karasis, see below.

7 Payne 2015: 189–190.

2 PRELUDE: KIZZUWATNA, THE LEGEND OF MOPSOS, AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF HIYAWA/QAWA

2.1 The Late Bronze – Iron Age transition and the re-naming

During the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, Plain Cilicia formed the core region of a principality known by various names. It always held an important geopolitical position between the Levant, Cyprus and Anatolia, and its history was marked by a frequent change of status between independence and superimposed rule from large empires. Its Late Bronze Age name was *Kizzuwatna*.[8] The successor Iron Age polity of almost identical extent was named *Hiyawa, K/Qawa*[9]*, Que/Ḫumē* (**Fig. 2**).[10] The only toponym still reminiscent of the country's former name was *Kisuatni*, which is mentioned in a Neo-Assyrian source and probably refers to the town previously known as *Kummanni* or (*City of) Kizzuwatna*.[11] However, just as in the Šunaššura treaty, the country was occasionally called *ʿmq ʾdn* "Plain of Adana" and its inhabitants the *dnnym* "Adanaeans", leaving no doubt regarding the identification of its political and economic capital.[12] As far as is known from the onomastic evidence, Kizzuwatna was inhabited during the 2nd millennium BCE by Luwians and Hurrians alike.[13] The ethnic composition of the Iron Age population is uncertain due to the sparsity of evidence.

The re-naming of Kizzuwatna after 1190 BCE seems to indicate a discontinuity in the country's history, which fits with the later Greek legends about the two seers Mopsos and Amphilochos, who were said to have led Western Anatolian and Greek immigrants to what later became Cilicia after the Trojan War and founded various new cities.[14] Around the same time, Late Helladic IIIC pottery appeared at several

8 Possibly deriving from Hittite-Luwian *kez-watni "Country on this side (of the mountains)". See Yakubovich 2010: 274.

9 If the proposed reading of the Sinuhe inscription by Th. Schneider is correct, the country's name in the Middle Bronze Age was already *Kawa*, attested as K-w-č from Luwian **Kāw-izza* (ethnicon), see Schneider 2002. But see also the objections by Simon 2011.

10 Hawkins 2006–2008: 191.

11 Yamada 2000: 203.

12 Novák/Rutishauser 2012: 264; Hawkins 2006–2008: 191.

13 Bryce 2003: 88–89; Klinger 2001.

14 On the legends dealing with Mopsos and its possible background, see Hawkins 1993–1997 and Kopanias 2018: 75–77.

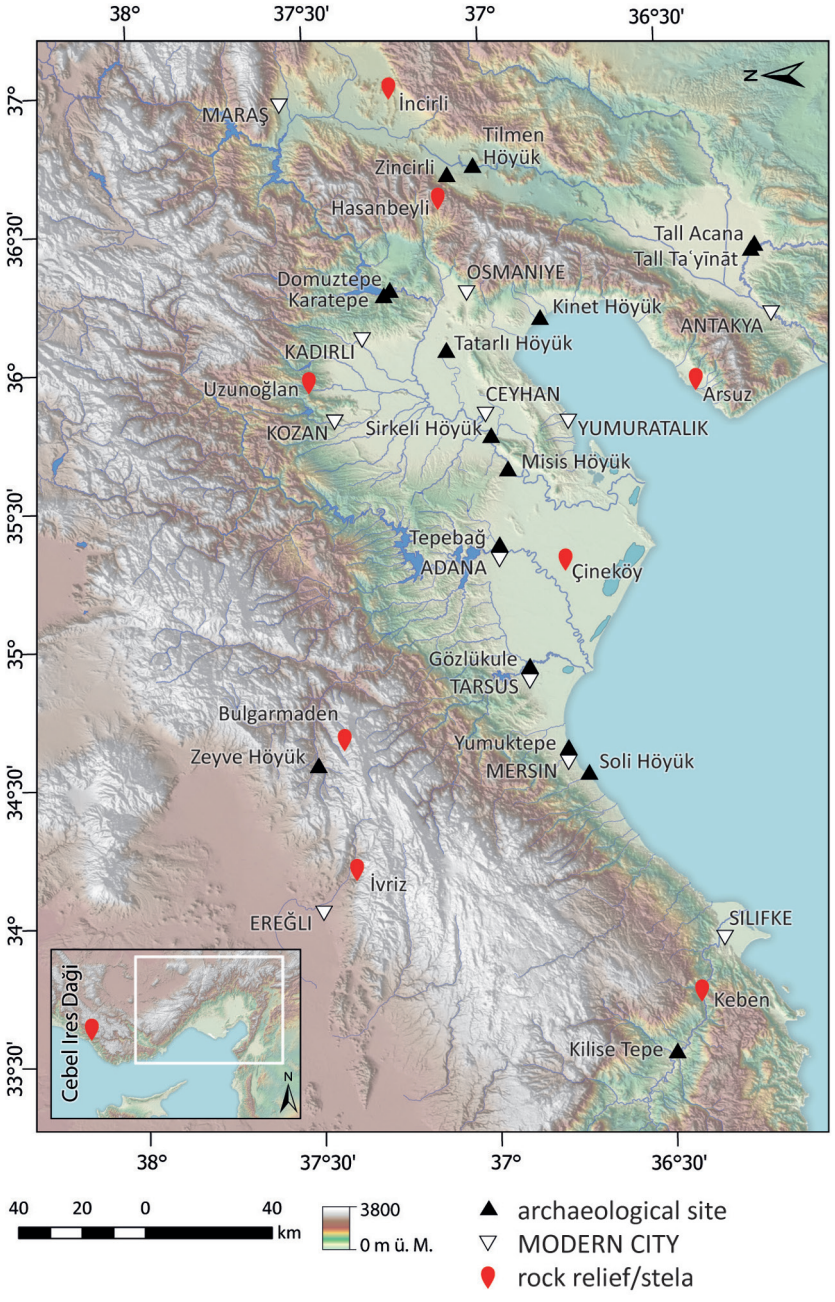

Fig. 2. Map of Cilicia with main sites and find spots of inscriptions of the Iron Age
(courtesy Susanne Rutishauser, IAW, Bern University).

sites in the region, and was locally produced there for a short period.[15] Some scholars connect this phenomenon with the immigration of Aegean groups which seemingly confirm the Mopsos legend.[16] The fact that in the inscriptions of the 8th century, the local dynasty of Hiyawa/Qawa called itself the "House of Mopsos/Muksas" seems also to fit perfectly into this scenario.

However, the assumption of large-scale immigration causing dramatic changes of culture and identity in Plain Cilicia is contradicted by the archaeological record at several sites, which shows obvious signs of continuity. First of all, and unlike the situation in the eastern neighbouring regions of the Amuq and the İslahiya plains, almost all major sites of the Late Bronze Age remained inhabited, such as Soli Höyük, Yumuktepe (both in or near Mersin), Gözlükule (in Tarsus), Tepebağ (in Adana), Sirkeli Höyük, Tatarlı Höyük (both near Ceyhan) and Kinet Höyük (near Dörtyol),[17] and many toponyms of important places survived in only slightly changed variations, such as Ura/Ḫarrua, Lamiya, Egara/Ingirā, Ellipra/Illubru, Tarša/Tarzu, Kummanni/Kizzuwatna/Kisuatni, Lawazantiya/Lusanda, MLWM/Mallos, Winuwanda (later Oinandos),[18] Izziya and several more.[19] In general, Cilician toponymy remained very constant throughout the ages, thus indicating a remarkable continuity of occupation.

From the 10th century BCE onwards, the new (or renewed) country name appears as *Kawa* in the Luwian inscription KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 7[20] and as *Qwh* in Aramaic sources (ZAKKŪR: A 5–6[21]) and the Old Testament (Solomon: 1 Kgs 10:28–29 and 2 Chr 1:16–17). In the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions it is known as ^{kur}*Qa*(*-a*)*-ú-e*/*a-a*, ^{kur}*Qa-ú-e*/*a-a*, ^{kur}*Qu-a-ia*, ^{kur}*Qu-i*/*e*, ^{uru}*Qa-ú-e*, ^{kur}*Qu-u*/*ú-e*/*a-a*, ^{uru}*Qu-e*.[22] Whether the term *Hiyawa*, attested in the indigenous text ÇINEKÖY § 3 and § 7 as *hi-ia-wa*[23], and on the ARSUZ (§ 13) stela of King Suppiluliuma of the neigh-

15 Lehmann 2017; Ünlü 2015 and 2005.

16 See the comprehensive and critical discussion in Lehmann 2017, namely 242–247, with bibliographical citations.

17 For all of these sites, see Cilicia Chronology Group 2017 with further reading.

18 Rutishauser 2017: 136 with further references.

19 Novák/Rutishauser 2017: 137–138.

20 Hawkins 2000: 101–108; see also Hawkins 2005: 152–153, inscription 4.1, § 8.

21 Delsman 1982–1985: 626–628.

22 Hawkins 2006–2008: 191.

23 Tekoğlu/Lemaire 2000.

bouring kingdom of P/Walastin,[24] has its origin in *K/Qawa* or vice versa, is unclear and much debated.[25] Many authors prefer a derivation of *Hiyawa* from the Greek tribal name Achaean, the postulated immigrants from Greece, even though this assumption is still contested and so far unproven.[26] In Late Babylonian inscriptions, Plain Cilicia was called *Ḫumē*[27], which could indicate that the original spelling of the name was **Ḥwa*, from which different variations such as Kawa, Que, Hiyawa and Ḫumē might have been derived.

At the same time, a neighbouring kingdom named *Pirindu* with its capital at Kiršu (modern Meydancıkkale) is mentioned.[28] This was located in the western and southern parts of Rough Cilicia (Gk. *Kilikia Tracheia*) and tried to expand as far east as Ḫarrua (= Ura = Hyria = Seleukeia = Silifke?). The northern and north-eastern part of Rough Cilicia, the region in the vicinity of later Olba and alongside the Göksu river, was called *Ḫilakku* in the Iron Age. From the Achaemenid period onwards, when Syenessis[29] of Ḫilakku gained control over Rough (Ḫilakku) and Plain Cilicia (Que), the toponym *Ḫilakku* became the designation for all *Cilicia*, which still bears its name.

2.2 Hiyawa/Qawa's early history

The earliest Iron Age textual evidence for Kawa/Que is given by King Katuwa of Karkamiš (late 10th century BCE), who reports hostile activities of Kawa in northern Syria which he successfully opposed.[30] Almost contemporary are the two Arsuz stelae, discovered south of İskenderun on the Mediterranean shore: in this pair of inscriptions, a certain Suppiluliuma, King of the P/Walastineans (= Amuq valley) records hostility

24 Dinçol et al. 2015: 65 and 67.

25 On the frequent rendering of Anatolian /h/ at the beginning of a name as /q/ in Assyrian see d'Alfonso 2014: 230. An Anatolian (Luwian or Hittite) *Hiyawa* could have easily changed to *Qiyawa or *Que* in Assyrian. However, how this would correspond to the writing *Qawa*/*Kawa* in Luwian and Aramaean sources, remains unclear. Moreover, Late Babylonian *Ḫumē* recalls the /h/ as first consonant of the name.

26 See the critical review of this assumption by Gander 2012 with references, and the discussion by Kopanias 2018.

27 Lanfranchi 2005: 481–482.

28 Held/Kaplan 2015: 175.

29 > Luw. *Suwanassa* "the one of the dog", presumably a title rather than a personal name; see Starke 1999: 530.

30 Hawkins 2005: 152–153, 4.1, § 8; Hawkins 2000: 101–108, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 7.

by the "City/Land of Adana" (ARSUZ § 11), and his victory over the synonymously used "Land of Hiyawa" (ARSUZ § 13).[31]

When Assyrian King Salmānu-ašarēd (Shalmaneser) III (858–824) started his campaigns to Syria, he faced several coalitions of local entities, among them Katê of Que (only mentioned in 858) and Ḥayyā of Śamʾal. The latter is attested for the years 858[32], 857[33] and 853[34] BCE and was later replaced on the throne of Śamʾal by his son Kulamuwa. The same Kulamuwa changed alliances; his inscription K1, lines S16–17 states that "the king of the Danunaeans (*dn*[*n*]*ym*) was supressing me, but I hired against him the king of Assyria".[35] Obviously he paid tribute to the Assyrians and in return received support against his powerful neighbour.[36] This might have led to the series of campaigns of Salmānu-ašarēd III to Que in the years 839, 833, 832 and 831 BCE, leading to the seizure, destruction or occupation of a number of Cilician cities like Lusanda, Abarnani and Kisuatni in the first year, and subsequently Timur, Paḫri and Tarzu.[37] However, as there is no report of either the successful occupation of the capital at Adana or of Katê's capture and death, this indicates the absence of any decisive Cilician defeat. Since the campaign to Que in the year 832 is attested only in the Assyrian Eponym Chronicle, but not in the royal inscriptions, this suggests that an attempt to seize Adana took place in that year but was unsuccessful and thus ignored in the royal records.[38] However, the Assyrians installed Katê's unfaithful brother Kirri as counter-king in Tarzu, presumably hoping to start a civil war in Que.

Despite the defensive position of Katê, caused by Salmānu-ašarēd III, Kawa/Que seems to have survived the Assyrian attacks widely un-

31 Dincol et al. 2015. On the possible historical background, see Dillo 2016. Contrary to his claims, it seems more likely to me that Urassa is to be equated with Rhosus = Arsuz, the site where the stelae were discovered. They might well have reached their destination there and have been buried after the re-occupation of the site by Hiyawa/Qawa. The Arsuz region is immediately next to the Amuq and the lower Orontes valleys, and thus the first target of any attack from P/Walastin on Hiyawa.

32 Yamada 2000: 78.

33 Yamada 2000: 109.

34 Yamada 2000: 153.

35 Tropper 1993: 153–154.

36 This support of vassals and allies was part of a deal, in return for tribute payments. On tribute, see Radner 2007: 219.

37 Yamada 2000: 198–205 and Fuchs 2008a: 47.

38 Fuchs 2008a: 47.



Fig. 3. İncirli stela (from https://www.hittitemonuments.com/incirli/index-t.htm, photo taken by Figen Anıl, 2018).

scathed and recovered quickly. Just a short time later, it once more meddled actively in the affairs of northern Syria: the inscription of Zakkūr of Ḥamath and Luʾaš (of which Ḫaḏarik was the capital) tells us that around 800 BCE, *QHW* was part of an alliance against him.[39] Finally, under king Urik(ki) Que entered the group of Assyrian vassals in the year 743 BCE.

39 Delsman 1982–1985: 626–628; A 5–6.

3 AWARIKU AND THE WRITTEN EVIDENCE FROM HIYAWA/QAWA

3.1 The indigenous sources

Awariku/*Warika* – whether one or two persons (see below) – is the only known king of Hiyawa/Qawa in the 8th century BCE. Frequently mentioned as *Urik*(*ki)* of Que in Assyrian sources, he is attested in several inscriptions. Beside the monumental inscription of his servant Azatiwada from Karatepe[40], we have a statue from Çineköy[41] (**Fig. 7**), a stela from İncirli[42] (**Fig. 3**) and a border stone from Hasanbeyli (**Fig. 4**).[43] Moreover, the rock inscription from Cebelires[44] Dağı (for the location, see **Fig. 2**) near Alanya in Rough Cilicia mentions a king of the same name.[45] Since

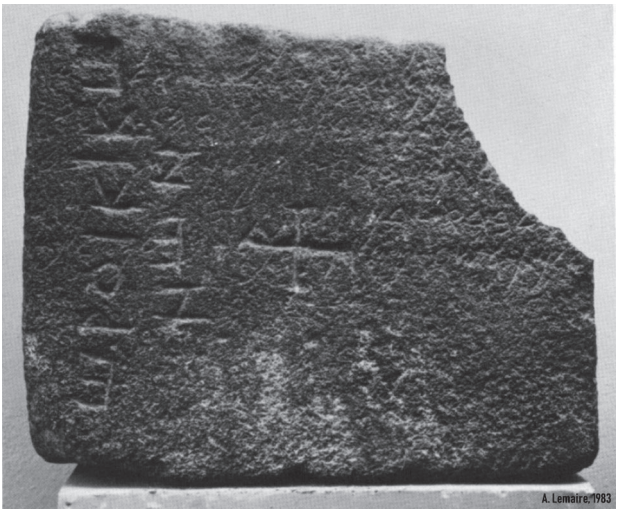

Fig. 4. Hasanbeyli stela
(from Lemaire 1983: Tav. I, courtesy Vorderasiatisches Museum).

40 The Phoenician inscriptions were published by W. Röllig in Çambel 1999: 50–81, the Luwian ones by Hawkins 2000: 45–70.

41 Tekoğlu/Lemaire 2000.

42 Kaufman 2007.

43 Lemaire 1983.

44 Nowadays called *Cebel Reis Dağı*. The original name *Cebelires* derives from an Arabic-Persian hybrid *ğabal-i ra's* "Mountain of the Head" or *ğabal-i ra'īs* "Mountain of the Chief", the new official name is a redundant Arabic-Turkish hybrid meaning "Mountain-of-the-Chief Mountain".

45 Mosca/Russell 1987; Röllig 2004: 212.

the country name KW is also attested here, reference to a homonymous or even identical king of Hiyawa/Kawa/Que is not unlikely (see below). While the Cebelires Dağı and Hasanbeyli inscriptions are written exclusively in Phoenician, Karatepe and Çineköy are Phoenician-Luwian bilinguals. İncirli is a Phoenician-Luwian-Assyrian trilingual.

It is remarkable that only one inscription uses the Assyrian script and language and there is no evidence for the use of either Aramaic, the contemporary *lingua franca* of the ancient Near East, or Greek, despite the fact that some scholars postulate a Greek origin for the dynasty. Ilya Yakubovich tried to explain this phenomenon on the one hand in terms of resistance against Assyria's cultural influence and on the other with the fact, that "the Phoenician language was emblematic of the rulers of Que, who claimed Greek descent and therefore attempted to distance themselves from the traditional elites of the neighbouring Neo-Hittite states."[46] But this assumption raises a series of questions: Why not simply use Greek? Why use Luwian hieroglyphs at all? And why use Phoenician instead of Aramaic? Last but not least, why would Awariku/Warika both stress his strong ties to Assyria and reject Assyrian script and language as a sign of resistance? We will come back to these questions later.

Three of the Awariku/Warika inscriptions mentioned above derive from Plain Cilicia itself: Karatepe is situated at its eastern fringe, Çineköy in the core area, just south of Adana (see below), while a third inscription was discovered near Hasanbeyli, on the old pass road through the Amanus south of Bahçe, on the eastern slope of the mountain, just about 13 km west of Śamʾal, the capital of Bīt Gabbār, and overlooking this region.[47] The Hasanbeyli text indicates a close relationship between the "kingdom [of Hiyawa/Que]" and Assyria, indicating the supremacy of the latter. There can be no doubt that if the findspot of the stela marks the original border between Hiyawa and Bīt Gabbār, it was to the disadvantage of Śamʾal, easily observed by Hiyawa. The dating is uncertain, but it might reflect an event connected with the campaign of Aššur-dān III (772–755) to Syria, either in 765 or, less probably, 755 BCE.[48]

46 Yakubovich 2015: 35.

47 Lemaire 1983.

48 Simon 2014: 99, following Lipiński 2004: 118. The reading of the Assyrian king's name is not absolutely certain. Note that Assyria underwent a civil war in the years between 763 and 758, which made any engagement of the Assyrian army in the Levant impossible, see Fuchs 2008b: 86–89. Assyrian troops were active in the

The trilingual inscription of the İncirli stela, of which only the Phoenician text has been published, also marks a shift of borders in favour of Hiyawa.[49] It tells us that after the "fraud" of Matiʾ-El of Arpad (against Assyria), the territory marked by the stela in question, located close to the border of Kummaḫa and the Assyrian province of the Turtan, was given to Warika of Que by Pulu/Tukultī-apil-Ešarra (Tiglath-Pileser) III as a reward for his loyalty in the conflict. Since the findspot of the stela lies just south of Maraš and 10 km north of Sakçagözü at the southern exit of the Maraš plain, the territory must originally have belonged to Gurgum and/or Bīt Gabbār, close to the borders with Bīt Agūsi with its capital at Arpad, and with Kummaḫa on the Euphrates. According to the Hasanbeyli and İncirli inscriptions, Awariku/Warika, as a loyal subject and ally of the Assyrians, was rewarded with land that originally belonged to his neighbours Gurgum, Bīt-Agūsi/Arpad and Bīt Gabbār/Śamʾal. This coincides with the content of the ÇINEKÖY inscription (§ 7),[50] which, with similar wording, also expressed an obligation of Warika to the "king of Assyria", most probably Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III.[51]

Another or the very same Awariku/Warika (WRYK of KW) appears on the rock inscription of Cebelires Dağı[52] as overlord of the two operating contractors, among them a certain Piḫalaʾas (= Pellās?). The Phoenician inscription was found at a landmark in the mountains about 15 km east of Alanya near the coast. If the identification of the overlord with the king of Qawa is correct, his sphere of influence extended far to the western margin of Rough Cilicia and almost up to Pamphylia, and at that time must have included Ḫilakku. If so, then this circumstance would help to explain how the Assyrian king Šarru-ukīn could give Ḫilakku as a "present" to his son-in-law Ambaris of Tabal in 713, without ever having conquered that country.[53] If Ḫilakku had already belonged to the territory controlled by Awariku/Warika, it would have

Northern Levant during the reign of Aššur-dān III in the years 772, 765 and 755. See Bagg 2011: 211. Since 755 was the year of Aššur-dān's decease, the campaign might have well be headed by his sucessor Aššur-nārārī V.

49 Kaufman 2007.

50 Tekoğlu/Lemaire 2000: 972.

51 Lipiński 2004: 128; Payne 2015: 191.

52 Mosca/Russell 1987; Röllig 2004: 212. The conventional dating of the inscription to the 7th century BCE is based exclusively on paleographic arguments, thus leaving open the question of the identity of King WRYK of KW.

53 Bagg 2011: 238. See n. 284 for the uncertainty concerning how and when Ḫilakku came under Assyrian domination.

fallen nominally into the hands of the Assyrians, once his kingdom was annexed. In that case, Cebelires Dağı would provide evidence – similar to İncirli and Hasanbeyli – for an expansion of Hiyawa/Que during the reign of Awariku/Warika both to the east and to the west.

3.2 The names Awariku and Warika

The etymology of the name Awariku/Warika has not yet been satisfactorily explained. For a long time, a Hurrian origin was widely preferred.[54] More recently, and stimulated by the presumed connection of the country's name *Hiyawa* and the "(Plain of the) Adanaeans" with the Achaeans and Danaeans of Homer's epics, several attempts have been undertaken to prove a Greek etymology of the name. Jasink and Marino suggested a derivation from Greek **Wrakios>Rhakios*, attested on Mycenaean Linear B tablets as *wo-ro-ko-jo* (gen. PY Sa 763) for **Wroikiōn*.[55] Ilya Yakubovich, also in favour of a Greek background of the name, preferred either a stem *Ewarkhos*, lit. "well governing" or *wo-ro-i-ko*/*wroi-ko* (Greek "Hook"), attested in Amathus on Cyprus in the 5th to 4th century BCE.[56] Zsolt Simon distinguishes between the two names Awariku and Warika.[57] Although he accepts the Greek etymology of the latter, he prefers a Luwian one for Awariku.[58]

For the question of ethnic allocation of the royal house of Hiyawa/Qawa/Que it would be necessary to know more names to establish their linguistic affiliation. Sadly, the names of the only two other known members of the royal dynasty, Katê and Kirri, are entirely without use for etymological interpretations due to their non-specific structure.[59] However, Awariku's servant Azatiwada, written *Azatiwadas* in the Lu-

54 Mosca/Russell 1987: 20.

55 Jasink/Marino 2007. Equally, the name Mopsos is attested as Mycenean mo-qo-so (PY Sa 774 and KN De 1381).

56 Yakubovich 2010.

57 Simon 2014.

58 Simon 2017. Here, he reconstructs, on the one hand, a Luwian name as a compound of *á-* "doing" and an unelucidated **wariku-*, also attested in Carian. Warika, on the other hand, is not considered by him as deriving from the same **wariku-*.

59 However, the etymological derivation of a name does not allow secure conclusions as to the ethnic background of its bearer, as attested by the Luwian names Kulamuwa and Panamuwa in the Aramaean dynasty of Śam'al. See Brown 2008.

wian version, clearly and doubtlessly bore a Luwian name, *Aza-Tiwad* "loved by (the sun god) Tiwad".[60]

Since there is some variation in the spelling of the personal name, Zsolt Simon has doubted whether all the inscriptions refer to one and the same Awariku/Warika or to different kings with similar sounding names.[61]

Compare the following list (**Fig. 5**):

Inscription	Luwian name	Phoenician name	Luwian country/ city name	Phoenician country/city name
Karatepe	*á-wa/i+ra/i-ku-sa*	ʾWRK	*á-TANA*[62]*-wá/í-za* (URBS) | "TERRA+X"(-)*wá/í+ra/i-za*	ʿMQ ʾDN
Hasanbeyli	–	ʾWRK	–	DN
İncirli	?	WRYKS[63]	?	QW
Cineköy	*wa-ri+i-ka-sá*	W[...]	*hi-ia-wa/i*	ʿMQ ʾDN
Cebelires Dağı	–	WRYK	–	KW

Fig. 5. Inscriptions of Awariku/Warika from Cilicia.

Thus, a distinction between at least two kings, one Awariku/ʾWRK and one Warika/WRYK(S), seems justified, but since we do not know the etymology and precise pronunciation of the name(s) for certain, it cannot be excluded that different spellings still indicate one and the same name. Perhaps the orthography changed during the reign of the same king. Accordingly, we shall have to wait for more epigraphic material to reach a final decision.

The following reconstruction of the dating of this king (or these kings) will therefore take both possibilities into consideration. A cru-

60 Simon 2017: 118 n. 8.

61 Zs. Simon (2014) even proposed four different kings of Hiyawa, two Awarikus and two Warykas. Doubts regarding the identity of Awariku and Warika are also expressed by Payne 2015: 189–190 and Goedegebuure (in press).

62 For a different reading of the sign *TANA* as *HIYA* see Oreshko 2013; *contra* this reading, see Hawkins 2016.

63 The /S/ in WRYKS here is explained as a Luwian nominative ending by Payne 2015: 190 n. 347.

cial person for the dating of Awariku is Azatiwada, his servant, who is known exclusively from his own inscriptions discovered at Karatepe.

3.3 Azatiwada and Azatiwadaya

The site of Karatepe-Aslantaş on the north-eastern fringe of Cilicia is one of the most remarkable places of the so-called "Neo-Hittite" culture. It was discovered and excavated in the 1940s by a Turkish team headed by Helmuth Theodor Bossert and was investigated by Halet Çambel and her collaborators in the following decades. The results of the excavations have been published in three monographs, the first dedicated to inscriptions,[64] the second to sculptures,[65] and the third to architecture and ceramic finds.[66] The publication of small finds is still pending, some of the ceramics were presented in a preliminary[67] and in a second, more comprehensive report.[68]

The site is located north of the provincial town of Osmaniye in the extreme north-east of Plain Cilicia on the right bank of the Ceyhan river, just opposite of a predecessor settlement with the modern name of Domuztepe (for the location, see **Fig. 2**). Situated on the top of a mountain, it is enclosed by a fortification wall with towers and has been identified with the ancient city of Azatiwadaya. This might have functioned either as a fortress controlling Hiyawa's border with Gurgum, or as a trade post situated on a caravan route along the Ceyhan, or as a residential town and the summer resort of its founder, celebrating his almost royal importance.[69] Its founder and name-giver Azatiwada is so far known only from the Karatepe inscriptions, and is not mentioned in any other internal or external source.[70] We must thus rely on his own description to define his position and dating.

The settlement was enclosed by fortification walls with two main chamber-gates, one in the north and one in the south, while three additional entries gave further access to the inside (**Fig. 6**).[71] Within the set-

64 Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000: 45–70.

65 Çambel/Özyar 2003.

66 Çambel 2014.

67 Darga 1986.

68 Bossert 2014: 113–156.

69 Özyar 2013: 118.

70 The previously suggested identification of Azatiwada with Sanduarri, attested in Assyrian sources, no longer holds; see below.

71 Sicker-Akman 2014: 25.



Fig. 6. Plan of Karatepe/Azatiwadaya (from Çambel/Özyar 2003: Tf. 5).

tlement, only a few buildings were exposed, including a palace near the highest point in the centre.[72] Four layers have been recognized there, with a remarkable transformation of the layout between layers 2 and 3.[73]

The two main gates were decorated with orthostat reliefs and inscriptions that have attracted much attention since their discovery.[74] The sculptures are executed in two distinctly different styles whose relative and absolute chronologies are still the subject of lively controversy.[75]

Without doubt, Karatepe's sculptures belong to and represent Neo-Hittite art, as they show its essential characteristics, such as bas-reliefs as image carrier (clearly visible inside the gate chambers)[76] as well as their overall iconography and style.[77] Other features, such as guarding animal figures flanking the gateways at the jambs and the statue of the Storm-god positioned at the entrance, likewise have numerous parallels in other Neo-Hittite centres. Nevertheless, there are also marked peculiarities of iconography and style, which complicate any comparison of Karatepe with the art of other Neo-Hittite entities. As Aslı Özyar has convincingly demonstrated, Karatepe shows some significant parallels with the art of Iron Age Cyprus.[78] Since this Cypriot influence is not attested in any other region of the Neo-Hittite cultural sphere, this could provide an explanation for the peculiarities and the very special appearance of Karatepe.

Inside both gates, inscriptions carved into the basalt orthostats mention and celebrate the city founder Azatiwada with a Phoenician and Hieroglyphic Luwian bilingual.[79] In addition to its value (1) as one of the longest extant Phoenician texts and (2) for the decipherment and understanding of Hieroglyphic Luwian, this was the first historical text record discovered in Cilicia to shed light on the country's Iron Age history.

72 Sicker-Akman 2014: 15–112, on the palace 69–80.

73 Sicker-Akman 2014: 76, Fig. 27 (Phases 1 and 2) and 77, Fig. 28 (Phases 3 and 4).

74 Çambel/Özyar 2003.

75 See most recently Orthmann 2003–2004. An earlier date and re-use of sculptures of Style Karatepe I (or A) has often been suggested. As W. Orthmann (2003–2004: 469) has clearly demonstrated, a dating to the 9th century does not seem likely.

76 Mazzoni 1997.

77 Orthmann 1971: 105–111.

78 See Özyar (in this volume).

79 For a description of the bilinguals and their settings inside the two gates, see Hawkins 2000: 45.

In the two inscriptions, Azatiwada praises himself for having taken care of the country as a guardian for the king. The decisive passage of the inscriptions reads as follows:

> "[1]I am Azatiwada, *ambarakku* of Ba'al,[80] servant of [2]Ba'al, whom Awarikku, king of the Danunians, made powerful. [3]Ba'al made me a father and a mother to the Danunians. […] [10][…] And I acted kindly towards the offspring of my lord, [11]and I let him sit on his father's throne." (Phu/AI, 1–11).[81]

Respectively:

> "I am Azatiwada, 'Sun-blessed (?) man', Tarhunza's servant, whom Awarikus, the Adanawean king promoted. Tarhunzas made me mother and father to Adanawa. […] And I did all good things for my lord's family, and I caused it/them to sit upon its/their father's throne." (KARATEPE 1 § I–XVI, 1–84).[82]

The inscription makes it clear that Azatiwada, whose only title is that of a "servant of Ba'al and the King", acts as the *de facto* ruler ("father and mother") of the country and its inhabitants. Although he mentions King Awariku of the "House of MPŠ/Muksas", and an unnamed lord – Awariku again or an anonymous predecessor(?) –, he does not state why he is in charge of the government of the "Plain of Adana", i.e. of the entire kingdom and not just a part of it. Either his lord was already deceased or he was otherwise unable to act as sovereign. Nevertheless, Azatiwada clearly states that he remained loyal to the dynasty and guaranteed the succession of the legitimate heir to the throne.

Shortly after the publication of the first preliminary reports on the sculptures and inscriptions, a controversy arose concerning their art historical and chronological position.[83] For dating purposes, because of the difficulties of a stylistic and iconographic classification, mostly his-

80 On the reading of Phoenician *hbrk bʿl* and Luwian *tiwadamis zidis* as "Steward of Baʿal" respectively "Steward of the King" see Goedegebuure (unpublished, 2009); against this reading see Melchert (in this volume). I thank Annick Payne for this hint.

81 Röllig in Çambel 1999: Appendix I, 50–81.

82 Hawkins 2000: 45–70.

83 See e.g. Winter 1979; Deshayes/Sznycer/Garelli 1981; Orthmann 2003–2004 and further citations in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 141–144.

torical and palaeographic arguments were listed. Since Awariku was mentioned as the overlord of Azatiwada and is commonly identified with Urik(ki) of Que, mentioned in the inscriptions of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III and Šarru-ukīn, an approximate timeframe was established. In the Karatepe inscriptions, Azatiwada does not feature as the official lord or sovereign, but as acting on behalf of an underage king. Yet, as the inscriptions of Cineköy, Hasanbeyli and İncirli present Warika as a self-reliant and independent ruler, the time of his inability to rule on his own must be limited to just a phase of his reign. Three alternatives present themselves: he was either dead or an incapacitated old man or still an underage child. Since the passage in the inscription "I acted kindly towards the offspring of my lord, and I let him sit on his father's throne" (§§ 15–16) was commonly interpreted in the sense that the "lord" of Azatiwada was Awariku himself and the "offspring" guarded by Azatiawada referred to Awariku's child(ren), almost all scholars prefer the first alternative. However, this is not so clear from the inscription itself, and one could also argue that Awariku, king of Adana, should be equated with the "offspring" in Azatiwada's care.

Irene Winter[84] and J. David Hawkins[85] proposed an identity of Azatiwada with a certain Sanduarri of Sissû and Kundu, who was executed after a rebellion against Aššur-aḫa-iddina (Eserhaddon) in the year 676.[86] Halet Çambel and Aslı Özyar have adopted this identification in their final publication of the sculptures and, on the basis of iconographic analyses, argue for a dating of the reliefs to the early 7th century BCE.[87] Thanks to their very proper presentation of material and comparisons it seems justified to re-examine their main arguments in the context of the current state of knowledge.

84 Winter 1979.

85 Hawkins 1979.

86 Leichty 2011: 17, RIMA 4, Esarhaddon 1, iii 20–38. This identification has been doubted by Zs. Simon (2014: 97–98) on linguistic grounds, since Sanduarri contains the name of the old Cilician deity Šanda and thus cannot be seen as an Assyrian corruption of Azatiwada's name.

87 Çambel/Özyar 2003: 141–144.



Fig. 7. Storm-god statue from Çineköy
(photo taken by Laura Simons, courtesy Adana Museum).

4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE DATING

4.1 The relative chronology of Warika and Azatiwada as indicated by art

In order to clarify the relative chronology between Warika and Azatiwada, a comparative study of the sculptures attributed to these two rulers, from Çineköy and Karatepe respectively, provides a first line of evidence.

The monumental statue of the Storm-god, dedicated by Warika, descendent of Mopsos/Muksas as stated in its bilingual Phoenician-Luwian inscription, was discovered in a field near the village of Çineköy, ca. 30 km south of Adana (**Fig. 7**).[88] Although two small Iron Age sites

88 Tekoğlu/Lemaire 2000.

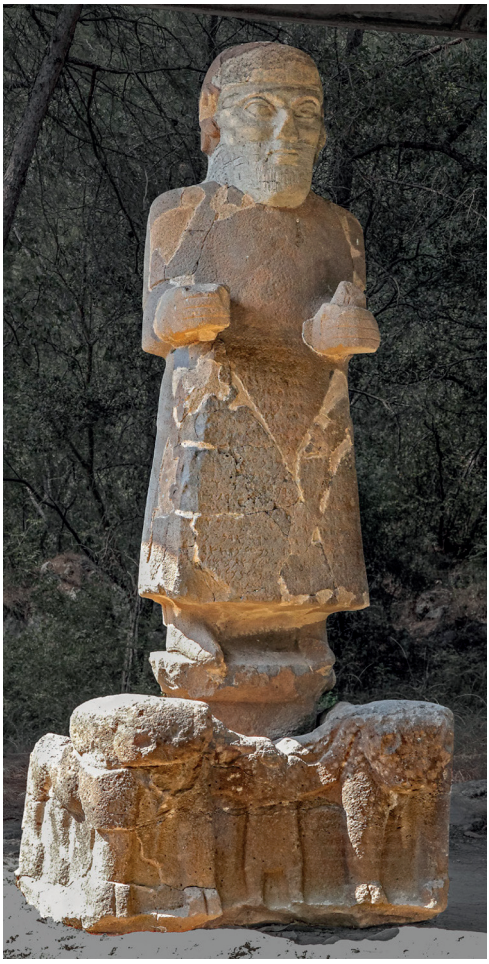

Fig. 8. Storm-god statue from Karatepe (from https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karatepe-Arslantaş#/media/File:KaratepeSüd5.jpg).

are known in the vicinity of the findspot,[89] the statue itself was not discovered inside any recognizable ancient settlement.[90] Since the inscrip-

89 Cf. Rutishauser 2017: 146 with Fig. 23, showing the findspot within the ancient hydro-system of the Seyhan river. The two sites, Yeniköy III, 4 km to the west of the findspot, and Çağnar, 2 km to the east, were registered and visited by M. Seton-Williams in her Cilician survey. Sadly, both have since been bulldozed for agricultural purposes.

90 The present author visited the site in 2016 together with Nedim Dervişoğlu (Adana Museum), Prof. Dr. Aynur Özfirat (then Antakya University) and Dr. Deniz Yaşin Meier (Bern University). No sherds have been observed in the area of the

tion itself mentions irrigation labours conducted at the Sabri river,[91] it seems possible that the statue was positioned alongside an irrigation channel supplied with water from the Seyhan river (ancient Saros).[92]

The limestone statue shows a male figure in a standing, motionless posture. The figure is dressed in a long, wrapped robe with fringed seams. Parallel pleats are depicted at the shoulder and on the upper arms. The arms are held against the upper body and the hands are raised in front of the chest. A pointed cap with a pair of horns covers the head, the mid-length hair ends in a curly bulge. The eyes of the statue were originally inserted. The long beard falls down in parallel strands. The depiction of the face, hair and beard as well as of the robe shows strong Assyrian influence. This marks a contrast with the iconography, insofar as the motif of the god inside a bull-drawn chariot is clearly of Hittite origin, known, for example, from the rock relief at İmamkullu,[93] an orthostat relief from Melid[94] and another from the temple of the Storm-god of Aleppo[95] as well as the seal of Muršili III. However, all these Storm-god images are dressed in short skirts and pointed shoes and depict him stepping into the chariot in a dynamic fashion, unlike the standing figure from Çineköy. The reason might be a difference in date, since the three above-mentioned examples either date to the Imperial phase of the Hittite kingdom or to the first centuries of the Neo-Hittite period. In contrast, the dating of the Çineköy statue to the time of the Assyrian king Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III and thus to the second half of the 8th century BCE seems assured and would support the alleged identity of this Warika with Urik(ki), known from the Assyrian sources (see below).

At Karatepe, a statue of the Storm-god was discovered behind the South Gate (**Fig. 8**)[96]. It, too, shows a calm upright figure, dressed in a long robe. However, it stands directly on the backs of a pair of bulls, with no chariot in evidence. Although the posture is similar to the Çineköy example, the representations of robe and hair are significantly

findspot, although the field is intensively ploughed nowadays.

91 Hawkins 2017.

92 However, P. Goedegebuure (in press) assumes that the inscription refers to Warika's activities in his newly gained territories in Gurgum. If we accept this assumption, the location of the findspot of the statue remains without explanation.

93 Ehringhaus 2005: 72–73, Fig. 133, 134, 136.

94 Orthmann 1971: Pl. 41–42.

95 Gonella/Khayyata/Kohlmeyer 2005: 99, Fig. 138.

96 Çambel/Özyar 2003: 114–115, Pl. 218–220.

different and do not show any Assyrian influence. The same applies to the art of Karatepe as a whole.[97]

In general, from the 9th to the early 7th century BCE, Neo-Hittite art is characterized by a constant increase in Assyrian influence, with a geographical gradation from east to west. Almost all Neo-Hittite sculpture dating to the second half of the 8th century shows a distinct Assyrian impact. The only exception seems to be the art work at Karatepe. Before the discovery of the Çineköy statue, one might have argued that Hiyawa/Qawa did not participate in this general development of Neo-Hittite art, but it now seems that the same holds true for this region. Accordingly, the differences between Karatepe and Çineköy suggest the former antedates the latter. From this, one must infer that Azatiwada should also antedate Warika of Çineköy. On stylistic grounds, the depiction of a chariot wheel with eight spokes at Karatepe[98] does not allow a dating of this relief before the early 8th century BCE, thus suggesting a stylistic date for Karatepe of between this point in time and the Assyrianizing phase firmly established in the middle or second half of the 8th century BCE.[99] This contradicts Annick Payne's suggestion, that the KARATEPE inscription is a later, more comprehensive and further developed variation of the ÇINEKÖY inscription.[100] To solve this contradiction one could argue that in return, ÇINEKÖY was a later abbreviation of KARATEPE.

In the following, we shall consider the dating of Karatepe's objects and sculptures on the basis of archaeological arguments.

4.2 The Phrygian evidence

A central argument for a late dating of the Karatepe sculptures to the 7th century BCE was based on comparisons made with material from Phrygian Gordion, especially from the large Tumulus MM ("Midas' Mound").[101] Notwithstanding the fact that tumuli findspots at best only provide a *terminus post quem*, the contexts at Gordion are now dated

97 Ussishkin 1969: 126–133.
98 NKl 2: Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 104, 105.
99 Orthmann 2003–2004: 469.
100 Payne 2015: 192–212.
101 Çambel/Özyar 2003: 144.



Fig. 9. Relief SVl 2 from the South Gate of Karatepe
(from Çambel/Özyar 2003: Tf. 142).

much earlier than previously because of new dendrochronological and radiocarbon data.[102] We shall consider some examples in detail.

The relief SVI 2 from the South Gate of Karatepe depicts a ribbed handle jug and a similarly ribbed cup (**Fig. 9**).[103] Such handle jugs made of bronze are known from Tumuli W[104], P[105] und MM[106] at Gordion, but they were not exclusively used in Phrygia: another example was discovered in the so-called “Southern Tomb” in the Aramaean town of Gōzāna (Tall Ḥalaf),[107] and a golden cup, decorated with figural applications, was found in the Neo-Assyrian tomb of Mulissu-mukannišat-Ni-

102 See DeVries 2008.

103 Çambel/Özyar 2003: 98–100, illustration on Tf. 142–143.

104 Young 1981: Pl. 88 D. Here, a ceramic piece of the same type was also discovered. Young 1981: Pl. 93 A–B.

105 Young 1981: Pl. 19 H–I and Pl. 20 A–E, G–H.

106 Young 1981: Pl. 59 D–F.

107 Orthmann 2002: 49, Fig. 27c; Hrouda 1962: 65 and Tf. 47:2, Tf. 48:3, 8, 16.



Fig. 10. Relief SVl 3 from the South Gate of Karatepe
(from Çambel/Özyar 2003: Tf. 144).

nua (Tomb III) below the Northwestern Palace at Kalḫu.[108] Whereas the "Southern Tomb" in Gōzāna either dates to the late 10th or early 9th century,[109] Tomb III at Kalḫu contained objects from the 9th and early 8th centuries BCE.[110] Ceramic imitations of such metal vessels are attested at several sites in Syria and Anatolia.[111] Likewise, ribbed cups made of bronze were found in Tumuli W[112] and MM[113] at Gordion, the "Southern Tomb" at Gōzāna[114] and in Tomb II at Kalḫu, the latter also made of gold.[115]

Furthermore, relief SVl 3 next to SVl 2 shows a bow fibula which holds the garment of a male(?) figure who leads a procession with a

108 Damerji 1999, Abb. 48–52.

109 Becker/Novák 2012: 226.

110 The latest datable object is a duck-shaped weight, dating to Tiglath-Pileser III. See Damerji 1999: 10.

111 Sievertsen 2004: 241–242.

112 Young 1981: Pl. 89 F.

113 Young 1981: Pl. 68–70.

114 Orthmann 2002: 49, Fig. 27a.

115 Damerji 1999: Fig. 31.

bull (**Fig. 10**).[116] Because of their dissemination, fibulae of this type are commonly referred to as "Phrygian".[117] The table, depicted on the same relief, is comparable to a wooden original from Tumulus MM at Gordion.[118]

All these comparisons listed by Halet Çambel and Aslı Özyar are absolutely convincing and give a good indication for the dating. However, this dating now needs to be re-evaluated, as the traditional chronology of Gordion, on which the authors based their argumentation, has been challenged and changed dramatically.[119] This has serious consequences for the dating of objects shown on the Karatepe reliefs.

Tumulus W at Gordion, one of the most important find spots for handle jugs and bow fibulae, is likely to be contemporary with the "Destruction Level" of layer YHSS 6A on the citadel, as comparisons of the material attest.[120] Within the destruction layer, a number of Phrygian bow fibulae were also discovered.[121] New dendrochronology shows that Terrace Building 2A in layer YHSS 6A was probably erected between 886 and 884 BCE, while radiocarbon dating places the "Destruction Level" in the time between 830 and 800 BCE. This leads to a higher dating not only of Phrygian architectural sculpture,[122] but also of the Phrygian script, which came into use before the 9th century.[123] Tumulus W can thus likewise be attributed to the mid-9th century BCE.[124] The construction of Tumulus MM can now be dated to ca. 740 BCE, according to dendrochronology (**Fig. 11**).[125]

116 Çambel/Özyar 2003: 100–104, illustration on Pl. 144–145.
117 Caner 1983.
118 Çambel/Özyar 2003: 102, Fig. 133.
119 Rose/Darbyshire 2011.
120 Strobel 2004: 267; Sams 2011: 63 on the basis of fibulae.
121 DeVries 2008; see also Genz 2004: 225–226 and Fig. 7.
122 Kelp 2004.
123 Strobel 2004: 271.
124 Sams/Voigt 2011: 166.
125 Strobel 2004: 266; Kuniholm/Newton/Liebhard 2011: 82–84.

Traditional Dating[126]	New Dating
Foundation of "Midas' Tomb" (Tumulus MM): *718 BCE*	Felling date of timber in Tumulus MM according to dendrochronology: *740 BCE +7/-3*[127]
"Destruction Level" of Stratum YHSS 6A: *ca. 720 BCE* Destruction caused by Cimmerians *after 714 BCE*	Felling date of logs used for the buildings of Level YHSS 6A: *886–884 BCE and 912–910 BCE*[128] ^{14}C-dates for "Destruction Level": *830/815–810/800 BCE*[129]

Fig. 11. Traditional and new chronology of Gordion.



Fig. 12. Bow fibula from Sirkeli Höyük
(photo: Susanne Rutishauser; © Sirkeli Project, IAW, Bern University).

"Phrygian" bow fibulae are well attested from archaeological sites in Cilicia, such as Sirkeli Höyük (**Fig. 12**), where they appear in contexts dating back to the 9th and 8th centuries BCE.

As the above shows, the Phrygian evidence no longer necessitates a low dating of the Karatepe reliefs, but instead favours a dating to within the 8th century.

126 DeVries 2011.
127 See Kuniholm/Newton/Liebhard 2011.
128 See Kuniholm/Newton/Liebhard 2011.
129 Manning/Kromer 2011: 142.

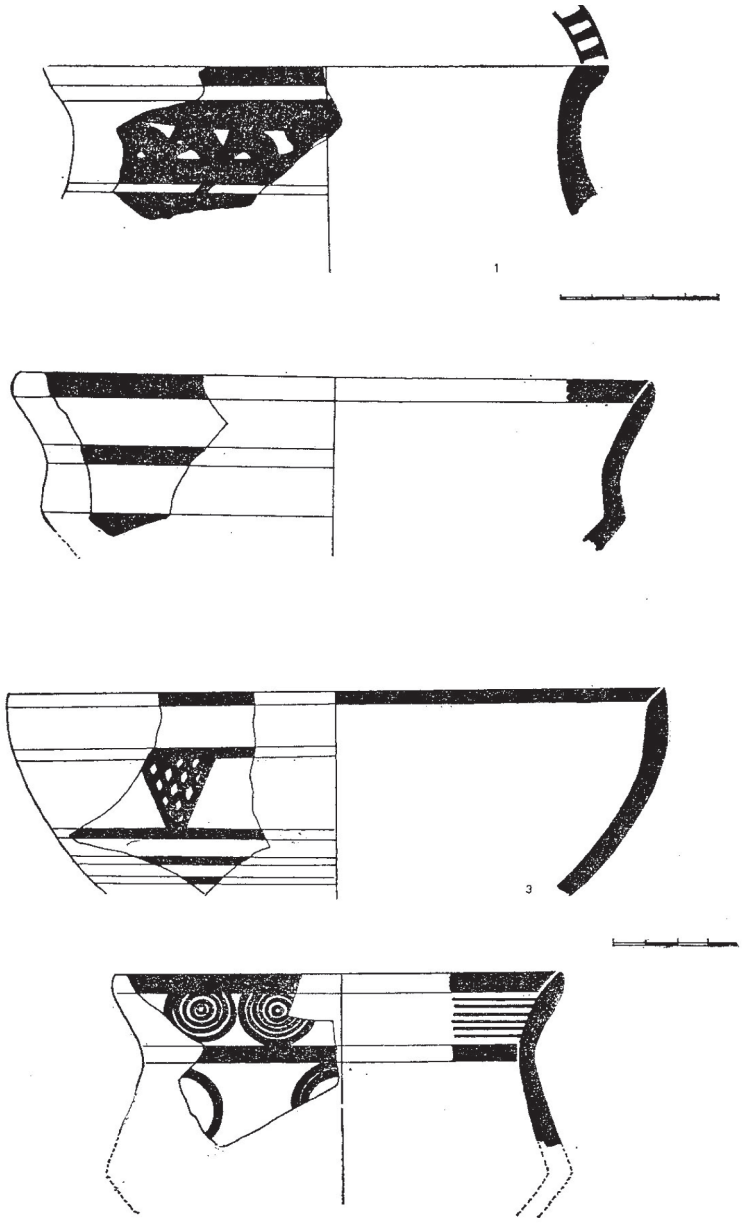

Fig. 13. Cypro-Cilician painted pottery from Karatepe (from Darga 1986).

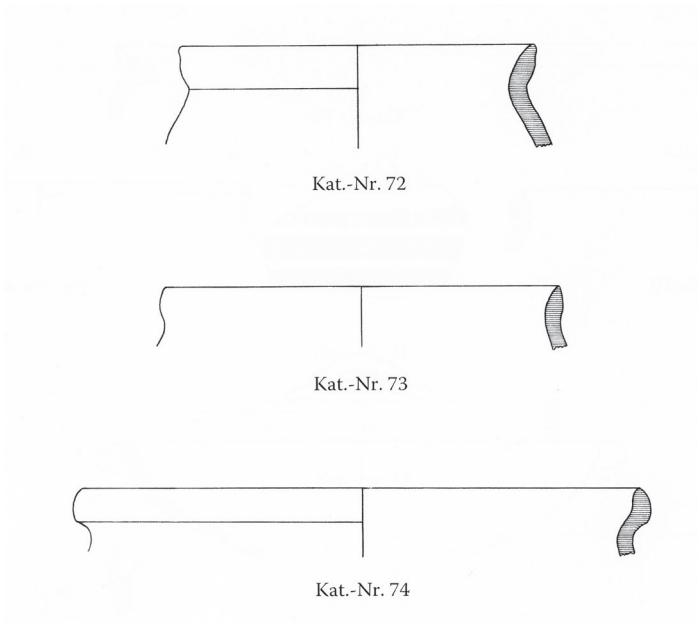

Fig. 14. A few examples of Assyrianizing pottery from the later palace of Karatepe (from Bossert 2014: Tf. 35 and 40).

4.3 The Cypro-Cilician evidence

Another important aspect of Aslı Özyar's and Halet Çambel's line of argument is the reference to Cypriot pottery. For example, the banquet relief SVI 3 shows two bottles which can probably be identified as juglets in *Black-on-Red* Ware (**Fig. 10**).[130] According to Özyar, vessels of this ware were produced in Cyprus as imitations of Phoenician originals from the middle of the 9th to the 8th century BCE, and arrived in Cilicia only with some delay.[131] While a transmission route from the Levant via Cyprus to Cilicia is by no means assured, more recent studies on "Cypriot Phoenician" ceramics by Nicola Schreiber[132] have shown that the first appearance of this ware in Cyprus probably dates back to the middle of the 10th century BCE, and might even have been developed

130 Çambel/Özyar 2003: 101.

131 Çambel/Özyar 2003: 144.

132 Schreiber 2003. But see the skeptical arguments in Iacovou 2004. For more data from the southern Levant see Gilboa/Sharon 2003.

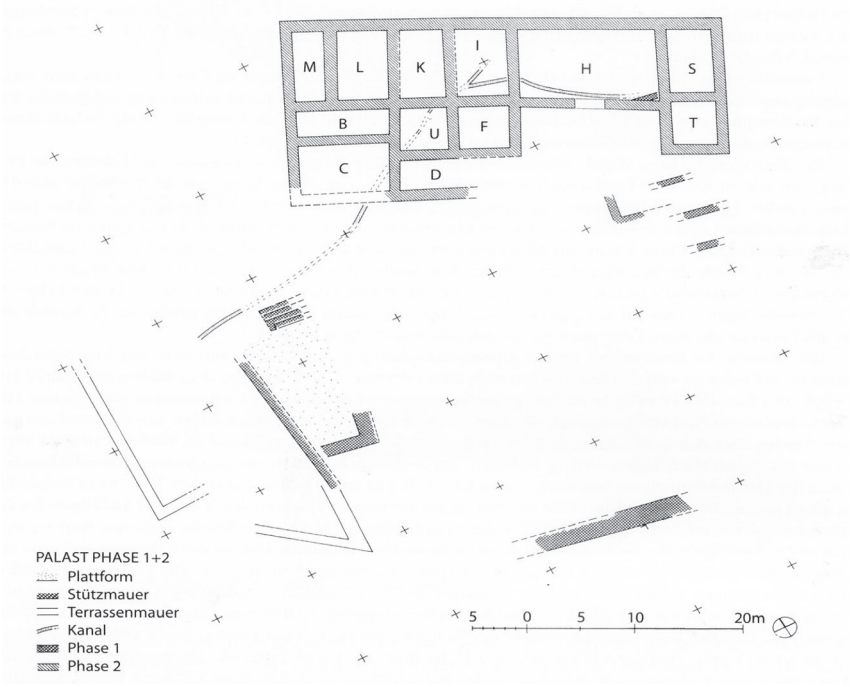

Fig. 15. Original palace of phases 1–2 at Karatepe
(from Sicker-Akman 2014: 76, Abb. 27).

there.[133] Its production reached its peak in the Levant as early as the 10th and 9th centuries, and all but ended after the definitive incorporation of the Levant into the Assyrian Empire around 730 BCE.[134] More specifically, juglets like the one shown on the banquet relief can be assigned to the earliest Phase 1 of *Black-on-Red* Ware.[135]

How does this correspond to the ceramic evidence from Cilicia itself? Among the pottery from Karatepe published so far are examples of *Black-on-Red* and *White Slip I* wares of the chronological period Cypro-Geometric III, confirming the presence of such wares beyond pictorial art (**Fig. 13**).[136] The latest known examples of painted Cypro-Cili-

133 Schreiber 2003: 310.

134 On the distribution of Cypriot ceramics along the Levantine coast see Lehmann 1996: 500–512 and Schreiber 2003: 313–339. While Lehmann 1996: 87 considers a diffusion until 650 BCE ("Assamblagen 1–3"), Schreiber 2003: 212, 309 dates the end of Cypriot imports to around 730 BCE.

135 Schreiber 2003: 252, Tab. E.

136 Darga 1986: 398–399. See also Bossert 2014: 147.

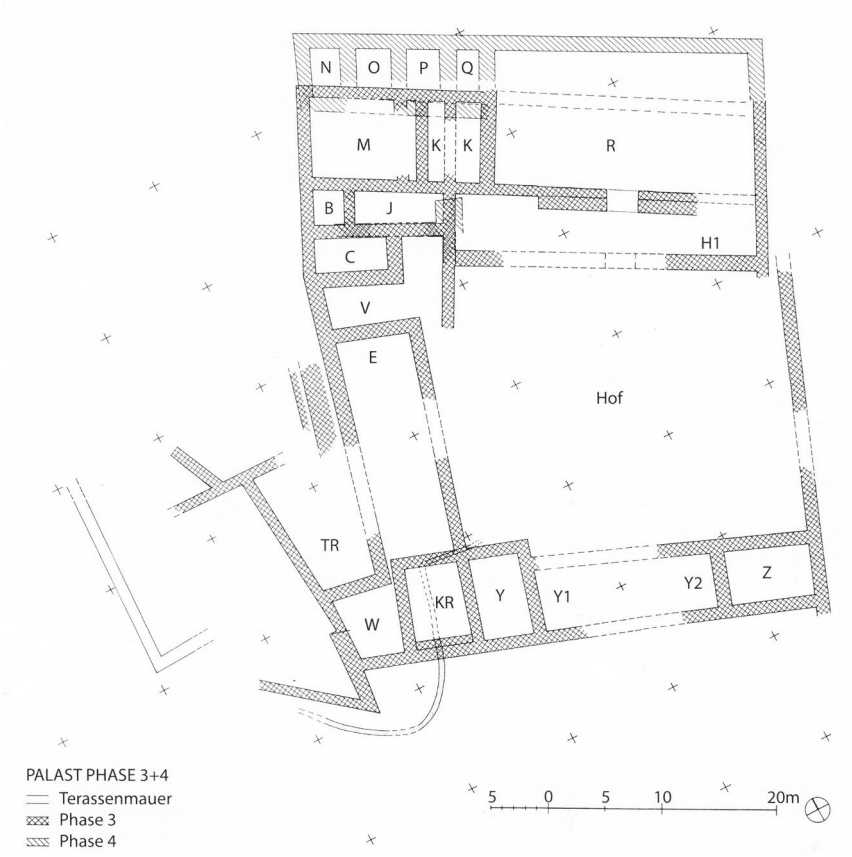

Fig. 16. Later palace of phases 3–4 at Karatepe
(from Sicker-Akman 2014: 77, Abb. 28).

cian pottery from Karatepe belong to the period Cypro-Archaic I (about 750–600 BCE), although stratigraphic relationships and contexts are largely unclear. Only a few sherds were found at Karatepe which show a slight influence of Assyrian ceramic production (**Fig. 14**).[137] As far as can be determined, all of them were discovered in palace phases 3–4.

The original palace at Karatepe (phases 1–2) bears close similarity to the well-known *Ḫilāni* type (**Fig. 15**).[138] It was later modified into a courtyard building (phases 3–4) with a sequence of two large, broad

137 Bossert 2014: Kat.-Nr. 74, 123, 124 and 141. I thank Sabina Kulemann-Ossen for her remarks on the dating of these examples.

138 Sicker-Akman 2014: 76–78; Özyar 2013: 119–120.

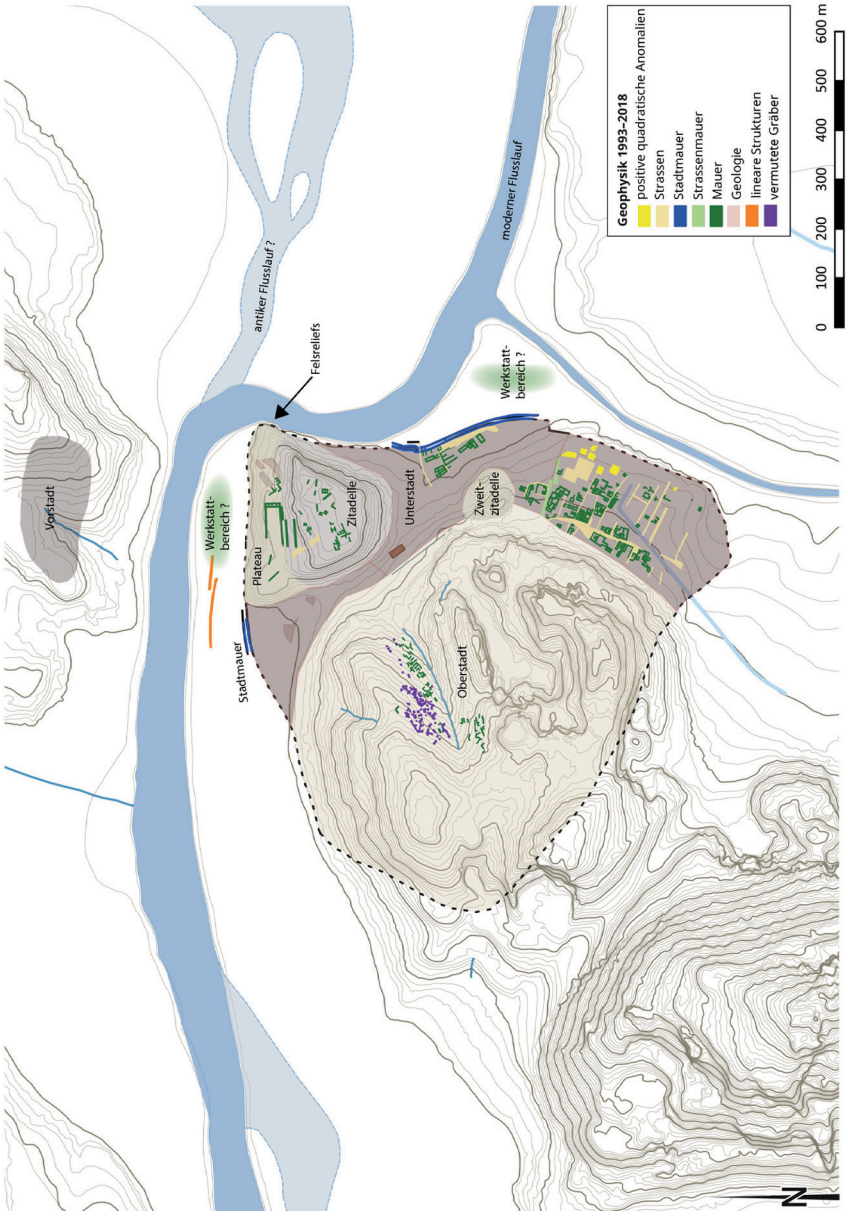

Fig. 17. Plan of Sirkeli Höyük during the Iron Age, Neo-Cilician period (© Sirkeli Project, IAW, Bern University).

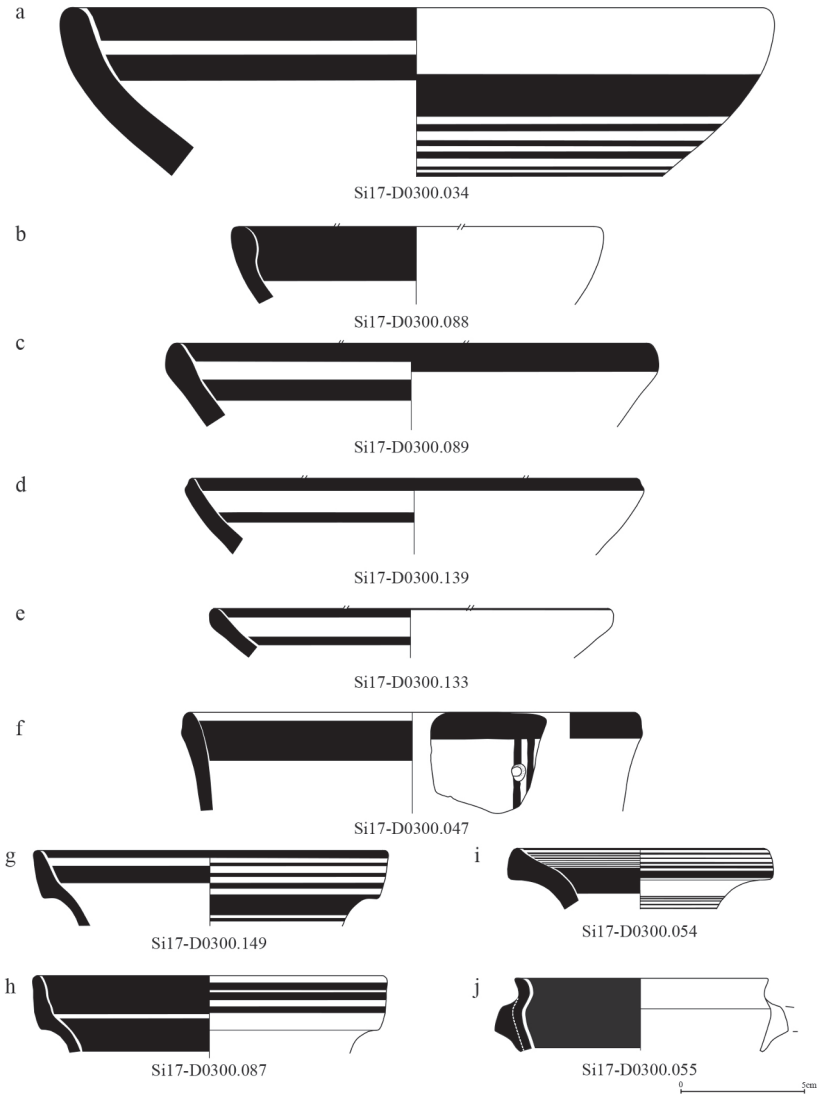

Fig. 18. Cypro-Cilician painted pottery from Sirkeli Höyük, period NCI 3 (from Kulemann-Ossen/Mönninghoff 2019: 133, Fig. 21; © Sirkeli Project, IAW, Bern University).



Fig. 19. Cypro-Cilician painted pottery from Sirkeli Höyük, period NCI 3 (© Sirkeli Project, IAW, Bern University).

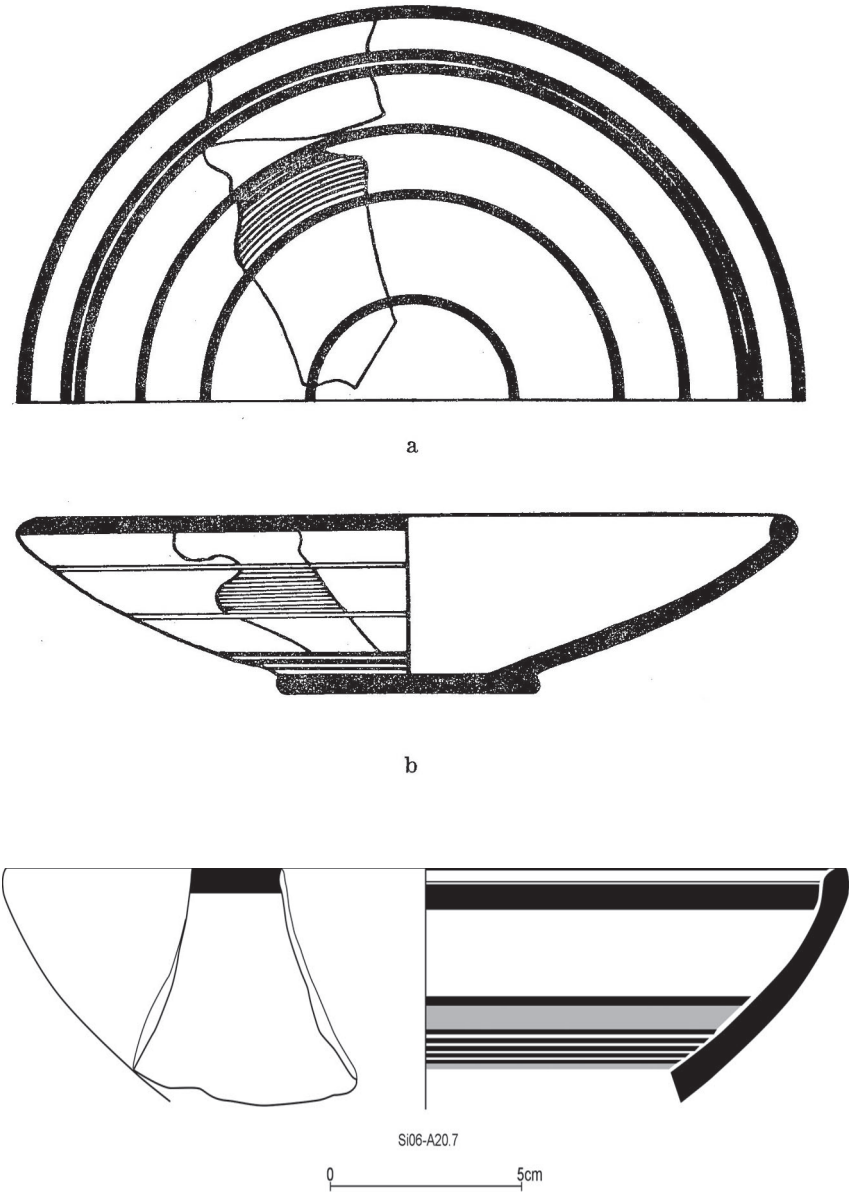

Fig. 20. Comparison of Cypro-Cilician painted pottery from Karatepe (a and b: from Darga 1986) and Sirkeli Höyük (below: © Sirkeli Project, IAW, Bern University): Plates of the *Black-on-Red* Ware.

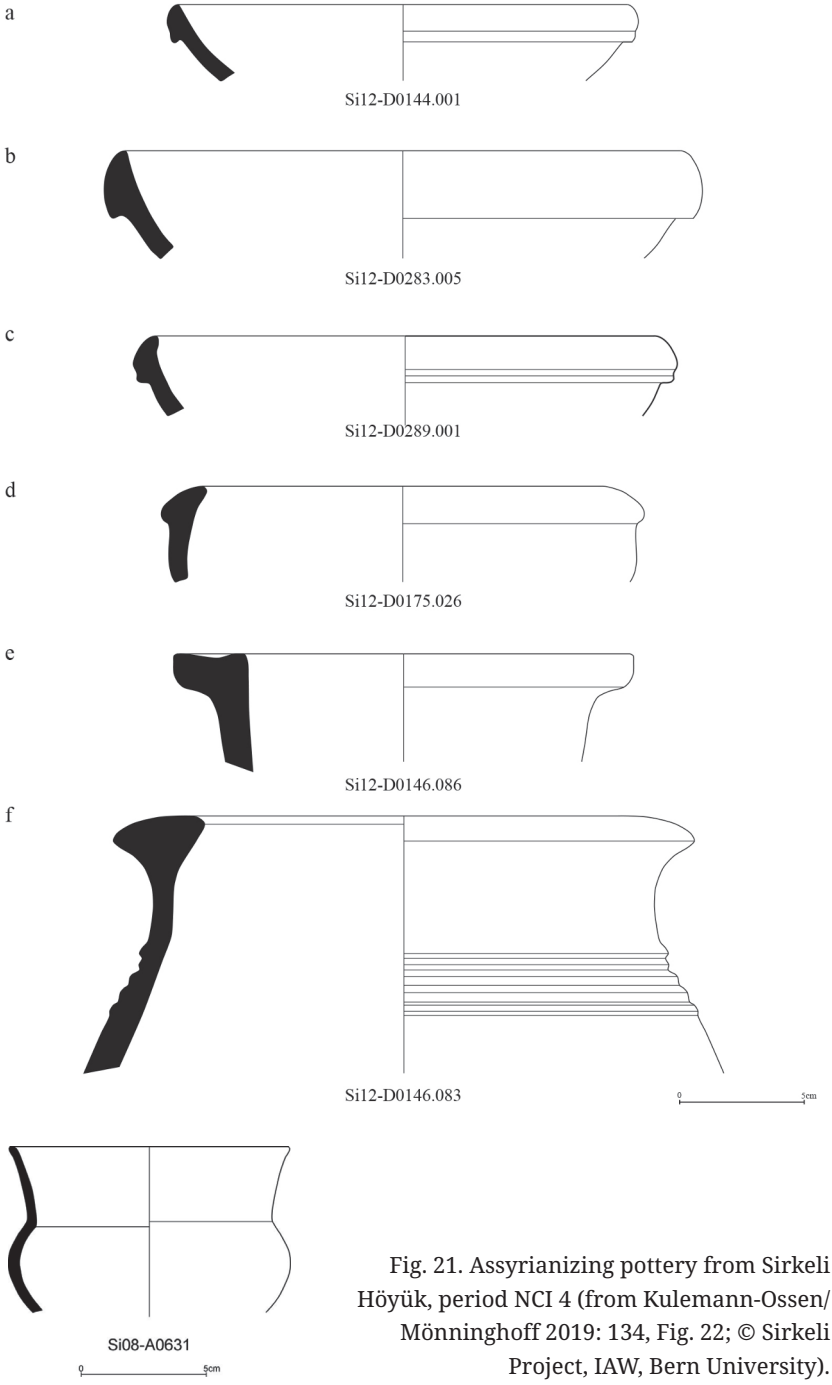

Fig. 21. Assyrianizing pottery from Sirkeli Höyük, period NCI 4 (from Kulemann-Ossen/ Mönninghoff 2019: 134, Fig. 22; © Sirkeli Project, IAW, Bern University).

rooms at its northern side (**Fig. 16**),[139] a kind of architecture that is reminiscent of provincial Assyrian residences[140] and might well have been built after the incorporation of Que into the Assyrian Empire. This suggests that the original palace of phases 1–2 with its *Ḫilāni*-related layout should pre-date any Assyrian cultural impact at Karatepe. If we take Azatiwada's claim that he was indeed the founder of the city seriously, the earliest phase of the palace must be attributed to him. This would correspond perfectly to the fact that, as with the earlier palace, the sculptures on the two gates with Azatiwada's inscriptions lack any Assyrian influence.

Since the stratigraphic situation at Karatepe still remains somewhat obscure, it seems justified to seek comparisons with sequences of other Cilician sites.[141] Here, Sirkeli Höyük is taken as an example, mostly because it is, besides Tatarlı Höyük, the closest excavated neighbour site to Karatepe, and because it provides a long sequence of Iron Age occupation. Sirkeli Höyük is located about 80 km southwest and downstream from Karatepe in the district of Ceyhan (for the location see **Fig. 2**). The Iron Age settlement consisted of a bipartite citadel, an extensive lower town, a smaller secondary citadel, an upper town extending over two neighbouring hilltops, several workshop areas, and a suburb on the opposite side of the Ceyhan river (**Fig. 17**).[142] The citadel, secondary citadel, upper and lower town were enclosed by double fortification walls and a moat. The suburb and the workshop areas were located extramurally. The entire complex urban cityscape covered almost 80 ha. The site was inhabited from the late Chalcolithic to the end of the Hellenistic period and reached its greatest extent in the Middle Bronze and Iron Ages, flourishing in particular between the 10th and 8th centuries BCE. The stratigraphy, which has been studied in several excavation sectors,[143] together with radiocarbon data, offers the basis for a finely divided regional chronology that provides important evidence for the dating of the development of ceramic in Cilicia. The "Neo-Cili-

139 Sicker-Akman 2014: 78.

140 See for example the "Upper Palace" of Śam'al, mainly its north-eastern wing. See Pucci 2008: Pl. 5.

141 Cilician Chronology Group 2017.

142 Novák/Kozal/Yaşin 2019; Novák 2020.

143 Inner Citadel ("Z"), Plateau of the Outer Citadel ("P"), Lower Town ("U").

cian" period covers the timespan from ca. 1190–330 BCE and is subdivided into six phases (NCI[144] 1–6).

The stratigraphy and chronology of Sirkeli Höyük clearly demonstrate that the first appearance of painted Cypro-Cilician wares dates to the very late period NCI 2, had its peak of distribution during period NCI 3 and slowly declined and vanished during period NCI 4 (**Fig. 18–19**). The material allows comparison with several periods of material from Karatepe (**Fig. 20**).[145] Period NCI 4 is characterized by the adaptation of Assyrian types of pottery and can be roughly dated to the late 8th and entire 7th century BCE (**Fig. 21**).

If we use this sequence for a classification of Karatepe, material from Karatepe's palace levels 1 and 2 would correspond to period NCI 3, while levels 3 and 4 with their (limited) evidence of Assyrian pottery influence should be correlated with NCI 4. The published ceramic sherds from the areas around the city gate would also belong to NCI 3 and would date no later than the third quarter of the 8th century BCE. Thus, archaeological evidence once again does not support a late dating of the foundation in Karatepe in the 7th century, but rather suggests a dating to the early or middle 8th century BCE, with a later occupation lasting presumably into the 7th century. However, Azatiwada as the founder of the site should be attributed to the earlier phases, i.e. NCI 3.

Period	Dates	Conventional	Sirkeli Höyük	Karatepe
NCI 1	*1190–1130*	LBA[146] III / IA Ia		
NCI 2	*1130–950*	IA Ib	Z VI, P V, U V	
NCI 3	*950–720*	IA II	Z V, U IV	Palace 1–2, Gates
NCI 4	*720–609*		P IV, U III	Palace 3–4
NCI 5	*609–539*	IA III	Z IV, P III, U II	
NCI 6	539–330			

Fig. 22. Iron Age chronology of Cilicia correlated to period Neo-Cilician (NCI), absolute dates and the comparative stratigraphies of Sirkeli Höyük and Karatepe.

144 NCI means "Neo-Cilician".

145 On the Iron Age pottery sequence see Kulemann-Ossen/Mönninghoff 2019.

146 LBA means „Late Bronze Age", IA "Iron Age".

5 THE CYPRIOT CONNECTIONS OF CILICIA

Due to the lack of written sources, the reasons for the strong link between Cilicia and Cyprus from the late 10th to the early 7th century BCE, as attested mainly by ceramic evidence, are not yet understood in their political and historical dimension. Nevertheless, one should consider the historical information given from and about Cyprus for the period in question.

Despite a small number of earlier indigenous inscriptions from Cyprus itself, the earliest reliable historical information about Iron Age Cyprus derives from Assyrian reports.[147] The island was called *Yadnana* by the Assyrians;[148] the Bronze Age designation of Cyprus, *Alašiya*, was not in use anymore. Šarru-ukīn stated that *Ya'*[149] was a district[150] of *Adnana*. If the latter does not reflect the Homeric *Danaoi* (as often claimed[151]) then it refers to the city of Adana instead. In the same manner that Plain Cilicia was often designated as the "Plain of Adana" (see above), Cyprus would have been known to the Assyrians as the "Island of Adana". This would indicate not only a strong cultural connection between Cilicia and Cyprus at that time, but also (at least temporary) control of the island by Qawa/Hiyawa. From the Assyrian sources, we learn that Cyprus was politically fragmented into several independent kingdoms.[152]

Three languages, written in two scripts, are attested during that period: Phoenician, Greek and an alleged autochthonous language called Eteo-Cypriot by modern authors.[153] From the 11th to the 6th century BCE, all inscriptions in the Eteo-Cypriot and Greek languages were written exclusively in the Eteo-Cypriot syllabic script. Only a few, short inscriptions in the Greek alphabet are attested before they become more common at the very end of the 5th century, during the reign of Euagoras I of Salamis, much later than our period of interest.[154] The Phoenician script,

147 Körner 2017: 132–155.

148 Fuchs 1994: notes 117–119 and 393–398; Radner 2010: 436.

149 Presumably a West-Semitic loanword meaning "island". See Radner 2010: 435.

150 *nagû*, denoting a part of a region in a geographical, not administrative sense. See Radner 2010: 441.

151 Radner 2010: 436.

152 Seven in number during the period of Šarru-ukīn, ten in the times of Aššur-aḫa-iddina and Aššur-bani-apli. See Körner 2017: 44–54 and Radner 2010.

153 Körner 2017: 71–78.

154 Körner 2017: 80–82.

which appeared in Cyprus during the 9th century BCE, was exclusively connected to the Phoenician language.[155] Obviously, it emerged only in those parts of Cyprus with a considerable Phoenician population.

What consequences do these facts have for our understanding of Azatiwada's inscriptions at Karatepe? As has already been stated, the use of Phoenician in a bilingual of the 8th century BCE in the "Neo-Hittite" cultural zone is rather unusual,[156] since the predominant scripts of the "Neo-Hittite" world were Aramaic and the Luwian hieroglyphs. For example, in Śamʾal on the other side of the Amanus, Aramaic (first in a local variant, then in the Central Syrian variant) had already replaced Phoenician in the late 9th century BCE.[157] If we take into consideration all connections between Hiyawa/Que and Cyprus, as traced in Cilicia and Cyprus respectively,[158] the use of Phoenician in Hiyawa could probably also be explained as a result of Cypriot influence.[159]

But if Greeks from Cyprus were responsible for the cultural contact with Cilicia, as has been suggested by among others Ilya Yakubovich,[160] why did they introduce Phoenician rather than the Greek language written in the Eteo-Cypriot syllabic script, as one would expect Cypriot Greeks to do? This would make for a puzzling situation. From this, we must conclude that Cilicia's Cypriot connections rather point towards a Cypro-Phoenician interface than a Cypro-Greek one. Neither does the Cypriot evidence give any compelling reasons for dating Karatepe later than the late 8th century.

Consequently, we should now consider the historical information given by Assyrian sources if we are to come closer to a conclusive chronological attribution.

155 Körner 2017: 77.

156 In Anatolia, the diffusion of Phoenician is almost exclusively limited to the realm of Hiyawa/Qawa, if we include Cebelires Dağı. See Röllig 2004: 211–213. One exception is a bilingual from İvriz, dating to King Warpalawa of Tuwana. See Ehringhaus 2014: 54–55, Abb. 59.

157 Gzella 2014: 74–75.

158 Petit 2004.

159 Simon 2018.

160 Yakubovich 2015.

6 URIK(KI) AND THE ASSYRIAN PROVINCE QUE

That Warika of the Çineköy statue and King Urik(ki) mentioned in Assyrian sources are one and the same is widely accepted and seems to be absolutely justified. But the precise date of the incorporation of Que into the Assyrian Empire and its transformation into a province has prompted much debate. The reason is a putative attestation of Warika/Urik(ki) as king of Que in a letter dating to the year 710/709 BCE, written by King Šarru-ukīn[161] to his servant Aššur-šarru-uṣur, governor of the newly established province of Que. It is worth citing the relevant passage:

> "The king's word to Aššur-šarru-uṣur [the Assyrian governor of Que]: (...) As to what you wrote to me: 'A messenger [of] Midas the Phrygian has come to me, bringing me 14 men of Que whom Urik has sent to Urartu as an embassy.' – This is extremely good! My gods Aššur, Šamaš, Bēl and Nabû have now taken action, and without a battle [or any]thing, the Phrygian has given us his word and become our ally! (...)" (SAA 1: 1 = ND 2759/NL 39).

To understand this text, it is important to know the role that Urik(ki) of Que plays in other Assyrian sources. He is attested for the years 743, 738 and 732 BCE in inscriptions of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III, always in contexts that describe him as a loyal vassal of Assyria.[162] In 729, the Assyrian king operated in Tabal and must have passed through Que without hindrance, obviously with Que's support or at least acceptance. This agrees with Awariku's and Warika' own inscription(s), which praise the good relations between Hiyawa and Assyria.

In 715, Šarru-ukīn takes two strongholds of Que, which had previously been occupied by Mitā of Mušku (= Midas of Phrygia). At the same time, an Assyrian governor of Que operates independently, thus proving the existence of a province Que instead of a vassal kingdom.

The cited letter from 710/709 attests an embassy sent by Urik(ki) to Assyria's most powerful enemy Urarṭu. What other than a conspiracy could be intended by this action? At the time the letter was written, the emissaries from Que to Urarṭu were at the court of Midas in Phrygia. It

161 On the name Šarru-ukīn/Sargon II, see n. 182 and Fuchs 2020.

162 Tadmor/Yamada 2011: 38, 46, 70, 77, 87, 122, texts Tiglath-Pileser III 11: 8′, 14: 11, 27: 4, 32: 3, 35 iii 8 and 47 rev. 7.

seems as if the planned conspiracy of Que with Urarṭu had failed and the emissaries took refuge in Phrygia, another enemy of Assyria at that time. Accordingly, the Assyrians were fully aware of Urik(ki)'s treachery and the betrayal of his oath of allegiance. Astonishingly, and contrary to their general habit, no punishment of the disloyal Urik(ki) is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, and no reason is given for the transformation of the formerly loyal vassal state into a province, administered directly by an Assyrian governor. This can only mean one thing, namely that in 710/709, when the letter was written, Urik(ki) was no longer alive and could therefore not be punished for his disloyalty (see below, contribution of Andreas Fuchs). The alleged conspiracy must have happened at some prior time, perhaps even several years earlier. Presumably, the emissaries took refuge at the court of Aššur's enemy Mitā after the failure of Urik(ki)'s alliance with Urarṭu and, after some years of exile and once the political situation had changed in 710/709 BCE, were subsequently delivered to the Assyrians. This proves that Urik(ki) had already been removed from his throne as soon as his conspiracy became known to the Assyrians, and probably he was indeed punished. At the same time, his kingdom became an Assyrian province. Why is this not mentioned in the Assyrian records? The explanation is a gap in the eponym chronicle for the years between 728–723 BCE, the last two years of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III and the entire reign of Salmānu-ašarēd (Shalmaneser) V (727–722). Moreover, we lack any royal inscriptions for the last years of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III and for Salmānu-ašarēd V. So if the conspiracy of Urik(ki), his punishment and the firm incorporation of Que into the provincial system of the Assyrian Empire happened during Salmānu-ašarēd's reign, it would explain why such an important event is not attested in Assyrian records. It might also explain why this event was not mentioned in the extant royal annals of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III and Šarru-ukīn.[163] Urik(ki)'s end must therefore be dated to between 727 and 722 BCE (**Fig. 23**).

Thereafter, Que remained under the firm control of Assyria. Governors of Que are attested as *limmu* in the eponym lists for 685 (Aššur-daʾinanni) and 655 (Amyanu) respectively.[164] Furthermore, three postcanonical dates (Nabû-daʾinanni and Marduk-šarru-uṣur during Aššur-bani-apli's reign as well as one during the reign of Aššur-etel-

163 Fuchs 1994: 455.

164 Millard 1994: 61–62.

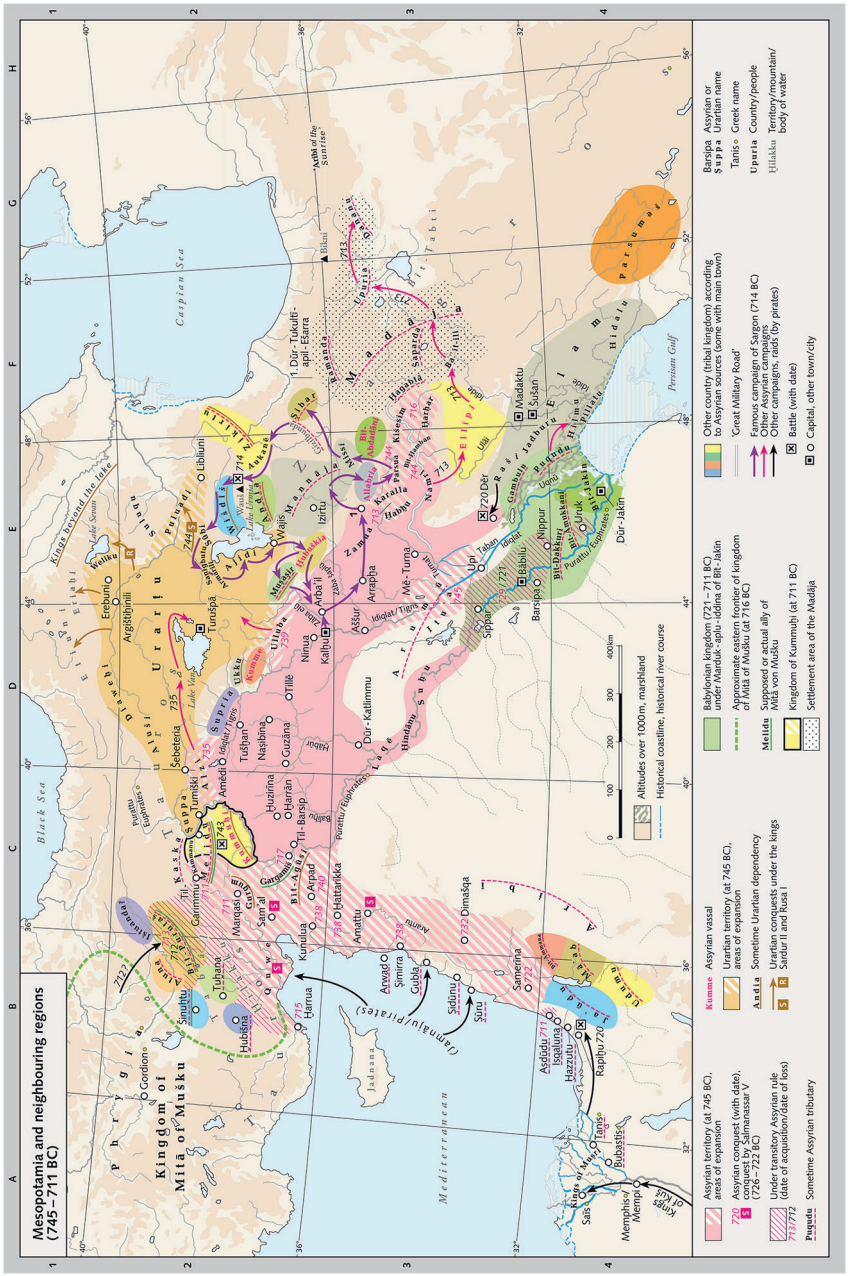

Fig. 23. Assyrian Empire 745–711 BCE (courtesy A.-M. Wittke et al., Der Neue Pauly Supplementum I.3, Historical atlas of the ancient world).

ilāni) are attested, indicating the relative stability of the Assyrian administration until the very end of Assyria itself.[165]

Only two rebellions are recorded for the whole period, though neither affected the whole province. The first occured in the western part of Que during the reign of Sîn-aḫḫē-erība (Sennacherib).[166] In the year 696, Kirūa, the city ruler of Illubru, started a rebellion together with the people of Ḫilakku and the cities of Ingirâ and Tarzu. Illubru, known as Ellipra in Hittite texts of the 2nd millennium BCE, was a city on the western margin of Plain Cilicia that can presumably be identified either with Yumuktepe in Mersin or with Lampron north of Tarsus; Ingirâ is most likely located at Soli Höyük near Viranşehir, a few kilometres west of Mersin;[167] Tarza, Hittite Tarša, is certainly to be equated with Gözlükule in Tarsus; while Ḫilakku was a mountainous region to the northwest of Que, likely to be identical with the eastern parts of Rough Cilicia at the lower Göksu valley in the region of later Olba.[168] The rebellion, which did not affect the assumed capital Adana or any other place located in the eastern part of Que, was suppressed. Sîn-aḫḫē-erība did not even participate personally in this campaign.

The second revolt is only briefly mentioned by Aššur-aḫa-iddina: for the year 675 BCE, he reports a double victory over Abdi-Milkūti of Sidon and Sanduarri (possibly from Luw. **Sanda-warri*[169]), king of the cities Kundu and Sissû. The latter "trusted in the impregnable mountains" but was "besieged and caught like a bird from the midst of the mountains" and afterwards beheaded.[170] While Sissû can very likely be identified with later Sision/Sīs (modern Kozan), Kundu has not yet been localized. Perhaps it was identical with later Kyinda and situated either at Anazarbos[171] or Karasis,[172] or it might be equated with Kadirli in the mountainous margins of Plain Cilicia. Sanduarri, it seems, was a local

165 Millard 1994: 100.

166 RINAP 3, Sennacherib 017, iv 61–iv 91.

167 Forlanini 2013: 3–4.

168 Its centre seems to have been situated along the lower Göksu river and around later Olba, thus covering the eastern part of Rough Cilicia. The western part was called Pirindu (from Luwian *piruwanda, "rough, stoney"?) and had its capitals in Kiršu = Meydancık Kalesi and Ura = Ḫarrua = Hyria = Seleukeia = Silifke (Casabonne 2005: 73 and Held/Kaplan 2015: 175).

169 Simon 2014: 97–98.

170 RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 001, iii 20–iii 38.

171 Casabonne 2002: 187.

172 Radt 2010.

ruler in the north-eastern part of Plain Cilicia who obviously did not control the major cities, notably the capital at Adana.

Since several "lords of cities" in Que were mentioned, it is likely that the country, and the later Assyrian province, consisted of a federation of smaller entities or cities, each ruled by a lord, who was subject to the King of Hiyawa and later to the Assyrian governor at Adana.

In light of this information, a reign of Azatiwada as described in his own inscriptions from Karatepe seems improbable if not impossible after the death of Urik(ki) sometime between 727 and 722. Thus, Azatiwada must be *older* than Warika/Urik(ki) and this supposition would be further supported by the lesser extent of Assyrian influence in the art of Karatepe than in the Çineköy statue. The only question that remains is the doubtful identity of Awariku with Warika. Unfortunately, the sources available at present do not provide a conclusive answer.

7 RESULTS

The consequence of this re-evaluation of the historical evidence is that a date for the reign of Azatiwada seems almost impossible after 722 BCE, and that he must therefore have been an *older* contemporary of Urik(ki). Since it is unclear if Awariku and Warika are one and the same person or not, we should now develop two possible scenarios for the chronological order of inscriptions and sculptures. First, we should ask who Azatiwada might have been.

7.1 Who was Azatiwada?

We have no information on Azatiwada, despite his official title (Luw.) *tiwadamis zidis* or (Phoen.) *hbrk* (from *abarakku*) *bʿl* Baʿal; we do not know anything about his origin and his descent. However, some facts can be extracted from his inscriptions:

1. For a certain period, he was the ruler of the entire kingdom of the "Plain of Adana".
2. This position required the legitimacy given by his "lord", the king. Azatiwada never claims the title of King.
3. He does not claim to belong to the ruling "House of Mopsos/Muksas", excluding him as a possible candidate to the throne.



Fig. 24. Relief of Yariri and minor king Kamani from Karkamiš (from Orthmann 1975: Abb. 359).

4. As no descendant of Azatiwada is attested, either there was none, or such as there was did not play any visible role after Warika’s accession to the throne.
5. His claim of loyalty to the heir of his lord and the “House of Mopsos” was proven right, when power passed to Warika from the “House of Mopsos/Muksas”, even though we know nothing of the circumstances.
6. No trace of a *damnatio memoriae* can be detected at Karatepe: even though the town remained occupied for a certain period (see the four layers of the palace), neither the depiction nor the inscriptions of Azatiwada were erased, indicating a peaceful handover of power.

All these facts support the reconstruction of Azatiwada as a guardian of the underage heir to the throne who fulfilled his role without claiming permanent power for himself or his own family. If one looks for comparable situations outside of Que, one finds striking parallels in the same period at Karkamiš and in Assyria:

There appears in the inscriptions and depictions at Karkamiš a certain Yariri, who acts as guardian of the underage later King Kamani (**Fig. 24**). This Yariri ordered the sculptures at the Royal Buttress (corresponding to style group Karkamiš IV).[173] Here Kamani is illustrated as a juvenile, followed by Yariri, who holds him by the hand.[174] This depiction illustrates the text of the inscription KARKAMIŠ A7 in front

173 Orthmann 1971: 35 und 187–188.

174 Orthmann 1971: Reliefs Karkamiš G/5–7. See also Orthmann 1975: Abb. 359.

of the sculpture, according to which Yariri "took his [Kamani's] hand and set him over the temples".[175] Behind the two main figures, Kamani's siblings are depicted. Later, Kamani appears in his own sculptures and inscriptions as sovereign king, which confirms that Yariri could not or did not want to establish his own dynasty and replace the old one. This might suggest that Yariri was a eunuch and thus unable to claim sovereignty on his own. The regency of Yariri and Kamani dates back to the time between the Assyrian rulers Adad-nērārī III (811–783 BCE) and Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III (745–727 BCE).

At the same time, the Assyrian Empire was suffering a period of weak kings, who were controlled by magnates, mainly eunuchs. The most prominent of these magnates was Turtan Šamšī-ilu, who never claimed to be a king, but kept minor or weak kings to legitimize his unofficial reign.[176]

It seems attractive to identify Azatiwada's role as similar to that of either Yariri or Šamšī-ilu. He might also have been a eunuch, unable to claim power for himself and establish his own dynasty.

Now let us reconstruct the two scenarios for the equation or differentiation of Awariku and Warika.

7.2 Solution 1: Awariku ≠ Warika

If Awariku and Warika were two different persons,[177] the reconstruction of events would be easy, as the Awariku mentioned in the KARATEPE and HASANBEYLI inscriptions would have been very old or deceased at the time of Azatiwada's activities and his son, presumably then identical with Warika/Urik(ki), still a minor. In that case Azatiwada would have been the caretaker and regent for young Warika. The order of the inscriptions would be as follows (**Fig. 25**):

175 Hawkins 2005: 153–154; Hawkins 2000: 129, inscription KARKAMIŠ A7; and Pl. 32–35.

176 Fuchs 2008b.

177 As it is nowadays preferred by most scholars like Simon 2014; Payne 2015; Goedegebuure (in press).

765	Assyrian campaign against Haḏarik, cutting trees in Amanus mountains without conflict with Panamuwa I of Samʾal	Peace treaty with Awariku of Que? Hasanbeyli stela with presumed mention of Aššur-dān III (772–755) and confirmation of peace in Aleppo
754	Assyrian campaign against Bīt-Agūsi, treaty with new king Matiʾ-El	
765–740	Death of Awariku, Azatiwada takes care of his son Warika	Building of Karatepe
743–740	Rebellion of Matiʾ-El, siege of Arpad	Collaboration of Warika with Assyria
740	Shifting of borders in favour of Assyria’s allies, Que receives territories from Arpad and Gurgum up to the border of Kummuḫ and province of the Turtan	İncirli Stela of now adult Warika
740–728	Que under King Warika loyal vassal of Assyria	Çineköy and Cebelires Dağı
728–723	Conspiracy of Warika with Urarṭu and Mušku after death of Tiglath-Pileser III, followed by replacement of Warika	Incorporation of Que into Assyria under Salmānu-ašarēd V
715	Šarru-ukīn captures two strongholds from Mušku, which originally belonged to Que, among them Ḫarrua = Ura, the important harbour at the mouth of the Göksu	Que already an Assyrian province
710/709	Mitā hands Warika’s messengers over to Aššur-šarru-uṣur, Governor of Que	Letter SAA 1: 1

Fig. 25. Conclusion on the reigns of Awariku and Warika of Que if different persons (father and son?).

The order of the inscriptions from Hiyawa/Qawa/Que would then be the following (**Fig. 26**):

Inscription	Luwian name	Phoenician name	Luwian land/city name	Phoenician land/city name	Dating
Hasanbeyli	–	ʾWRK	–	DN	765
Karatepe	*á-wa/i+ra/i-ku-sa*	ʾWRK	*á-TANA-wá/í-za* (URBS) | “TERRA+X”(-) *wá/í+ ra/i-za*	ʿMQ ʾDN	between 765 and 740
İncirli	?	WRYKS	?	QW	740
Cineköy	*wa-ri+i-ka-sá*	W[…]	*hi-ia-wa/i*	ʿMQ ʾDN	740
Cebelires Dağı	–	WRYK	–	KW	740–728

Fig. 26. Chronology of inscriptions if Awariku and Warika of Que were different persons (father and son?).

7.3 Solution 2: Awariku = Warika

If we consider now the alternative possibility, that Awariku and Warika/Urik(ki) were one and the same person and only the orthography of the personal name was altered at a certain point in his reign, the chronology should then be reconstructed as follows (**Fig. 27**):

Before 765	Death of Awariku/Warika’s unnamed father, Azatiwada takes care of minor heir	Building of Karatepe
765	Assyrian campaign against Haḏarik, cutting trees in Amanus mountains without conflict with Panamuwa I of Śamʾal	Peace treaty with Awariku of Que? Hasanbeyli stela with presumed mention of Aššur-dān III (772–755) and confirmation of peace in Aleppo
754	Assyrian campaign against Bīt-Agūsi, treaty with new king Matiʾ-El	
743–740	Rebellion of Matiʾ-El, siege of Arpad	Collaboration of Awariku with Assyria

740	Shifting of borders in favour of Assyria’s allies, Que receives territories from Arpad and Gurgum up to the border of Kummuḫ and province of the Turtan	İncirli Stela
740–728	Que loyal vassal of Assyria	Çineköy and Cebelires Dağı
728–723	Conspiracy of Awariku/Warika with Urarṭu and Mušku after death of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III	Incorporation of Que into Assyria under Salmānu-ašarēd V
715	Šarru-ukīn captures two strongholds from Mušku, which originally belonged to Que, among them Ḫarrua = Ura, the important harbour at the mouth of the Göksu	Que already an Assyrian province
710/709	Mitā hands Awariku/Warika’s messengers over to Aššur-šarru-uṣur, Governor of Que	Letter SAA 1: 1

Fig. 27. Conclusion on the reign of Awariku of Que if he and Warika were one and the same person.

In that case, the order of inscriptions and their dating would be as follows (**Fig. 28**):

Inscription	Luwian name	Phoenician name	Luwian land/city name	Phoenician land/city name	Dating
Karatepe	*á-wa/i+ra/i-ku-sa*	ʾWRK	*á-TANA-wá/í-za* (URBS) | “TERRA+X”(-) *wá/í+ ra/i-za*	ʿMQ ʾDN	before 765
Hasan-beyli	–	ʾWRK	–	DN	765
İncirli	?	WRYKS	?	QW	740
Cineköy	*wa-ri+i-ka-sá*	W[…]	*hi-ia-wa/i*	ʿMQ ʾDN	740

Cebelires Dağı	–	WRYK	–	KW	740–728

Fig. 28. Chronology of inscriptions if Awariku and Warika of Que were one and the same person.

A final decision as to which scenario is the more likely is difficult. However, the expression in KARATEPE § 2, that (Azatiwada) was "promoted by *King* Awariku" is believed to refer of a former ruler, because a minor Awariku would not be entitled to be king at that time, following the parallel with Yariri, although this cannot be taken for granted as a rule. On this base, *Solution 1* seems far more likely. This would then establish a date for Azatiwada and his building programme at Karatepe between 765 and 740. On the other hand, it does seem quite strange that the only two kings of Hiyawa of whom we have inscriptions bore such similar-sounding names (see also statement of Andreas Fuchs below).

8 CONCLUSION

The evaluation of all available sources for dating indicates that Azatiwada and his founding of Karatepe must date either to the time before 765 or (more likely) between 765 and 740 BCE, depending on whether Awariku and Warika are one and the same person or whether they are two different kings of Hiyawa. This dating is based not only on historical considerations; it is also supported by the archaeological arguments that make a chronological attribution of Karatepe to the 7th century most unlikely. Either Awariku and Warika/Urik(ki) were two different kings of Hiyawa/Qawa/Que, in which case Azatiwada should be placed in-between them chronologically as guardian of young Warika after the death of Awariku; or they were one and the same person, in which case Azatiwada must have predated him by one or at least half a generation, since Que was firmly incorporated into the provincial system of Assyria after the removal of Warika/Urik(ki) from the throne, leaving no place for a strong figure such as Azatiwada. Either way, an adult Warika reigned for a certain period as sovereign after having been brought up by Azatiwada. As a long-time loyal vassal of Assyria, he obviously benefited from territorial gains at the expense of his neighbours Kumuḫ, Gurgum, Arpad, Śamʾal and Ḫilakku, as reflected in his inscriptions. However, the end of Hiyawa/Qawa and its transformation into a prov-

ince was caused by the disloyalty of the same Warika/Urik(ki) during the last years of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III or during the reign of Salmānu-ašarēd V (727–722). A final outcome of his presumed conspiracy was the delivery into the hands of the Assyrians a couple of years later, by Mitā of Mušku, of the messengers he had sent to Urarṭu. This is the event mentioned in a letter of 710/709 BCE, years after the displacement of Warika/Urik(ki).

Archaeological material of various kinds suggests close links between Hiyawa/Qawa and Cyprus between the early 10th and the late 8th century BCE. Although the political, cultural, ethnic and economic backgrounds cannot be determined yet, they are probably the reason for the frequent use of the Phoenician script and language in Cilicia during the 8th century. Assuming this is the case, it would be Cypriot Phoenicians who established or at least encouraged contacts between the two neighbouring regions. Examining the stimulations and mechanisms of these connections will remain one of the most urgent challenges of Cilician archaeology in the coming years.

9 AZATIWADA AND THE ASSYRIANS[178]

Andreas Fuchs

The Karatepe inscriptions[179] have so far been interpreted in different manners. The most commonly accepted interpretation suggests highly complex, and in many ways exceptional relationships between Que and Assyria. This is particularly remarkable as the regent Azatiwada, who built the Karatepe fortress, is not mentioned in any Assyrian sources, nor do his inscriptions on the gate walls make any mention of the Assyrians. Azatiwada himself was no king but, due to Awariku, "king of Adana", he was able to rule for a while like a king over the "Plain of

178 This chapter has been written independently from the main text as an appendix of Andreas Fuchs' contribution on the "Historical Geography of Cilicia According to Neo-Assyrian Sources", to be published separately. Since it picks up the topic of the present article by Mirko Novák and reaches the same result, the authors have decided to detach the appendix from its original manuscript and incorporate it into the present article. A few redundancies are therefore inevitable.

179 Çambel 1999 and Hawkins 2000: 45–70.

Adana". Awariku, if identical with Urik(ki),[180] can be located in time as a tribute-paying vassal of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra (Tiglath-pileser) III.

The most extensive attempt to date the activities of Azatiwada and determine a relationship with the Assyrian rulers was undertaken by Irene J. Winter and J. David Hawkins. This reconstruction from 1979 also forms the basis, with a few minor corrections, of Hawkins' historical reconstruction in his monumental Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions.[181] Here, I would like to take the opportunity to live up to a commitment,[182] made too long ago, to address in more detail this reconstruction, which can be summed up as follows:

1. Urik(ki), King of Adana/Que transferred the reign to Azatiwada shortly before or after the death of Šarru-ukīn (Sargon "II")[183] in 705.
2. Assyrian rule of Que collapsed with the death of Šarru-ukīn so that Azatiwada had *carte blanche* to do as he liked. Azatiwada was a contemporary of Sîn-aḫḫē-erība (Sennacherib), and built the Karatepe fortress either during his or during Aššur-aḫa-iddina's rule. Azatiwada cooperated with Sîn-aḫḫē-erība to overcome the city-lord Kirūa and thus to re-establish Assyrian rule in Que.
3. Azatiwada might have been identical with Sanduarri, King of Kundu and Sissû, who was eliminated by Aššur-aḫa-iddina (Esarhaddon) in 676.

At first glance, this sequence of events sounds very plausible, but a closer look raises a number of serious objections.

On item 1: Let us begin with a consideration of the problems this scenario causes for Urik(ki), a king clearly attested during the rule of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III. If we were to assume that he transferred the reign to Azatiwada, for instance, in the year 705, then he must have remained in office for the whole of Šarru-ukīn's rule. The problem with this is that the kingdom of Adana/Que had become an Assyrian province either during the last two years of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III's rule or

180 On this discussion, see above.

181 Winter 1979; Hawkins 1979: 154–155 and Hawkins 2000: 44–45.

182 Fuchs 2008b: 113 n. 149.

183 The king traditionally known as Sargon II was originally named Šarru-ukīn. His Old Assyrian predecessor "Sargon I" was named Šarru-kīn, which in Akkadian had another meaning. Hence a distinction between "Sargon" (a biblical corruption of the name) I and II is incorrect. See in detail Fuchs 2020.

under Salmānu-ašarēd V, because Šarru-ukīn not only considered Que his property but also had the country administered by his governor. The whole point of establishing provinces was to strengthen access for the central power by removing the most powerful local ruler and replacing him with a representative or follower of the Assyrian king. This resulted in a significant reinforcement of direct rule, even in cases where the actual degree of administrative penetration remained quite modest. This seems to have been the case in Que, where numerous petty local rulers kept their positions even when conditions changed. The overlord of these petty rulers was now the Assyrian king, represented directly by his governor, who had replaced the previous king of Que. Next to Šarru-ukīn's governor, there would have been no conceivable space for Urik(ki) as a former overlord of the petty rulers of Adana/Que. This is why Hawkins considers the possibility that Urik(ki) could have spent the period of Šarru-ukīn's rule somewhere in exile.[184] But where could such an exile have taken place? On the evidence of letter ND 2759,[185] most certainly not in Urarṭu: Urik(ki) had sent emissaries to Urarṭu with a plea for help – it must have been on their return journey that they heard about the arrest of their king and the occupation of their country. As there was no longer any point in their returning, the emissaries sought and found asylum with the King of Mušku/Phrygia. This would have been unnecessary had Urik(ki) himself stayed at the Urartian court. Neither was Mušku/Phrygia a possible place of exile, as attested by the very open satisfaction of Šarru-ukīn at the delivery of those same emissaries. Had the Assyrian king suspected that Urik(ki) himself was staying at the Phrygian court, he would most certainly have demanded that Mitā deliver Urik(ki) – presumably using the same threatening tone and the same persistence employed later by Aššur-bani-apli when he demanded the extradition of Nabû-bēl-šumāte (unlike Urik(ki) not even a king) from the kings of Elam. If, however, Urik(ki)'s suspected place of exile was neither in Mušku nor in Urarṭu, we may assume neither of these two powers protected or supported him. What right of rule or succession could have been transferred to Azatiwada by an ex-king

184 Hawkins 2000: 42: "… but since his country was now an Assyrian province, it would seem that he may have been in exile."

185 This is the most likely time span because neither the inscriptions of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III nor those of Šarru-ukīn mention the annexation of Que. At the same time, inscriptions and letters dating to the rule of Šarru-ukīn imply that Que was either already in the possession of Assyria or under direct Assyrian administration. Cf. also Lanfranchi 2005: 487–488.

Urik(ki), who had spent twenty years sunken in obscurity in the middle of nowhere? Who would have paid any attention to such a meaningless act – if it had even taken place? In the much-cited letter ND 2759, the Assyrian governor of Que simply states that Mitā of Mušku sent him fourteen men who had previously been sent by a certain Urik(ki) to Urarṭu. This short report does not elucidate when these fourteen men were sent to Urarṭu, nor how long they stayed there, when they journeyed on to Mitā, nor how much time they spent at his court before the Phrygian king finally handed them over to the Assyrians. Many years might have passed. Thus, the letter does not prove that Urik(ki) was still alive at the time of his emissaries' delivery. With the exception of this one and only reference to Urik(ki), he is mentioned in no inscription, no other letter and no text at all from the reign of Šarru-ukīn. Thus, there is no indication that Urik(ki) survived the transformation of his realm into an Assyrian province. The hypothesis that he was a contemporary of Šarru-ukīn is thus completely without proof.[186]

On item 2: The existence of a province of Que and its governor rules out a dating of the comprehensive activities mentioned in Azatiwada's inscriptions to the period of Šarru-ukīn's rule. Thus, an Assyrian-free time span is needed, to let Azatiwada have free rein and give him time to build the fortress at Karatepe. If one accepts the hypothesis that the province Que was temporary lost in the turmoil following Šarru-ukīn's death, then regained by Sîn-aḫḫē-erība, this would suggest the nine years between the death of Šarru-ukīn (in 705 BCE) and Sîn-aḫḫē-erība's campaign in 696. Opinions differ widely as to what might have happened in this period. John Daniel Bing saw Azatiwada as the successful leader of an alleged anti-Assyrian rebellion, but placed his end before 696 so as to avoid conflict with the statements of Sîn-aḫḫē-erība's inscriptions, where there is no mention of him for the campaign of 696.[187] If one chooses instead to identify Azatiwada with Sanduarri, who ruled until 676, matters become even more complicated. This is why Hawkins (2000: 44) leaves open the role of Azatiwada in the alleged rebellion and turns him into an "Assyrian client" of Sîn-aḫḫē-erība. In his opinion, paragraphs §§ XX–XXXI[188] of the KARATEPE inscription could refer to a joint campaign against Kirūa in 696.

186 Cf. also Fuchs 1994: 455 *sub* Que.

187 Bing 1968: 89–96

188 Paragraph division following Hawkins 2000: 48–58.

It is, however, suspicious that the supposed allies knew absolutely nothing of one another, as Azatiwada's inscriptions do not mention any Assyrians, and Sîn-aḫḫē-erība's inscriptions do not mention Azatiwada. Irene J. Winter and J. David Hawkins refer in this context to the Āfis stela, in which Zakkūr of Ḥamath likewise omitted any mention of the Assyrians,[189] as if that could explain anything. Like many others, they are convinced that Zakkūr, under siege at Ḫaḏarik/Ḫatarikka, was saved by an Assyrian relief army his inscription makes no mention of.[190] For the year 797 BCE, when they suppose the alleged Assyrian rescue operation took place, there are no narrative sources from Assyria, and while the eponym chronicles mention a westbound campaign, they do not name Ḫatarikka but Manṣuate as the campaign's destination.[191]

If two protagonists do not mention one another, then the most obvious conclusion would be that they simply had nothing to do with each other. Accordingly, when trapped at Ḫaḏarik, Zakkūr was probably not rescued by Adad-nērārī III, and likewise Azatiwada did not maintain relations with Assyrian rulers, neither with Sîn-aḫḫē-erība nor with any other Assyrian king. The assumption that Que rebelled between 705 and 696 or was even independent is wholly without foundation.[192] After initial problems, by the year 700, Sîn-aḫḫē-erība had got on top of things, so that he did not undertake any campaign in the two following years, 699 and 698. Evidently there was no need to. If, as Bing, Hawkins and others assume, the province Que had seceded from the Assyrian Empire, it would be wholly incomprehensible for the king not to start his reconquest in 699 or 698, but instead wait for another two years. And the report of Sîn-aḫḫē-erība's campaign of 696 does not describe a reconquest of Que. In that case, we would expect to see the subjugation of the country's centres and the recapture of the capital city. Instead,

189 Winter 1979: 142: "… and when any mention of Assyria in the Karatepe text was perhaps consciously avoided, just as it is assumed that Assyria was an unmentioned presence in the Zakur treaty; …". From note 117 it follows that the "Zakur treaty" should be identified as the Antakya stela. However, this cannot support the argument, as in this inscription the Assyrian side features very prominently (RIMA 3 A.0.104.2). In fact, there is a mistake here: Winter gave credit to Millard 1962: 43, but he was not referring to the Antakya but to the Āfis stela, which in deed does not mention any Assyrians.

190 Hawkins 1979: 155: "Azatiwatas would be following Zakur of Hamath in omitting reference to his Assyrian benefactors in his celebratory inscription"; cf. also Hawkins 2000: 44 and Bagg 2011: 207–208.

191 Millard 1994: 35.

192 See e.g. Landsberger 1948: 81–82 and Na'aman 1974: 33.

the enemies are simply blamed for disrupting roads, i.e. for highway robbery, and the only settlements attacked by Assyrian troops are a few fortified robbers' dens, the owners of which (amongst them Kirūa) had sunk, for whatever reason, to the level of highwaymen.

Although difficulties occasionally arose and had to be resolved, as in the year 696 and again in 676, Assyrian governors had hardly any problems they could not cope with on their own. There is every indication, however, that Que was an Assyrian province right from its capture by Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III or Salmānu-ašarēd V up until at least the reign of Aššur-etel-ilāni. In this period, Azatiwada cannot have ruled like a true king, without Assyrian interference. Sîn-aḫḫē-erība's governor was even the eponym of 685.

On item 3: It may well be that the identification of Azatiwatas/Azatiwada and Sanduarri proposed by Irene J. Winter can be upheld from a linguistic perspective.[193] However, this is no proof that they were one and the same person. They could just as well have been two separate persons who bore the same name (accidentally or not).

The most important argument against the supposition that the founder of Karatepe is identical with the King of Kundu and Sissû, executed by Aššur-aḫa-iddina, is Azatiwada's statement that he (in turn) placed the offspring of his lord on their paternal throne (§§ XIV–XVI). If King Urik(ki) had in fact transferred the rule to Azatiwada around the year 705 and then had died, his son, the legitimate heir to the throne of Urik(ki), would have reached his twentieth year and thus been old enough to assume power in 685 by the latest, assuming that he was born in the year his father died (705). How then could a reconstructed Azatiwada alias Sanduarri, despite stating that he placed one (or even several) heir(s) on their paternal throne, still rule nine years later, in the year 676, the year that Sanduarri died?

The problems discussed here stem from the fact that the Karatepe inscription only mentions the reign of Azatiwada and its circumstances very briefly in two separate passages:

a. Paragraphs §§ I–III state that Azatiwada was blessed by Tarḫunzas/Baʿal and that he owed his position to Awariku, King of Adana.

193 Winter 1979: 146 with n. 138, followed by Hawkins 1979: 156 and 2000: 45, as well as Starke 1999. In contrast, Sanduarri is not even mentioned by Melchert 2003 and Bryce 2012. For a different derivation and explanation of the name see Simon 2014: 97–98.

b. In paragraphs §§ XI–XVI, Azatiwada boasts that he crushed internal opposition, benefitted the 'House of his Lord', i.e. the legitimate dynasty, the House of Muksas, and the offspring of his lord, and placed one (or several) of them on their paternal throne.

These two separate blocks of information are interpreted by Winter, Hawkins and others as descriptions of two consecutive events. Accordingly, Azatiwada would have a) been given power (as regent) by Awariku, and b) would then in his role as regent have taken on the care of his lord's offspring and committed the remaining deeds as specified in the inscription.[194] The enthroned offspring would thus be the children or grandchildren of Awariku.

Such a point of view is by no means obligatory, since passage (a) forms the introduction to the inscription, simply introducing Azatiwada and the two cornerstones of his rule, i.e. divine favour and transfer of power by King Urik(ki). This is not a narration of the transfer of governmental power as a historical event, but it does serve to legitimize the rule of Azatiwada, which was exceptional and could not be justified with the normal principles of dynastic succession.

After clarifying the question of his status with passage (a), the text begins to enumerate the regent's successes and good deeds. In this context, Azatiwada presents himself as a king maker in passage (b), who moreover saved the dynasty after violent internal conflict, and placed either one or several of the legitimate heirs on the throne. But why, after having been placed on the throne with such care and trouble, should the heir not have ruled himself but have let Azatiwada reign in his stead? Such a clear lack of ability to govern suggests that the new king was still a minor. Thus, Azatiwada was what many centuries later was called an Atabeg ("Father of the Lord"). He protected the royal child he had put on the throne, who in turn gave his rule legitimacy and for whom he still conducted governmental business at the time when the newly erected fortress of Karatepe was nearing completion. Now if we assume that the king and legitimator Urik(ki) (a) and the royal child enthroned by Azatiwada (b) were one and the same person, all the diffi-

194 Cf. e.g. Hawkins 1979: 155: "If he (i.e. Awariku) was the king who 'promoted' Azatiwatas, this must have occurred late in his reign, since the bulk of the latter's inscriptions as recorded at Karatepe must be understood to have occurred *after* the reign of the former (i.e. Awariku)." Pruzsinszky (2009–2011: 8) sums this up: "Azatiwatas regierte nach dem Tod Awarikus das Haus von Muksas."

culties and problems discussed above vanish into thin air.[195] Thus Azatiwada did not rule after but immediately before the reign of Urik(ki).[196] Passage (a) therefore describes Azatiwada's status as the result of his taking power, the circumstances of which are sketched out in (b).

Admittedly, it is difficult to change a picture firmly established in one's own imagination. According to the reconstruction offered by Winter and Hawkins, one would tend to think of Urik(ki) as an aged man, who on his deathbed entrusted his child(ren) and his realm with his last breath to his confidant, Azatiwada. Since the latter was active for quite a long time after this event, one would expect him to be younger than his patron. In stark contrast, the interpretation suggested here evokes a different scene in the mind's eye, showing Azatiwada as a successful power politician probably in his later years. In a heart-warming act, he takes the royal offspring called Urik(ki) by the hand and places him on the throne, only to have the child king confirm his own position as a regent, imperial administrator (or whatever).

We do not learn anything about the royal father and predecessor of Urik(ki), yet two subsequent passages from the Karatepe inscription suggest the background against which Azatiwada had taken on his role as protector. The first speaks of the eradication of evil in the land (§§ XI–XIII), followed by Azatiwada's boast that he had benefitted the offspring of his lord and protected their paternal throne (§§ XIV–XVI). This indicates that the throne was threatened by a third party. The fact that Azatiwada celebrated his role as saviour of the dynasty, benefactor and protector of the House of Muksas, suggests that he did not resolve a power struggle within the royal family, but rather thwarted an attempt by a different, competing clan to overthrow the dynasty.

It is unknown when and under what circumstances Azatiwada eventually passed on the reins to a grown-up Awariku. The inscriptions of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III mention only Urik(ki) as king of Que. One indication of a peaceful hand-over is the fact that Urik(ki) saw no need to erase Azatiwada's inscriptions after assuming power: as they were found fully intact, he was not subject to *damnatio memoriae*. Since the inscriptions of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III already consider Urik(ki) the king of Que, he must have reigned independently at the latest by 743, when he entered into an alliance with Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III against

195 Nowhere does the text suggest that Awariku was no longer amongst the living at the time when the Karatepe inscriptions were composed.

196 See Fuchs 2008a: 113.

Matiʾ-El of Bīt-Agūsi.[197] Azatiwada's reign should thus be placed before Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III. However, as we do not know how long Urik(ki) had already been an independent ruler when he formed an alliance with Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III, one must consider two possible periods for Azatiwada's activities, namely the period between 764 and 743, when Assyrian influence west of the Euphrates was at its weakest,[198] but also the decades immediately preceding, for which neither military nor diplomatic contacts are attested between Que and the Assyrian Empire.[199]

It is thus hardly surprising that Azatiwada and the Assyrians do not seem to know one another – indeed, they had nothing to do with each other! They were contemporaries without a relationship.

Hence it is unnecessary to turn Urik(ki) into a ghost-like contemporary of Šarru-ukīn and his governor; we do not need to invent Cilician wars of independence at the start of Sîn-aḫḫē-erība's reign; it is superfluous to reconstruct fantastic relationships for the trio Azatiwada – Sîn-aḫḫē-erība – Kirūa; we do not need to worry how Azatiwada and Sîn-aḫḫē-erība's governor might have come into conflict in Adana; and the problematic identification of Azatiwada = Sanduarri can be discarded. And last but not least, one may finally understand why all these cartoon characters with their fat noses, carved into stone by Azatiwada at Karatepe, do not show any similarity at all to Assyrian relief art, with its invariably deadly serious, indeed humourless manner of depiction.

197 Unless Azatiwada had co-ordinated everything in the background in such a delicate, secret manner that his activities remained invisible to outside parties. His inscriptions on Karatepe seem to refute such a hypothesis, as they show that restraint and modesty were hardly among Azatiwada's characteristics or virtues; on the contrary, he liked to see himself at the centre. He also maintained diplomatic contacts himself.

198 Fuchs 2008b: 86–90.

199 A dating of the Karatepe inscription to the middle of the 8th century (or a little earlier) seems not entirely to agree with the palaeographic data. However, this is of limited significance as earlier interpretations were influenced by the preferred dating to the 7th century. Thus J. D. Hawkins (1979: 156) related specific palaeographic features of the hieroglyphic script used in the Karatepe inscription to the later date that he postulated for the inscription. W. Röllig *apud* Çambel (1999: 79) suggested that, on palaeographic grounds, the Phoenician inscriptions were to be dated to the second half of the 8th century or the beginning of the 7th century, while according to Hawkins 2000: 44 the hieroglyphic inscription shares features with those of Wasusarmas of Tabāl, like Awariku a contemporary of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III. Moreover, d'Alfonso/Payne (2016: 119) demonstrated that the Anatolian hieroglyphs from Hiyawa show some similarities to those from Ḥamath, which predate the Cilician evidence by a century. An earlier dating of Karatepe would help to shorten the gap.

Azatiwada's background remains unclear. He probably belonged to the vast group of petty local rulers subject to the king of Adana/Que that one encounters even after the Assyrian conquest and the transformation of the kingdom of Adana into an Assyrian province.[200] If we assume that the fortress he founded at Karatepe was located in proximity to his petty kingdom, or even on its territory, one would have to consider the principality of Kundu and Sissû, home of Sanduarri who rebelled against Aššur-aḫa-iddina in 676/675. If Kundu and Sissû are to be identified with Cyndus and Sission, this would confirm a close proximity with Azatiwada's fortress.

Furthermore, one could assume that, like other petty rulers, Azatiwada's offspring could have survived the transformation accompanying the Assyrian conquest, and fulfilled their duties to the Assyrian governors as subjects for a longer period, until finally Sanduarri, the last of his kind, fell victim to Aššur-aḫa-iddina. If the name of Sanduarri, as suspected by Winter and Hawkins, does indeed equate to Azatiwada, this would hardly be surprising: in that case the last ruler of Kundu and Sissû would have borne the same name as his ancestor, the saviour of the dynasty and founder of Karatepe!

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200 Next to Sanduarri, one should also mention Tulli, lord of Tanakun, attested for 831, and as a contemporary of Šarru-ukīn a certain Kilar, named in ND 2795, whose name resembles that of Kirūa who was executed in 696, cf. Parpola 1987: no. 1 ll. 31–42.

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ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU LYDISCH *ORA*- ‚MONAT' UND DEM VOKAL *O*

Norbert Oettinger

Abstract: Lydian *ora*- 'month' may be derived regularly from **awra*- and further from **ar-wa*-, which differs from Luwian and Hittite *ar-ma*- 'moon'. The development of the Lydian vowel *o* in this position is regular. For the metathesis cf. Lyd. *wora*- 'son' < **wáwra*- < **wárwa*-. Probably the original meaning of **ar-wa*- was 'moon' as well, whereas Lydian *armτa*- is based on a loan from Luwian. The Lydian religion differs more from that of the other Luwic branches than the language does.

Keywords: Lydian *ora*- 'month', Lydian vowel *o*, Lydian language, relations between Anatolian languages, Anatolian Moon-gods, Lydian religion

Je weiter die Untersuchungen zur lydischen Sprache voranschreiten,[1] umso mehr erweist sie sich dem Luwischen bzw. den luwiden Sprachen (*Luwic languages*) zugehörig,[2] zu denen außer dem Luwischen selbst auch Lykisch, Karisch, Sidetisch und Pisidisch gehören.[3] Auffällig bleibt aber, dass manche Wörter des lydischen Grundwortschatzes, wie z. B. *tesasta/i*- ‚recht(er)', *prwã*- ‚Jahr' und *kλida*- ‚Erde', etymologisch nicht mit ihren semantischen Entsprechungen in den übrigen luwiden Sprachen verwandt sind. Umstritten ist die Frage einer solchen Verwandtschaft beim lydischen Wort *ora*- ‚Monat'. Im Folgenden wird seine Etymologie vor dem Hintergrund der Herkunft des lydischen Vokals *o* diskutiert.

Gusmani (1975: 69–71) führte *ora*- ‚Monat' auf ein älteres **wara*- zurück, dessen Entsprechung er in einem lykischen Wort **ura*- ‚Monat' suchte. Dieses vermutete er im lykischen Abl.-Istr. *nuredi*, ‚Neumond'. Dessen Stamm *nure/i*- sei nämlich aus **newa-ura*- ‚neuer Monat' kom-

1 Für wichtige Hinweise danke ich Craig Melchert. Die Verantwortung für das Geschriebene liegt bei mir.

2 Für Zugehörigkeit des Lydischen zu den luwiden Sprachen vgl. jetzt besonders Sasseville 2014–2015: 117–118 und Sasseville 2015: 285, 291–292.

3 Zur Gliederung der „Luwic languages" s. Melchert 2003: 170–177.

poniert. Ein Problem ist dabei jedoch, dass im Lydischen zahlreiche mit *wa-* anlautende Wörter, wie z.B. *wãna-* ‚Grabkammer', belegt sind, dagegen nur ganz wenige mit *o-* anlautende. Das spricht *a priori* gegen die Annahme, *wa-* könne sich im Anlaut zu *o-* entwickelt haben. Besser hat Starke (1990: 116–117 A.339a) lykisch *nure/i-* erklärt, nämlich aus **nu(i)-* + Hinterglied **ere/i-* (< **i̯ōreh₂*) ‚neuer Zeitabschnitt', wobei das Hinterglied kluw. *āra/i-* ‚Zeit' entspricht. In Weiterführung dessen rekonstruierte Hajnal (1995: 132) *nure/i-* als **neu̯o-i̯ōro-*. Nachdem lyd. *ora-* also nicht aus **wara-* stammt, könnte man zunächst an Verwandtschaft mit luw. *āra/i-* ‚Zeit' denken (so Neumann 2007: 245), doch gibt es auch hier lautliche Probleme, wie noch zu zeigen sein wird. Es erscheint daher sinnvoll, vor einer neuen Hypothese zur Erklärung von *ora-* zunächst die Möglichkeiten der Herkunft des lydischen Vokals *o* näher zu betrachten. Fest steht, dass lydisch *o* immer akzentuiert ist (Eichner 1986) und dass es in den meisten Positionen nicht direkt von idg. **o* abstammt (vgl. Melchert 1994: 366–370). Auch wenn im Einzelnen noch vieles ungeklärt ist, so sind doch die drei Quellen dieses Vokals im Grundsätzlichen bekannt. Sie lassen sich folgendermaßen zusammenfassen:

Erstens ist lyd. *o* hinter tautosyllabischem dentalem Konsonant aus *wá* entstanden (Melchert 1994: 364, 368), also unter Schwund des vorausgehenden Labials. So in *fa-do-* ‚einrichten, aufstellen' o.ä. < **dwá-* gegenüber kluw. *tuwa-*^{i}. Vergleichbar ist die Entstehung von *o* hinter ehemaligem Labiovelar:

**k^{w}ó* > lyd. *ko* in *kot* ‚wo' (oder ‚wie') < uranat. **k^{w}óto* > heth. *kuwatta* ‚wo, wohin'. Vgl. jetzt mit i-Mutation vor-lydisch **kuwátass(i)-* > lyd. *kοττ(i)-* (Sasseville 2017: 140). Bewahrt ist das *w* dagegen hinter anderen Konsonanten, wie z.B. in *arwo-* ‚sich aneignen' o.ä.

Zweitens stammt lyd. *o* unter bestimmten Bedingungen aus **a*. Das gilt jedenfalls in der Position vor dem Labial *f*. Für die Entwickung von *o* aus **a* zwischen Dorsal und Labial führt Melchert (1994: 346; Melchert 1997: 48) lyd. *fa-korfi-* ‚unternehmen' o.ä. < **kárp(i)i̯e-* < **kérp-(i)i̯e-* > heth. *karpiie-* ‚leisten' an; vgl. auch Eichner (1986: 21 A. 26). Hierher gehört auch lyd. D.-L. Sg. *kofu-λ* ‚Wasser'.[4] Dazu schreiben Mouton und Yakubovich[5] im Anschluss an die Auffassung, der zufolge anlautendes

4 Poetto 1979: 198–190 hatte das Wort etymologisch mit arm. *cov* ‚Meer' verglichen.

5 Mouton/Yakubovich 2019: 222 n. 21.

lyd. *k-* aus **h₂* und *h₃* stammt (Oettinger, im Druck), Folgendes: … „dat. sg *kofuλ* from the stem meaning 'water' in LW 1 (Gusmani 1964: 153). If this stem is to be reconstructed as *kof(i)-* (cf. dat.sg *puλ* from *p(i)-* 'he', Gusmani 1964: 78), then it can be compared with Luw. *hab(i)-* 'river'."

Die sich aus dem Bisherigen ergebenden Vermutungen über die Qualität von lyd. *o* lassen sich durch den Vergleich der Nomina *kafoλc-*, *qardoλc-*, *kastaλc-* weiter präzisieren. Diese sind mit dem Suffix **-ti-* gebildet. Offensichtlich war der zweite Vokal ursprünglich ein *a*. An *kafoλc-* zeigt sich, dass der Labial *f* die Entwicklung von *a* zu *o* auch dann begünstigte, wenn er vorausging. Bei *qardoλc-* geht jedoch kein Labial voraus, sondern die Lautgruppe *rd*. Der Grund für die Entwicklung muss hier also in einer Eigenschaft von *r* liegen. Daraus folgt, dass *r* im Lydischen offensichtlich ein hinterer Laut war. Als weitere Beispiele für die Entwicklung von *a* zu *o* im Kontakt mit *f* kommen der komponierte Verbalstamm *fadofi-* sowie das komponierte Nomen *katof-* in Betracht.

Der lyd. Typ *šaroka-* ‚Schutz' gehört zum heth. Typ *maniia̯ḫa-* ‚Anteil', wo für intervokalische Position bereits die Entwickung *h₂* > *k* angenommen wurde (Melchert 2004: 142–143). Daher: *šaroka-* < **šer-áχa-*.[6] Vielleicht ist „hinteres" *a*, das in Kontaktstellung mit dem „hinten" artikulierten *h₂* entstanden war, später mit lyd. *o* zusammengefallen (Melchert, mündl. Hinweis). Deriviert vom Typ *šaroka-* sind die Verben *katšarloki-* ‚beaufsichtigen' (o. ä.), *warptoki-* ‚bestrafen' (o. ä.), *kaprdoki-* sowie *pašv-sakvãki-* mit Variante *fa-saknaki-* ‚besudeln' (Gusmani 1980: 41). Die Variante *-sakvãki-* könnte durch Assimilation des Vokals an den vorausgehenden Nasal aus *-saknaki-* entstanden sein, also ähnlich wie in *Lamẽtru-* (Demeter). Jedenfalls war wahrscheinlich der Nasal der Grund dafür, dass das *a* hier nicht zu *o* geworden ist. Vgl. den entsprechenden Einfluss von *n* auf den vorausgehenden Vokal in lyd. *kãna-* ‚Frau' < **kónā* < **gʷón-eh₂* gegenüber *kot* ‚wo' (oder ‚wie') < **kóto* < **kʷó-to*, wo *o* entstand. Offenbar hatte *o* eine andere Artikulationsstelle als *n*, das vermutlich dental war. Dagegen beruht der Unterschied zwischen *a* und *o* in dem Paar */šaw-karp-ló-š/* : */fa-kórf-i-d/* auf dem Akzentsitz, denn *o* war nur in betonter Stellung möglich (Eichner 1986: 21 n. 26).

Drittens stammt *o* aus akzentuiertem Diphthong, und zwar aus **áw* (außer vor Vokal). Dies zeigt der Wechsel zwischen *ši-law-a-d* ‚ist res-

6 Das Suffix *-ḫḫa-* kann auch Konkreta bezeichnen, wie etwa in heth. DARA.MAŠ *annanuḫḫa-* ‚ausgebildeter Hirsch, Lockhirsch' bei Hoffner 1997: 75 § 65.

pektvoll‘ o.ä. und der Medialform *iš-lo-daλ* von ähnlicher Bedeutung. Zugehörig ist auch *an-lo-la-* n. ‚(Grab-)Denkmal‘ < ‚Ort der Verehrung (für jmdn.)‘; vgl. dazu insgesamt Yakubovich (2019). Auch in *ora-* und *wora-* steht *o* vor Konsonant. Vgl. auch gegenüber *kawe-* ‚Priester‘ < idg. **kou̯h₁éi̯-* die verwandte Verbalform *ko-t* ‚offenbart‘ < **káw-*+ Endung ← **(s)kéu̯h₁-* oder **(s)kóu̯h₁-* ‚wahrnehmen‘. Zur gleichen Wurzel wird ved. *ā́-kūta-* n. ‚Absicht‘ gestellt (s. Rix 2001: 561). Ein weiteres Beispiel ist *ow-* ‚verkünden‘, das letztlich aus **h₁éu̯g^{wh}-* stammen dürfte (Melchert 1994: 346; Gérard 2005: 45). Insgesamt zeigt sich, dass lydisch *o* ein hinterer Vokal war, ähnlich wie griechisch ω.

Für die Erklärung von suffixalem *o* im Lydischen sowohl bei nominalen *u*-Stämmen als auch bei den *nu*-Verben bestehen jeweils mehrere Möglichkeiten, was daran liegt, dass die Morphologie dieser Sprache noch zu wenig bekannt bzw. erforscht ist. Hinsichtlich der *u*-Stämme wies Weitenberg auf den Wechsel von *o* und *u* in lyd. Nom. Sg. c. *wratos* gegenüber D.-L. Sg. *wratuλ* hin. Er schrieb zu diesem und anderen Wörtern: „Ob diese Wörter Reflexe eines alten Wechsels (*u* : *uwa*) im Paradigma von *u*-Stämmen darstellen, ist nicht nachweisbar.“ (Weitenberg 1984: 302) Er dachte dabei vermutlich an den heth. Flexionstyp Nom. Sg. *wellus*, Gen. *welluwas* ‚Wiese‘. Aber auch der heth. Typ *ḫēi̯us*, Gen. *ḫēi̯awas* ‚Regen‘, *idālus*, Gen. *idālawas* ‚böse‘ kommt ja in Frage. Es bleibt daher vorerst offen, ob lyd. *o* hier aus **wa* oder **au* stammt. Entsprechendes gilt *mutatis mutandis* für die mit dem Suffix **-neu̯-/-nu-* gebildeten Verbalstämme, wie etwa 3. Sg. Prs. *trfnod*.[7] Der Vergleich mit lyk. *qanuweti* ‚lässt zerstören‘ weist auf Herkunft von *-no-* aus **-nwá-*. Unerwartet ist dabei die lenierte Endung *-d* des Lydischen, da man angesichts der sonstigen engen Verwandtschaft der luwiden Sprachen im Bereich der Morphologie auch hier Übereinstimmung zwischen Lydisch und Lykisch erwarten würde. Eine mögliche Erklärung hierfür ist die Annahme analogischer Beeinflussung der Verben auf *-no-* im Lydischen durch andere Verben mit Stammausgang *-o-* wie z.B. *tro-* ‚aushändigen‘.

Nun zurück zu *ora-* ‚Monat‘. Gegen die Herleitung aus älterem **ā́ra-* bzw. **ára-* ‚Zeit‘ spricht, dass es im Lydischen sonst kaum Beispiele für anlautendes *o-* gibt, dagegen durchaus solche mit anlautendem *a-*, und zwar auch gerade vor *r*, wie z.B. lyd. *aara-* /ā́ra-/ ‚Hof‘. Die wenigen Beispiele für anlautendes *o-* weisen dagegen auf ehemaligen Diphthong:

7 Vgl. die Diskussion bei Melchert 1994: 368 und Gérard 2005: 110.

oš- ‚jener' < (virtuell) **áwsi* < **o-u̯-s-i* mit analogischer Beeinflussung durch *eš-* ‚dieser' (Melchert 1994: 346). Zum Element **-w-* bzw. **-u-* bei Pronomina der Bedeutung ‚jener' vgl. ved. *as-áu* ‚jener'. Zu *ow-* ‚verkünden' s. o. Bisher ist für anlautendes *o-* keine andere Herkunft bekannt als aus Diphthong. Dieser Befund spricht gegen die oben genannte Verbindung von lyd. *ora-* ‚Monat' mit luw. *āra/i-* ‚Zeit', dem Hinterglied des lykischen Kompositums *nure-* ‚Monatsbeginn' und gr. ὥρα ‚Jahreszeit, Jahr, Tageszeit, Stunde'. Luw. *āra/i-* stammt nämlich aus idg. **h₁i̯eh₁ro-* oder **h₁i̯eh₁reh₂* (vgl. Melchert 1989: 41 n. 28). Falls anlautendes *i̯-* bereits im Uranatolischen vor **e* und **ē* geschwunden wäre und, wie im Luwischen, auch im Lydischen **eh₁* zu **ā* geworden wäre, dann hätte **h₁i̯eh₁ro/eh₂* zu lyd. **ā́ra-* (**ára-*) geführt. Dieses hätte sich aber, wie soeben gezeigt wurde, nicht weiter zu **ora-* entwickelt.

Daher sei eine andere Erklärung vorgeschlagen: Angesichts der oben genannten Beispiele, in denen lyd. *o* aus **áw* (außer vor Vokal) stammt, kann auch *ora-* ‚Monat' zunächst auf **áwra-* zurückgehen. Dieses kann dann wiederum durch Metathese aus **árwa-* entstanden sein. Die gleiche Metathese findet sich in lyd. *wora-* ‚Sohn' < **wáwra-* < **wárwa-* (Oettinger 1995: 48–49), das zum Glossenkeilwort **warwattar/warwattn-* ‚Sproß, Nachkommenschaft' luwischer Herkunft zu stellen ist; zu letzterem s. Starke (1990: 479–484).[8] Dieses vor-lydische **ár-wa-* steht dann als Bildung mit anderem Suffix neben *ar-ma-* ‚Mond, Monat', das im Hethitischen und luwiden Sprachen gut bezeugt ist.

Nun ergibt sich ein Problem insofern, als im Lydischen indirekt auch das Wort **arma-* ‚Mond' bezeugt ist, nämlich in der Form *armτa-* (zur Diskussion vgl. Gérard 2005: 87–88 mit Lit. sowie Innocente 1987–1988: 117). Sie erscheint in LW 22.9–10 *kawe-k pakilliš armτa-k*. Die wahrscheinlichste Übersetzung ist doch wohl: „…und der zum Bacchus gehörige Priester und der zum Mondgott Gehörige".[9] In diesem Sinne geht *armτa-* auf älteres **arma-tḭa-* ‚zum Mond gehörig' zurück. Man könnte daher zunächst vermuten, dass im Lydischen ursprünglich ein Nebeneinander von **ar-ma-* ‚Mond' und **ar-wa-* ‚Monat' existiert habe. Das wäre jedoch aus typologischer Sicht unerwartet, denn normalerweise behalten Sprachen entweder die ursprüngliche Identität von ‚Monat'

8 Vgl. auch die mögliche Entwicklung idg. **pr̥h₂-u̯o-* ‚früher, vorherig' → **pr̥h₂-u̯o-lo-* (Rekonstrukt) > **pr̥u̯olo-* > **párwala-* > **páwrala-* > **pórala-* > lyd. *porla-* ‚zum Jahr gehörig' (Oettinger, in Vorbereitung).

9 Schürr 2006: 1585 nimmt an, dass lyd. *armτa-* zu karisch *armon* ‚interpreter' gehört.

und ‚Mond' bei, wie z.B. im indischen Rigveda, in slavischen Sprachen und dem Türkischen, oder sie geben dem alten Mond-Wort die jüngere Bedeutung ‚Monat' und verwenden für ‚Mond' eine neue Bildung (im Sinne des 4. Analogie-Gesetzes von Kuryłowicz). Seltener wird, wie im Urgermanischen, das Wort für ‚Monat' von dem für ‚Mond' abgeleitet. Ein Verhältnis wie **ar-ma-* ‚Mond' neben **ar-wa-* ‚Monat' wäre dagegen singulär. Wahrscheinlicher ist, dass im Lydischen *(*arwa- >) ora-* ursprünglich sowohl den Monat als auch den Mond bezeichnete, so wie es auch bei **arma-* in den übrigen luwiden Sprachen der Fall gewesen sein dürfte. Daher ist **arma-* im Lydischen vermutlich ein Lehnwort aus dem Luwischen, was auch für mehrere andere Götternamen des Lydischen zutrifft.

Dies schließt die Möglichkeit, dass lyd. *Qλdãn-* (*Qaλdãn-*, [*Q*]*aλidãn-*) der Name des Mondgottes war,[10] nicht grundsätzlich aus, denn es können mehrere etymologisch nicht verwandte Wörter für ‚Mond' in einer Sprache vorkommen, wie z.B. in ai. *mắs-* neben *candrá-* (ab dem Atharvaveda). Würde allerdings *Qλdãn-* wirklich den Mondgott bezeichnen, dann fehlte uns der lydische Name Apollons. Dass dieser Gott im bisher bekannten lydischen Sprachmaterial nicht vorkommen sollte, wäre insofern überraschend, als die große Bedeutung der aus Leto, Apollon und Artemis bestehenden Götterfamilie gerade im westlichen Anatolien außer Zweifel steht. Sie hatte dort wahrscheinlich sogar ihren Ausgangspunkt. Deshalb ist *Qλdãn-* wohl der Name Apollons – falls es sich nicht um den des Königs Kroisos handelt.[11] Generell kann man in diesem Zusammenhang von einer Sonderstellung des lydischen Pantheons innerhalb des Anatolischen sprechen. Die Lyder nahmen zunächst noch an gemeinsamen Entwicklungen der Uranatolier teil, wie die Bedeutungsverschiebung von idg. **di̯eu̯-* ‚Himmel(sgott)' zum Appellativum ‚Gott' (heth. *siu-*, lyd. *ciw-*) zeigt. Dass auch die übrigen luwiden Sprachen dieses Wort **di̯u-* einmal besessen hatten, zeigt die kluw. Ableitung *tiwaliia-*, die nicht ‚zum Sonnengott gehörig', sondern ‚göttlich' bedeutet.[12] Dann aber gerieten die Lyder offenbar in eine geographische Lage, wo der Kontakt mit den Trägern der ägäischen bzw. griechischen Religion stärker wurde als mit denen des anatolischen

10 Nach Auffassung von Heubeck 1959: 21–24 und Schürr 2011: 71–73 ist *Qλdãn-* der lydische Name des Mondgottes und nicht Apollons.

11 Zur Deutung als Name des Kroisos s. Euler/Sasseville 2019.

12 Vgl. Yakubovich bei Steitler 2017: 189 n. 606 und 386 n. 2001 sowie Melchert 2019: 244.

Pantheons. So ersetzten sie den Wettergott **Tarhunt-* durch den aus dem Griechischen stammenden *Lew-* ‚Zeus', übernahmen die Gottheit Demeter (*Lamẽtru-*) und haben mit den Griechen weiterhin *Pakiwa-* (Bakchos), *Are-* (Ares), Enyalios (vgl. *ẽnwaλa-*),[13] *Artimu-* (Artemis) und sicher auch (inhaltlich) Apollon und Leto gemeinsam, was alles für das Luwische nicht gilt. Erst nachträglich dürften die Lyder, vielleicht in Folge einer Wanderung bzw. Ausbreitung nach Süden, wieder in stärkeren Kontakt zur anatolischen Religion gekommen sein. Das könnte zur Übernahme der mit dem Totenkult verbundenen Gottheiten *Santa-* und *Mariwda-* von den Luwiern geführt haben.[14]

Zusammenfassung: Lydisch *ora-* ‚Monat' hat sich über die Zwischenstufe **awra-* aus **ár-wa-* entwickelt. Wahrscheinlich bedeutete es ebenso wie luwisch und hethitisch *ar-ma-*, das von derselben Wurzel abgeleitet ist, ursprünglich ‚Mond'. Das Wort *armτa-* ‚der zum Mondgott Gehörige' (o.ä.) ist von wahrscheinlich aus dem Luwischen entlehntem **arma-* abgeleitet.

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13 Zu Enyalios s. Yakubovich (im Druck).

14 Vgl. zu den Götternamen Högemann/Oettinger 2018: 74–79 mit Lit. Sicher erst relativ spät kam die Göttin *Kuwaw-* (Kubaba) zu den Lydern.

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SIGNS BEYOND BOUNDARIES

The visual world of Azatiwataya

Aslı Özyar

Abstract: This paper examines the reliefs built into the gates of the stronghold of Karatepe–Aslantaş/Azatiwataya in order to contemplate the wealth of iconography observed in the visual programme of the monument. Firstly, I consider the order of the reliefs and propose a visual grammar to read the friezes. Next, I discuss the variety of the imagery to demonstrate the range of contacts beyond the boundaries of Anatolia. Finally, I delineate the Aegean connotations of composition among the reliefs that go beyond the adoption of single motifs and move on to highlight, in particular, connections to the coroplastic art and sculpted art of Cyprus, by presenting a selection of examples for each. The visual eclecticism addressed in this paper is one of the idiosyncrasies of the site, which seems its defining trait. Therefore, I conclude that the solution to reading the gate reliefs lies primarily in acknowledging the diversity in their imagery. I end by briefly contemplating what could account for this heterogeneity.

Keywords: Iron Age Cilicia, Syro-Hittite/Neo-Hittite/Late-Hittite iconography, Aegean/Greek/Cypriot iconography, Iron Age citadel, architectural relief, monumental art, ancient Anatolian art, monumental gate

1 INTRODUCTION

The remains of the citadel at the site of Karatepe–Aslantaş are well known to the student of ancient Anatolia. Since their discovery by the scholarly world in 1946, interest in the Iron Age fortress has never subsided, resulting in a steady stream of publications.[1] Most readers will

1 For references to more recent works, see Özyar 2017. For publications before 2000 regarding the history of research and sculptural remains, its conservation and restoration, see Çambel/Özyar 2003: xv–xx. Regarding the Luwian inscriptions in Anatolian Hieroglyphic, see Hawkins 2000: 44–71. For the facsimile edition of all inscriptions with the research history, see Çambel 1999. Regarding the

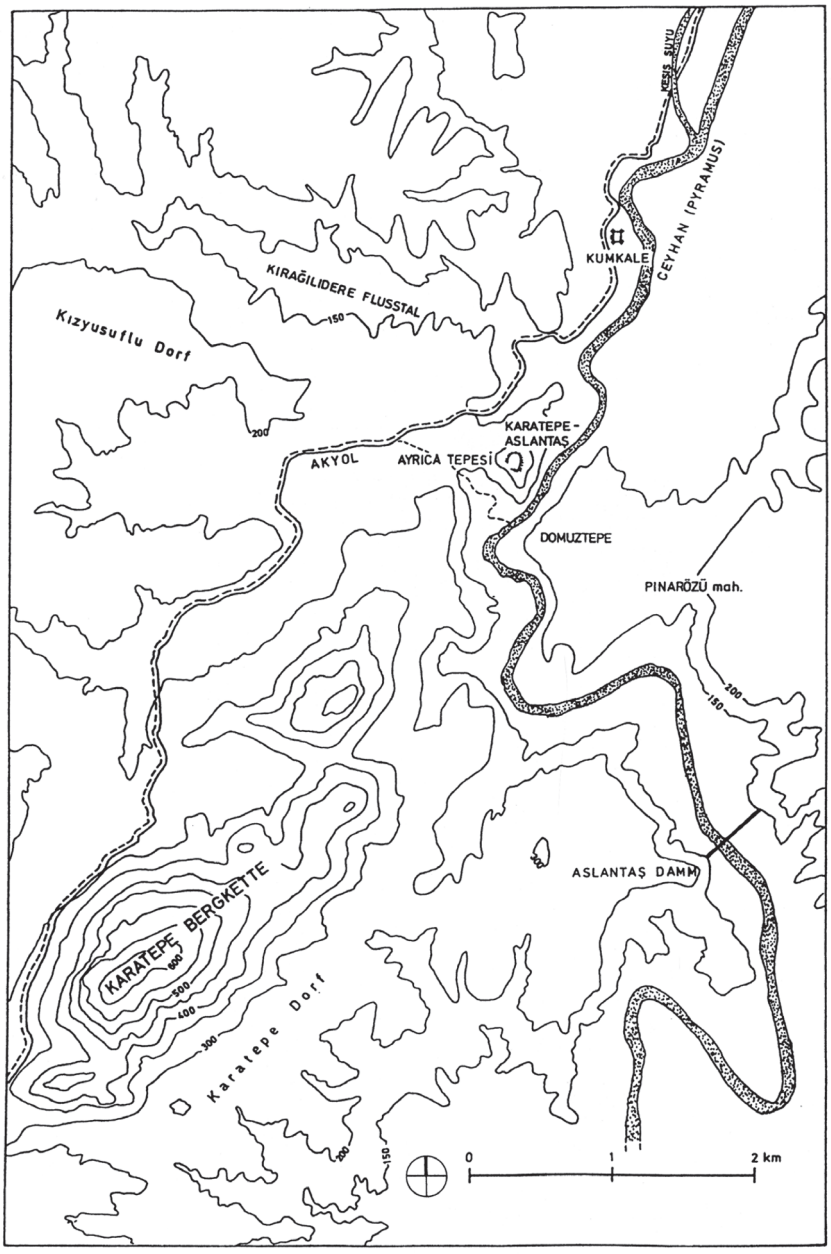

Fig. 1. Topographical plan of the environs of Karatepe–Aslantaş (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 3).

be familiar with the site. Nevertheless, it is worth briefly reviewing the short-lived accomplishment of the provincial potentate Azatiwatas, who built and named the stronghold after himself – Azatiwataya in the Taurus foothills which define the interior borders of Cilicia. Karatepe–Aslantaş is the modern designation of the ruins of this fortress which remain to the northeast of the plain. The citadel was erected sometime in the course of the 8th century BC and did not survive for long into the 7th century BC.[2] The site is located on a natural ridge to the west of the Ceyhan river, ancient *Pyramos*, about 20 km south of where its flow breaks out from the hilly terrain into the alluvial plain. Merchants must have travelled on both river and land routes which connect the mountains to the Mediterranean. There is no doubt that the citadel allowed the control of goods floated downstream and transported uphill via the old caravan route, the Akyol, as the chosen location is immediately to the north of where the water course diverges from the well-trodden path. The Turkish name of the rise, Ayrıca Tepesi, "the separate [separating?] hill", still refers to the separation of river from road (**Fig. 1**). In his bilingual inscription, displayed alongside the reliefs of the citadel gates, Azatiwatas states (quoted here from the Phoenician version):

> "[… And I] built strong walls in all the limits on the frontiers, in places in which there were bad men and masters of gangs […and I] subdued strong lands in the setting of the sun […I] settled them in the limits of [my] frontiers in the rising of the sun […I] built this city and [I] established its name […]" (Hawkins 2000: 51–52).

This indicates that Azatiwataya is one of these newly founded frontier strongholds, built where, as the patron claims in the remainder of the text, he pacified formerly feared areas by subduing the unruly and resettling them, thereby extending the northeastern borders of the urban centre on the Seyhan/*Samos*, today modern Adana, from where he ruled.

A team led by Helmuth Th. Bossert, including the then 29-year-old Halet Çambel, discovered the remains of the fortress during an ex-

transliteration and translation of the alphabetic Phoenician inscriptions, see Röllig 1999. For essays on the architecture, pottery, small and numismatic finds with references to earlier works, see Çambel 2014.

2 For the most recent proposed dating, which the author also agrees with, see Mirko Novák in this volume.

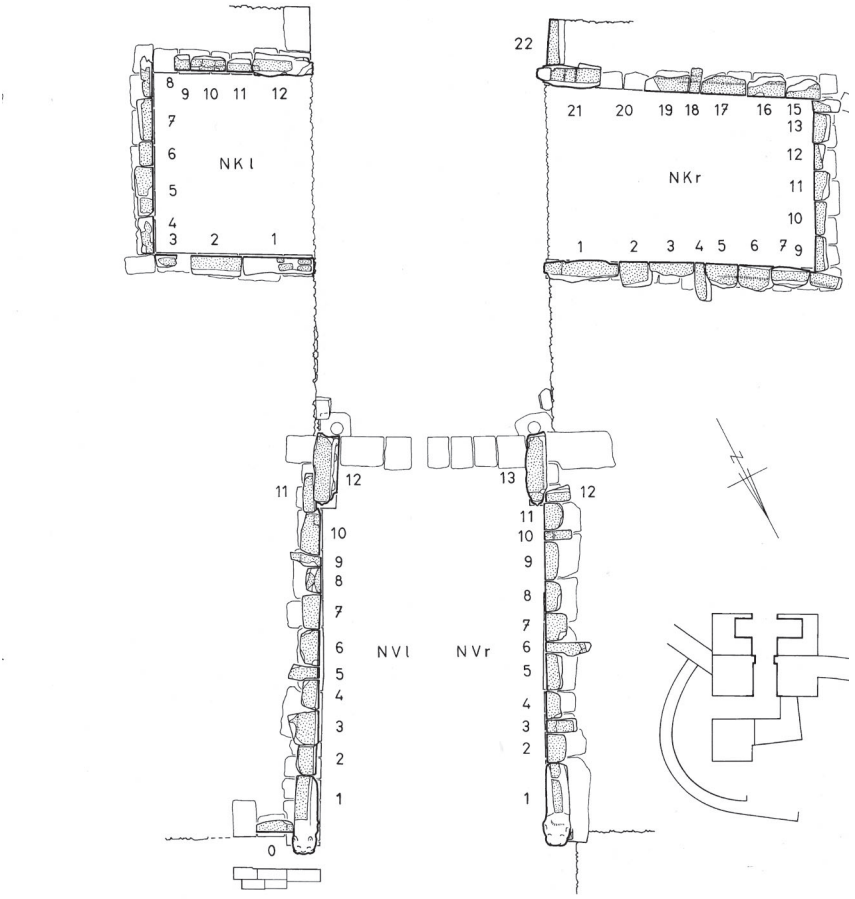

Fig. 2a. North Gate reliefs (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 9b).

pedition under the auspices of Istanbul University and the Turkish Historical Society. Excavations were jointly directed by Uluğ Bahadır Alkım and Bossert during the second half of the 1940s. After 1951, when Bossert shifted his attention to dig at *Mopsuhestia*/Misis, present day Yakapınar, in search of the remains of *Pahri*, the central site, the granaries of which Azatiwatas boasts in his inscription that he has filled, Çambel shouldered the recording, restoration and conservation of what had

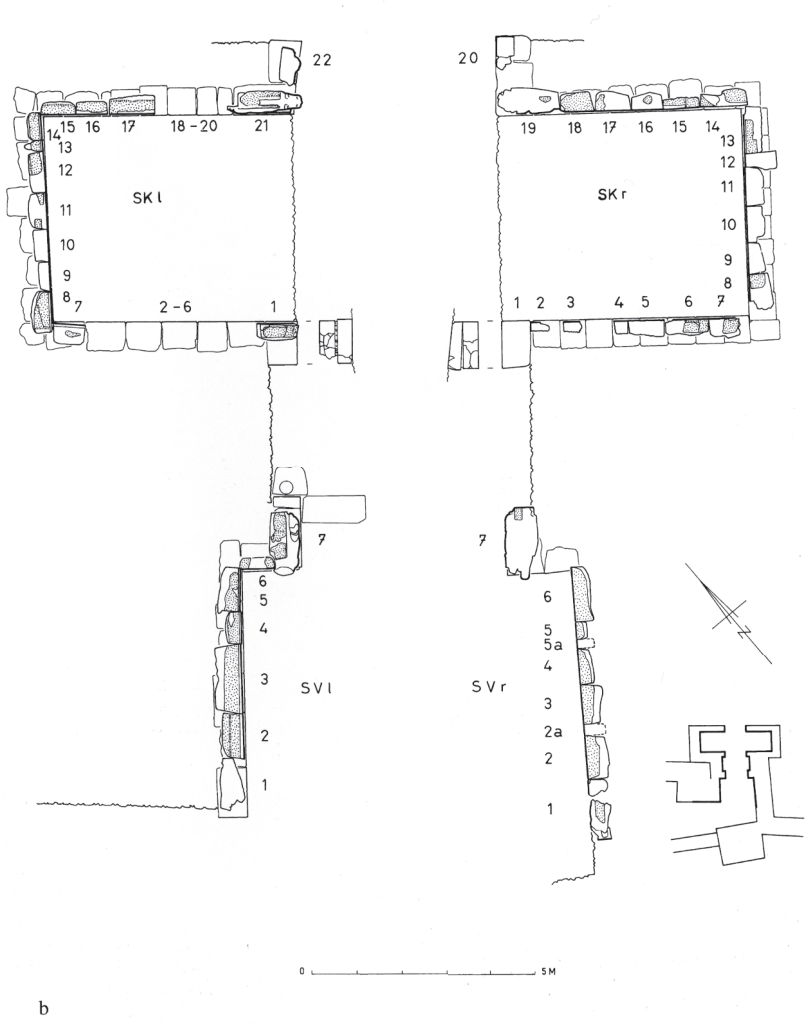

Fig. 2b. South Gate reliefs (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 127b).

been exposed. About two decades later, the river was dammed, so that the surroundings of the site, including a crusader castle at the nearby ford across the Ceyhan/*Pyramos*, known today as Kumkale, were submerged in a lake. Today, Karatepe–Aslantaş is located on a promontory overlooking this lake. Over the years, Çambel, an exceptional 20th-cen-

tury archaeologist, developed ingenious ways to protect the site, while enabling final publications of the monuments and finds.[3]

The citadel extends over nearly 5 ha. The main fortification engages the contours of a gradually sloping terrain around the summit, before the slope steepens on all sides (Sicker-Akman in Çambel 2014: 27). A second or outer wall secured access to the river, extending down the eastern slope. The main building of the site once stood on the highest point of the hill. It had the form of a *hilani*, of which barely the foundations survive. Even if, in the days of its usage, the building may have been of more substance, today it is clearly no rival to the outstanding feature of the stronghold, namely the two elaborate portal complexes which mark the main entrances into the fortified space, one in the northeast, the other in the southwest. As is often the case in a castle, there were also several less conspicuous gateways, piercing the fortification to allow quick, unceremonious passage into the locations where it was required. The monumental gates are site-specific constructions with towers, ramps and roads, all designed to correspond to the hilly terrain.

What both gates have in common is the grammar of structuring the interior space: one enters through an elongated passageway, the outer part of which was conceived as an antechamber, followed by the threshold and a short space to receive the door wings pivoting on posts when the gate was opened, as indicated by socketed stones still found *in situ* on both ends of the inner face of the doorsill (Sicker-Akman in Çambel 2014: 51 with Fig. 15, 54–55). Beyond the doors, traverse chambers lay on either side of the passageway, both built beyond the line of the fortification wall towards the interior of the citadel (**Fig. 2**). The antechamber and both traverse chambers were once lined with about 135 sculpted and/or inscribed basalt blocks (60 in the North Gate, 75 in the South Gate), set up on basalt bases. Only the walls between the threshold and the traverse chambers were left blank, to prevent the door wings from covering the images when opened. Among the sculptures are pairs of portal lions and sphinxes, positioned to protect each corner of the ante- and traverse chambers in accordance with Near Eastern tradition (Özyar 2017: 139, Fig. 3). Eighty-eight of the sculpted blocks were either found *in situ* or were re-assembled from the thousands of basalt fragments meticulously collected and joined over a long period of time (Çambel in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 21–30). The exclusive use

3 The story of the discovery and the history of the excavation is narrated by Çambel in English, see Çambel 1999: 1–5, and German, see Çambel/Özyar 2003: 1–7.

of basalt for all orthostats and their bases stands in marked contrast to the rest of the masonry made of limestone, and must have been of significance (Özyar 2013: 127).

2 ORDER OF THE RELIEFS

The sequence of the images set up in both gates is clearly planned and not haphazard, as it may seem at first sight.[4] The sculpted orthostats and portal blocks were displayed according to an order, of which some aspects will be briefly considered here. I will explain that the individual images further discussed below were part of an arrangement conceived and implemented prior to, or at least during, the construction of the gates. The assessment of this underlying order is based on a series of sculpted slabs that are secure in their location and were set up jointly where they once belonged, by the excavators and the restoration team. It is important to note here that the decision about where the reliefs, which were not found *in situ*, belong in a sequence was not based on iconographic considerations, but on whether the joints of blocks, which had been cut to slightly different heights and which, instead of being strictly rectangular, slanted at somewhat different angles, fitted perfectly – in other words precisely – against each other when set up side by side (Çambel in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 30–31). The point emphasised here is that the restoration of the order was based on structural and tactile decisions, and on the material aspects of the blocks, and not on an anticipated iconography. It should also be noted that, because the restored citadel and its gates were made accessible to the public in the form of an open-air museum, not all the restored blocks bearing reliefs set up in the gates today are necessarily in their original location: to give one example, an arbitrary order caused by modern intervention is the case of the right traverse chamber of the South Gate (Çambel in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 41). Therefore, the arrangement of reliefs addressed here is based either on *in situ* finds, or on securely located and perfectly fitting sequences of blocks set up during restoration.

The reliefs depict single figures, figures in pairs, or groups of figures, as well as more complex scenes including multiple figures. In the

4 For a discussion of aspects regarding the arrangement, see Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 123–127, "Zur Anordnung, Größenordnung und ggf. Gliederung in Zonen".

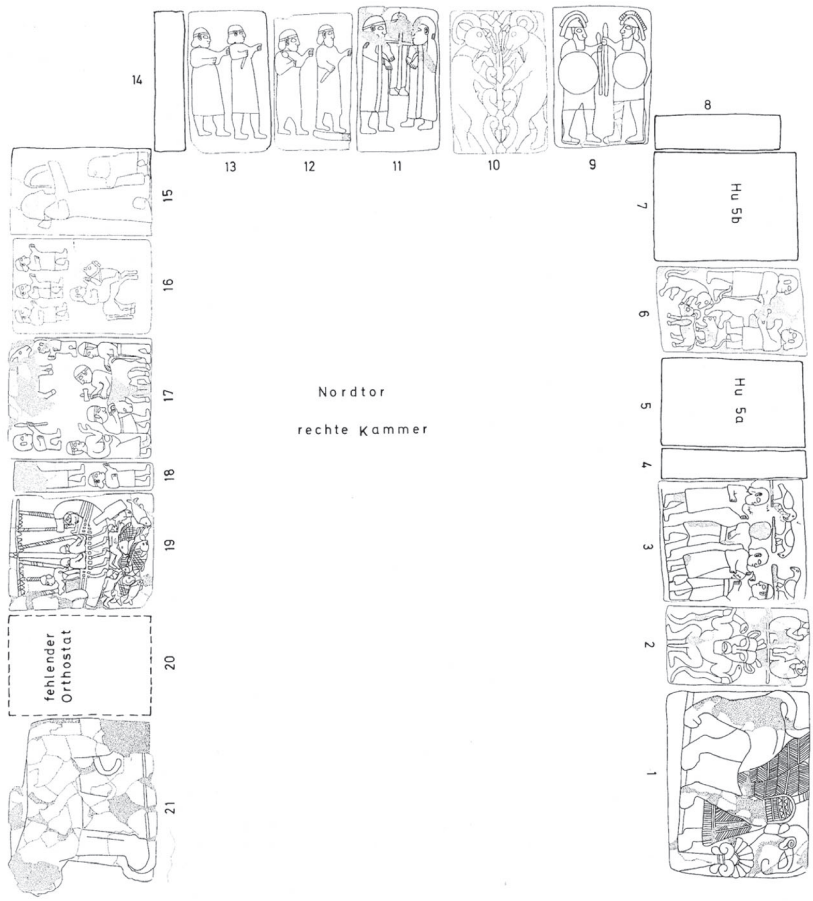

Fig. 3. Sequence of reliefs in the North Gate, right chamber (Çambel/Özyar 2003: 126, Fig. 146).

better-preserved North Gate, on the left side wall of the right traverse chamber (**Fig. 3**), a procession carved over several blocks follows a sacrificial scene and continues around the corner on the back wall of the chamber towards a group of figures (Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 125).[5] The scene is carved on two stone slabs. Below, a bull is restrained in preparation to being sacrificed, and above, a large caprid – perhaps next in line as a sacrifice – is surrounded by eight men with apparent-

5 Stone blocks 18 to 12 from left to right. For the numbering of the blocks, see **Fig. 3**.

ly different responsibilities. Two of the attendants are superimposed,[6] while the main part of the scene, consisting of six men and two beasts, is in a circular arrangement[7] with all the men facing towards the beasts, and the centre left empty. This sacrificial scene starts in the centre of the left wall. A procession follows this scene: first, four figures in two registers, one mounted on a horse in the lower one (block 16), then several large figures (block 15, 13, 12) all move to the right towards a triad (block 11) made up by a man, on the left, and a veiled woman, on the right, facing each other and a third, smaller figure oriented towards the female. The movement of the procession leads towards, and ends before, the triad. These three figures are clearly the focal point, reinforced not only by the formal aspect of the composition, but also spatially by the block on which they are depicted being placed in the centre of the back wall, i.e. located on the central axis when facing the inside of the traverse chamber. The sequence of reliefs on the right-hand side of the back wall continues with two further blocks, each depicting a pair of figures: a pair of wild goats rising to nibble at a stylised plant, and two hoplite-like foot soldiers in full gear, raising their spears. The antithetical arrangement of the main protagonists of the triad, placed on either side of the small figure as the central axis, is repeated in the two following reliefs, resulting in a visual staccato, thus amplifying, in a way intentionally foregrounding, the antithetical composition, and thereby indicating that the sequence of reliefs in this part of the chamber is emblematic, perhaps reflecting a conceptual design.

3 VISUAL GRAMMAR OF THE RELIEF FRIEZE

The visual language has a grammar, so to speak. The scale of the depicted figures serves as a clue for reading them: as a rule, *large figures* filling the full height of the slab, as is the case in the discussed triad, depict *immortal beings* such as deities, hybrids and mythological figures (Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 123–126). Note how, in the triad (**Fig. 4**), the shorter figure does not stand on the ground, but is elevated so that its head is at the same height as the tall male and female. In other words, the central figure is, on the one hand, shorter, which may be a reference to its status as a child or youth, but still appears at a scale similar to the

6 Visible on the narrow end of block no. 18.

7 Fitted on the wide front face of block no. 17.

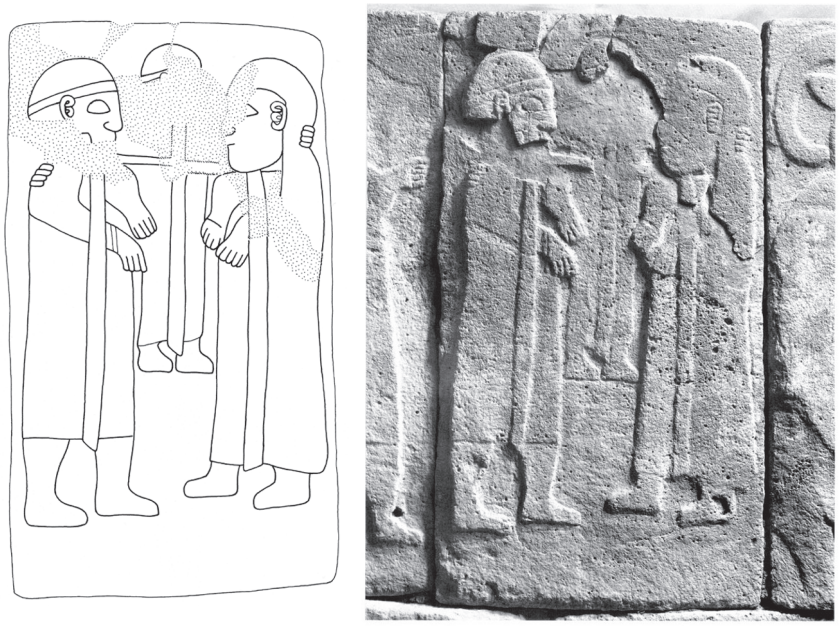

Fig. 4. Triad of deities (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 82, 83, drawing and photo).

two others through the alignment of their heads. Compare this to the pair of figures on the unfinished slab 15 (**Fig. 5**): here, the short one is at ground level, and even though the figures are difficult to identify, it is conceivable that the small individual, a mortal, faces towards and is in adoration of the large one bearing the bow, a deity according to the established grammar. The particular composition of a small figure in the centre, embracing another male and female, as is clearly the case in this triad, remains to date unique in both the Anatolian and Syrian worlds. In the Hittite visual tradition, at first only rulers, later also officials depicted on their seals, were at times represented in divine embrace or *Umarmungsszene* (Herbordt 2011: 53–60, also 53 n. 170), such as Tudhalya IV protected by Šarruma, a visual convention derived from Egyptian prototypes (Orthmann 1983: 427–431). Divine triads such as Hepat, Tešup and their son Šarruma were also revered and represented as attested at well-known Yazılıkaya (Bittel 1975: Taf. 25–30). However, none of these seems to have served as the model for this image of a triad produced in the Cilician hinterland.

Small figures, on the other hand, as a rule seem to depict *mortals* mostly shown in the context of cultic activities. These are generally pre-

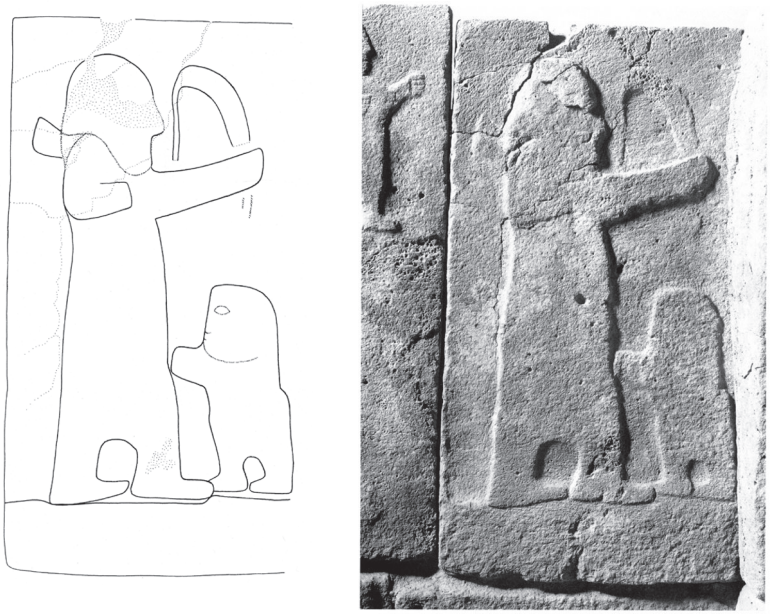

Fig. 5. Deity with bow (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 88, 89, drawing and photo).

sented as part of a group, often in superimposed registers, such as in the above discussed relief sequence depicting a procession in the left wall of the aforementioned chamber of the North Gate.[8] In this procession, a scene is embedded which renders preparations for a bull sacrifice. The scene includes eight small figures, with clearly none of them qualifying to be identified as a god or other supernatural being (**Fig. 6**). Rather, one has no doubt that the individuals represented are temple functionaries preparing for a sacrifice, perhaps conducted by the figure on the left on the lower register, who faces, maybe receives, the bull and holds an unidentified object (a cup?, a stone?), apparently related to what is about to take place. This male is visually somewhat differentiated by being the tallest among the eight, depicted with strong shoulders and the evident neckline of his long costume. The sculptor draws our attention to his hands, carved larger in scale and in a schematic way, thus emphasised, when compared to the execution of the hands of the other figures in the same scene. To the modern observer, it remains ambiguous whether this figure is singled out as an ordained priest leading the ritual, or as a ruler in his priestly role overseeing the animal sacrifice as part of his

8 The procession is on blocks 18, 17, 16.

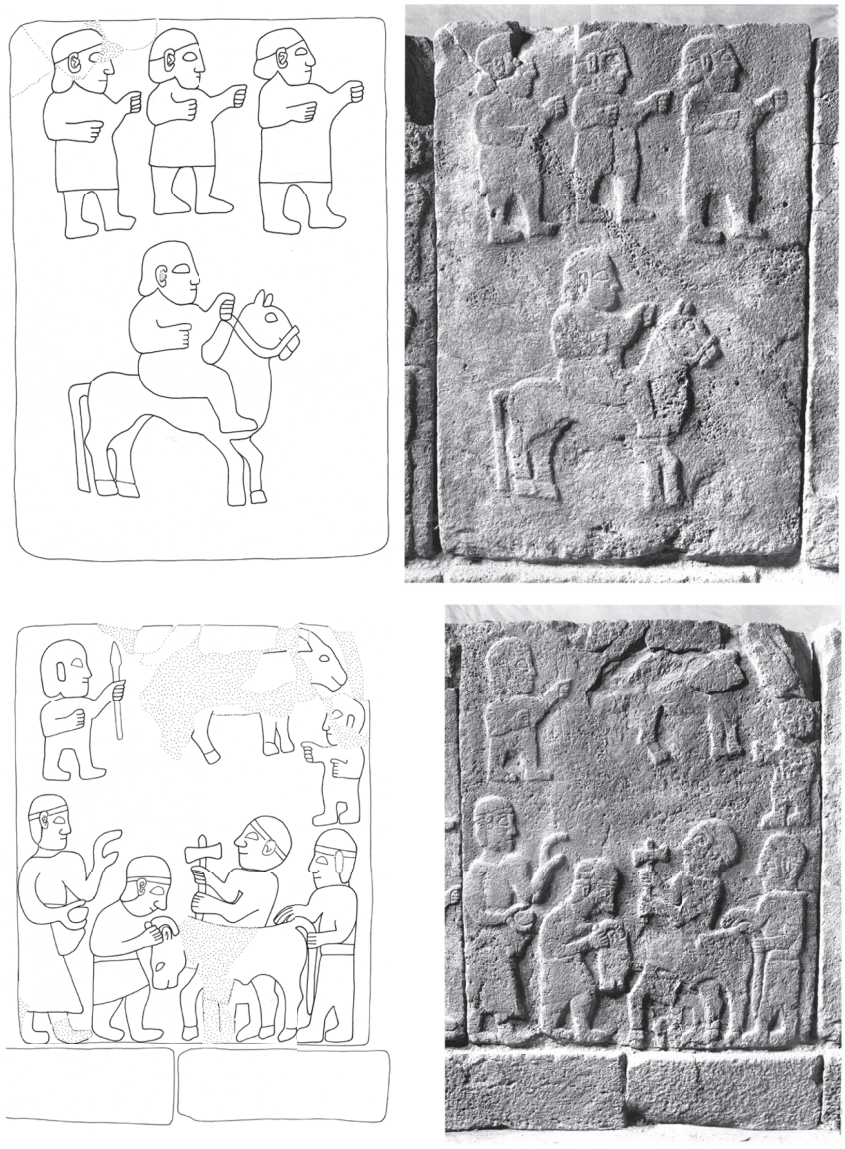

Fig. 6. Procession with rider; bull sacrifice scene
(Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 90–93, drawing and photo).

official duties. The sacrificial scene is followed by a procession on foot and on horseback, in which the figures do not hold weapons. Instead, they raise their hands in a manner conventionally assumed to depict adoration. The sacrificial scene is framed, and thus part of the proces-

sion of the figures on foot and mounted on horses. This, to me, indicates that what is depicted takes place in a longer time frame, in this case possibly a cult festival taking place over several days and in different locations, which is often attested in the detailed accounts of festivals (Güterbock 1970: 178–180) recovered from official archives at Hattuša. The procession of mortals then, connects to, in fact follows a divine procession implied by the large figures, who move around the corner of the chamber towards the triad already mentioned.

Incidentally, this is the only sacrificial scene in pre-classical Anatolia where a bovine is shown restrained on its feet, to be killed for the cult by means of a double axe. On the Ur-Nammu stela, a representation of what could be interpreted as the aftermath of a bovine sacrifice is attested (Canby 2001: 22, Pls. 28–29). The old Hittite cult vessel with friezes in relief from İnandıktepe (Özgüç 1988: 107, Pl. H1, 46; Fig. 64 nos. 19–22), and the colourfully painted limestone sarcophagus from Agia Triada on the island of Crete (Marinatos 1959: 101, colour plate 28) also show scenes with bovine sacrifice. The animal on the Ur-Nammu stela has been killed, and is depicted lying on its back, held in place by one figure, while being gutted by another. On the İnandık vessel, the bull is trussed (Özgüç 1988: 88) and on its belly, rendered in the moment of the sacrifice, when its throat is slit with a knife or dagger. The animal painted on the Agia Triada sarcophagus is also trussed, but already dead, lying on the altar on its side, bleeding into a vessel below. The Cretan sarcophagus is the only parallel where a double axe is depicted near the bovine, although not as the weapon used to kill the animal, but in the form of a cult object. Bunnens (2006: 38–41, esp. 40) has proposed that in the Syro-Hittite world of the Iron Age, the axe and thunderbolt in the form of a trident identify one specific, although less common, manifestation of the Storm-god. Among this already limited group of depictions, this deity is rarely rendered specifically brandishing a double axe.[9] Given that divine attributes are key to identifying deities, rare as it is, a double axe when depicted is intentional and significant. Among

9 On the stele from Karaçay Köyü near Kahramanmaraş (Bunnens 2006: 111, Cat. 2, p. 156, Fig. 57), the stele from Kahramanmaraş (Hawkins 2000: 1, 4.8. MARAŞ 11; Bunnens 2006: 112, Cat. 7, p. 158, Fig. 62) and the stele from Körkün in the province of Gaziantep (Hawkins 2000: 1, 2.40 KÖRKÜN; Bunnens 2006: 113, Cat. 8, p. 158, Fig. 63). The Storm-god on the latter stele is identified as Tarhunzas of Aleppo. This is interesting, as Aleppo is located in ancient P/Walistin, an Iron Age kingdom connected to incoming Aegean settlers. This line of thought will be explored elsewhere (in preparation).

later Greek legend and myths, one finds accounts of a particular ritual bull sacrifice known as *Bouphonia*, in the context of which the animal is reported to be moving around. It was thus on its feet, and not trussed, and in at least one version of the story, an axe is the weapon to kill the victim in this ritual (Burkert 1997: 153–161, 204).

4 VARIETY AND IDIOSYNCRASY OF IMAGES

The images displayed at Karatepe are predominantly of a cultic or mythological nature,[10] and we have seen that the scale of depiction distinguishes between mortal and immortal. The following examples are selected from the visual world of the site, to demonstrate that a number of representations remain unique in the Near Eastern realm, and many others betray cultural affinities which can be traced beyond the pool of what are considered quintessential Syro-Hittite images, in other words were derived from other cultural traditions. Among the reliefs discussed in the previous section, which were primarily chosen to explain how size matters, we already twice encountered depictions singular in the Syro-Hittite world: a divine triad, and a bull brought in to be sacrificed by means of a double axe. Let us, however, first review imagery that upholds the conventions of the Syro-Hittite visual world and is steeped in Near Eastern tradition. The employment of portal lions in gate structures, to fend off the wild and unruly, is at home in all citadels of the Iron Age in regions following ancient Near Eastern traditions, possibly already attested in Central Anatolian Kültepe/Kaneš in the early 2nd millennium (Özgüç 1954: Fig. 1.2; Özyar 2003: 107). Protective, benevolent portal sphinxes also appear in Hittite urban sculptural programmes from the second half of the 2nd millennium onwards, as seen in Boğazköy and in Alacahöyük, and become ubiquitous in Iron Age Syro-Hittite citadels. The gate lions and sphinxes of Karatepe, in their essence, follow this tradition, even though the execution of the sphinxes in particular betrays an eclectic and innovative artistic idiom.[11]

10 See Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 131–138; there are only three reliefs that may refer to historical events: what is called the introduction or audience scene in the right chamber of the North Gate, NKr 3, and the ship scene in the same chamber NKr 19, which was probably repeated in the right chamber of the South Gate, SKr 5.

11 For an iconographic analysis of the gate sphinxes with reference to previous works, see Özyar 2017: 142.

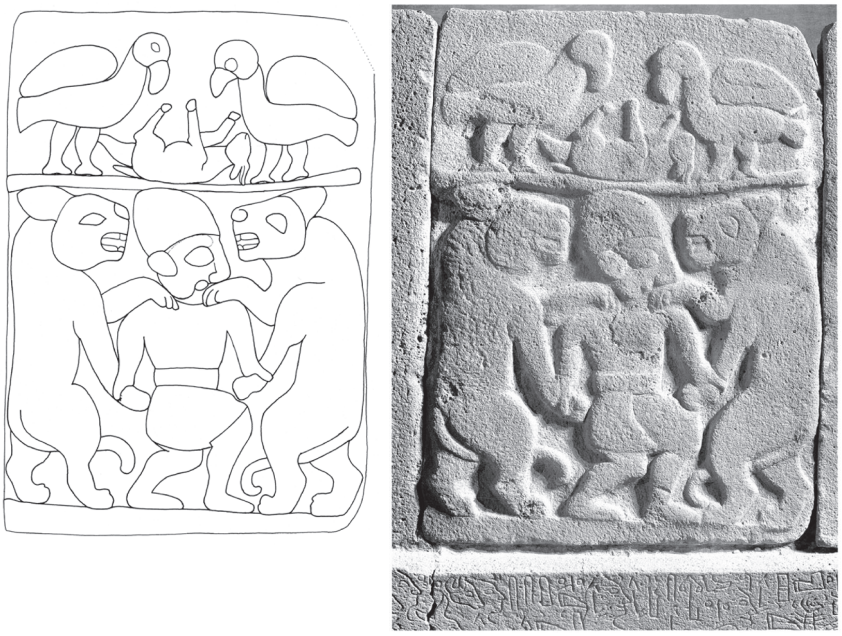

Fig. 7. Hero with lions; vultures with caprid
(Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 20–21, drawing and photo).

Another example for imagery rooted in the age-old tradition of Mesopotamia is the depiction of a hero subordinating wild animals, in this case two lions, as seen on the right side of the North Gate antechamber, *NVr 5* on the plan (**Figs. 2a, 7**).[12] Similar to the eclectic nature of the portal sphinxes, here too, the details of the composition, such as the way in which the upright lions tuck in their tails, while placing a paw on one shoulder of the figure mastering them, are idiosyncratic. Yet the theme is both old and still in use during the Iron Age (Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 59). Mythological heroes clearly are neither regular mortals nor fully divine, which may be why this figure has not been allocated the entire height of the slab, in line with the above advanced proposal that its relative size is not arbitrary, but perhaps indicates the position of a figure in the world order. On the narrow top register of the same relief, on the other hand, two vultures are shown feeding on a dead goat, a motif to date unique in Syro-Hittite architectural relief. It is attested on portable objects such as 2nd-millennium Kassite period seals from Tell Zubeidi: on a seal dated to the 15th/14th century BC, where it occurs

12 On block no. 5.

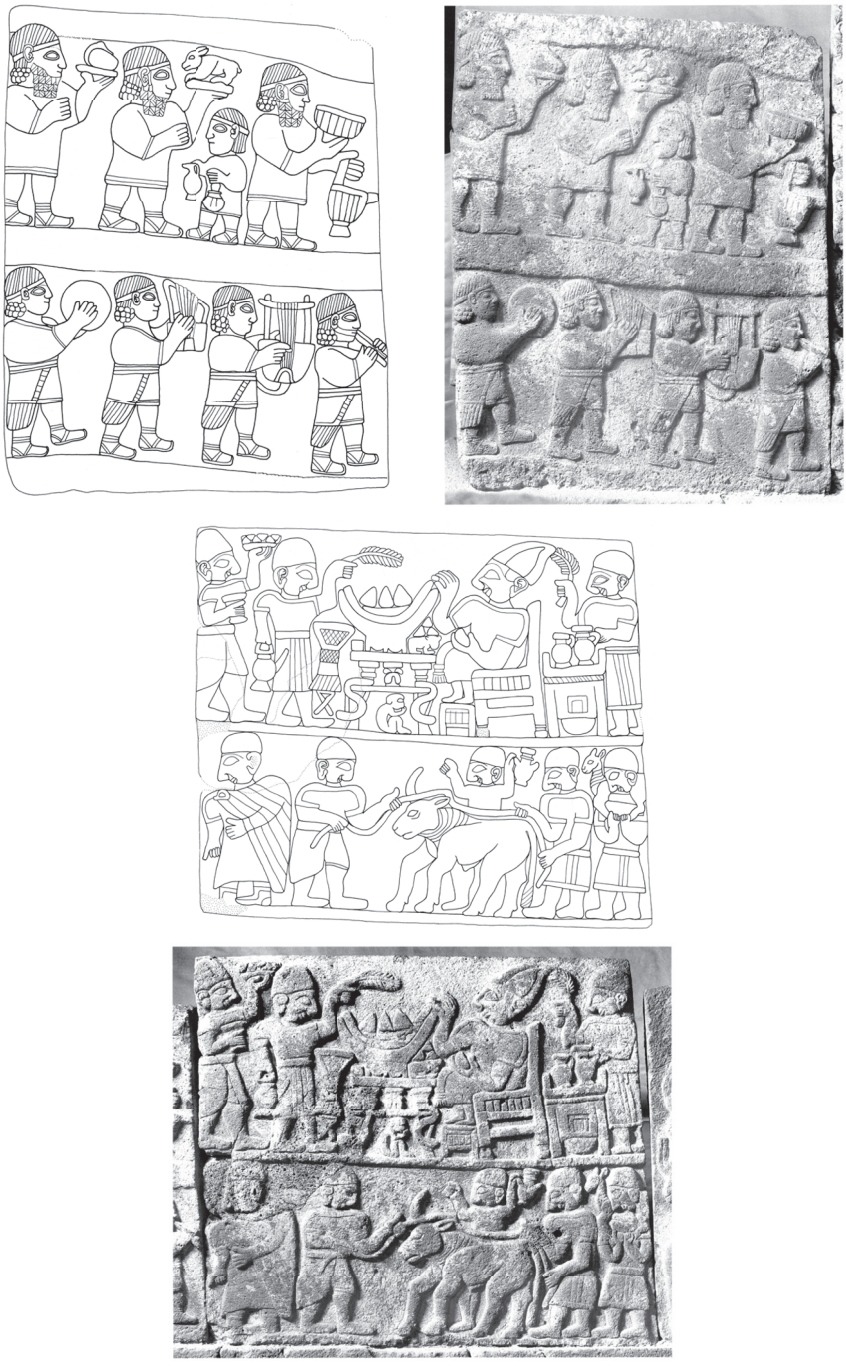

Fig. 8. Funerary banquet with musicians; preparation for a sacrifice (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 142/143+144/145, drawings and photos).

above two heroes stabbing a bull, recalling the Karatepe composition; on a seal impression preserved on a clay plug, dated to sometime between the last quarter of the 13th century BC and 1160 BC; and on two further Kassite seals (Boehmer 1981: 73–75, Pl. 7–8, nos. 19, 22, 24, 25).[13] The theme continues to appear in the *koine* of the post-Kassite Iranian world, as Boehmer points out, with the most informative example embossed and incised on the golden beaker from Marlik grave 2 (Negahban 1983: 27–30, Fig. 14, Pl. 42, 45). It cannot be a coincidence that the motif of a monkey squatting in front of a palmette, as seen between the vultures on this beaker, appears as well among the Karatepe reliefs, above the figure of a Bes (Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 80, Pl. 70–71), where there is enough space to duplicate the monkey in line with the symmetry due to the frontal portrayal of the figure below. So, even though a good number of the sculpted images set up in the gates would be at home in comparable Syro-Hittite architectural sculpture programmes, some, such as the vultures feeding on a carcass, or monkeys next to palmettes, remain unique in Iron Age monumental relief. The only comparison for a pair of vultures in a similar pose, carved in relief on a stone monument, appears in the Iranian realm among the victory scenes on the Neo-Elamite four-sided rectangular base for a stele or statue dated to the 8th–7th century BC, although here the birds of prey are depicted feeding on enemy corpses (Amiet 1966: 536, Fig. 410B).

On the left wall of the South Gate, *SVl 3* on the plan (**Fig. 2b, 8**),[14] a festive meal and preparations for a sacrifice are depicted. This relief is among the best-known from the site, if not the most iconic image of the site.[15] It lends itself to further exploration of the wide range of cultural inspirations reflected in the sculptural frieze of this citadel. The basalt block selected to carve this relief is larger than the others in overall size. In particular, unlike the rest, its width is greater than its height, raising the expectation of the spectator by means of its unique dimensions. A large number of human figures, in addition to several animals, a bull, a goat and a monkey, have been arranged into meaningful ensembles and are tightly fitted together, with an array of furniture and objects in two scenes over two registers. The latter are separated formally by a horizontal bar left uncarved, as is the case in all other orthostats with

13 See also Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 59–60.

14 On block no. 3.

15 See Çambel/Özyar 2003: 100–104 for references to previous publications, detailed discussion and comparanda.

superimposed sections. On the other hand, this orthostat is one of the few where the upper and lower segments undoubtedly belong together, in terms of content. The presentation in two zones introduces a formal division and sequential order. In other words, an event is presented in the form of a visual narrative through the formal separation into two panels which indicates development in time and space from one frame to the other. Temporal change seems to be indicated by differences in presentation. In the top register, all figures face towards the centre in a closed scene, a densely knit composition focusing on a figure seated at a laden table. Below, there is a direction, all men and the beasts, are oriented towards the left, as seen from the observer, except for one, who restrains the bull. A change of locale to outside from inside is suggested, below, by the presence of a living bull, calling for an outdoor setting, whereas above, furniture and an incense burner signal an indoor space. In Hittite tradition, a visual language to convey sequential scenes of cultic festivals as narratives in the form of friezes was employed from the middle of the 2nd millennium BC, well attested on cult vessels with registers, as well as in architectural relief (Güterbock 1957; Mellink 1974). What is idiosyncratic here is that the sequence is not presented developing over adjacent blocks, but is formatted into a superimposed frieze on a single block, as if it was of the essence. A closer look at the scene may explain whether this is a true narrative, where the viewer follows one protagonist in different scenes, or whether there are different protagonists, so that the visual format of a narrative was meant to convey that the scenes are closely related in some other way.

According to the visual grammar as defined above, the small scale of the nine human figures suggests that we are in the world of mortals. There are two men who stand out, one who is seated above, another one below, standing apart in his elaborate costume. The seated figure receives all the attention in the form of ample food and drink, served and piled on a table – a mortuary repast, as Bonatz (2016: 175) in his recent revisiting of this visual genre refers to it, rather than a banquet where one expects more than one participant. I had already proposed (in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 103–104) that the enthroned figure could be a deceased ancestor of Azatiwatas, perhaps Awarikus/Urikki mentioned in the second clause of the bilingual inscription as the *political* ancestor of the patron, who promoted him to power. His representation would refer to a funerary meal in the presence of his seated cult statue, a type of memorial elucidated by Bonatz (2000). Sanders (2013), in his analysis

and interpretation of the Katumuwa Stele in Zincirli/Sam'al, discusses in detail the ritual practice and meaning of such funerary meal representations, and shows how image and text are instrumental in connecting the living to the deceased.

I consider the figure below, on the left – wearing decorated boots, a thin cloak with incised lines, perhaps folds, held together by a fibula – to be the patron of the fortress, Azatiwatas (Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 104). He is shown participating in a priestly manner in the preparations for the annual sacrifice. This sacrifice was probably not to his ancestor depicted above, but to the Storm-god (referred to in the inscription as Tarhunzas in Hieroglyphic Luwian / Baal KRNTRYŞ in Phoenician) in the form of one ox and one sheep each at the beginning and end of the agricultural year, as specified in the inscription. In other words, we have two different protagonists: in the lower register, the *living* ruler, most likely the patron of the fortress, participating in the sacrificial ritual for the Storm-god, the latter not represented; and in the upper register, a *deceased* ancestor, represented seated and participating in a commemorative, funerary meal. The scenes belong together, although, strictly speaking, not as a part of a narrative, but rather in a more fundamental, existential way, as also made clear in the inscription. The chosen visual format expresses to me, in an unequivocal way, an immediate correspondence between the ritual commemoration of an ancestor, taking place indoors in front of a cult statue, and the ritual sacrifice for the Storm-god, taking place in the open air. Both are essential to ensuring that Azatiwatas retains his power, and that his name remains on the gate eternally.

These two scenes are complex and combine depictions of objects from a variety of traditions already discussed in the final publication.[16] Here, I would like to highlight the furniture, in order to delineate the wide horizon of cultural influences. The central table could be interpreted as a gift from Phrygia, recalling the well-known inlaid, wooden table from Tumulus MM at Gordion. Comparison to the section drawing (Simpson 1996: 205; see **Fig. 8**) of the table explains the three capitals as the top of three curved legs, on the relief exaggerated into an s-shaped curve, and the horizontal bar and vertical struts as elements to secure the fastening of a four-cornered table top on to three legs. The third leg on the relief is not visible, as it remains behind the monkey below the table. The presence of the fibula on the garment of Azatiwatas confirms

16 Çambel/Özyar 2003: 100–104.

further Phrygian gifts, and their inclusion in the representation would imply wide-ranging diplomatic alliances of a patron *à la* Warpalawas of Tabal. The throne, on the other hand, finds a match in the exquisite ivory-inlaid wooden specimen recovered at Salamis, Tomb 79, in Cyprus (Karageorghis 1973: Pl. 61–63). This dovetails with the observation, explored elsewhere, that the portal sphinxes at Azatiwataya were inspired by Levantine ivory furniture plaques in the shape of sphinxes, also found as a support for the armrest of the Salamis throne. With regard to the pet monkey feeding itself below the table, seemingly in its own world, one should note that neither monkeys nor apes exist in the landscape of Anatolia, Syria or Mesopotamia. They are at home in Egypt, where they were favoured household companions, second in popularity only to dogs, according to Houlihan (2002: 117). Vandier d'Abbadie (1966: 160–180) notes that monkeys feeding below the armchair of their master, in the context of funerary meals, are already attested in representation of the Old Kingdom period, then reappear again in depictions of the New Kingdom as of the 18th Dynasty. As of the 2nd millennium BC, they began to be sent as gifts to royal courts around the Eastern Mediterranean (Rehak 1999: 705–707), including Mesopotamia. In the Anatolian visual world, monkeys first appear in cultic scenes on seal impressions from Kültepe/Kaneš (Özgüç 1965: 73–74). Mellink (1987: 66–67) even contemplates whether they seem to participate in the rituals depicted. Thus, even these few examples illustrate how exotic *realia* were woven into the fabric of the relief, to conjure in the mind of the contemporary viewer an intricate web of overland and overseas contacts to cultures in Phrygia, the Levant, Egypt and beyond.

5 AEGEAN CONNECTIONS

Among the sculptural reliefs set up in the gates of the citadel, there is a group of representations that are not only unique in the Syro-Hittite repertoire, but also only begin to make sense when considered from an Aegean standpoint. I will discuss three of these to illustrate my point. On the left side of the North Gate's antechamber, an orthostat, *NVl 7* on the plan, is set up, which has two self-contained scenes in superimposed registers (**Fig. 2a, 9**).[17] Both above and below, two large fig-

17 On block no. 7; for comparanda and a detailed discussion of the instruments, see Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 73–77.

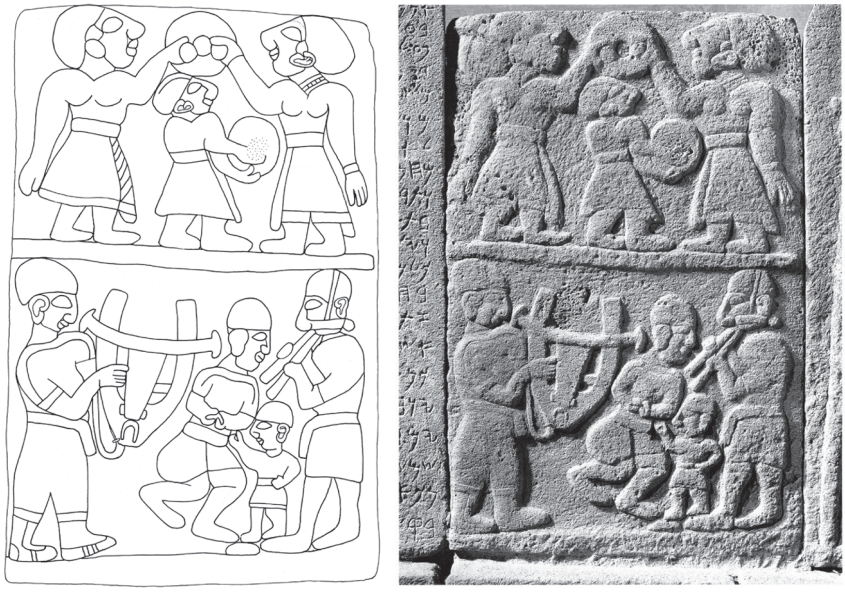

Fig. 9. Musical competition (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 50/51, drawing and photo).

ures face inward towards the centre that is taken up by smaller figures completing the scene. The taller individuals not only frame but define the depicted event by means of what they hold or what they perform. The registers are separated by gender, with females appearing in the upper part. Two women hold up a flat disc with a hollow centre; between them a smaller, third female plays a frame drum. All three wear belted dresses, the one on the right also wearing a choker type of necklace with some of the beads clearly indicated. Below, the detailed depiction of a lyre commands our attention, as if it was the key to unlock the meaning of the scene. The instrument could also be addressed as a cithara (West 1992: 50). It is large in proportion to the musician, who holds it upright and close against his upper body, which suggests that he is playing the instrument. The musician is singled out, wearing clearly indicated footwear, perhaps in the form of leather boots. Shoes and boots are depicted selectively among the gate reliefs, pronounced in the representation of deities, worn by musicians participating in a musical procession or by special figures, such as the patron of the citadel in the feasting scene.[18] The lyre player is facing an aulete, who wears

18 For deities with footwear, see Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 18–19, NVr 4 and Pl. 28–29, NVr 11, Pl. 52–53, NVl 8, Pl. 160–161, SKl 7; for musicians wearing boots, see

strapped to his mouth a *phorbeia*, a piece of leather to prevent straining the lips and the cheeks when blowing. Between the musicians are two figures, one of them very small, perhaps a child. The one facing right is depicted with both feet off the ground, jumping and bending his legs back, kicking against his bulging rear as part of a dance move. The sculptor indicated clearly that the man is snapping the fingers of both his hands, while dancing. The small figure facing left has placed his left hand on his hip, while raising his right arm, maybe singing as well as also snapping his fingers. There is a comparable musical scene involving an aulos and a string instrument, attested among the 9th-century BC reliefs at Karkamish near the seated effigy of the city's patron deity, Kubaba (Woolley 1921: Pl. B 17b). However, it depicts a lute and not a lyre, as well as a comparable dancer and small figure raising his right arm, maybe also singing. The particular combination of aulos and lyre, on the other hand, finds a parallel in the early 6th-century BC Phrygian cult statue of a goddess with small aulete and lyre player (Bittel 1963), where an earlier date is also conceivable (Özgen 1982: 105, 354). However, there are no associated dancers in this case.

The depicted instruments each belong to one of three categories, recognised by ancient writers in their classification, and still reflected in modern lay terminology, i.e. stringed, wind, and percussion instruments, corresponding to chordophone, aerophone and membranophone in musicology (West 1992: 48).[19] Music is the main topic of the scene, i.e. the musical performance defining the image is foregrounded. The musicians are not depicted as part of a procession, and the scene is not part of a cultic festival or sacrifice, as is the case in a second relief with musicians, set up in the South Gate, adjacent to the funerary repast.[20] Here we have two self-contained scenes in separate registers, to indicate what may be taking place either simultaneously or consecutively. In the Syro-Hittite world of imagery, there are no parallels to the composition of these two scenes. The women holding up a hollow disc are the least familiar from the Hittite or Near Eastern perspective and remain puzzling. It is thus all the more startling, when allowed as a frame of reference, how a tale that was at home further west and is

Pl. 142–143, SVl 2.

19 West (1992: 48) notes that the Hornbostel-Sachs system of classification defined four categories adding idiophones. Today, this classification has been expanded to five and includes electrophones.

20 For a discussion of this musical procession with comparanda, see Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 98–100.

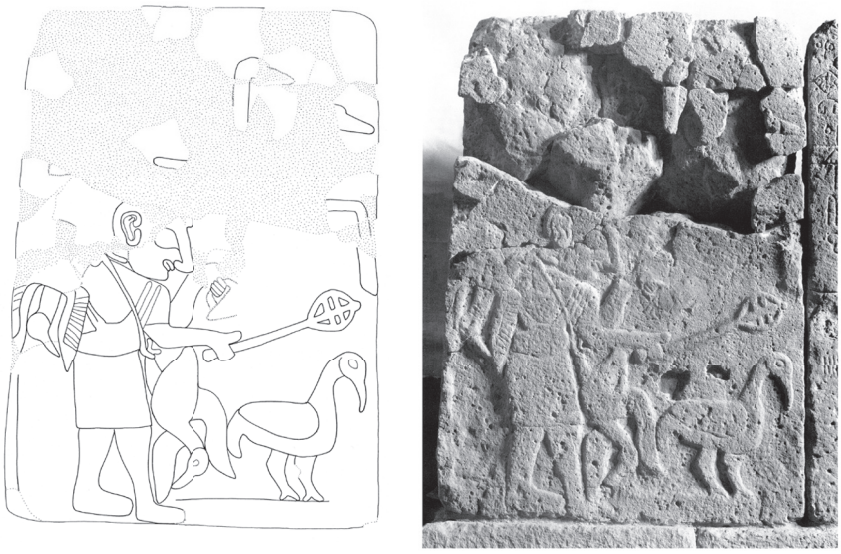

Fig. 10. Augur (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 118/119).

preserved in later sources, provides a coherent reading combining both scenes. Legend has it that Marsyas, playing the aulos, challenged Apollo, playing the lyre, in a contest judged by the Muses. One wonders if the hollow disc held up by the women, seen in this light, could be a victory wreath. Be that as it may, aulos and lyre are attested individually early on in the Near East, but then prevail in the Aegean. Hagel (2010: 442), in the concluding synthesis to his book on the development of ancient Greek music, notes that towards the end of the 6th century BC, among the instruments known to have been used, the "lyre and the aulos already dominated the musical culture, being the prime instruments of public performance in cultic and civic ritual as well as in professional competition". It is of interest that contests in playing the lyre and the aulos, singing and dancing took place as part of the Pythian Games at Delphi, in honour of Apollo.

If we return to Azatiwataya, another unusual representation, set up in the North Gate's right chamber and marked as *NKl 10* on the plan (**Fig. 2a, 10**), is of interest to explore further connections to the Aegean. This relief block is fully preserved in its lower two-thirds. However, it is lacking the surface of much of the upper third. The image of a single man is depicted, surrounded by birds. With his right arm, he thrusts a

rod ending in a net, towards a bird, that could be a glossy ibis.[21] In his left hand, one can barely make out the handle of another gadget, the complete shape of which must be similar to a better-preserved example in a related scene of bird catching, depicted in the South Gate (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 172–173). Two further birds are strung up by their feet, wings spread, both dangling from the figure's shoulder, alongside an oval-shaped sack or pouch, possibly of animal skin. In ancient Near Eastern and Hittite art, hunting is a topos but does not include the hunting of birds. Instead, birds of prey are depicted as partners during hunting in the cultic realm. Representations of the avian world abound in Egypt in general (Houlihan 1986; Evans 2012: 91). In the particular context of chase and hunt (Houlihan 2002: 11–116, 136–139), where one would search for inspiration, parallels for this composition with specific tools are not to be found. The individual is depicted as a single figure in large format, which the visual grammar reserves for deities, in the midst of birds, two caught, a third chased and others[22] possibly flying off. He is not a hunter, since he wears no bow and has neither arrows nor a sling to hurl stones. Instead, we may be shown someone who attempts to capture birds alive, a bird catcher. In the ancient tradition of augury, some bird seers also caught and bred birds as part of their calling/occupation.[23] Thus it is not inconceivable that here, among the gate reliefs of Azatiwataya, an augur was depicted, for some reason in the manner of immortals. More recently, Mouton and Rutherford (2013: 329–345), following up Bawanypeck (2005), established that Anatolian augury of the 2nd millennium BC originates in the Luwian world of Arzawa, and has influenced both the contemporary Near Eastern tradition, via Southeast Anatolia, and the practice as it is known from Greece in the 1st millennium BC. Following this line of thought, one cannot resist the temptation to consider whether the image implied connotations of mythological Mopsos, the seer (augur?) who, before migrating to Cilicia, had won a contest against Kalchas, the best of augurs. It is well known

21 A tool resembling this one in its essence, but with a longer rod and deeper net, called *öb*, is used by pigeon breeders in and around Urfa.

22 Among the preserved surface fragments on the upper third of the relief, at least one is a beak.

23 In the Hittite royal treaty preserved on a bronze tablet, Otten (1988: 15) translates LÚ.MEŠMUŠEN.DÙ as 'birdcatchers', but offers as further possibilities 'bird seers' and 'bird breeders'. For breeding and catching as responsibilities of augurs in the Hittite world, see Ünal (1973: 31–33). For rituals of augury in Hittite texts, see Bawanypeck 2005.

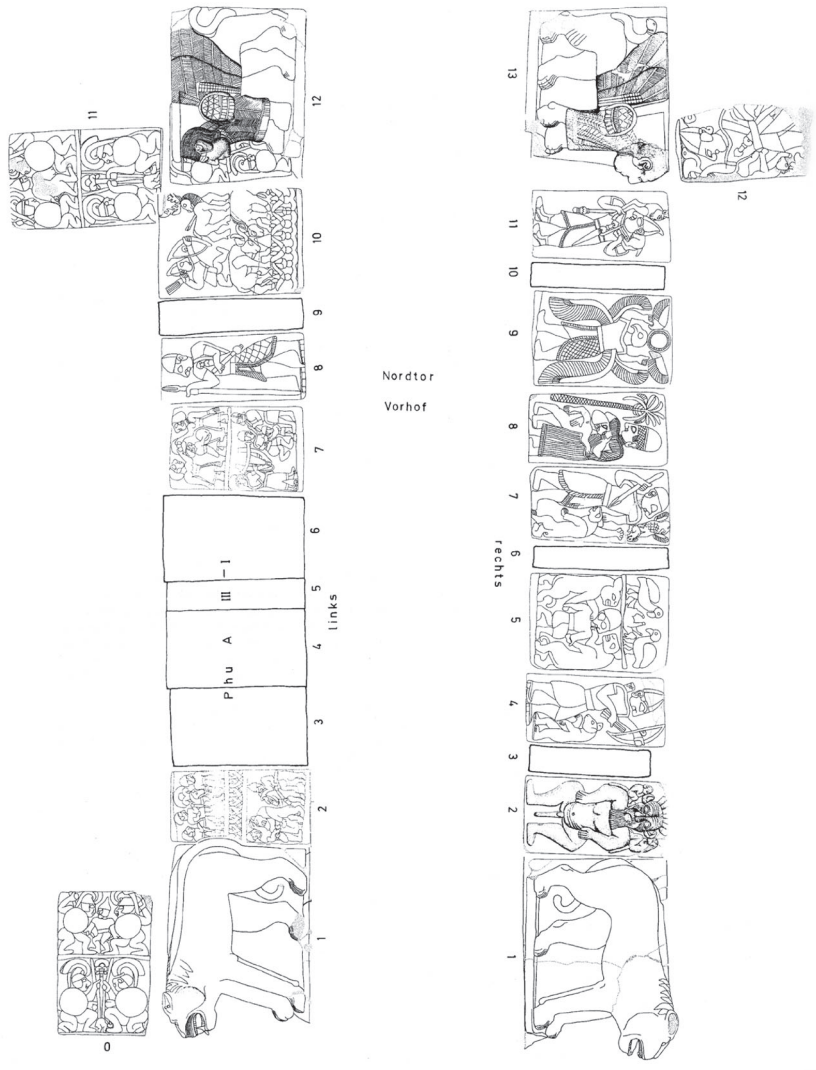

Fig. 11. Sequence of reliefs in the North Gate, antechamber
(Çambel/Özyar 2003: 124, Fig. 145).

that the patron of the citadel prides himself on being promoted by the offspring of the historical house of Mopsos/Muksas.[24]

24 This is a much debated topic, which I will explore further in a publication in preparation.



Fig. 12. Nursing goddess with palm tree (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 24/25).

The third relief that I examine to assess Aegean affinities was set up on the right side of the North Gate's antechamber (**Fig. 11**).[25] A fully dressed female is portrayed on the slab, according to the scale a goddess, nursing a child who is naked, except for a slightly conical cap, another deity (**Fig. 12**).[26] The goddess wears a low-girdled *chiton*, the upper seam of which is depicted running across both of her shoulders and her neck, above which a beaded choker is indicated (Özgen 1982: 96–97). The line below the arm of the child indicates the hanging contour of the *kolpos*,[27] that is the excessive fabric of the dress pulled over the girdle. The cross-hatched lower part of her tall, rounded headgear is separated by two parallel incised lines from the plain top. The female figure holds the child close, pulling him up to her right breast, while standing next to a palm tree. Slightly slanting to the right, the intricately carved tree is given enough space to make it the third figure of the composition.

25 On stone block no. 8.

26 For a full discussion and references, see Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 61–63.

27 See Lee (2004) who proposes that *kolpos* and *apoptygma* are words of ancient origin, but developed as terminology for particular parts of ancient Greek costume in scholarship of the 19th and early 20th century.

Tree and goddess together encase, in a way envelop, the child. The composition of a standing goddess nursing a standing smaller figure is undoubtedly at home in Egypt. The theme became popular in the Iron Age and was depicted on widely consumed elite drinking and feasting paraphernalia, such as on the "Phoenician" or Levantine silver bowl from the Bernardini Tomb, in Praeneste, Italy (Markoe 1984: 188–191, Fig. 274, 275). The nursing deity at Azatiwataya is certainly inspired by such Egyptianising models, although presented in the local visual idiom, as already noted by Mellink (1950: 144). One may argue, as has been done, that the papyri depicted on the Phoenician bowl are replaced here in a localised version by the palm tree. I contend that this fruit bearing, carefully rendered tree is not meant as a backdrop but, quite the contrary, is foregrounded, as if it was an attribute allowing us to read the composition. After all, the visual world of the Karatepe reliefs does not include depictions of flora to conjure a particular landscape, as one is accustomed to observe in contemporary Neo-Assyrian palatial reliefs. Then, rather than setting the scene, the palm tree would have been designed as an integral part of the composition, an attribute of the nursing goddess and the child god. In the ancient Greek iconographic tradition, palm trees are symbols of Apollo, because his mother Leto gave birth to the god on the island of Delos, holding on to a date-palm tree, as narrated in one of the "Homeric Hymns", the *Hymn to Apollo* 14–18, 115–119. If we take our cue from the palm tree, one may contemplate whether the mother and child on the relief may perhaps be addressed as an early version of Leto nursing Apollo.[28] Incidentally, several details of the Karatepe goddess's attire, such as the cross-hatched band along the rim of her headgear, the choker around her neck and the belted *chiton,* recall the small silver statuette of a standing figure clasping hands, from the Bayındır tumulus in Elmalı, Lycia, dated to the end of the 7th century BC, thought to represent a male priest (Akurgal 1992: 70–73; Özgen/Öztürk 1996: 27, Fig. 34; Roller 1999: 105) in seemingly female garb (Işık 2000: 3), thus perhaps a eunuch, as convincingly argued by Şare (2010: 58, 69–71, 76). If this male figurine indeed depicts a eunuch priest, it would not be unlikely that, to the intended spectator or consumer of

28 It is, of course, curious that in the Hymn to Apollo, which explicitly refers to the date-palm in the context of Apollo's birth, it is also pointed out that Apollo was *not* nursed by Leto but rather given nectar and ambrosia provided by Themis (line 123). On the other hand, it is noteworthy that a reference to nursing, even though stating that it did *not* take place, is included in the hymn.

the silver object, it was the costume that associated the priest with the goddess whom he served.

6 CYPRIOT CONNECTIONS

Apart from the Aegean perspective, some of the idiosyncratic images only begin to make sense when inspected through Cypriot spectacles, if you will. In the ancient Near East, the depiction of headgear identifies or classifies the *wearer*, which shall be our cue here as well: Azatiwatas, the ancestor depicted in the context of a mortuary feast, as discussed above, is represented as wearing a distinct, conical helmet with upturned cheek-pieces. This is unusual in the Syro-Hittite realm,[29] but appears to be common in Cyprus, where votary limestone statues dated to the end of the 7th century BC, i.e., about three to four generations later, are often depicted wearing this type of headgear. This is exemplified by several males in long garments from the Sanctuary of Golgoi, modern Ayios Photios, in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Hermary/Mertens 2014: 28–41, cat. nr. 1–18). Based on dedications and iconography, Hermary and Mertens (2014: 18) conclude that "the sanctuary was principally devoted to a male god named Apollo by the beginning of the Hellenistic period latest. This divinity appears under various forms with wider ramifications than those attributed to the 'classical' Greek Apollo."

On the right side of the North Gate's antechamber (**Fig. 11**), the sequence of large figures is arranged in such a way that those on the left face into the citadel, and those on the right out of the gate. Only the tall figure of a Bes stands apart, facing us frontally. A second Bes was set up among the sequence in the North Gate right chamber (**Fig. 3**), in both cases placed on the right side when entering the space, that is behind the portal feline and sphinx, respectively, suggesting that the location may have been determined by a convention. The dwarfish Bes (**Fig. 13**) is a venerable, benign, protective deity with apotropaic qualities and visually conceived in Egypt already as of the 3rd millennium.

29 The only other site in Southeast Anatolia where figures with similar headgear are depicted is Zincirli/Sam'al, where incidentally a Phoenician inscription displayed alongside reliefs was also employed for a brief moment in time. Also intriguing is the depiction of what could be a *figure-of-eight* shield among the imagery. It would be of interest, but beyond the limits of this article, to pursue the relations of Sam'al to the city-state located in Adana, and to polities on the island of Cyprus.

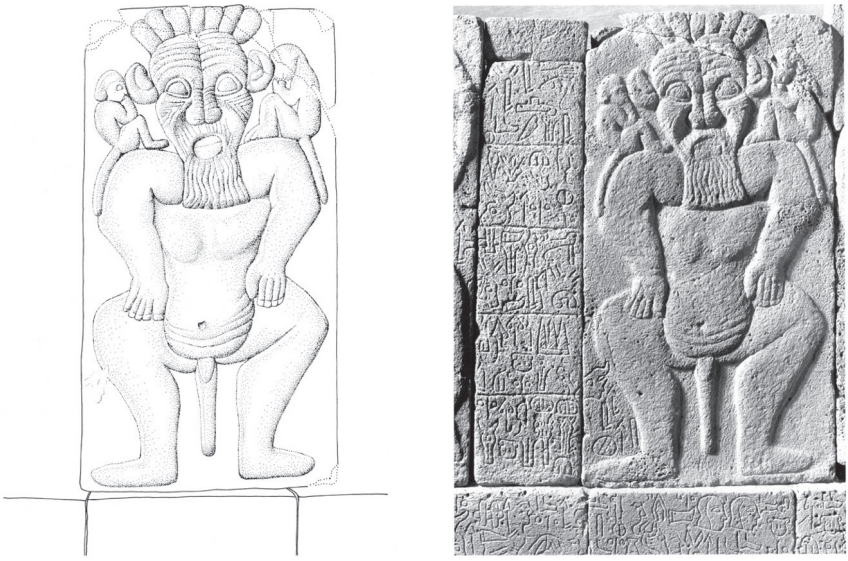

Fig. 13a. Bes (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 16/17, drawing and photo).

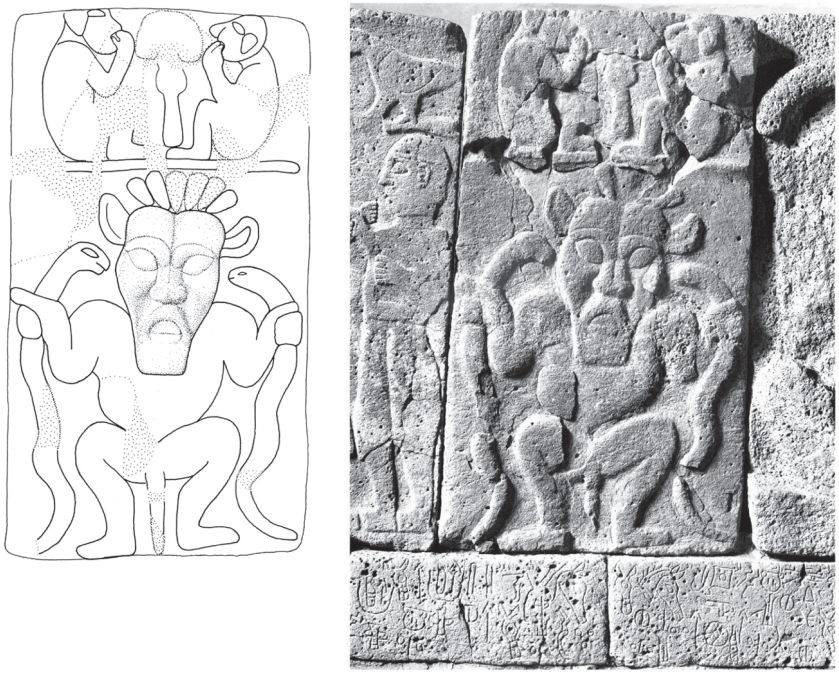

Fig. 13b. Bes (Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 70/71, drawing and photo).



Fig. 14a. Bes head and inscribed pillar
(© Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN – Grand Palais / Pierre et Maurice Chuzeville).

Its image travelled widely when adopted by Levantine mariners and merchants. It was later incorporated into the visual world of the Iron Age cosmopolitan elite. The Karatepe Bes can generally be explained as the result of Phoenician influence in the region, which is certainly the case. On the other hand, depicting the god Bes in large-scale sculptural form or as part of an architectural relief is less wide spread, in fact rare. Bes images are *not* part of the Anatolian Bronze Age visual world[30] and neither do they appear elsewhere in the context of Iron Age Syro-Hittite architectural relief. One place with a long tradition of Bes figures, starting in the Late Bronze Age, is the island of Cyprus (Wilson 1975; Hermary 1986) where large, sculptural Bes figures attest to its worship at Amathus at least as of the archaic period and continuing into Roman times. A stylistically striking parallel for the Bes in the antechamber (**Fig. 14a**) was found at Palaikastro near Larnaca at the beginning of

30 Note the singular occurrence of an imported bone Bes figurine discovered at Alacahöyük and dated to the 14th/13th century BC; for a photo see Kulaçoğlu 1992: 121, Fig. 142.



Fig. 14b. Bes with snakes
(© Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN – Grand Palais / Pierre et Maurice Chuzeville).

the 20th century and is today in the collection of the Louvre (Hermary 1989: 295–296, no. 593). This limestone Bes head has a relief sculpted face, but flat back, recalling terracotta votive Bes masks (Karageorghis 1993: 117). The head is thought to have once been mounted on the pyramid-shaped limestone cippus bearing a Phoenician inscription, due to the perfectly joining mortises. The dating is based on the inscription and suggested to be ca. mid-7th century BC. In the inscription, the sculptor identifies himself by name as "Eshmounhilleç, the sculptor" and specifies "that he made it for Reshef Sh[ed]" (Hermary 1989: 296, no. 593). Steele (2013: 2015) notes that in Cyprus there is a "tendency to equate a Phoenician god with a Greek god in religious contexts, for example the equivalence of Reshep and Apollo in the Idalion and Tamassos bilinguals." The correspondence of the grooved, Humbaba-like Bes-face of the head on a pillar to the depiction at Karatepe and the presence of a Phoenician inscription, identifying the sculptor, begs the question of what kind of relationship this implies. This is a question to which I will devote myself in a separate article (in preparation), which will explore, in particular, the Cypriot connections of Azatiwataya. To return to the

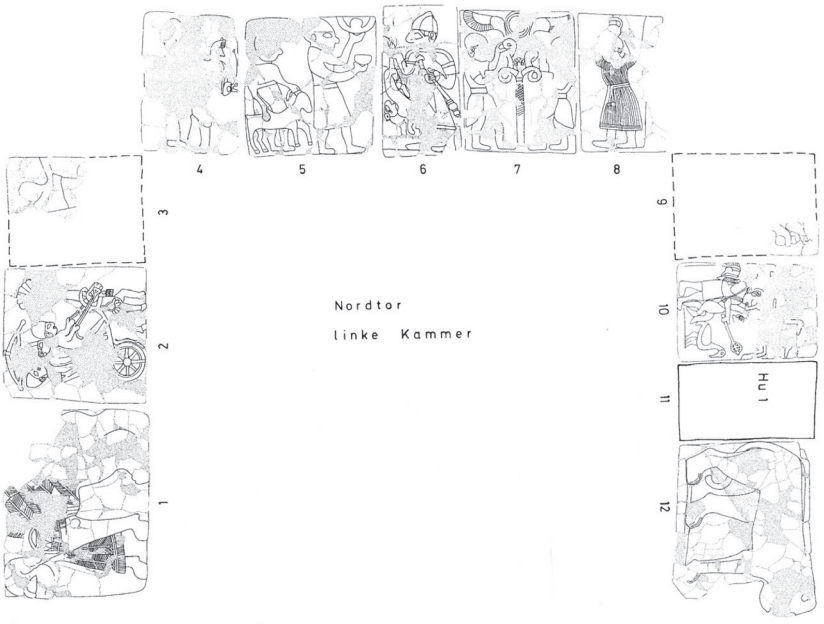

Fig. 15. Sequence of reliefs in the North Gate, left chamber (Çambel/Özyar 2003: 127, Fig. 147).

Bes figures at Karatepe, one notices that both are represented with monkeys, an association that starts in Egypt during the New Kingdom period (Wilson 1975: 82–83). Two such animals, perhaps to be identified as green monkeys (*Cercopithecus aethiops*), are seated on the shoulders of the Bes in the antechamber (**Fig. 13a**), their tails curving around both joints. The monkeys feeding on either side of the palmette, in the upper segment of the second Bes (**Fig. 13b**), were already addressed above in comparison to motifs on the Marlik beaker. The second Bes is placed behind the sphinx in the right gate chamber and differs from the first in the plain execution of its face, as well as in that it grasps a snake in each hand. The Bes warding off danger as the *master of snakes* again has parallels in Cyprus, more often in terracotta, but also in limestone such as the small figurine in the Louvre (bought in 1914, Istanbul) with red paint (Hermary 1989: 297, no. 594, see **Fig. 14b**).

Behind the sphinx guarding the entrance in the left wall of the North Gate chamber, three male figures are depicted mounted on a chariot (**Fig. 15, 16**).[31] Their large scale, in comparison to the smaller size of

31 On orthostat no. 2.

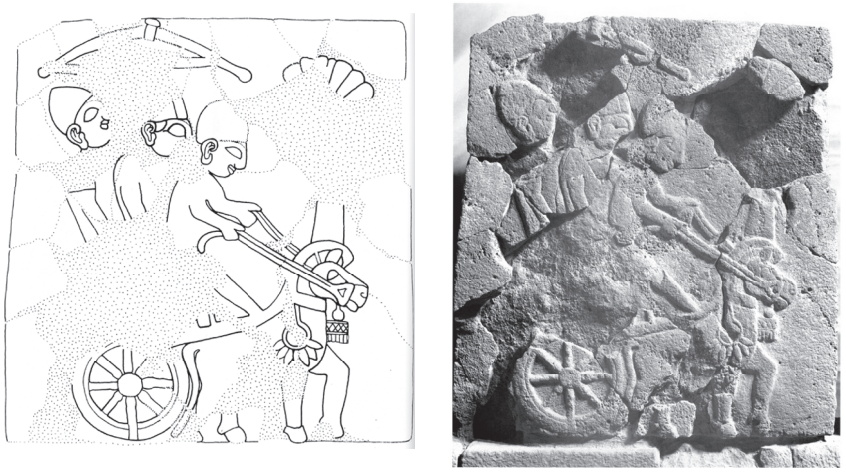

Fig. 16. Chariot with palm tree
(Çambel/Özyar 2003: Pl. 70/71, drawing and photo).

the horse, declares them to be immortals. Even though only a single horse is depicted, the vehicle is drawn by at least a pair if not a quadriga, as indicated by the end of an ornamented chariot pole, seen protruding in front of the animal's breast.[32] Above the head of the horse, one can make out a partially preserved palm tree. It is less ornate and less prominent in the composition than the palm tree next to the nursing goddess, yet it is fitted in at the same height as the mounted figures, in front of the driver. The central figure in the chariot wears the conical helmet with up-turned cheek-pieces discussed above. Iron Age Syro-Hittite and Assyrian reliefs abound in scenes where chariots and charioteers are the subject, usually in hunting or military contexts. Here, at Karatepe, there is apparently no indication for either setting. The only iconographic indications are the palm tree and an object held up, according to the orientation of its central bar, by the mounted figure in the back of the chariot, on the left in the relief. At first glance, one would consider that object to be a parasol[33] for shade as well as a status symbol, well known from Assyrian palatial reliefs, where these are held by an attendant above the ruler.[34] Upon closer inspection, the horizon-

32 For further discussion and details of the chariot, see Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 89–91.

33 To contemplate a parasol, see Kyrieleis (1997).

34 For example Loud (1936: 76, Fig. 88) relief from room 7, Khorsabad (Sargon II);

tal line below the "canopy" does not appear to be typical of a parasol, as it does not resemble the arm support rods, which spread diagonally upward from the central pole of parasols in Assyrian reliefs. Even on the centuries later Amathus sarcophagus (Hermary/Mertens 2014: 353–363, Cat. 490), where the driver of the first chariot in the midst of a chariot procession is depicted standing below a parasol, held by a male attendant, the arm support rods are depicted spreading out from the pole. The horizonal bar or strap of the object in the Karatepe relief does begin to make sense, when compared to the raised shield held by one of the multiple figures mounted on terracotta votive chariots, as seen in the example from Agia Irini (Gjerstad et al. 1935: Inv. Nr. 1170). As the figures in the Karatepe chariot are indicated to be immortals, then it may perhaps not be too far-fetched that the palm tree signals the presence of Apollo, who, as Lambridounakis (1984: 243) states in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, is sometimes depicted in divine processions, mounted on a chariot with other figures, or by himself.

7 HETEROGENEITY OF IMAGERY AT THE GATES OF AZATIWATAYA

This fortress with two image-laden gate complexes is not in the centre of a polity, nor at a place of long-lasting cultural presence. Rather, the material remains of the citadel represent a relatively short *moment*, in terms of settlement time. Other comparable Iron Age fortified sites of the region, developed in response to new ways of life, are located at venerable sites with long settlement biographies. This means that, in such places, the architectural relief adorning gates and structures was emblematic of endurance and novelty, was developed in dialogue with an accrued, built environment through practices of inclusion and exclusion, rejection and re-use of previous image material, all to convey messages of change, new power equilibria, as well as to claim rootedness and tradition. All this is by now common knowledge.[35] Azatiwata-

Barnett/Lorenzini (1975: Fig. 75), Nineveh (Sennacherib).

35 About thirty years ago, I began wondering about questions of re-use in imagery (Özyar 1991; Özyar 1998). It is well beyond the topic of this article to refer to all the publications that pursued comparable lines of thought. In fact, spoliation has become a framework for reading material culture nowadays. Nevertheless, I would like to single out Winter (1979), who considered re-use as one of the

ya stands out as a relatively short-lived site, built to define and secure a frontier zone, to resettle populations and, perhaps, most important of all, to install a cult statue brought from somewhere else, thus indicating that the site was a numinous place. The observed variety as well as idiosyncrasy of its visual world, resulting in an unexpected heterogeneity, is to me *not* derived from engaging closely with an age-old urban material fabric. When compared to other Iron Age monumental visual programmes of the Syro-Anatolian world, what remains unusual in the relief frieze designed for the gates at Azatiwataya is, on the one hand, the frequency of instances where Levantine luxury objects clearly served as models amplified and translated into architectural relief.[36] An insightful perspective to study this phenomenon, as one strategy among many in community formation in the Eastern Mediterranean Iron Age, is provided by Feldman in her book (2014: 177), where she argues that "art is a catalyst and glue for community identity; social communities are thus *made* by artworks themselves". On the other hand, it also is unusual, in fact striking, that a good part of the imagery emanates from strong connotations of the Aegean world going beyond heterogeneity. I first addressed this observation fifteen years ago (Özyar in Çambel/Özyar 2003: 138–140) at a time when the Çineköy inscribed statue had recently been discovered and translated (Tekoğlu/Lemaire: 2000). However, the impact of it only fully developed in time (Hawkins 2009), and before archaeological fieldwork and the new readings of an Anatolian Hieroglyphic sign ushered in the recognition of a forgotten Early Iron Age kingdom P/Walistin in coastal North Syria (Hawkins 2009; Hawkins 2011; Weeden 2015). More recently (Oreshko 2018),[37] further new, currently still debated insights into perceiving Aegean ethnic groups in the Eastern Mediterranean via linguistic studies have been presented. When I began revisiting the Aegean contacts of Azatiwataya in the light of recent discoveries, within the context of the Assyria to Iberia Symposium in 2014, I started to notice that what I published as *occasional* instances of Cypriot affinities in the final publication of the imagery, when pursued further, added up to more than the sum of its parts. This

possibilities for reading a site, Harmanşah (2013) who developed such questions further and in more elaborate ways, and, most recently, Herrmann (2017) who presented an admirable case-study.

36 This has been addressed by scores of scholars, who engaged with the reliefs discovered at Karatepe–Aslantaş. Among these, I single out Mellink (1950), who first drew our attention to it.

37 With all references to his previous publications and replies to these.

Cypriot dimension was first addressed by me in a paper presented in a workshop on Cyprus in 2016.[38] In the meantime, the ground-breaking new proposal by Yakubovich (2015) in his article revisiting the bilingual inscription at Azatiwataya, brought Cyprus into the limelight from a different, the linguistic, angle, to which we can add the study by Simon (2018). The Cypriot affinities of the imagery at Karatepe–Aslantaş have been limited in this article to a few selected examples to illustrate my point. The entanglement of the Cypriot and Cilician visual worlds, as can be gleaned from Azatiwataya, goes much further than it is possible to explore within the limits of this article. For this reason, the full scope and depth of this relationship will be presented in a second article currently in preparation.

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38 Özyar, Aslı: Cypriot Themes in Cilician Imagery: The citadel of Azatiwataya/Karatepe–Aslantaş. In: The connected island. Cyprus from the Neolithic to the end of the Bronze Age. Workshop during the 10th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East. Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria 25–29 April, 2016, abstract of unpublished paper, 208.

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LA LYCIE ET L'HISTORIOGRAPHIE GRECQUE

Ménecratès de Xanthos et Alexandre Polyhistor

Simone Podestà

Abstract : This paper focuses on the fragmentary historiography of Lycia. Especially in the Hellenistic period, monographs were written about local customs and traditions ; today, only fragments of these works remain. However, their study is particularly useful for reconstructing the history of Lycia : between the 5th and 4th century BC, Menecrates of Xanthos composed his work in close correlation with the political propaganda of the ruling dynasty at Xanthos, while Alexander Polyhistor in the 1st century BC wrote his *Lykiaka* with many references to his time.

Keywords : Lycia, historical fragments, Lykiaka, Asia Minor, Greek, Roman and Byzantine history, Menecrates of Xanthos, Alexander Polyhistor

Quand nous parlons de la Lycie, nous avons à l'esprit ses ruines imposantes, ses inscriptions, ses monuments funèbres, voire ses monnaies : pour rétablir l'histoire régionale, nous utilisons surtout les sources archéologiques, les sources numismatiques et épigraphiques et, dans une moindre mesure, les sources littéraires. La question que nous souhaitons aborder concerne l'importance de l'historiographie fragmentaire pour reconstruire l'histoire locale : en premier lieu, nous dresserons un tableau de la littérature historique fragmentaire, expliquant la méthodologie la plus adéquate à utiliser et soulignant la situation de la Lycie ; ensuite nous présenterons deux exemples concrets de l'importance des auteurs fragmentaires pour la reconstruction de certains événements historiques locaux, et, en dernier lieu, nous essayerons d'envisager les pistes de recherche possibles pour valoriser l'historiographie fragmentaire dans le cadre de l'histoire lycienne.

1 INTRODUCTION

La soi-disant grande historiographie est bien connue et étudiée : malheureusement, en ce qui concerne la Lycie, les références à la région et les allusions aux événements concernant l'histoire locale sont marginales.[1] En revanche, à partir du 5e siècle av. J.-C. des monographies sur la région furent écrites : elles visaient véritablement à offrir des données sur l'histoire, la mythologie et la culture locales. Ce genre de littérature n'a pas survécu et nous n'en conservons que des fragments : néanmoins, ces fragments peuvent certainement améliorer notre connaissance du monde ancien et particulièrement des régions longtemps considérées comme mineures, voire même insignifiantes. Étant donné que cette source a longtemps été sous-estimée, voire mise de côté, il est nécessaire de combiner l'étude de l'histoire régionale avec l'analyse des fragments des œuvres, en langue grecque, consacrés à la Lycie.[2] Les premiers à recueillir et éditer ces fragments furent les frères Müller, avec les *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (FHG), mais l'effort pour systématiser toutes ces données fut effectué par Felix Jacoby dans son *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.[3] En ce qui concerne le cas spécifique de la Lycie, il avait proposé une édition critique des *Lykiaka*, dans le volume III C 2, qui resta inachevée à cause de sa mort : la section n'a donc pas de commentaire. Même si dans les derniers temps, l'œuvre de Jacoby a été mise à jour,[4] nous pensons principale-

1 Pour les allusions à la Lycie et aux Lyciens, voir, par exemple, Hdt. I 28, 147, 173, 176, 178 et 182 ; III 4 et 90 ; IV 35 ; VII 77 ; 92 e 98 ; Thuc. II 69 et VIII 41, 4 ; Diod. XI 60, 4 ; XX 27, 1 et 93, 3 ; Pol. XXI 24, 7–8 ; XXV, 4–5 ; XXX 5, 12 et 16 ; App. *BC* IV 10, 76–82. Pour la liste complète des références littéraires concernant la Lycie, voir Bryce 1986 : 216–228.

2 Sur la méthodologie à utiliser pour les recherches sur l'historiographie fragmentaire, voir en général Strasburger 1977 ; Brunt 1980 ; Fornara 1983 et Schepens 1997 : 164–169 ; Schepens 1998 : xii–xiv.

3 Cf. Müller/Müller 1841–1873 (FHG I–V) ; Jacoby 1923–1958 (FGrHist I–III C/2). Les fragments de Ménecratès de Xanthos – l'historien plus ancien que nous connaissons – ont été recueillis par R. L. Fowler (voir Fowler 2001 : 265–268). Sur le projet de Jacoby, voir Ampolo 2006.

4 Au cours des dernières décennies, les études sur l'historiographie fragmentaire ont axé leurs efforts sur la signification et sur la tractation du mot « fragment » : la voie entreprise par K. Müller et F. Jacoby a été poursuivie par de nombreux projets. Citons la *continuatio* des FGrHist sous la direction de S. Schorn pour la partie historique et de K. Geus pour la partie géographique (voir Schepens 1997), le projet *Brill's New Jacoby*, coordonné par I. Worthington (voir Worthington 2005) et la série *I frammenti degli storici greci* dirigée par E. Lanzillotta (Lanzillotta 2006) ; pour les nouveaux projets digitaux, voir Berti et al. 2009 et Warwick/

ment au projet *Brill's New Jacoby*, il manque un véritable commentaire sur les *Lykiaka*.[5]

Jacoby avait réuni différents historiens, auteurs de *Lykiaka* : Ménecratès de Xanthos (nr. 1 = FGrHist : 769, FF 1–5 = FHG II : 343–344 = EGM I : 265–266) ; Policarme (nr. 2 = FGrHist : 770, FF 1–5 = FHG IV : 479–480) ; Léon d'Alabanda (nr. 3 = FGrHist : 278, T 1 = FHG II : 331) ; Alexandre Polyhistor (nr. 5 = FGrHist : 273, FF 48–67 = FHG III : 234–235) ; Capiton de Lycie (nr. 6 = FGrHist : 750, T 1 = FHG IV : 133–134). Néanmoins, l'organisation interne du travail avait forcé Jacoby à réunir les auteurs de *Lykiaka* dans différentes sections de l'œuvre : si les fragments de Ménecratès et de Policarme sont insérés dans cette section, dans d'autres cas, au contraire, les auteurs et leurs travaux sont uniquement signalés, tandis que les fragments sont réunis dans une autre partie des *Fragmente*, sous l'entrée principale de l'auteur pris en considération. Tel est le cas d'Alexandre Polyhistor, Léon d'Alabanda et Capiton : les deux premiers figurent dans les volumes *III A texte* et *III A komm.*, dédiés aux *Autoren ueber verschiedene Staedte (Laender)*, aux numéros 273 et 278 ; tandis que Capiton figure dans le livre III C 2, mais sous la section XVII, à propos des auteurs sur la Cilicie et l'Isaurie, au numéro 750. Jacoby à la fin du chapitre sur les auteurs de *Lykiaka* insérait la mention de la « Constitution des Lyciens » attribuée à l'école péripatéticienne, qui, selon le projet de Jacoby, aurait été analysée dans la IVème partie des *Fragmente*, axée sur la biographie et la littérature antiquaire. Le dernier auteur mentionné par Jacoby était Aristénète, avec son Περὶ Φασήλιδος, une monographie sur les origines de la cité de Phaselis, dans la partie orientale de la Lycie.

La méthodologie à utiliser pour ces données est différente de celle employée d'habitude : il faut extrapoler le fragment et, surtout, comprendre le contexte dans lequel il est inséré, c'est-à-dire déchiffrer l'ensemble des finalités et des objectifs qui ont poussé un auteur à choisir une citation spécifique d'un auteur ancien. Outre une analyse philologique des manuscrits (fondamentale pour une interprétation correcte du texte) et une analyse du contenu, il est nécessaire d'interroger le contexte dans lequel les fragments sont insérés. Comme l'a théorisé Guido Schepens, les textes d'accueil, les *cover-texts* « couvrent l'origi-

Terras/Nyhan 2012.

5 Nous sommes en train de publier l'édition des fragments des *Lykiaka* à Besançon, à l'Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité (ISTA), Université de Bourgogne-Franche-Comté.

nal, en ce triple sens qu'ils le préservent (d'une perte totale), mais aussi qu'ils le masquent (sous une nouvelle forme) et l'incluent (dans un nouveau contexte) ».[6] Si parfois il n'y a pas de contexte, comme, par exemple, dans le cas de lexiques ou d'œuvres encyclopédiques, beaucoup plus souvent la citation est incluse et transmise par un témoin dont il faut évaluer la fiabilité. De ceci découlent deux conséquences fondamentales :

- les références à l'auteur et à son œuvre, qui doivent être étudiées attentivement avant de pouvoir les utiliser pour donner une idée de l'œuvre disparue ;
- l'utilisation d'autres sources pour reconstruire le milieu original du fragment.

Pour le contenu, il faut bien identifier le milieu culturel dans lequel les *Lykiaka* avaient été composés et il faut aussi mettre en évidence les liens avec les traditions locales, les réélaborations mythographiques et historiques. Une tentative, cette dernière, rendue plus complexe par le fait qu'il n'y a pas de fragments provenant d'une source unique, mais dérivant de différents travaux, par différents auteurs, tous transmis par des sources différentes. Dans le cas lycien il y a des historiens comme Ménecratès de Xanthos, que l'on situe au 4e siècle av. J.-C. ; Alexandre Polyhistor, qui vécut au cours du 1er siècle avant J.-C., et Capiton de Lycie, qui a élaboré son œuvre dans la première moitié du 6e siècle apr. J.-C.[7]

2 DEUX EXEMPLES D'UTILISATION DES SOURCES HISTORIQUES FRAGMENTAIRES

2.1 Ménecratès de Xanthos

L'analyse des témoignages fragmentaires peut nous offrir des interprétations nouvelles pour certains évènements historiques, ou, plus simplement, elle peut combler nos lacunes sur différentes périodes de l'histoire locale. À ce propos, nous avons décidé de montrer deux

6 Schepens 1997 : 144–177 ; Lenfant 2002 : 415–416.

7 Capiton était un historien byzantin qui a vécu pendant la fin du 5e siècle et le début du 6e siècle ap. J.-C. ; voir Podestà 2016–2017 avec renvois bibliographiques.

exemples qui paraissent particulièrement représentatifs : ils sont tirés des extraits de Ménecratès de Xanthos et d'Alexandre Polyhistor.

Ménecratès de Xanthos est peut-être le plus intéressant parmi les historiens de *Lykiaka* : il est sûrement l'auteur le plus ancien qui composa une œuvre sur la région.[8] Sur la base des informations présentes dans ses fragments, il vécut vraisemblablement entre la fin du 5e siècle et le début du 4e siècle av. J.-C.[9] De sa monographie, en deux livres, connue comme Λυκιακὰ ou Περὶ Λυκίας (*Sur la Lycie*), il nous reste cinq fragments provenant de sources différentes (les *Antiquités Romaines* de Denys d'Halicarnasse, les *Métamorphoses* d'Antoninus Liberalis, le commentaire à l'*Énéide* de Servius et deux entrées des *Ethnika* d'Étienne de Byzance)[10]. Les thèmes traités sont divers et variés : leur préservation est sans doute liée à la sélection des sources, qui privilégiaient habituellement l'anecdote, le pittoresque ou les références mythiques.

Trois fragments concernent la période mythique de la région. Dans les *Antiquités Romaines*, Denys d'Halicarnasse mentionnait Ménecratès de Xanthos à propos de la légende d'Enée (F 3 Jacoby)[11] : selon l'auteur lycien, le héros aurait trahi sa cité d'origine, Troie, et serait devenu lui-même un Grec. L'insertion des informations sur la guerre de Troie était évidemment banale, si nous pensons que dans l'*Iliade*, les Lyciens étaient les alliés les plus importants des Troyens et si nous pensons que les poèmes homériques (qui faisaient mention de la geste de Bellérophon et de la création d'une ancienne dynastie grecque en Lycie)[12] étaient bien connus dans la région[13]. Nous savons aussi que Ménecratès s'intéressait à l'origine linguistique du nom « Lycie » : dans

8 Sur Ménecratès de Xanthos, voir FGrHist 769, FF 1–5 ; Asheri 1983 : 125–178 ; EGM I : 264–267 et EGM II : 704–705.

9 Plusieurs hypothèses existent quant à la datation de Ménecratès : Mazzarino (1966 : 172 n. 162) le datait du 5e siècle av. J.-C., tandis que Asheri (1983 : 131–132) le datait de la fin du 5e siècle et du début du 4e siècle av. J.-C. Kalinka (TAM II 1 : 98), Göbel (1931 : *s.v.* « Menekrates » [24]), Jacoby (FGrHist IIIb 2, *ad* 328 F 226 n. 1 ; FGrHist 769 *in margine*), Bean (1978 : 73) définissaient Ménecratès de Xanthos comme un historien du 4e siècle av. J.-C.

10 F 1 Jacoby = F 1 Müller = F 1 Fowler = Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀρτύμνησ(σ)ος, A 463 Billerbeck ; F 2 Jacoby = F 2 Müller = F 2 Fowler = Anton Lib. *Met*. 35, Βουκόλοι ; F 3 Jacoby = F 3 Müller = F 3 Fowler = Dion. Hal. *AR* I 48, 1 ; F 4 Jacoby = F 4 Müller = F 4 Fowler = Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βλαῦδος, B 108 Billerbeck ; F 5 Jacoby = F 7 Müller = F 5 Fowler = Serv. Dan. *Ad Verg*. *Aen*. VI 14 (VII 17 Thilo).

11 Dion. Hal. *AR* I 48, 1.

12 Voir Hom. *Il*. V, 152–211.

13 Sur la présence des Lyciens dans l'*Iliade* homérique, voir Frei 1978 ; Jenniges 1998 ; Bouvier 2008 ; Raimond 2015.

les *Métamorphoses* d'Antoninus Liberalis nous lisons que, selon Ménecratès de Xanthos, la région aurait reçu son nom de la déesse Léto[14] : après avoir donné naissance à Apollon et à Artémis, Léto alla en Lycie et décida de faire la toilette de ses enfants dans le fleuve Xanthe. Mais sur l'ordre d'Héra les paysans du lieu vinrent troubler l'eau pour l'en empêcher. Excédée, la déesse les chassa avec l'aide de quelques loups puis les transforma en grenouilles. En remerciement de l'aide reçue par les loups, la déesse nomma la région « Lycie » en leur honneur.[15]

Dans le commentaire de Servius à l'*Énéide* de Virgile (F 5 Jacoby), Ménecratès est mentionné en relation avec les péripéties de Dédale et de son fils, Icare.[16] Probablement Ménecratès liait leurs exploits à la région de Daidala, dans la partie occidentale du pays, où, selon la tradition, était localisé le tombeau de Dédale.[17]

Les autres fragments sont tirés des *Ethnika* d'Étienne de Byzance : le premier concerne le village de Blaundos en Phrygie (F 4 Jacoby), où, pendant la dernière partie de la Guerre du Péloponnèse, en 405 av. J.-C., le satrape Tissapherne était actif.[18] Peut-être Ménecratès se rappelait-il d'un scénario de guerre qui n'impressionnait guère les Grecs, mais qui prenait une grande importance pour les Lyciens, vu le rôle de Tissapherne à l'échelle régionale après la fin de la Guerre du Péloponnèse[19].

Le dernier fragment, tiré des *Ethnika*, concerne la cité d'Artymnesos[20] :

14 F 2 Jacoby = Anton. Lib. *Met*. 35.

15 Vraisemblablement, le terme « Lycie » est issu du toponyme « Lukka », rencontré dans les textes hittites et égyptiens pour indiquer des populations localisées dans la péninsule anatolienne, qui étaient liées aux Hittites par des accords d'alliance (voir Tavernier 2015 ; De Vos 2015). Néanmoins, des questions demeurent au sujet de l'origine du nom « Lukka » : récemment, il a été proposé d'interpréter ce nom géographique par une étymologie indo-européenne, laquelle renverrait à une racine *leuk-/louk-/luk-, qui indiquerait la « lumière » (voir Schürr 2014 et Podestà 2018 sur les autres hypothèses concernant la naissance des Lyciens).

16 F 5 Jacoby = Serv. Dan. *Ad Verg*. *Aen*. VI 14 (VII 17 Thilo).

17 Cf. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δαίδαλα, Δ 4 Billerbeck.

18 F 4 Jacoby = F 4 Müller = F 4 Fowler = Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βλαῦδος, B 108 Billerbeck.

19 Après la guerre du Péloponnèse, il est fort probable que Tissapherne fut envoyé en Lycie et dans la région limitrophe pour contrôler et administrer les populations locales. Sur le rôle de Tissapherne, voir Keen 1998 : 136–138 ; Raimond 2002 : 122–123 ; Thonemann 2009.

20 F 1 Jacoby = F 1 Müller = F 1 Fowler = Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀρτύμνησ(σ)ος, A 463 Billerbeck.

FGrHist : 769, F 1 = FHG II : 343, F1 = EGM I : 265, F1, Steph. *s.v.* Ἀρτύμνησος (A 463 Billerbeck). Πόλις Λυκίας, ἄποικος Ξανθίων. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀρτυμνησεύς. Μενεκράτης ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν Λυκιακῶν φησιν ὅτι πολυανθρωπήσασαν τὴν Ξάνθον τοὺς πρεσβύτας εἰς τρία μέρη διελεῖν, τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Κράγον ἐλθεῖν καὶ οἰκῆσαι ἐν τῷ ὄρει λόφον στρογγύλον, κατοικίσαι καὶ καλέσαι τὴν πόλιν Πινάραν, ἣν μεθερμηνεύεσθαι στρογγύλην. τὰ γὰρ στρογγύλα πάντα πίναρα καλοῦσιν.

*Artymnesos : cité de la Lycie, colonie des Xanthiens. L'ethnique est Artymneseus. Ménecrat*ès *dans le premier livre des* Lykiaka *affirme que les anciens divisèrent Xanthos, qui était surpeuplée, en trois groupes ; parmi ceux-ci, certains se dirigèrent vers le mont Cragos et colonisèrent sur la montagne une colline ronde, fondèrent une cité et l'appelèrent Pinara, qui signifie « la ronde ». Les Lyciens, en effet, appellent « pinara » tout ce qui est rond.*[21]

L'entrée d'Étienne de Byzance est évidemment résumée : le lexicographe citait notre historien à propos de la cité d'Artymnesos. Ménecratès, dans ses *Lykiaka*, reconstruisait l'histoire plus ancienne des cités de la vallée du Xanthe : après une croissance démographique rapide, Xanthos décida de diviser la population de la cité en trois groupes. Le premier groupe fut envoyé sur le Cragos pour fonder Pinara[22] ; le deuxième fonda sans doute Artymnesos,[23] sinon nous ne comprendrions pas la citation de Ménecratès dans ce contexte ; en revanche, pour le troisième nous n'avons pas de données et nous ne savons pas si Ménecratès supposait qu'il était resté à Xanthos ou qu'il avait été envoyé fonder une autre cité dans la vallée du Xanthe. Ménecratès considérait évidemment Pinara et Artymnesos comme des colonies de Xanthos : il est fort probable que Ménecratès, dans ses *Lykiaka*, rejetait la version « traditionnelle », que nous connaissons grâce à l'œuvre du poète

21 L'édition critique utilisée pour le texte d'Étienne de Byzance est celle de Billerbeck et al. (Billerbeck 2006 ; Billerbeck/Zubler 2011 ; Billerbeck 2014 ; Billerbeck/Neumann-Hartmann 2016 ; Billerbeck/Neumann-Hartmann 2017). Sauf indication contraire, la traduction est la nôtre.

22 Sur la cité de Pinara, cf. Herbst R. (1950), *s.v.* « Pinara » [1], RE XX 2 : 1391–1395 ; Neumann 2007 : 274 ; TIB VIII 2 : 811–813 ; Lebrun/Van Quickelberghe 2015.

23 Sur la cité d'Artymnesos, localisée dans la partie orientale de la vallée du Xanthe, voir Robert 1966 : 11–14 ; Schweyer 1996 : 24–26 ; TIB VIII 2 : 457 et, plus en général, Podestà 2017.

épique Panyassis d'Halicarnasse[24] et grâce au mythe rapporté par le rhéteur Kiéron, gravée sur une inscription retrouvée à Sidyma, une cité localisée quelques kilomètres à nord de Pinara.[25] Selon cette version, les cités de Xanthos, Tlos, Pinara et Cragos (probablement l'ancien nom de la cité de Sidyma) étaient nées de l'union entre Tremiles et son épouse, la nymphe Praxidikè. Grâce à cette reconstruction Panyassis créa une parenté légendaire, vu que l'origine de toutes les cités était liée aux fils de Tremiles, le héros éponyme des Lyciens et leur ancêtre.

Pourquoi Ménecratès ne suivait-il pas ce mythe ? Évidemment, il est possible que Ménecratès ait inséré la version traditionnelle du mythe dans d'autres chapitres de ses *Lykiaka*, néanmoins il est intéressant de s'interroger sur les motivations qui poussèrent Ménecratès à citer cette reconstruction. Ses motivations pouvaient être politiques : nous avons supposé que Ménecratès avait vécu au tournant du 5e et 4e siècle av. J.-C. et qu'il était originaire de Xanthos. À cette époque, à Xanthos le pouvoir était dans les mains d'Erbinas, fils de Kheriga et arrière-petit-fils de Kuprilli[26] : la cour royale hébergeait de nombreux savants et hommes de lettres originaires de Grèce, comme Symmaque de Pellana qui composa pour le souverain des épigrammes métriques gravées sur la pierre, inscriptions retrouvées dans le sanctuaire de la déesse Lêto.[27] D'une manière générale, nous pouvons dire que l'hellénisation de la société lycienne se déroulait rapidement.[28] De plus, la cité de Xanthos avait une prééminence politique indéniable, elle était la cité la plus connue de la région et celle qui gardait des contacts fréquents et réguliers avec le monde hellénique.[29] Dans ce contexte, Ménecratès avait alors créé une version alternative de l'origine des cités de la vallée : Pinara, Artymnessos et, implicitement, les autres localités de la Lycie occidentale étaient de véritables colonies xanthiennes. En voulant souligner l'importance de Xanthos sur les autres cités, Ménecratès avait rejeté la version de Panyassis qui remontait au début du 5e siècle av. J.-C. et qui avait été

24 Pour le fragment de Panyassis, cf. F 23 Bernabé = F 18 Kinkel = FGrHist 273 F 137 = Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τρεμίλη, T 178 Billerbeck.

25 Sur la cité de Sidyma, cf. Ruge 1923 : *s.v.* « Sidyma » ; TIB VIII 2 : 845. Pour l'inscription, cf. TAM II 1 : 174 = FGrHist 770, F 5 = T 19 Chaniotis.

26 Sur la période, cf. Bryce 1986 : 99–114 ; Keen 1998 : 112–148 et Kolb 2016.

27 Sur Symmaque de Pellana, cf. Petrovic 2008 ; sur les inscriptions, cf. N 311 = Bousquet 1975 : 141–142 ; SEG XVIII : 1245 et SEG XXXIX : 1414 (pour l'analyse, cf. Bousquet 1992 : 155–161, 181–187).

28 Raimond/Vismara 2015 : 182–190.

29 Sur la cité de Xanthos, cf. Işik 2016.

conçue dans une période où il était encore possible de mettre au même niveau Xanthos, Pinara et Tlos : Ménecratès, reprenant des thèmes de la propagande royale xanthienne, considérait Xanthos comme la cité d'origine des autres localités et, implicitement, affirmait son droit à les soumettre à ses désirs.

2.2 Alexandre Polyhistor

Le deuxième exemple est tiré de la production d'Alexandre Cornelius, mieux connu dans l'Antiquité avec le surnom de Polyhistor, dérivant évidemment de l'érudition éclectique et encyclopédique exposée dans ses nombreux ouvrages.[30] Sur la vie d'Alexandre, la source la plus complète est la *Souda*.[31] Après la brève mention de sa patrie, Milet, sont immédiatement précisés le surnom et le gentilice : la *Souda* écrit qu'il avait été exilé à Rome lors de la première guerre contre Mithridate VI, roi du Pont, et que plus tard Alexandre avait été libéré et avait reçu la citoyenneté romaine et le gentilice. Le lexique rappelle ensuite qu'il était παιδαγωγός de Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, préteur en 100 av. J.-C. et consul en 97 av. J.-C., qui décida ensuite de libérer Alexandre.[32]

La tendance à expérimenter, l'éclectisme de sa production littéraire sont visibles non seulement dans le surnom, mais aussi dans les chapitres introductifs de l'*Histoire Naturelle* de Pline l'Ancien, qui cite Alexandre à plusieurs reprises, en référence à des arguments différents, allant de l'histoire géo-ethnographique (livres IV et V), à la description des merveilles (livre VII), à l'érudition scientifique, géologique et botanique (livres IX, XXXVI et XXXVII).

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30 Cf. Suet. *Gramm*. 20 (= FGrHist 273, T 3) : *Cornelium Alexandrum, grammaticum Graecum, quem propter antiquitatis notitiam Polyhistorem multi, quidam Historiam vocabant* ; Eus. *Pr. Ev.* IX, 17, 1 (= FGrHist 273, T 7b) : ὁ Πολυίστωρ Ἀλέξανδρος, πολύνους ὢν καὶ πολυμαθὴς ἀνήρ, τοῖς τε μὴ πάρεργον τὸν ἀπὸ παιδείας καρπὸν πεποιημένοις Ἕλλησι γνωριμώτατος.

31 Sur la vie d'Alexandre Polyhistor, nous avons huit témoignages, recueillis par Félix Jacoby (FGrHist 273, TT 1–8) : T 1 (= Suid. *s.v.* Ἀλέξανδρος, A 1129 Adler) ; T 2 (= Serv. Dan. *ad Verg. Aen*. X, 385) ; T 3 (= Suet. *Gramm*. 20) ; T 4 (= Phot. *Bibl*. 188, 145 b 9) ; T 5 (= Phot. *Bibl*. 189, 145 b 28) ; T 6 (= Plin. *NH* I, 3–7) ; T 7a–b Jacoby (= Eus. *Chron*. p. 125, 8 Karst ; Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* IX, 17, 1) ; T 8 (= Tzetz. *ad Lycoph*. 177, p. 87, 33 Scheer).

32 Sur Cornelius Lentulus, cf. Plin. *NH* XXX 3 (12) ; Degrassi 1954 : 74 : « Cn. Cornelius Cn.f. Cn.n. Lentulus, P. Licinius [M.f. P.n. Crassus] » ; Christes 1979 : 39 ; Mora 1997 : 96 n. 21.

La tradition manuscrite mentionne 24 titres, montrant seulement une partie de l'immensité des intérêts de l'auteur : pour la branche historiographique et géographique nous avons : Περὶ Ῥώμης en cinq livres sur la cité de Rome ; Ἰταλικά (sur la péninsule italique) ; *De Illyrico tractu* sur les habitants de l'Illyrie ; Περὶ Εὐξίνου Πόντου sur la Mer Noire ; Περὶ Βιθυνίας sur la Bithynie ; Περὶ Παφλαγονίας sur la Paphlagonie ; Περὶ Φρυγίας en trois livres sur la Phrygie ; Περὶ Καρίας en deux livres sur la Carie ; Περὶ Λυκίας (ou Λυκιακά) en deux livres sur la Lycie et le Λυκίας Περίπλους (?), à savoir la description de la Lycie maritime ; Περὶ Κιλικίας sur la Cilicie ; Ἰνδικά sur l'Inde ; Περὶ Συρίας sur la Syrie ; Αἰγυπτιακά en trois livres sur l'Égypte ; Λιβυκά en trois livres sur la Libye ; Περὶ Κύπρου sur l'île de Chypre ; Κρητικά sur l'île de Crète ; Χαλδαικά (?), peut-être une monographie sur la Mésopotamie ; Περὶ Ἰουδαίων sur la Judée ; Περὶ Λυκωρείας sur le Lycorée ; dans le domaine philologique, littéraire et antiquaire nous avons le Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίου ; un commentaire sur la poétesse Corinna, Κορίννης Ὑπομνήματα et le Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι τοπικῶς εἰρημένων, un traité sur les références géographiques de l'œuvre d'Alcman ; enfin, le Περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν Συμβόλων et le Φιλοσόφων διαδοχαί traitent de philosophie.[33]

Toute sa production historiographique visait à fournir des informations sur les pays et les populations de l'Est, qui, au cours de ces années, entraient pour la première fois en contact avec Rome. Peut-être qu'Alexandre se concentrait sur les régions qui jusque-là étaient indépendantes de Rome et qui ont été les principaux champs de bataille des guerres contre Mithridate VI.[34] Alexandre aurait été influencé par le climat culturel du 1er siècle av. J.-C., en combinant un intérêt pour l'ethnographie et l'historiographie locale avec la nécessité de disposer des compilations, des listes des auteurs et des extraits. L'historien se consacrait assidûment à l'étude de ses sources, ajoutant son propre jugement critique et préférant les variantes les plus insolites.[35]

Dans le cas de la Lycie, les sources mentionnent plusieurs titres pour la monographie (Λυκιακά, Περὶ Λυκίας ou Λυκίας Περίπλους). Malheureusement, tous les fragments des *Lykiaka* sont de courts ex-

33 Sur la production d'Alexandre Polyhistor, cf. E. Schwartz, *s.v.* « Alexandros » [88], RE I 2, coll. 1459–1461 ; Jacoby, FGrHist III a Kommentar, p. 248–260 ; Blakely, *s.v. Alexander Polyhistor 273*, dans BNJ online .

34 Jacoby, FGrHist III a – Kommentar, p. 250, 257 ; Momigliano 1975 : 121–122 ; Zecchini 1989 : 709–710 ; Engels 1999 : 226–227 et Ottone 2002 : 476–478.

35 Cf. Troiani 1988 : 19–31 (spéc. 20–21) ; Adler 2011 : 227–230.

traits tirés des *Ethnika* d'Étienne de Byzance ou du lexique la *Souda* : ils mentionnent des informations sur la topographie de la région ou des données liées à l'ethnographie et dénotent un intérêt pour l'histoire de l'Antiquité. Sur les thèmes abordés, nous pouvons dire peu de choses : les sources qui transmettent les fragments d'Alexandre semblent particulièrement s'attacher à établir les limites de la région (nous avons plusieurs entrées relatives aux cités frontalières), à décrire la côte lycienne et ses îles, en raison de leurs valeurs stratégiques pour les trafics commerciaux et pour les réseaux routiers, et à retracer ses origines mythiques (surtout en rapport avec la tradition homérique).

Pour la datation, il est fort probable que l'ouvrage ait été composé dans les années soixante-dix du 1er siècle av. J.-C., au moment où la Lycie avait déjà reçu le titre par Sylla d'« amie et alliée du peuple romain » (App. *Mithr*. 66) pour avoir soutenu les Romains contre les pirates et Mithridate en 85 av. J.-C. Cette hypothèse serait confirmée par Étienne de Byzance, à travers la citation d'Alexandre Polyhistor, dans l'entrée dédiée à la cité d'Oinoanda.

> FGrHist : 273, F 52 = FHG III : 234, fr. 69, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Οἰνόανδα (O 26 Billerbeck)· πόλις Λυκίας· Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν α΄ Λυκιακῶν. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Οἰνοανδεύς.
>
> *Oinoanda, cité de la Lycie, selon Alexandre dans le premier livre des* Lykiaka. *L'ethnique (est)* Oinoandeus.

Alexandre déclarait qu'Oinoanda était une cité lycienne : la concision du passage, sûrement le résultat de plusieurs interventions d'abréviation, ne nous permet pas de connaître le contexte dans lequel cette affirmation était placée. Il faut alors analyser les autres sources dont nous disposons : sur la base du récit de Strabon, nous savons qu'un certain Murena – probablement identifiable avec le gouverneur de la province d'Asie de 84 à 81 av. J.-C.[36] – avait organisé une expédition militaire dans l'Anatolie intérieure pour destituer Moagetes, tyran de Cibyra, qui menaçait les Romains et leurs alliés.[37] Selon Strabon[38] :

36 Sur le légat Licinius Murena, voir Broughton 1952 : 119, 158, 172–173 ; Broughton 1986 : 123–124 ; Carena/Manfredini/Piccirilli 1990 : 304–305.

37 Voir Vitale 2012 pour une bibliographie mise à jour sur la *tetrapolis* et sur la venue du préteur Murena.

38 Strab. XIII, 4, 17 [C 631].

> Προσγενομένων δὲ τριῶν πόλεων ὁμόρων, Βουβῶνος Βαλβούρων Οἰνοάνδων, τετράπολις τὸ σύστημα ἐκλήθη, μίαν ἑκάστης ψῆφον ἐχούσης, δύο δὲ τῆς Κιβύρας (...) ἐτυραννεῖτο δ' ἀεί, σωφρόνως δ' ὅμως· ἐπὶ Μοαγέτου δ' ἡ τυραννὶς τέλος ἔσχε, καταλύσαντος αὐτὴν Μουρηνᾶ καὶ Λυκίοις προσορίσαντος τὰ Βάλβουρα καὶ τὴν Βουβῶνα.
>
> *Après que les trois villes voisines de Boubon, Balboura et Oinoanda s'étaient attachées, la confédération fut nommée « tetrapolis » ; chacune d'elles avait un vote, Cibyra, au contraire, en avait deux (…) Elle était toujours gouvernée par des tyrans, qui, toutefois, l'administraient avec sagesse : la tyrannie cessa quand Murena la vainquit et ajouta Balboura et Boubon aux Lyciens…*

Pendant les guerres contre Mithridate, les Romains intervinrent à plusieurs reprises dans la région : Murena avait été envoyé pour punir Cibyra, coupable d'avoir aidé le souverain pontique et d'avoir menacé les états voisins.[39]

Strabon, dont la source est sans doute Artémidore,[40] explique que, après la défaite de Moagetes, Cibyra fut englobée dans la province d'Asie, bien que les villes méridionales de Boubon et Balboura aient été assignées aux Lyciens, peut-être comme récompense pour l'aide logistique et militaire que la ligue lycienne avait fourni à Rome contre Mithridate. En revanche, la *tetrapolis* semble avoir une existence assez courte. Effectivement, nous ne connaissons pas de monnaies fédérales lyciennes frappées par Balboura et Boubon : l'absence de monnayage pourrait indiquer que les villes ne faisaient pas partie de la ligue ou qu'elles y jouaient un rôle mineur.[41]

Strabon se tait sur le destin d'Oinoanda : elle fut probablement rattachée à la ligue fédérale lycienne avec Balboura et Boubon. L'appartenance d'Oinoanda à la confédération sous l'Empire et la situation topographique de la cité (placée entre la Lycie et les deux localités septentrionales) assurent qu'Oinoanda avait été confiée, elle aussi, aux Lyciens.

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39 Voir Magie 1950 : 242 ; Liebmann-Frankfort 1969 : 199 ; Sherwin-White 1984 : 152.

40 Voir Eilers/Milner 1995 : 88.

41 Troxell 1982 : 109, 238 ; Eilers/Milner 1995 : 87 n. 66 ; Behrwald 2000 : 113.

Ce rattachement a été souvent nié : l'absence de monnaies fédérales lyciennes frappées à Boubon et Balboura et surtout le traité d'alliance conclu entre Rome et la ligue fédérale en 46, qui laissait en dehors de la Lycie le territoire de la Cabalide, prouveraient qu'à ce moment-là Oinoanda était indépendante.[42] Alors, comme l'auteur des *Fouilles de Xanthos X* l'a souligné, « le témoignage d'Alexandre Polyhistor doit être écarté, si du moins il concerne le milieu du 1er siècle av. J.-C. ».[43] Selon une partie de la critique, si nous écartons la possibilité d'une erreur de la part d'Alexandre, il faut alors nécessairement imaginer qu'Étienne de Byzance aurait à tort déduit le rattachement d'Oinoanda à la Lycie de sa simple mention dans les *Lykiaka* de l'historien de Milet. En réalité, nous croyons qu'il est plus raisonnable d'imaginer un contrôle lycien de la cité pour une certaine période du 1er siècle : Boubon, Balboura et Oinoanda refusaient leur annexion à la Lycie et ce refus aurait été à la base des conflits armés qui opposèrent la Cabalide et la Fédération.[44] Le traité de 46 était destiné à mettre fin à la guerre : les clauses territoriales affirmaient certains droits des Lyciens dans l'arrière-pays, mais entérinaient aussi leur renonciation aux trois cités de Cabalide. Alexandre, se fondant sur des sources officielles romaines datables de l'époque de Sylla, aurait simplement dressé un tableau qui n'avait jamais existé ou qui avait été mis en place pour une courte période.

Pour toutes ces raisons, il parait sûr que la monographie sur la région fut nécessairement écrite après 81 av. J.-C. : à cette période, Rome choisit de déléguer le contrôle de la partie méridionale de la Cabalide, y compris Oinoanda, aux Lyciens, et Alexandre, prisonnier de Cornelius Lentulus, arriva à Rome.

42 L'hypothèse serait confirmée par la découverte d'une inscription, de provenance inconnue et datée de 46 av. J.-C., qui préserve un traité d'alliance et d'amitié entre la Confédération des Lyciens et les Romains. Elle a permis de restituer de façon précise et ponctuelle les frontières lyciennes : une des clauses du traité concernait explicitement la liste et la description des régions, des bâtiments, des territoires et des ports des Lyciens. Dans la liste des localités administrées par les Lyciens, les villes de Balboura, Boubon et Oinoanda n'apparaissent pas. Cf. Mitchell 2005 (= SEG LV, nr. 1452 ; Bulletin èpigraphique (2006), nr. 143).

43 Voir Rousset 2010 : 103–105.

44 Pour cette raison, les Romains intervinrent dans la région, en signant avec les Lyciens le traité de 46 ap. J.-C. Cf. Mitchell 2005 : 206–208, 230, 242.

3 CONCLUSIONS

En définitive, nous avons traité deux exemples qui montrent l'importance de l'historiographie fragmentaire pour la reconstruction de l'histoire de la Lycie. Les fragments de ces historiens, Ménecratès de Xanthos et Alexandre Polyhistor, permettent d'étudier les pratiques culturelles et les traditions mythologiques locales, d'améliorer la compréhension de la situation politique de la région à un moment donné et de faire avancer nos connaissances sur l'évolution de la géographie politique régionale. En somme, dans l'avenir il faudra sans doute poursuivre l'étude des fragments, si nous voulons vraiment essayer de reconstruire une histoire de la région qui soit la plus complète possible.

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WHEN THE GREAT KING ENCOUNTERS WHITE MARBLE

A material perspective on Western Anatolia

Alessandro Poggio

Abstract: Marble was among the resources that shaped Anatolia in antiquity, and was a material widely used for local purposes and exported across the Mediterranean. Though the Roman period has been well studied, the role of marble in earlier periods has continued to be overlooked, particularly before the Hellenistic period.

The study of marble use under Achaemenid Persian rule (mid-6th century to the 330s BC) can, instead, lead to a better understanding of the complex balance between the different cultural worlds in Western Anatolia.

This paper explores the Persian kings' encounter with white marble in Western Anatolia and discusses its impact through reference to a variety of evidence types. The advantages of applying a material perspective to Western Anatolia under Persian rule are considered in order to shed light on crucial artistic and cultural mechanisms.

Keywords: Western Anatolia, Persian Great Kings, marble use and circulation, materiality

1 INTRODUCTION[1]

The westernmost part of Anatolia is particularly rich in marble, which was widely used in antiquity for local purposes and was exported across the Mediterranean. Owing to its workability and brilliance, crystalline marble was preferred over limestone for sculpture and architecture and thus not only was it used in the regions with easy access to quarries but it was also widely circulated, being transported at great cost and effort. Thus, this stone was a status symbol flaunted by wealthy patrons.

1 I am grateful to Annick Payne and Jorit Wintjes for organizing the Ascona Conference and accepting my paper.

As part of the "material turn", the study of materials has attracted much attention in recent years, aided by the use of increasingly reliable archaeometric analyses and insightful interdisciplinary investigation into their role and meaning. When supported by a well-grounded approach, these studies may contribute to expanding our knowledge of artistic, historical, economic, social, and anthropological issues. In this field, marble studies stand out for their marked development across different disciplines: investigations into the provenance, use, and value of marble allow us to understand different aspects of the societies involved.[2]

As Western Anatolia is important as a nexus at which different cultural worlds interacted across centuries, the use and circulation of marble may be a key element to a better understanding of the dynamics at work. Yet, though the Roman period has been well studied, the role of marble in earlier periods, when white marble was prominent, is still overlooked, notably before the Hellenistic period.[3] Compared particularly with research on visual studies and specific aspects of material culture, materials have played a surprisingly minor role in the recent dynamic debate over the balance between different cultural realms in Western Anatolia under Persian rule (mid-6th century to the 330s BC).[4]

In this paper, I will emphasize the importance of such a material perspective for offering some ideas on an aspect that has been completely overlooked, that is, the use of white marble for artefacts made in Western Anatolia by order of the Persian Great Kings.

2 THE GREAT KINGS' USE OF WHITE MARBLE

According to Herodotus, in the preparations for the second Graeco-Persian War (480–479 BC), Xerxes' army and fleet converged for the first

2 For an updated methodological assessment of materiality, see Hahn/Shalem 2020. On marble studies, the ASMOSIA proceedings (http://asmosia.willamette.edu/?page_id=19, 21st April 2020) are fundamental; see also True/Podany 1990 and Lazzarini/Marconi 2014 for useful thoughts on the discipline.

3 On this theme before the Hellenistic period, see Poggio 2010; Poggio 2018b and Freccero 2015. From the methodological point of view, see Stucky 2012 on Phoenicia. For the Roman period, see, for instance, Barresi 2003.

4 On the debate upon the Achaemenid Persian impact on Western Anatolia, see Poggio 2019.



Fig. 1. North-Western Anatolia
(map by the author using QGIS with Google Maps as a basemap).

time on the Hellespont, before crossing the strait and heading in the direction of Thrace (**Fig. 1**):

> "When Xerxes had come to the midst of Abydos, he desired to see the whole of his army; and this he could do, for a seat of white marble had been set up for him on a hill there with that intent, built by the people of Abydos at the king's command. There Xerxes sat, and looked down on the sea-shore, viewing his army and his fleet; and as he viewed them he was fain to see the ships contend in a race. They did so, and the Phoenicians of Sidon won it; and Xerxes was pleased with the race, and with his armament."[5]

The inhabitants of Abydos are said to have prepared a white marble seat (προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ) upon the Great King's request to look upon the entirety of his army from the top of a hill. No material evidence can be linked to the Abydos episode; however, according to a 19th-century traveller, the marble seat was found on the hill of Mal Tepe alongside an inscription in which Xerxes granted rights to the city of

5 Hdt. 7, 44. Transl. from Godley 1922, modified by the author.



Fig. 2. Tomb of Xerxes at Naqsh-i Rustam, top register (from Schmidt, E. F. 1970: Persepolis III. The royal tombs and other monuments, Pl. 42.A).

Abydos, but the seat was destroyed after that and the inscription lost (Senior 1859: 155).

The reliability of the Abydos episode has recently been questioned because the ruler's prominent position in watching the troops or a battle would be a *topos* (van Rookhuijzen 2018: 85–86, 308; see also de Jong 2018: 33 n. 43). According to this view, the historicity of the episode of the marble seat would be uncertain.

However, different sources attest to the fact that the Great Kings generally were not directly involved in military actions but rather played a supervisory role.[6] Accordingly, as for the Achaemenid Persian imagery,

6 Briant 1996: 239–241.

a direct involvement of the king in war actions is not included in the decoration of the royal tombs (**Fig. 2**), where the rulers' superiority is celebrated by envisioning a proper hierarchy with the king at the top and the people subject to him (Poggio 2012: 229).

Herodotus, born in the Western Anatolian city of Halicarnassus, was aware of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near Eastern worlds, where visual evidence confirms this rulers' practice.[7] Xerxes' choice of observation points, here and elsewhere during the expedition, appears entirely plausible for his role and does not seem to invalidate Herodotus' account *in toto*.

Regarding the use of marble, it is notable that this is the only episode in Xerxes' expedition in which the material of the royal seat is specified, which could be explained by the specificity of local resources. For the Great King, the best material possible had to be chosen, and in Western Anatolia, marble was a suitable candidate; in the first half of the 6th century BC, before the Persian conquest, marble was already associated with royal patronage there. Indeed, the Lydian dynasty seems to have attributed an important role to white marble for its most important monuments. Near Sardis, marble was used for the Tomb of Alyattes, father of Croesus;[8] and the 6th-century BC phase of the Artemision of Ephesus, to which Croesus contributed significantly, used marble from local quarries, as ascertained by archaeometric analyses (Kerschner/Prochaska 2011). The use of white marble in major monuments built upon royal order suggests that great value – both symbolic and financial – was attached to this material. Another mark of its importance is the series of Didyma marble sculptures, dating back to the first half of the 6th century BC. Worthy of note among these is a sculpture representing Chares, ruler of Teichioussa, a centre of the Milesian territory; the inscription on the statue identifies this figure, likely a contemporary of Croesus, and the use of marble would have been part of his display of power.[9]

In the area of Abydos, where the royal seat would have been created according to Herodotus, white marble was easily accessible: the Pro-

7 In Persian-period battle scenes from Lycia, in South-Western Anatolia, the figures identified as dynasts generally do not take part in front-line fighting (see Poggio 2020: 35).

8 Rose 2014: 100.

9 On the statue, see Poggio 2018a: 500–501, with bibliography.



Fig. 3. Quarries of Proconnesian marble
(courtesy of Lorenzo Lazzarini, photo taken in 1992).

connesian, for instance, could directly be transported to the Hellespont by sea.

Proconnesian marble – quarried on the island of Proconnesus (present-day Marmara Island) in the Propontis – is a white marble, often with regular grey banding, veins, spots, and an average grain size of 2–3 mm that makes it more suitable for architecture than for sculpture **(Fig. 3)**.[10]

The Roman author Pliny the Elder refers to it as *Cyzicenum marmor*,[11] as the quarries were under the jurisdiction of the ancient city of Cyzicus (Lazzarini 2015: 137). Although Roman sources attest to the use of this marble for the 4th-century BC palace of Mausolus in Caria,[12] it was assumed that its regular use had started in the Roman period. It was only recently discovered that this marble had been in use since the 6th century BC: archaeological discoveries and archaeometric analyses have made a significant contribution to uncovering a new history of Proconnesian marble use, and show that this would have started in the mid-6th century BC (Rose 2014: 101; Barsanti/Paribeni 2016: 200). This

10 There is also a plain white variety of Proconnesian marble, which is less abundant.

11 Plin. *NH* 5, 151.

12 Vitr. 2, 8, 10; Plin. *NH* 36, 47.



Fig. 4. The Polyxena Sarcophagus, detail of side A. Tevfikiye, Troy Museum (photo: author; permission of the Troy Excavation Project).

type of marble was used for the elite tombs of North-Western Anatolia, along the Granicus River: the most famous example known is the Polyxena Sarcophagus, with mythological figurative scenes dating back to ca. 500 BC (**Fig. 4**).[13]

This type of marble was also used at the satrapal centre of Dascylium in the same area.[14]

Geography is, of course, a crucial issue when we are investigating the use of marble. Its use in North-Western Anatolia was undoubtedly favoured because of the proximity of the quarries and the presence of waterways that facilitated transporting the material around the Propontis, whereas the Anatolian plateau and the presence of high mountains made the transport of raw materials further inland more difficult (see Alp 2013).

In addition, the use of white marble for an artefact created in Western Anatolia upon a Great King's order was not unique to the case of Xerxes' seat. Herodotus recounts that on the shores of the Bosporus, at the opposite end of the Marmara Sea from the Hellespont, Darius, father of Xerxes, erected two stelae of white marble (στήλας ἔστησε δύο

13 Sevinç 1996; Reinsberg 2004; Neer 2012; Rose 2014: 72–103. For a later date, see Corfù 2016.

14 See also the 5th-century BC Koru tumulus near Dascylium (İren et al. 2012: 52–53).

… λίθου λευκοῦ) to celebrate his victory in the Scythian campaign, and inscribed, in two languages, the names of the nations in his army.[15] In this case, Proconnesian marble may also have been the readily available resource: Darius' expedition took place in the 510s BC when the Proconnesian quarries were already being exploited.

This set of evidence suggests that a marble seat made by the people of Abydos in 480 BC is perfectly in keeping with the North-Western Anatolia setting.

Though we cannot establish a direct connection between Darius' and Xerxes' marble use, it seems no coincidence that marble artefacts – Darius' stelae and Xerxes' seat – were commissioned directly by the Great Kings in the area around the Marmara Sea. As has been said, marble was easily accessible in both cases, and white marble was distinguished as the local material worthy of royalty.

3 IMPACTS

If we accept Herodotus' accounts of marble artefacts ordered by the Persian kings, they undoubtedly would have had a major impact on viewers. In particular, Xerxes' throne at the Hellespont could have been seen by the many dynastic rulers of the Eastern Mediterranean participating in the second Graeco-Persian War, such as the ones who took part in the naval expedition:

> "Of those that were on shipboard, the most famous, after the admirals, were these: Tetramnestus of Sidon, son of Anysus, Matten of Tyre, son of Siromus, Merbalus of Aradus, son of Agbalus, Syennesis of Cilicia, son of Oromedon, Cyberniscus of Lycia, son of Sicas, Gorgus son of Chersis, and Timonax son of Timagoras, Cyprians both; and of the Carians, Histiaeus son of Tymnes, Pigres son of Hysseldomus, and Damasithymus son of Candaules."[16]

The participants in the naval expedition probably sailed along the Western Anatolian coast to the Hellespont. Diodorus Siculus writes that

15 Hdt. 4, 87. Identification with this monument has been suggested for a fragment of an Old Persian inscription found in Phanagoria, reportedly of grey marble (Shavarebi 2019; Rung/Gabelko 2019).

16 Hdt. 7, 98. Transl. from Godley 1922. See also Diod. 11, 2, 1.



Fig. 5. Miletus and the Latmian Gulf, with the progradation of the Maeander River delta up to the 2nd century AD
(from Rayet, O./Thomas, A. 1877: *Milet et le golfe Latmique*, Pl. 2).

ships were assembled at Cyme and Phocaea,[17] and certainly stopped along the coast of Western Anatolia. It would have been difficult to plan such a massive expedition by sea without the possibility of suitable harbours to supply the many ships and provide shelter during storms.[18] An ideal stopping point on the Persian fleet's route would have been Miletus (**Fig. 5**). The importance of Miletus during the period of the Graeco-Persian Wars has been debated because the Persians besieged and destroyed the city in 494 BC, deporting its population. However, it has recently been shown that, from 494 to 479/8 BC, the city was not completely uninhabited and "because of its many harbours (estimated to be six), served as the main Persian naval base in western Asia Minor and the eastern Aegean, besides Samos" (Herda 2019: 94).

Miletus, which Herodotus called the "ornament of Ionia" (τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα),[19] had been a prosperous city with easy access to marble which was used for many buildings (Greaves 2002: 13). It is, as such, highly probable that if the Persian fleet had stopped there when sailing in the direction of the Hellespont, the participants in the naval expedition would have admired the remnants of its earlier magnificence. Though the city had suffered greatly from the destruction inflicted by the Persians some years before, some of the marble monuments would have been still visible.

The sight of Xerxes' throne and Western Anatolian cities may have contributed to the growing appreciation for marble in the Eastern Mediterranean after the second Graeco-Persian War.[20] As for Lycia, the South-Western Anatolian region that took part in Xerxes' expedition, its geography has always favoured a certain degree of isolation and persistent artistic features that appear completely local in spite of external contacts. However, participation in the second Graeco-Persian War was surely a determinant for the growing "engagement with the Mediterranean".[21] The Lycian ruler Cyberniscus (or Cybernis) left his territories, with some of his subjects, to go and fight on the Persian side.[22] This brought him into contact with other regional cultures, and he likely saw cities with marble monuments such as Miletus, met other rulers,

17 Diod. 11, 2, 3.

18 See Artabanus' words in Hdt. 7, 49.

19 Hdt. 5, 28.

20 For the visual power of marble, see Tanner 2013: 79.

21 Quotation from Draycott 2015: 127. On Lycia and Lycian art, see Hoff 2017; Kolb 2018; Colas-Rannou 2020, with bibliography.

22 On the Lycian ruler's name, see Draycott 2015: 98.

and interacted with the Great King, observing his display of power and great resources, including marble: the Lycian ruler potentially saw the marble seat of the Persian king and could have appreciated the association of marble with supreme authority. All these factors may have brought Lycian dynastic patronage into a broader competitive realm in the following years and helped heighten demand for white marble as the prestigious material for the Harpy Monument – if one accepts that it can be dated to 480–470 BC – and Building G (470–460 BC) in Xanthos, the main city of Lycia.[23]

Beyond the fact that white marble was easily accessible in the areas of Darius' and Xerxes' artefacts described by Herodotus, this material undoubtedly exercised a fascination on the Persians as well, since it was not found in their land. In light of these observations, we may reconsider the presence of the "Penelope Statue" in the Persepolis Treasury. This is a fragmentary sculpture in white marble, representing a seated woman in a thoughtful pose, an iconographic scheme often attributed to Penelope waiting for Odysseus' return from Troy. Though we cannot retrace the statue's exact history, it is certain that it was made somewhere in the Aegean in the mid-5th century BC using the dolomitic marble of the island of Thasos (Lazzarini/Poggio 2017); the sculpture arrived in Persepolis at some point between its creation and the destruction of the citadel by Alexander the Great in 330 BC. There are different theories regarding why this Greek-style sculpture was in the Persian citadel: perhaps it was booty from Western Anatolia, a Greek gift, or an outcome of the centre–periphery dynamic.[24] Our analysis points to the Persian court having encountered in Western Anatolia white marble, a material extensively used in that area by the local elites and which had been associated with royal authority since the first half of the 6th century BC. The arrival of the "Penelope Statue" in the Treasury of Persepolis, where artefacts in different materials were collected, may be due to a long-standing memory and appreciation of white marble in the Persian

23 Poggio 2018b. Scholars suggest for the Harpy Monument a date ranging from the beginning of the 5th century to 470 BC: see Demargne 1958: 37–47; Rudolph 2003; Draycott 2007: 119–127; Draycott 2008; Poggio 2010: 237–238; Bruns-Özgan 2016: 475–478; Hoff 2017: 507–510; Rondholz 2020. On Building G, see Metzger 1963: 49–61; Draycott 2015: 114–116, 129–133; Hoff 2017: 57–64, 512–516; Kolb 2018: 169–173.

24 See the contributions in Settis/Anguissola/Gasparotto 2015 and Razmjou 2015a, in particular Hölscher 2015; Poggio 2015; Razmjou 2015b, with bibliography.

court; the choice of white marble for the Great Kings in Western Anatolia may be part of this story.[25]

4 CONCLUSION

White marble, easily accessible in Western Anatolia for use in prestigious works of sculpture and architecture, emerges as part of the dynamics of the Achaemenid Persian Empire. From the point of view of the imperial power, the use of white marble by the Great Kings is not exceptional: the Persian kings habitually took the best from the territories under their power, as the case of the royal table shows (Briant 1989; Poggio 2020: 89), and white marble undoubtedly stood out among the materials of the empire. From this perspective, white marble was worthy of being transported to Persepolis as well.

From the point of view of the provinces, the Great Kings' use of marble likely helped drive demand for this material from the elite of the Western empire, especially after the second Graeco-Persian War. The Persian administrative system promoted advancement up the hierarchy based on one's achievements, a mechanism that triggered emulation amongst the elite throughout the entire Achaemenid period. The choice of a prestigious material such as marble was part of this dynamic, as demonstrated by Western Anatolian elite tombs throughout the entire period of Persian rule. In the 4th century BC, the last period of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, the dynastic rulers of the Eastern Mediterranean made extensive use of white marble for their lavish tombs, even in areas far from quarries such as Phoenicia (see Rose 2014: 101; Poggio 2020: 38–39).

Thus, in the case of Western Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean, Persian rule was a factor that contributed to the success of marble.

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25 For marble sculptures found in Persia, see Callieri 2007: 104–109.

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GEMINATE CONSONANTS IN LYCIAN

A twofold interpretation[1]

Florian Réveilhac

Abstract: This paper proposes a new distribution of the Lycian consonants, which is less uniform than described hitherto. Indeed, whereas the word-initial and intervocalic positions allow either the simplex or the geminate consonant, only the simplex is attested for every consonant after a nasal and before a sonorant, and the geminate generally appears for most consonants after an obstruent and a liquid. In order to interpret the status of the consonantal length in Lycian, the sources of the geminates are explored. It emerges that word-initial and intervocalic geminates come from vowel syncope, assimilation, lengthening under stress, or reinterpretation of heteromorphemic sequences, while after an obstruent or a liquid they are synchronically automatic, indicating that the consonant was perceived as longer than between vowels. It is argued that the post-consonantal geminates are linked to the syllabification and reflect post-coda consonants.

Keywords: Lycian, Anatolian, phonology, phonetics, consonantal length

1 INTRODUCTION

As is well known, Lycian uses a lot of consonantal graphemes. Some of them are doubled, which sometimes leads to surprising consonantal sequences (e.g. *xttba* 'harm' or *Ddapssm̃ma*, personal name). This topic

1 I would like to thank the audience of the conference, and in particular Alwin Kloekhorst, David Sasseville, and Xander Vertegaal, for their helpful comments. The paper has greatly benefitted from suggestions by Adèle Jatteau, H. Craig Melchert, Enrique Nieto Izquierdo, and Anthony Yates, to whom I am obliged. I am also very grateful to Annick Payne and Šárka Velhartická for improving the style of this article. I am of course responsible for any remaining errors. The abbreviations and symbols used in the paper are the following: V = vowel, C = consonant, O = obstruent, R = liquid, N = nasal, [.] = syllable boundary, and # = word boundary.

in particular aroused the interest of many early scholars, who tried to figure out what the origins of these geminates and their phonetic nature might be. Over the last decades, several interpretations have been proposed, but they rarely succeed in offering a complete and satisfying explanation. I therefore propose to investigate this issue, starting with a reanalysis of the data.

First, I will propose a new distribution of the simplex and geminate consonants in the Lycian corpus, describing the different positions that allow geminates and those that do not. The description will reveal that geminates have a double status according to the different positions they appear in. I will thus describe, on the one hand, geminates in initial and intervocalic position, while, on the other, I will propose a new interpretation of geminates after a consonant, whose use is synchronically automatic and corresponds to the perception of consonantal length, in connection with syllabification.

2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE LYCIAN CONSONANTS

2.1 State of the art

From the moment the first inscriptions in Lycian were published, scholars became interested in the Lycian consonantal system, especially in geminate consonants. Considering how little we knew at the time about the Lycian language, finding an adequate interpretation of them was quite a challenge. The first scholar to describe the Lycian geminates was Schmidt (1868: vi–vii, and Pl. B): not only did he arrange them according to their position within the word; he also drew up an inventory of consonants which led to a doubling of the next consonant. Thanks to a comparison with Cretan forms like Τττῆνα (= Attic Ζῆνα) < **dyēna*, for which he regards the initial geminate as [tj] or [dj] sequences, Schmidt concludes: "the repetition of consonants, which follow immediately another consonant and consequently begin a new syllable, will indicate the sound *y*".

More than two decades later, Pedersen (1899: 85–87) formulated a simple law explaining the different types of consonant clusters and double consonants in Lycian: every consonant is geminated after another consonant. According to him, there are three exceptions to this rule: 1) there is no doubling after a nasal; 2) the liquids as well as *b*

(corresponding to [v], as reported by Pedersen) are not doubled after a plosive, a fricative or *m*; 3) post-consonantal nasals are not doubled before a consonant or at the end of the word.

When he published the first corpus of inscriptions in Lycian, Kalinka dedicated a part of the introduction to double consonants (Kalinka 1901: 4–5). He followed what Pedersen had written two years before, but he considered it a tendency (*norma quaedam*) rather than a law.

When H. Craig Melchert published his *Anatolian Historical Phonology* (1994), the corpus of inscriptions in Lycian had substantially expanded, so that some analyses had to be corrected or at least clarified. Regarding consonant gemination in clusters, he suggested that, in some cases, it could reflect the spreading of the consonant across a syllable boundary, e.g. *hrm̃mã* = [hr̩m.mã], even if, as he himself admitted, "the spreading of the stop across the syllable boundary does not seem as natural as that of continuants" (Melchert 1994: 295–296). He therefore supposed that such clusters are pronounced with an anaptyctic vowel, e.g. /pðẽ/ = [pəð.ðḗ]. This hypothesis, however, is contradicted by the fact that no such anaptyctic vowel occurs in any of the numerous adaptations of Lycian proper names in Iranian and Greek, e.g. *Xpparama* > Κπαραμω, and not **Καπαραμω *vel sim.*

The crucial paper by Theo van den Hout (1995) studied very carefully the distribution of some simplex and geminate consonants within the word, in order to determine whether the doubling is a graphic or a phonetic norm. The author concluded "that — except for a position in Anlaut — the double or single writing of consonants is subject to specific rules, that is, restricted to specific phonetic environments" and "that single writing of consonants is the rule: geminates are found only following liquids and certain consonants" (van den Hout 1995: 129).

Alwin Kloekhorst (2008), considering the distribution of all consonants other than liquids, confirmed this analysis. He came to the conclusion "that the difference between single and geminate spelling of consonants is only significant in word-initial position", while "in all other positions the choice between the two is automatically determined by the environments" (Kloekhorst 2008: 127–128). As a result, for most consonants, the single or geminate writing would match an allophonic phenomenon, with an automatic lengthening after some obstruents and all liquids.

Two problems arise from this interpretation. First, it would be surprising to find a graphic rendering of allophones in such a young writ-

ing system as Lycian, which one would expect to be phonemic,[2] unless the allophones involved are noted by graphemes otherwise used to note real phonemes. Perhaps this interpretation should be qualified, for a more accurate description. Moreover, typological studies show that it is extremely rare to have a phonological contrast between single and geminate consonants in word-initial position only: generally, if a language has initial geminates, it implies the existence of medial geminates, which are much more common.[3] Consequently, van den Hout's and Kloekhorst's interpretations have to be re-examined, starting from the description itself of the distribution between single and double consonants within the word.

Between the publications of van den Hout's and Kloekhorst's papers, Ignasi-Xavier Adiego proposed a diachronic study (2003) of Lycian geminates in order to explain their development: this will be discussed below (§ 3.1.).

2.2 Lycian consonants and the so-called deviant cases

First of all, it is useful to remind ourselves of the inventory of Lycian consonant phonemes:[4]

<p> /p/		<t> /t/	<k> /c/	<x> /k/	<q> /kw/	<K> ?	
		<z> /ts/	<τ> /tj/				
	<θ> /θ/[5]	<s> /s/					<h> /h/

2 On this question, specifically for Greek dialects, see Méndez Dosuna 1993 and Méndez Dosuna 2017.

3 Muller (2001: 207–235) has recorded twenty-nine languages allowing word-initial geminates, and mentions five that do not allow word-medial geminates: Ngada, Nhaheum, Pattani Malay, Yapese, and Sa'ban. However, some of these exceptions may only be apparent counter-examples (Dmitrieva 2012: 195–196). See also Kraehenmann 2011: 1126.

4 This inventory is mostly based on Melchert (2004b: 592), with some modifications such as <q> = /kw/, where I follow Kloekhorst (2006: 97–101). For a slightly different inventory, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: particularly 128.

5 The sign transliterated by <θ> probably noted the voiceless fricative [θ], *contra* Kloekhorst 2008: 124. This is particularly visible in borrowings from Old Persian, where Lyc. <θ> is used as an equivalent of OPers.<θ> = [θ] (Skjærvø 2000: 58, and Isebaert/Tavernier 2012: 306): e.g. **Miθrapāta → Miθrapata*, personal name — beside *Mizrppata*, which shows a nativized pronounciation — or **xšaθrapā- → *xssaθrapa-* 'satrap' (cf. verb *xssaθrapaza-* 'rule as satrap') — beside *xssadrapa-* 'satrap', with a substituted [ð], probably because of the voicing assimilation of the following [r]. See also the plausible association of Lyc. *θurtta-* with

<b> /β/	<d> /ð/		<g> /ɣ/
<m> /m/	<n> /n/		
	<l> /l/	<r> /r/	
<w> /w/		<j> /j/	

Theo van den Hout (1995: 125–127) quite rightly left out of his study some deviating cases, which consist of obvious spelling mistakes, such as *tllaxñta* 'payment, salary' (N 320, 19–20) instead of **ttlaxñta*, clearly derived from *ttlei-* 'to pay'. However, in order to more accurately describe the distribution of all Lycian consonants, some of the minor graphic deviations previously excluded have to be reconsidered, and a description of the liquids has to be added:

- <tt> in intervocalic position: twelve attestations already in van den Hout (1995: 124), that is *ebette* (eight times; *passim*), *ebettehi* (N 324.23), *epatte* (TL 40d.2), *epẽnetijatte* (TL 48.7), (*sede*=)*tti* (TL 111.6);
- <t> after <r>, all of them in proper names: *Artumpara*/*Artuñpara* (M 231a–c), *Ãmartite* (M 13), *Ddawãpartah* (TL 101.1), *Ertaxssirazahe* (TL 44b.59–60), *Ertelijeseh* (TL 120.1), *Erteme/i-*/*Ertẽme/i-* (TL 44c.8; N 311.1; 312.5), *Pertinah* (TL 82), *Pertinamuwa* (TL 66.1), *Spparta*° (TL 44b.27; 44b.64; 44c.2–3?), *Urtaqijahñ* (TL 25.6), and *Xertubi* (TL 108.2);
- <θ> in intervocalic position in the probable divine name *Ebuθis*;[6]
- <θθ> after <r>: in the place name *Kerθθi* (TL 44b.10?; 49; 55) and its derived adjective *Kerθθis* (TL 82)[7];
- two attestations of <dd> after <r>, in the personal names *Prddewã* (TL 126.1) and *Wataprddata* (TL 40d.1?; 61.2);
- <KK> after <r> in the name *A/ErKKazuma-* (N 320.8, 18, 24–25, 28–29);
- simple <K> in word-initial position in the personal name *Kadunimi* (TL 44a.39–40);
- <z> after <r>: beside *Krzz*[*ã*]*nase* (TL 44b.53), *hrzze/i-* (*passim*), *Krzzubi* (TL 83.5) and *Trzzube/i-* (TL 111.4), variant pairs *Parzza*

some epichoric personal names attested in Greek inscriptions from Lycia: e.g. Σορταιμις, Σορτιας, Σορταλις, and Ερμα-σορτας (Schürr 2016a: 710; but the meaning 'uncle' is uncertain, cf. Melchert 2004: 75, and Neumann 2007: *s.u. θurtta*).

6 This form was found, some years ago, in an epitaph from Korba (Neumann 2000: 184–185).

7 Cf. Mil. *Kridesi* < **Karidasi* (Eichner in Borchhardt/Eichner/Schulz 2005: 36–37).

(TL 44c.2) vs. *Parza* (TL 44c.14; 44d.1–2?), *przze/i-* (TL 29.3; 44a.28; 44a.33?) vs. *przis* (TL 26.10), and especially *xurzazẽ* (TL 44b.44), *xurzide* (TL 44b.43), and the personal name *Erzesinube* (TL 111.1);
- <zz> in intervocalic position: in variants *wazzisñ* (TL 29.5) beside *wazisñ* (TL 44b.13) and *wazisse* (TL 104a.3), and *Wazzije* (TL 87.5) beside *Wazijeje* (TL 52.1), but also in *azzala-* (TL 44b.59; 44c.10), *Idazzala* (TL 32v; N 306.1; = Ιδασσαλα), *Kizzaprñna-* (TL 44c.11, 14 and 15; Iran. **Çiçafarnā*), *Pizzi* (TL 98.1), *Plezzijeheje* (TL 138.2–3), *Wezzeimi* (TL 51.3), and acephalous °*jezze* (TL 35.8);
- <hh> in initial position is probably anomalous: its single attestation is the verbal form (*eseri*) *hhati* (N 320.41) vs. about ten other attestations of the verb *ha-* (*passim*);[8]
- <l> in initial position is consistent, albeit rare;
- <l> and <ll> in intervocalic position: many attestations of simple <l>, however the geminate is attested in *eriχalle* (TL 44a.5–6; 11), *Mullijeseh* (TL 105.2; = Μολλισιος), *Pilleñni* (TL 25.6), and *Urebillaha* (TL 11.2);
- <l> is consistent after obstruent;
- <l> and <ll> after <r>: simple <l> only in *dderlidi* (TL 35.17), whereas the geminate appears more frequently: *Kuprlle/i-*[9] (M 25; 124a; 126; 204a; 205; 301a; TL 44a.2, 21, 30–31; N 324.2?), *Turlle/i-* (TL 29.15, 32q.2, 41.2), and *Aprlla*° (M 111 [*Aprll*]; Spier 1987: 36);
- geminate <rr> is never attested.

2.3 A new distribution

With these elements taken into account, it is possible to present the following table which shows the distribution of the Lycian consonants. For greater clarity, additions and modifications to the table by Kloekhorst (2008: 126–128) – an extended version of that by van den Hout (1995: 129) – are underlined.

8 *Pace* Kloekhorst 2008: 127.

9 The isolated variants *Kuprli* (M 125) and *Kuplli* (M 124b) are the result of spelling mistakes (van den Hout 1995: 116).

	#_	V_V	O_	R_	N_	_OO	_R/N
<p>	*p-, pp-*	*-p-*	*-pp-*	*-pp-*	*-p-*	*-p-*	*-p-*
<b>	—	*-b-*	*-b-*	*-bb-*	—	—	*-b-*
<t>	*t-, tt-*	*-t-, -tt-*	*-tt-*	*-t-, -tt-*	*-t-*	—	*-t-*
<θ>	*θ-, θθ-*	*-θ-, -θθ-*	*-θθ-*	*-θθ-*	—	—	*-θ-*
<d>	*dd-*	*-d-*	*-d-, -dd-*	*-dd-*	—	—	*-d-*
<k>	*k-*	*-k-*	—	—	*-k-*	—	*-k-*
<x>	*x-*	*-x-*	*-xx-*	*-xx-*	*-x-*	*-x-*	*-x-*
<q>	*q-*	—	*-qq-*	*-qq-*	—	—	*-q-*
<K>	*K-*	—	—	*-KK-*	—	—	—
<g>	—	*-g-*	—	—	—	—	—
<s>	*s-, ss-*	*-s-*	*-ss-*	*-ss-*	*-s-*	*-s-*	*-s-*
<z>	*z-, zz-*	*-z-, -zz-*	*-zz-*	*-z-, -zz-*	*-z-*	*-z-*	*-z-*
<h>	*h-*	*-h-*	—	—	—	*-h-*	*-h-*
<n, ñ>[10]	*n/ñ-, ñn-*	*-n-, -ñn-*	*-ñn-*	*-ñn-*	*-ñn-*	—	—
<m, m̃>[10]	*m/m̃-, m̃n-*	*-m-, -m̃m-*	*-m̃m-*	*-m̃m-*	*-m̃m-*	—	*-m-*
<l>	*l-*	*-l-, -ll-*	*-l-*	*-l-, -ll-*	*-l-*	*-l-*	*-l-*
<r>	—	*-r-*	*-r-*	—	*-r-*	*-r-*	*-r-*

A possible reason why some cells in the table are empty is the fragmentary nature of the Lycian corpus. Either way, the distribution of the consonants is decidedly less uniform than previous studies have shown. Once we discard the consonants that do not seem affected by doubling, i.e. <k>, <g>, <h>, <r>, as well as the glides <w> and <j>, it is possible to classify the others according to the positions in which they can appear as geminates:

10 For complete analyses of the data on nasals, especially on the syllabic variants *ñ* and *m̃*, the behaviour of which is beyond the scope of this paper, see Adiego 2005 and Kloekhorst 2008: 121–123.

	<ñm>	<ñn>	<zz>	<θθ>	<tt>	<pp>	<dd>	<ss>	<xx>	<qq>	<ll>	<bb>	<KK>
R_	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
O_	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗
#_	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
V_V	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗

Several remarks need to be made regarding this data. First, the fact that doubling involves stops, fricatives, nasals, and liquids without affecting /h/ or the glides is typologically justified (Maddieson 2008: 1929). Secondly, some positions are clearly more conducive to gemination than others: thirteen signs are doubled after a liquid, whereas there are only five between vowels. It is even possible to identify certain tendencies:

- every geminate consonant appears as such at least after a liquid;
- every consonant which is geminate word-initially appears as such also after a consonant;
- except for [l:], every consonant which is geminate between vowels appears as such also word-initially.

Some positions allow both the simplex and the geminate for a number of consonants:

- word-initial position: /p t θ s ts m n/;
- intervocalic position: /t θ s ts m n l/;
- after an obstruent: /ð/;
- after a liquid: /t ts l/.

However, while only the singleton is attested for every consonant after a nasal and before a sonorant (liquid or nasal), the geminate generally appears for most consonants after an obstruent or a liquid. All these facts must therefore be described in a coherent way.

2.4 What is a geminate consonant?

Before going any further, it may be worthwhile to describe geminate consonants from a phonetic and a phonological point of view. As already argued by van den Hout (1995: 127), there is no reason to believe that graphic doubling is not a reflection of pronunciation.

Even if some scholars used to oppose phonologically geminate and long consonants, the *communis opinio* is now to associate them. Stuart Davis (2011: 837), for example, writes that “the term ‘geminate’ in pho-

nology normally refers to a long or 'doubled' consonant that contrasts phonemically with its shorter or 'singleton' counterpart".

Phonetically speaking, consonantal length, linked to segmental duration, varies without always being perceptible. Phonologically, on the other hand, some languages distinguish between short and long vowels or consonants. Among languages with a phonological contrast between geminates and singleton consonants, the length, in the case of stops, corresponds to the acoustic duration of closure. It appears that long stops are characterized by closure duration between one and a half and three times as long as simple stops.[11] In Italian, for example, where there is a phonological contrast between simplex and geminate consonants, minimal pairs like *fatto* 'fact' vs. *fato* 'fate' or *palla* 'ball' vs. *pala* 'shovel' can be found.

While intervocalic geminates are not very problematic, since they represent the most frequently attested type, word-initial geminates are typologically quite rare (Kraehenmann 2011: 1125–1131). Indeed, even if the exact number of languages having initial geminates varies from one study to another, Jennifer Muller, for instance, in her dissertation dedicated to the phonetics and phonology of geminates, counts twenty-nine languages, including three belonging to the Indo-European family, that is Breton, Cypriot Greek, and Swiss German in its Bernese and Thurgovian varieties (Muller 2001: 204–233). As a matter of fact, word-initial geminates are not common, but they do exist.

Typological studies also point out that in languages with a consonant duration contrast, adjacent consonants (pre- and post-consonantal) are significantly rarer than intervocalic ones as well, and that medially post-consonantal geminates are more common than pre-consonantal ones (Dmitrieva 2012: 159–160, 165). As regards Lycian, according to the data, it appears that post-consonantal geminates are not phonologically contrastive, so that this language probably had contrastive word-initial and intervocalic geminates, like some other languages.[12]

In order to better understand the nature of Lycian geminates, it is necessary to know their sources. Consonantal doubling can be created by several phenomena, which are well attested from a typological perspective. Thus, Juliette Blevins (2004: 170–178) established at least seven pathways that could lead to the creation of a geminate:

11 See, with examples, Ladefoged/Maddieson 1996: 91–92.

12 For instance Iraqi Arabic, Kiribati, Mele-Fila, Piro, Ponapean, and Selayerese (Dmitrieva 2012: 170).

- assimilation in a consonant cluster;
- assimilation between a consonant and an adjacent vowel or glide;
- vowel syncope;
- lengthening under stress, including expressive lengthening;
- boundary lengthening;
- reinterpretation of a voicing contrast;
- reanalysis of identical consonant + consonant sequences.

Given the distribution described above, it appears necessary to distinguish between, on the one hand, word-initial and intervocalic geminates, which are contrastive and, on the other, post-consonantal geminates, which are not.

3 SOURCES OF WORD-INITIAL AND INTERVOCALIC GEMINATES

Lycian geminates in these positions have at least three different sources: syncope between identical consonants, assimilation in consonant clusters, lengthening under stress, and reinterpretation of identical consonant sequences. It should be pointed out that several initial and intervocalic geminates are not yet explained with any certainty. It cannot be excluded that some of them are the result of a scribe's error, although this remains a default explanation, as the forms in which they appear are still often misunderstood.[13]

3.1 Vowel syncope between identical consonants

Vowel syncope is at the origin of several geminates created by coalescence: e.g. *tteri* 'city' (dat. sg.) and *ttaraha* (gen. adj. acc. n. pl.) beside *teteri* (nom. sg.), where the initial geminate is the result of the junction between two identical consonants after the syncope of the /e/.

Some verb-initial geminates originated from previously reduplicated forms, after syncope: e.g. *tti-* 'cause to pay' < **k^{w}eyk^{w}ey-* (cf. Mil. *kiki-*

13 Very recently, David Sasseville (2020: 105 and n. 38) has proposed to interpret the geminate in *epenẽtijatte* (TL 48.7) as the result of a syncope of *epenẽtijat(e)=te*, that is a verbal form with the enclitic particle *=te*. He concedes, however, that this explanation cannot apply to *epatte* (TL 40d.2), for this verb is not clause initial, and hence proposes to amend it to *epp^{i}tte*, based on the parallel form *apptte* (*ibid.*: 281). However, the spelling *e/apptte*, with its two pairs of consecutive geminates, is anything but satisfactory. These forms are therefore still to be elucidated.

'*id.*': TL 55.5; Heubeck 1985: 40; Hajnal 1995: 156–157 n. 157; Melchert 2004: 65); *ppuweti* 'he writes' (N 320.23) and *ppuwẽti* 'they write' (TL 83.7, 12–13; N 320.34) < probably **pupuwa-*, beside *puweti* 'he writes' < **puwa-*, all forms going back to the root **ph$_2$u-*.[14]

3.2 Assimilation in consonant clusters

In some cases, vowel syncope brought into contact two different consonants, which then underwent regressive assimilation: e.g. ethnics **Pinaléweñne-* > **Pinléwñne-* > *Pilleñne-* 'Pinarean', and **Pinaléwe/i-* > **Pinléwe/i-* > *Pillewe/i-* 'Pinarean'. In both examples, the geminate [l:] goes back to a former sequence [nl].

The geminate <θθ>, which probably represents [θ:], results from an assimilation in a sequence of a dental + /h/, after syncope. This is attested in word-initial position: e.g. *θθẽn-* 'altar' < **dasó-m* < PIE **d^{h}h$_1$-s-ó-* (cf. HLuw. /tasa-/ 'cult stele', Lyd. *tasa-* 'column').[15] Within the word, the same phenomenon is well attested in several genitival adjectives in the last syllable of which the stem contains a dental consonant. Indeed, after the adjunction of the *-a/ehe/i-* suffix (cf. Mil. *-ese/i-*, Luw. *-assa/i-*) and the syncope of its first vowel, the dental consonant and the /h/ became adjacent, creating then the geminate [θ:]: e.g. *lada-* 'wife' → **ladahe/i-* > **ladhe/i-* > *laθθe/i-* 'in-law (of husband)' or *ted(e/i)-* 'father' → **tedehe/i-* > **tedhe/i-* > *teθθe/i-* 'paternal'.

The word-initial geminate in the appellative *m̃me/i-* 'installation' and its derivates is probably the result of the assimilation of **Tm*° < PIE **dem-* 'to build' (cf. Lyc. *tama-* 'building', HLuw. /tama-/ 'to build'). Lastly, some words with initial *dd*° may result from the assimilation of a former *ñt*° sequence, if one accepts to consider *ddewẽ* (TL 44c.6) as a variant of the adverb *ñtewẽ* 'opposite'.[16]

14 On reduplicated verbal forms, see Heubeck 1985: 42–43; Melchert 2004: 54, and Dempsey 2015: 247–257, 325–327; *contra*, van den Hout 1995: 125. For a discussion about Luw. *puwa-* and its cognates, see Giusfredi 2009.

15 On the Lycian form, see Eichner 1983: 59–62, and Melchert 1994: 316. About its Anatolian cognates, see Giusfredi 2016: especially 306–307, and Payne/Sasseville 2016: 76; *pace* Schürr 2016b.

16 This correlation has been suggested to me by Ilya Yakubovich (personal communication) and is also assumed by Yakubovich 2015. On the etymology of *ñtewẽ*, see Boroday/Yakubovich 2018: 18–19.

3.3 Lengthening under stress

From a typological perspective, it is quite common for a stressed syllable to be longer than a segmentally identical unstressed syllable. This lengthening can trigger the gemination of the post-tonic consonant, whose length is then reinterpreted as contrastive. This principle is at the basis of the famous 'Čop's Law' for Luwian, which can be summarized as follows: **é.C_1* > *aC_1.C_1*.[17] A. Kloekhorst has convincingly shown that the dative-locative plural form *ebette* matches HLuw. *á-pa-ta-za*, thereby indicating that 'Čop's Law' was common to both Luwian and Lycian (Kloekhorst 2014: 571–574, followed by Melchert 2020: 264 n. 3). As a consequence, some intervocalic geminates may correspond to a lengthening under stress.

3.4 Reanalysis of heteromorphemic consonant clusters

Heteromorphemic sequences with adjacent identical consonants can be the source of geminates: e.g. *epñnẽne/i-* 'younger brother' < *epñ* 'after' + *nẽne/i-* 'brother'. In that example, the first <ñ> represents a syllabic nasal, as can be seen in the corresponding personal name attested in Greek Επενηνις.

4 ANALYSIS OF POST-CONSONANTAL GEMINATES

This new investigation of Lycian data reveals that only some word-initial and intervocalic geminates are contrastive, unlike post-consonantal ones, which seem to be generally automatic. Actually, it is difficult to understand the nature of geminates within consonant clusters, due to the variety of forms in which they occur: in inherited clusters (e.g. *trbbe-* 'opponent'; cf. Luw. /tarp/ba-/ 'to tread, to trample'), in secondary clusters resulting from syncope (e.g. *pddẽ* 'before, in front' built on *ped(e)-* 'foot'),[18] and in clusters from borrowings (e.g. *Spparta*° ← Gk. Σπάρτη).

17 Čop 1970; Melchert 1994: 266; Melchert 2020: 264.

18 The connection of *pddẽ* with *ped(e)-* instead of Hitt. *pēda-* 'place' inferred by Schürr 2007: 122 n. 22 is now widely accepted. See, for example, Yakubovich 2017: 9–10. H. Craig Melchert (*per litteras*, 10. 09. 2020) retains, however, the statement that *pddãt-* reflects a distributive form of the word for 'place'.

4.1 Discussion of Adiego's hypothesis

In his previously mentioned study, Adiego (2003: 10–14) proposes distinguishing between two types of doubling for these consonant clusters:

- gemination in consonant clusters beginning with an obstruent, which constitute secondary clusters (e.g. *pddẽ* 'before, in front' built on *ped(e)-* 'foot'), or clusters in borrowings (e.g. *sttala-* 'stele' ← Gk. στήλη);
- gemination in consonant clusters beginning with a liquid, mostly inherited (e.g. *trbbe-* 'opponent'; cf. Luw. /tarpa-/ 'to tread, to trample').

Throughout the history of the Lycian language, some consonant clusters are unstable, as can be seen in the well-known examples **esti* and **estu* > *esi* '(he/she) is' and *esu* '(he/she) shall be' respectively, or in the iterative suffix **-sḱ-* > *-s-* (Melchert 1994: 304, 313–314). Adiego (2003: 11–12) hypothesises that, after simplification of such clusters in Lycian, the vowel syncope created secondary clusters, of which the second element underwent a gemination, corresponding to a preventive fortition.

Adiego's observation about the automatic nature of gemination in secondary clusters is certainly correct. His explanation, however, has to be reconsidered, since it presupposes that Lycian speakers were aware of the weakening of some consonant clusters and decided to modify their articulation, which is quite hard to accept. It seems more plausible, at first, to consider that, once those consonant clusters had been created due to a syncope effect, their evolution was simply not the same as for inherited clusters. Among secondary clusters, one can cite different examples: **aśketi* (iterative) > *astti* '(he/she) does', **Patara*[19] > *Pttara*, or *xddaza-* 'slave' (lit. 'the hasty one', cf. CLuw. *huda-* 'haste'). Therefore, gemination appears to be a collateral effect of syncope: after the syncope of the vowel between consonants, the second consonant underwent an automatic gemination.

Word-initial consonant clusters are more problematic, especially in inherited stems. Words like *hppñterus-* '?' and *httẽmi-* 'anger' have both an initial *h*CC sequence generally associated to a **s*C°-stem, respectively **spend-* 'to pour', and **steh*$_2$- 'to stand' (Melchert 2004: 24, 26). Adiego (2003: 10–14) assumes for those stems the development of an anaptyctic vowel, which would then be syncopated, finally causing the doubling of

19 This place-name is probably to be linked to the mountain-name HLuw. /patara-/ (YALBURT fr. 4, § 1): cf. Poetto 1993: 31, and Carruba 1996: 32, 39.

the second consonant: **s*C- > **s*VC- > *s*CC > *h*CC. Although Adiego writes that the last two steps can be reversed, this seems to be contradicted by the equation Mil. *stt*[*ẽ*]*ni* 'he becomes angry' ~ Lyc. *httẽmi-* 'anger' (Schürr 1997: 62–64). In any case, several problems emerge from such a reconstruction. First, it is not very economical and, most importantly, the development of an anaptyctic vowel in an initial *s*C-cluster is unexpected: from a typological perspective, prothesis is more frequent than anaptyxis in these clusters (Fleischhacker 2001). Neither is this reconstruction satisfactory from a phonetic point of view, because an initial pre-consonantal *s* should not weaken to *h*, but remain stable in Lycian. Indeed, while heterosyllabic intervocalic **s*C clusters become *s* (e.g. **$h_1$és.ti* > *esi* 'he is'), a **s*C- cluster in an onset is supposed to remain stable: e.g. **steh$_2$-* > *stta-* 'to stand'.[20] Therefore, the form *httẽmi-* cannot go directly back to **steh$_2$-*: it is necessary to assume a stem with a pre-vocalic **s*, as in *hppñterus-*. That word is indeed linked to HLuw. (CAELUM.*286.x)*sá-pa-tara/i-i-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A 2+3, § 17a), transcribed by Yakubovich as /sappantall(i)-/ and meaning 'libation-priest', and goes back to */sVpentero/ī-/ (Hajnal 1995: 133–134; Yakubovich 2009: 555; Melchert 2016: 191).[21]

As can be seen, syncope itself is not sufficient to explain all cases of gemination after an obstruent, some of which suggest a generalization. This is obvious in the borrowings, where OCC sequences are found: e.g. Iran. *xšaθrapā* → *xssadrapa-* 'satrap', *xssaθrapaza-* 'rule as satrap', Gk. Ἀλέξανδρος → *Alaxssañtra*, *Alixssã*[*ñtra*], and Gk. στήλη → *sttala* 'stele'. Following Adiego, such forms show that in Lycian, for most consonant clusters, OC-sequences are prohibited, so that the second consonant is automatically doubled. The situation is clear and has been known for a long time: after an obstruent, for most consonants, only the geminate is allowed. Although the phenomenon of generalization is undeniable, especially in borrowings, the origin of this tendency has to be questioned.

Adiego (2003: 13), meanwhile, regards RCC clusters as different from OCC ones, on the basis that they are inherited and heterosyllabic, since

20 Melchert (2018: 30): assumption of Jasanoff (2010: 143–145) deriving Lyc. *stta-* from reduplicated **s(t)í-sth$_2$-* "is phonologically impossible, since it requires syncope of an *accented* vowel". An alternative view is to consider the verb *stta-* and the appellative *sttala-* as borrowings from Greek (Schürr 2014), but against this hypothesis see the objections by Oreshko 2020: 20 and 24. On the problem of syllabification in #OCC sequences, see below § 3.2.

21 On the origin of the first vowel, see the competing hypotheses of Yakubovich (2009); Yakubovich (2016) and Melchert (2016).

he believes that OCC clusters are probably tautosyllabic (*ibid.*: 17). However, as Adiego himself notices, some RCC clusters in Lycian are not inherited but arise from borrowings, such as Gk. Ἅρπαγος[22] → *Arppaxu-* or OIran. **r̥tambara-* → *Arttuñpara-*. This question therefore deserves further investigation.

4.2 A new analysis

Melchert (1994: 295) rightly starts from the exceptions to the rule of post-consonantal gemination. The liquids /l/ (e.g. *Perikle* ← Gr. Περικλῆς) and /r/ (e.g. *trisñne/i-* 'three-year-old' < **tri-* 'three') are never doubled after an obstruent, whereas the fricatives /β/ and /ð/ know both treatments (e.g. *esbe-* 'horse' < PIE **éḱwo-* vs. *trbbe-* 'to tread', cf. Luw. /tarp/ba-/ '*id.*'). It should be pointed out that the liquids are not geminated after /m/ even word-initially (e.g. *Mrexisa-*, *mlatraza-* '?') and that the tautosyllabic character of these clusters is confirmed by the adaptation of some personal names in Greek, where such sequences were not natural[23] (unlike initial [mn]): *Mlejeuse/i-* → Μλααυσις and the variant Βλευασις, more conform to the Greek phonology. For /ð/, the sequence [Cð], less frequent than [Cðː], shows up in words with obscure etymology and meaning (e.g. *kduñ*, *esde*, or *Pagda*), and is thus difficult to comment on, but such a sequence could be tautosyllabic. To describe the double behaviour of /β/, on the other hand, two explanations are *a priori* possible: either the syllabification or the origin of the phoneme. Indeed, the examples *esbe-* and *trbbe-* both seem to syllabify differently ([e.sβe] vs. [tr.βːe]) and to present a /β/ going back to various phonemes (**w* for *esbe-*[24] vs. **p/b* for *trbbe-*). Nevertheless, the syllabification approach seems to be preferred thanks to other cases, if one accepts the connection of *Xba°* (in *Pddẽ-xba-* and Mil. *Xbaladã*) with the divine name *Hebat*[25] or *xbaitẽ* (N 320.14) with CLuw. *hap(a)i-* 'to bind'.[26] At least in the case of /β/, syllabification seems to play a role in the consonant doubling: when part of a branching onset it is never geminated, where-

22 This form is the Greek adaptation of the hypocoristic Iranian name **Arbaka*, derived from the adjective **arba-* 'little, young'. The Greek reinterpretation of the Median general's name is based on a pun with the appellative ἡ ἁρπαγή 'pillage, plunder'.

23 See, for instance, the famous example **mr̥tó-* → βροτός 'mortal'.

24 About the obstruent + <b> clusters, see lastly Martínez-Rodríguez 2019.

25 Neumann 2007: 114–115, with references.

26 Schürr (forthcoming).

as in post-coda position it is geminated. It is also plausible that <bb> is used to note the voiced contextual variant of /p/, [b], after the voiced sonorant,[27] as illustrated by the compound personal name *Natr-bbijẽme/i-* (lit. 'given by Natri'; translation of the Gk. PN Ἀπολλό-δοτος 'given by Apollo'), whose second member represents the participle of the verb *pije-* as in *Mahane-pi*[*jeme/i*]-.[28]

The question is therefore whether the conclusion drawn above about /β/ can be extended to other consonants: in other words, is the post-consonantal geminate indicative of a heterosyllabic sequence? This is of course possible word-internally as in *θurtta-* or *Iχtta-*, which may correspond respectively to [θur.tːa] and [ik.tːa], as Adiego (2003: 17) already pointed out alongside other possibilities. This would then mean that synchronically a post-coda consonant is always geminated. The difficulty arises mainly in word-initial clusters, such as *pddẽ*, *sttala-*, or *xddaza-*, which would tend to be considered tautosyllabic, for such onset clusters are typologically common. However, another hypothesis must be proposed since it does not explain the difference in behaviour between the liquids and /β/, on the one hand, and the other consonants, on the other: as mentioned before (§ 1.1), the presence of an anaptyx vowel is unlikely, but the first segment of the consonant sequence may be considered as an extrasyllabic appendix. This extrasyllabic appendix is well known in several languages like Italian, where initial obstruent-liquid clusters work like complex onsets, while initial sibilant-obstruent clusters such as *sp* are heterosyllabic, as shown by the use of the allomorphic forms of the definite article: e.g. *il treno* 'the train' vs. *lo scudo* 'the shield'.[29] As in other languages that are rich in consonant clusters, word-initial clusters in Lycian might have extrasyllabic segments or semisyllables licensed by the prosodic word,[30] which would lead to the gemination of the consequently post-coda consonant.

It would be tempting to explain Lycian gemination in the frame of Syllable Contact Laws theory, which lists all kinds of changes induced

27 Martínez-Rodríguez 2019: 222 n. 7, also suggests this idea.

28 About these names, whose formation is probably borrowed from Greek, see Melchert 2013: 47–48 and Réveilhac 2018: 438.

29 See, *inter alia*, Kaye 1992 and Hermes/Mücke/Grice 2013.

30 In the frame of the Optimality Theory, such segments are sometimes called 'semisyllables', especially for word-initial onset clusters that would otherwise be exceptions to the Sonority Sequencing Principle. For a general presentation of this phonological principle, see Parker 2011, with references; for a discussion about semisyllables in Georgian, Polish, and Bella Coola, see Cho/King 2003.

to segments on either side of the syllabic border, in order to preserve the contact (Murray/Vennemann 1982; Vennemann 1988). Gemination is one of those types, but only for the first segment of the contact, not the second: A.B > A.AB (e.g. Lat. [lab.rum] > Ital. [lab.bro] 'lip' or Lat. [af.ri.ka] > Ital. [af.fri.ka] 'Africa'). Actually, the gemination of the second segment does not at all improve syllable contact but is the result of a phonotactic constraint, as can be seen in borrowings (e.g. Gk. Ἅρπαγος → *Arppaxu* and Iran. **Humarga* → *Humrxxa,* Mil. *Umrgga*°) and in Lycian compounds (e.g. *Natr-bbijẽme/i-*).

Since gemination affects almost all types of consonants after a consonant (the exceptions are studied below), it must depend on phonotactics. In other words, a consonant after a consonant must have been perceived with a longer duration than in other positions. Therefore, as a consonantal length contrast existed word-initially and between vowels and was graphically represented, it was possible to use the geminate in that context in order to render consonantal duration. This can be compared to Italian: any Italian consonant has a length contrast in intervocalic position or between a vowel and a liquid, but some scholars admit that there are four consonantal degrees, like those defined by Castellani ([1956] 1980: 58–59).[31] It is interesting to note that, in this study, the degree of stops, /m/, /n/, /f/, /v/, /l/, and /s/ in post-consonantal position is middle-strong (*grado medio-forte*), that is just before the strong degree represented, for instance, by double consonants in intervocalic position (e.g. *fatto* 'fact'). This so-called consonantal degree corresponds in fact to consonantal duration, that is the closure duration for stops and the duration of the consonant itself for other types of consonants. Whatever the exact duration corresponding to each identified degree is, from a phonological point of view, the only relevant opposition is between consonants of weak and strong degrees, simple and double respectively. But it is also the case that some consonants have a longer duration in a post-consonantal position than between vowels. This is consistent with the fact that the post-coda position is cross-linguistically strong, just like the word-initial one.[32] Yet, several medieval Italian spellings reflect this particularity by geminating some consonants after a liquid or a nasal:

31 Jones (1967: 125) had already noted that a [t] preceded by a [n] in a post-tonic syllable (e.g. *Dante*, PN) was longer than a [t] preceded by a stressed syllable (e.g. *date* 'given'), with a length almost identical to an intervocalic [t:] (e.g. *fatto* 'fact').

32 These two positions have been grouped under the designation of 'Coda-Mirror' (Ségéral/Scheer 2001).

e.g. *trentta* 'thirty', *partte* 'part', *Bonacorsso* (PN), *parlla* 'speaks', *enffiare* 'to inflate' (Larson 2010: 1530). Since the double spelling was used in intervocalic position and between a vowel and a liquid to indicate a long consonant contrasting with the short counterpart, the same spelling was used to represent consonants that were contextually longer than simple ones. An analogous phenomenon might, therefore, explain what happened in Lycian, except that consonants after a nasal are not affected by gemination: given that, in Lycian, a length contrast existed word-initially and between vowels, and was graphically represented by the opposition *simplex* vs. *geminate*, it was possible to use the geminate spelling to represent contextually longer consonants than the singleton as well. In other words, because Lycian phonology had a consonantal length contrast word-initially and in intervocalic position, geminate spellings were generalised in positions where speakers perceived some consonants as longer than others.

There are, nevertheless, some exceptions to this rule: /t/ and /ts/ show up either simplex or geminate after /r/. Extending the parallel previously developed with Italian, one can see that the geminate spelling after a liquid or a nasal was not consistent in medieval texts. However, most of the discrepancies can be explained as due to prosody. In Giacomo da Lentini's texts (12th century), for instance, <rtt>-spelling occurs in post-tonic position, whereas <rt> does in pre-tonic position: e.g. *partte* [ˈparte] vs. *partenza* [parˈtɛntsa] (Antonelli 2008: c). As a matter of fact, in such examples, consonantal length is correlated to the stress of the preceding syllable. Regarding accent as a factor of lengthening of the following consonantal segment is not very new and has been examined already in previous studies, since there is a general association between stress and phonetic duration.[33] Nevertheless, what might be less common is that the lengthening affects the second consonantal segment in a cluster. Not much is known about Lycian accent, but some aspects of it can easily be deduced from historical phonology. It is indeed quite evident that all the vocalic loss effects, which are characteristic of Lycian, are caused by a strong stress. Thus, aphaeresis is attested in several proper names that have variants (e.g. *Seimija* vs. *Eseimija*; *Sedeplm̃mi* vs. *Esedeplẽme/i*), in some derivates (e.g. *rm̃mazata-* 'monthly offering' < *Arm̃ma-* 'Moon'), but also in borrowings (e.g. Ἀπολλωνίδης → *Pulenjda*; Ἀθηναγόρας → *Tẽnagure, Tẽnegure*). Syncope, then, is also

33 From a typological perspective, and with references, see Blevins 2004: 173–174. For Italian, see particularly Payne 2005.

well documented, albeit difficult to describe with precise rules: the only certain thing is that several unaccented vowels were lost in Lycian, either post-tonic (e.g. **ládahe/i-* > *laθθe/i-* 'in-law'; **Pinaléweñne/i-* > *Pilleñne/i-* 'of Pinara'), or pre-tonic (e.g. **dasó-m* > *θθẽn-* 'altar').[34] In many cases, one can assume that the stress not only causes syncope, but also has a phonetic manifestation by lengthening the second consonantal segment, as in verbal forms such as *astti* and *asñne*, where the post-consonantal geminate is most likely post-tonic. Relating post-consonantal geminates to stress could also explain some contradictory facts. For instance, the Greek divine name Ἄρτεμις is attested in Lycian in the dative forms *Ertẽmi* (N 311.1) and *Ertemi* (N 312.5), as well as in the genitival adjective *Ertemehi* (TL 44c.8), always with a singleton [t], whereas the personal name derived from this name, *Erttimeli* (N 320.5; → Gk. Αρτεμηλις), has a [t:]. Would these forms then indicate an accent shift? The linking between accent and gemination is however quickly swept away by the fact that post-consonantal geminates are found word-initially and, even if one admits the extrasyllabic nature of the first consonantal segment, the latter cannot, by definition, be stressed, and accordingly in a word like *pddẽ* the geminate cannot be post-tonic.

How to explain, then, the discrepancy between *Erteme/i-*/*Ertẽme/i-* and *Erttimele/i-*? The simplest assumption is that the simplex consonant is used in the divine name in order to reflect better the Greek [t], but when this name has been entirely integrated into Lycian, and serves as a basis for derivation, like *Erttim-eli*, [t] undergoes the typical Lycian lengthening after [r]. In fact, contrary to what I claimed before (Réveilhac 2018: 385), I believe now that a lot of exceptions to gemination after [r] concern non-Lycian forms, some of them being Greek, such as *Spparta*° and *Erteme/i-*/*Ertẽme/i-*, others being Iranian, such as *Artuñpara-*/*Artuñpara-*, *Ertaxssiraza-*,[35] and probably *Ddawãparta-*, *Ertelijese(/i)-*, *Pertina-*, *Pertinamuwa-*, *Urtaqija-*, *Xertube(/i)-*, and *Erzesinube-*.[36] In fact, apart from the inevitable scribal errors (e.g. *przis* or

34 See tentative definition of syncope rules by Melchert (1994: 318–321) and Hajnal (1995: 175–188), the latter being more speculative.

35 On both names, see Schmitt 1982: respectively 18–19 and 21–22.

36 All these forms can be connected to an Iranian name or stem: *Ddawãparta-* to **bṛta-* 'carried' (cf. Tavernier 2007: 580; e.g. **Baga-bṛta-*); *Ertelijese(/i)-* to **Ṛta-* 'Arta' as in *Ertaxssiraza-*; *Pertina-* and *Pertinamuwa-* to the name **Pṛtēna-* (cf. *Pírte-na* in Babylonian), derived from **pṛt-* 'warrior, battle' (*ibid.*: 277 and 601), *Pertina-muwa* being then a hybrid name; *Urtaqija-* to **vṛta-* 'hero' (cf. *ibid.*: 614; e.g. **Vṛtaka-*); *Xertube(/i)-* to **kṛta-* 'done, made' (*ibid.*: 595; e.g. **Kṛtaka-*); *Erzesinube-* to **arza-* 'battle' (cf. *ibid.*: 577; e.g. **Arzaraθaima-*) or **rza-* 'honest' (cf. *ibid.*: 604;

dderlidi), it is likely that the use of a singleton [t] or [ts] after [r] is an indication of borrowing. The fact that this affects only [t] and [ts] and not the other consonants (e.g. *Arppaxu*) must be somehow related to the homorganic nature of both of the segments within the consonant cluster, as already suggested by Adiego (2003: 13–14) about [rt]-clusters.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Revision of the distribution of Lycian consonants showed that there was a length contrast for at least /p t ts θ s m n/. This length opposition is phonologically relevant only in word-initial and intervocalic positions. Because of the fragmentary nature of the Lycian corpus, it is quite difficult to find minimal or quasi-minimal pairs for each of the previously mentioned phonemes, but it is possible to cite as an example the following pair: *teri* /teri/ 'when' vs. *tteri* (dat. sg.) /tːeri/ 'city'. Word-initial and intervocalic geminates have several sources: vowel syncope, assimilation, lengthening under stress, and reinterpretation of heteromorphemic sequences.

Most geminates after an obstruent or a liquid are synchronically automatic, as can be seen in some borrowings from Greek or Iranian, except for those involving a coronal consonant after [r]. The gemination in such contexts indicates that the consonant was perceived as longer than between vowels. The occurrence of geminates after a consonant does not seem linked to a prosodic context, but is better explained as a syllabic phenomenon: a post-coda consonant is always geminated, whereas when part of a branching onset (obstruent or /m/ + liquid or /β/) it is never geminated. This therefore implies considering word-initial clusters such as *stt-* etc. as beginning with an extrasyllabic appendix.

It appears, therefore, that Lycian geminates have two different statuses according to their position within the word: there is a phonologically relevant length contrast in word-initial and intervocalic positions, whereas after an obstruent and a liquid, the geminate occurs automatically for most consonants.

**Ṛzabară-*). Lycian documents manifestly contain more Iranian names than those listed in Schmitt 1982 and Réveilhac 2018: 140–145. I will explore this issue further in another article in the near future.

Phonotactic rules on this respect can be summarized as follow:[37]

- in word-initial position, /β/, /ɣ/, and /r/ are not permitted;[38]
- in word-initial and intervocalic positions, there is a length contrast for most consonants. Exceptions are the dorsals, /β/, /ð/, /h/, and /r/;
- after a nasal, geminates are never found, except for /m/ and /n/ after a nasal vowel;[39]
- after an obstruent, only a geminate is permitted, except in the case of liquids and /β/;
- after a liquid, only a geminate is permitted, except in the case of the coronal phonemes /t/ and /ts/ for which the simplex also appears.

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37 For more, see Melchert 1994: 297–299.

38 Only examples of initial <r-> result from an aphaeresis and show a syllabic /r/, as *rm̃mazata-* (TL 131.4) 'monthly offering' < **arm̃mazata-*, and *RKKazumaha-* (N 320.24–25) 'of Arkesimas' < **A/ErKKazumaha*.

39 See references in note 10.

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NEWS FROM SIDE

Alfredo Rizza

To Gary B. Holland,
in memoriam and gratitude

Abstract: The present paper illustrates some of the results of the recent project about Side and the Sidetic inscriptions undertaken by a team of scholars from the universities of Graz and Verona. The project produced a new *Gliederung* of the inscriptions; a new dating of the East Gate monument; and a thorough review of some texts. The East Gate as the find context of a stone with two monolingual Sidetic inscriptions is of great importance for the interpretation of these texts. The new results of the archaeological campaigns suggest that the stone was relocated on the terrace of the Gate, having come from a different original context. Thus a textual connection with the Gate and its weapon friezes is now a more remote probability. The new Lyrbe stele seems to support a reading /v/ for the Sidetic letter |N24|. The "Artemon bilingual" is here re-interpreted with two new possible readings.

Keywords: Sidetic language, Sidetic alphabet, Sidetic inscriptions, Sidetic archaeological monuments

1 INTRODUCTION

The project "Inschriften von Side & Grabungen am Osttor von Side",[1] is a cooperation between the Anadolu Üniversitesi Eskişehir[2] and the University of Graz.[3] The team consisting of the present writer (Univ. of Verona), Michaela Zinko (Univ. of Graz), and Christian Zinko (Univ. of

1 https://antike.uni-graz.at.

2 Director: Hüseyin Sabri Alanyalı.

3 Project leader: Peter Scherrer, Ute Lohner-Urban.

Graz) is working on the Sidetic inscriptions with the final aim of compiling a new comprehensive corpus and reference monograph. First of all, the team is trying to record all known epigraphic documents, which is not without problems since some inscriptions are not on display and must be identified in the depositories of museums, mostly in the Archaeological Museum of Side.[4] Sidetic inscriptions need to be published with high quality photographs for the scientific community, along with indexes, glossary, and epigraphic and linguistic commentaries, which will report our interpretations along with preceding and alternative ones. While conducting this reference work, we are also researching the palaeography, the writing system, the language, and the onomastics (e.g. Zinko 2016; Rizza 2019a; Rizza 2019b; Zinko/Zinko 2019). We will introduce our research, including new archaeological findings and possible consequences for the interpretation of some inscriptions, as well as competing interpretations of texts and language.

2 THE PROJECT AND THE NEW *GLIEDERUNG*

In **Fig. 1**, the project is set out in a diagram. Before getting to the epigraphic and linguistic part, we started a review of the document inventory and of the dating of objects and finding context (if known). At present, four inscribed stones are on display at the Museum of Side, bearing a total of five Sidetic and three Greek texts: two stones each bear a Sidetic-Greek bilingual, one of these being the stone with the Apollonios bilingual also has a later unconnected Greek inscription dating to Roman times. A third stone carries two Sidetic inscriptions, while the fourth stone preserves just one Sidetic text. One more stone and two objects (a relief and a vessel) are stored in the museum depository. A few more small-finds and copious coins with Sidetic legends are kept in other collections, both public and private. Unfortunately, one inscription is, at present, missing.[5]

This preliminary work produced a new *Gliederung* of the corpus (**Fig. 2**).[6] The parameters used divide "display" (or "larger") monuments from small-finds (*Kleinobjekte*) and coin legends. Even if in the majority

4 We thank the former director Güner Kozdere and the Museum staff for their support during our 2014–2016 field work.

5 I.1.3, the "Euempolos bilingual".

6 Zinko/Zinko 2016; Zinko 2016.

of the cases we do not know the original archaeological context, the objects themselves and their content (as far as understandable) may support a public exposure at least for the "Artemon bilingual" (I.1.1), the "Apollonios bilingual" (I.1.2), and the "*istratag*" texts (I.2.1, I.2.2).[7]

Secondly, we separate multilingual from monolingual texts. By multilingual text we mean versions of the same text (loosely meant) on the same carrier. Only Greek-Sidetic bilingual texts are known (I.1.1, I.1.2, I.1.3). The stone of I.1.2 is multilingual also in the sense of "bearing independent texts in different languages" since it also hosts a Roman period inscription, testifying to a clear re-use (Nollé 1993: 299–300). All Sidetic inscriptions, and only Sidetic ones, are written in the Sidetic script.

3 NEWS FROM THE EAST GATE

Regarding the dating and the find contexts, we were able to profit from the results of the archaeological campaigns, especially those connected with the East Gate (**Fig. 3**). From the terrace of the East Gate comes one of the most important monuments. This is a stone bearing two monolingual Sidetic inscriptions (I.2.1, I.2.2), both mentioning the word "*istratag*", almost certainly to be identified as a loanword from Greek στρατηγός, following Darga 1967. The East Gate was decorated with a weapon-frieze. The dating of the gate, the frieze, and the stone were all established as ca. 3rd/2nd century BC.[8] A number of scholars have tried to exploit this contextual connection, suggesting an interpretation that linked the content of the inscriptions to the gate, and specifically to the weapon-frieze.[9]

Not only do the findings of the Graz archaeological campaigns radically change the dating but also the very possibility of a connection between inscriptions and reliefs. The terrace on top of which the inscribed stone was located dates to the Byzantine period. According to the archaeologist A. M. Mansel (1968), the first to conduct extensive excavations at Side,[10] the iconography of the frieze and other stylistic evidence of some gate decorations point to a foundation date in the early

7 More caution is demanded for the "Euempolos bilingual" (I.1.3) and the Lyrbe-stele (I.2.6).

8 Mansel 1968.

9 Mansel 1968; Meriggi 1978; Eichner 1993.

10 Mansel 1963.

2nd century BC, along with the entire fortification system of Side, perhaps in connection with historical events after the treaty of Apameia in 188 BC (Mansel 1968: 273–274). The dating advanced by Mansel for the frieze, however, was not accepted by other archaeologists. It is worth mentioning W. Radt, who advocated a later dating for the monument in Side:

> "Abgesehen von ihrer provinziellen Steifheit zeigen die sidetischen Reliefs eine Eigenheit, die wohl doch als Datierungskriterium ins 1. Jh. v. Chr. gelten kann: die starke Vereinzelung der Motive, wie sie bei den Waffenreliefs aus dem Marmorsaal ebenfalls vorliegt. Die Weiterbenutzung von Einzelmotiven aus dem 2. Jh. und aus noch früherer Zeit war durchaus üblich, so daß das Auftreten antiquierter Formen noch nichts über die Entstehungszeit aussagt." (Filgis/Radt 1986: 91 n. 128).

These observations were further developed by E. Polito in a work dedicated to weapon-friezes in Hellenistic time. Considering the East Gate frieze in Side, Polito pointed out problems in regard to particular stylistic features:

> "Problematica è invece la datazione delle lastre con armi, il cui aspetto disorganico e semplificato non trova confronti in questo periodo. In particolare la corazza a corsetto (B), con gli spallacci ridotti a sottili strisce, non è attestata in questa fase. Alla luce di queste osservazioni non è da sottovalutare una proposta di ribassamento della datazione[...]: si potrebbe trattare di un restauro della terrazza sovrastante la porta, esemplato forse sulle più antiche decorazioni d'armi della stessa regione." (Polito 1998: 85).

The archaeologist Ute Lohner-Urban, who with Peter Scherrer was responsible for the Graz campaigns at the East Gate, used stratigraphic evidence to establish that the gate is a 1st-century AD building (Lohner-Urban 2014; Lohner-Urban 2015; Lohner-Urban/Scherrer 2016).

For the frieze, however, the Graz team prefer a dating to the Hellenistic period (Grebien 2016; Leitold 2017), though they firmly separate the dating of the gate from that of the frieze, believing that the frieze, previously installed in some other Hellenistic monument in the town, was later relocated to the East Gate:

> "Die in den Jahren 2011 bis 2015 unter der Leitung von Ute Lohner-Urban durchgeführten Ausgrabungen erbrachten hingegen das Ergebnis, dass das Osttor frühestens im ersten Jahrhundert v.Chr. errichtet wurde. Im Weiteren wird aufgrund der Befunde davon ausgegangen, dass der Waffenfries erst in der Spätantike von einem unbekannten, hellenistischen Bauwerk zum Osttor gebracht wurde. Aus diesem Grund kann der Fries – entgegen Mansels Annahme – weder für das Osttor noch für die gesamte Landmauer als Datierungsquelle herangezogen werden." (Grebien 2016).

One reason for such a relocation may be revealed by the new interpretation of the function of the East Gate, no longer considered a strong defensive monument, but more plausibly a celebratory one.

> "The excavations undertaken inside the gate complex, however, did not reveal any features dating from Hellenistic times. The earliest building activity dates rather from the Augustan period [...]. While the East Gate has always been considered in relation to a Hellenistic defensive aspect, a new conclusion results from the records concerning its representative function and urban structure (and leaving aside the identity of any imminent enemy) during Roman times. [...] it has defensive elements like loopholes, which are not functional, and a courtyard resembling an inner bailey, but with three passages planned from the beginning, thus making the gate more vulnerable. [...] The whole character of this gate (and the entire fortification system) seems to indicate the power and remembrance of the ancestor." (Lohner-Urban 2017: 100–101).

So it now seems more plausible that the reliefs and the stone were brought to the gate separately at different times and probably came from independent contexts. The blocks of the frieze show Greek alphabetic mason marks that may have been used to install the blocks after they were removed from another monument of the Hellenistic period and closer to the Hellenistic site of Side.[11] An "original" connection between the "*istratag*"-stone and the weapon-frieze is now a rather remote possibility.

11 These marks actually could have been made before the first installation of the blocks. Further study is required.

The fact that the stone, whose original context is unknown, was still "on display" on the Byzantine gate's terrace is of great interest and may be a late testimony to a much older, strong local tradition about the original invention of the Sidetic "language" as a mark of local identity. In the 2nd century AD, the Greek historian Arrian writes, in the *exped. Alex.*, of an older tradition (a λεγόμενον) according to which the settlers of Side, arriving from Aeolian Cyme, invented a "new language" – a language that had "never existed before". In this story, the Sidetic script must have played a fundamental role.[12] The conservation of the "*istratag*"-stone and its exposure on the terrace is an important sign of a long and possibly continuous cultural tradition. Important is not so much the use of the Sidetic script and language but the recognition of the written products as "visible language", an original Sidetic marker. These considerations are in line with the proposal of the Graz archaeological team.[13]

Now, considering that the stone of I.1.2 (the Apollonios bilingual) was re-used and inscribed on a clean surface in the time of the Emperor Claudius, we catch a glimpse of the story of an alternative fortune that the Sidetic script had among the citizens of Side themselves. This confirms in general the historical and cultural importance of possessing a writing system and being able to show written products in the historical dynamics of many places and periods throughout the world.[14]

4 REVIEWS OF SOME STONE-INSCRIPTIONS

Since the discovery in 2010 of a marble stele in Lyrbe with Sidetic graffiti, no new document has been found (2018).[15] Perhaps, the most interesting evidence of this stele is that it could possibly support a reading /v/ for the Sidetic letter N24,[16] as suggested by Santiago Pérez Orozco (2007, with ref.).[17] In the second line, the word *tv²iat* may record a proper name. This may find a parallel in the personal name *Τβιος (attested

12 See now Rizza 2019a for further comments.

13 Lohner-Urban 2015: 104–105; Lohner-Urban/Scherrer 2016; Lohner-Urban 2017.

14 See, e.g., the role of the Cherokee syllabary in relations with the USA government (Cushman 2010). In part. for Side: Rizza 2019a (with ref.).

15 I.2.6, cf. Zinko/Zinko 2016.

16 N24. The 'N' refers to the list in Nollé 2001: 629.

17 I prefer the transcription 'v' instead of 'b' as long as N8 'p' seems to cover /b/ as well as /p/. Cf. *etiam* Pérez Orozco 2007.

as gen. τβιου in Elaioussa/Sebaste, Cilicia), at least in the initial cluster.[18] Other possibly interesting information, with due caution, might be the sequence of letters |remr| in the first line. This reading is not completely sure, but it is certainly the most probable at present. It follows the sequence |isto|, in which we can easily recognize the proper name *Isto,* already known from inscription I.2.5.[19] The expression *remr* is reminiscent of the proper names ending in \-remar\[20] in the inscription just mentioned (I.2.5, *Namenliste*), perhaps a compound element that may find parallels in Greek names ending in ρυμαρ-, -ρυμερ-, -ρομαρ-: cf. Greek Ρωζρυμερις, Ροσδρυμαριος (4th–1st century BC), though (Δ)Ριμαρας could also be considered for comparison; and later Ἀμωρόμαρος; Ῥευρόμαρος (2nd century AD).[21]

A comparison between ρυμαρ- and *remr*, *-remar* suggests a possible correspondence of the Greek letter |υ| with the Sidetic letter |e|. If confirmed, this has a certain importance, because it can reinforce the identification of a personal name, *diYne(-)sijas* in I.2.1:2, which would find an optimal correspondence in Pamphylian Greek ΔιFo(ι)νυσι(ιυ)ς,[22] or Greek Διονυσιος, showing again a correspondence between Greek |υ| and Sidetic |e|.

After the review of I.2.5 we made an accurate autoptical, photographic, and textual review of I.1.1, the "Artemon bilingual". The results are now available (Rizza 2019b) and could be briefly summarized here. The "Artemon bilingual" is the first published stone-inscription with Sidetic letters.[23] The decipherment is due to Bossert (1950). Bossert, however, was not able to see the stone because between the time of Paribeni's journey and his own work the stone got lost. It was Johannes Nollé (1988) who found it again. Nollé's autoptical reading introduced

18 Zinko/Zinko 2016.

19 Cf. Zinko 2016 about I.2.5 (*Namenliste*), with further comments on anthroponymy in Sidetic texts; Zinko/Zinko 2016 for I.2.6 (Lyrbe-stele).

20 One cannot exclude, a priori, that *isto* and *remr* are two compound members, i.e. *Istoremr* (the s*criptio* is *continua*)*;* cf. the compound PN in I.2.5 ending in *-remar* (Zinko 2016, with ref.). This would solve the unexpected lack of a patronymic in the genitive (as in *isto remr*, cf. Zinko/Zinko 2016), but speculation on this point is probably still premature.

21 Data from LGPN.

22 Ševoroškin 1975; Schürr 2016 (who reads "diwnesijas" and offers a tentative explanation for the relationship between Greek |υ| and Sidetic |e|).

23 Paribeni in Paribeni/Romanelli 1914.

important corrections both in the Greek and in the Sidetic sections. The Greek section is now to be read as follows:[24]

1 [.....]
2 Ạ̣Ṛ̣Ṭ̣Ẹ̣Ṃ̣ʔ̣ΩΝΑΘ̣Ḥ̣ʔ̣Ṇ̣Ο̣Β̣ʔ̣Ị̣ʔ̣ΟΥ
3 ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ

The Sidetic as follows:[25]

1 deaθono artmon θanpi|N7|s
2 mal|N7|adas

There is a problematic correspondence in the personal names Ἀθηνόβιος and θanpi|N7|s. The Sidetic letter |p| could express both /p/ and /b/. However, as we have seen above, there is now some evidence for another letter with similar value (/b/ or perhaps /v/). Consider the following facts:

1- the name after Ἀρτέμων was first understood as ΑΘΗΝΙΠ(Π)(Ι)ΟΥ;[26]
2- in 1988, Nollé read ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ, not ΑΘΗΝΟΒΙΟΥ;
3- our autoptical reading could not (at first) see traces of a |β| (as for Nollé 1988);
4- Nollé (2001) corrected his reading after the comment made by Günter Neumann (1988), i.e. he was able to see the |β| only after a suggestion made for textual-epigraphic and linguistic reasons;
5- only the ΑΘΗΝΙΠ(Π)(Ι)ΟΥ reading is in line with the value /p/ of the corresponding Sidetic letter.

For all these reasons, we decided that a thorough check of the stone was necessary. It was only with high quality photographs that we could confirm the reading ΑΘΗΝΟΒΙΟΥ, thus confirming that the value of Sidetic |p| ranges from /p/ to /b/. This may have interesting consequences

24 Cf. *etiam* Nollé 1993 no. 19. The reading is almost certain; we retain question marks for the sake of caution.

25 By |N7| I mean the Sidetic letter N7. This letter is now generally (but not universally) interpreted as /y/ (ca. [j] and/or [i̯]). Older value attributed to N7 is /w/.

26 Bossert 1950; Brandenstein 1958.

both for the typology of Sidetic and for the classification of Sidetic as an IE Anatolian language.[27]

A review was also made of the interpretation of the Sidetic text. Sidetic |deaθono|, which was, before Nollé 1988, read as |diaθana| I found unsatisfactory as a reading – however persistent – referring to the goddess Athena. The results of my review can be summarized with two new reading proposals:[28]

Proposal 1.	
1 de aθono artmon θanpiys	1 For? Athon?? Artmon (son of) Thanpi
2 malya das	2 placed/dedicated (this) (here) to Malya (Athena)
Proposal 2.	
1 dea θono artmon θanpiys	1 As (thank-)offering? Artmon (son of) Thanpi
2 malya das	2 placed (this) (here) to Malya

The main question in these proposals is the segmentation and interpretation of |deaθono|, either as a preposition and personal name[29] (following the textual pattern of Greek inscriptions) or as a preposition and a term perhaps connected to Lycian *θθe-*, *θθẽn-*, 'votive table, altar'.[30] Other news from the epigraphic point of view concern a new Greek inscription, of relevance for the history of the town in Roman imperial times (under the emperor Gallienus): cf. Nollé 2017. Finally, two recent contributions may be conveniently mentioned here: Schürr 2016 and Nicolaev 2017 with insights into the reading of the Sidetic letter |N5|[31] and for the interpretation of the "Apollonios bilingual" (I.1.2).[32]

27 More in Rizza 2019b (with ref.).

28 Details and references in Rizza 2019b.

29 Cf. Gk. Ἤθων, Αἴθων, Ἄθων, discussed in Rizza 2019b.

30 Rizza 2019b.

31 Schürr suggests a reading /w/ instead of /u/.

32 Nicolaev argues that for the Sidetic form ↑*ue*[we should prefer the correspondence with Greek πᾶσι 'all'.

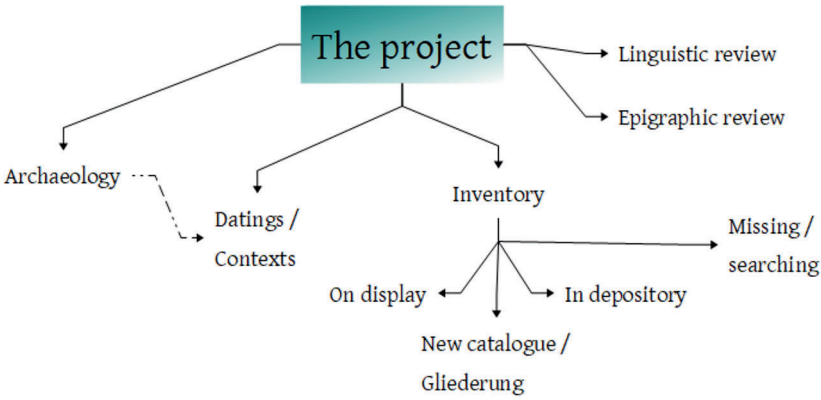

Fig. 1. Diagram of the project (elab. A. Rizza).

I. Inscriptions (display)			
1. Multilingual			
I.1.1	Dedication (“Artemon Bilingual”)	Side Museum – on display	Sid. – Greek
I.1.2	Dedication (“Apollonios Bilingual”)	Side Museum – on display	Sid. – Greek
I.1.3	Lyrbe-stone (“Euempolos Bilingual”)		Sid. – Greek
2. Monolingual			
I.2.1	Longer “*istratag*” text	Side Museum – on display	Sid.
I.2.2	Shorter “*istratag*” text	Side Museum – on display	Sid.
I.2.3	Inscription on a vessel	Side Museum – depository	Sid.
I.2.4	Inscription on a Herakles relief	Side Museum – depository	Sid.
I.2.5	List of names	Side Museum – on display	Sid.
I.2.6	Lyrbe-Stele	Side Museum – depository	Sid.
II. Small finds			
II.1.1	Bronze “voting tablet”	Cabinet des médailles, Paris	Sid.
II.2.1	Skarab	Private collection	Sid.?

III. Coin legends			
III	Coins	Various collections	Sid.
IV. Varia			
*	“Characters” of Mnemon of Side		
*	Graffiti from Perge	Under scrutiny (Tekoğlu 2008; Brixhe 2018)	

Fig. 2. The new order.

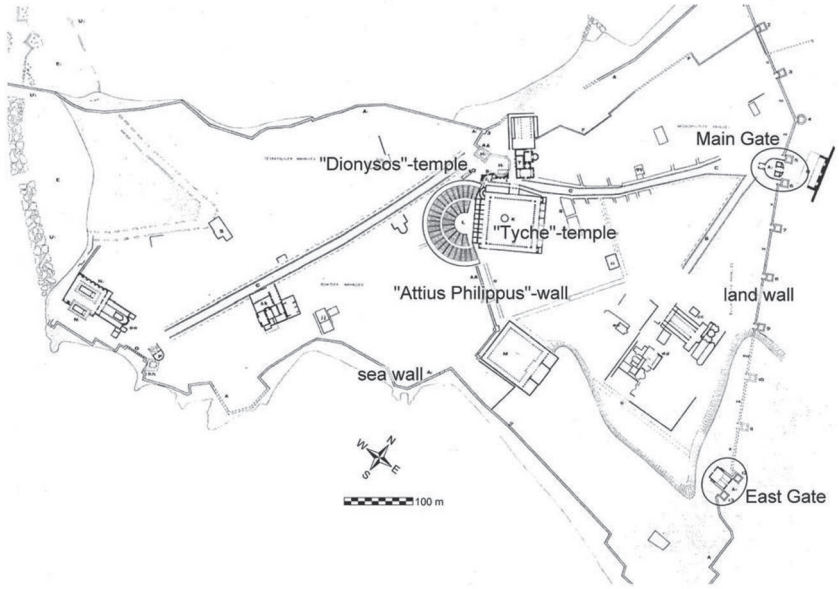

Fig. 3. The East Gate archaeological campaigns. Map of the ancient site of Side (© Institute of Archaeology, University of Graz, edited by U. Lohner-Urban and J. Kraschitzer; from Lohner-Urban 2017).

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FROM PHRYGIAN TO GREEK

The decline of the Phrygian alphabet in 1st-millennium BCE Anatolia

Lynn E. Roller

Abstract: The declining use of epichoric scripts for languages spoken in 1st millennium BCE Anatolia (such as Lydian, Carian, and Lycian) and their replacement by the Greek script has usually been interpreted as a sign of the decline and disappearance of those languages. The Phrygian language, however, continued to be used in Anatolia well after Phrygian texts ceased to be written in the Phrygian alphabet. This paper traces the declining use of the Phrygian script from the 8th through 3rd centuries BCE by analyzing inscriptions and graffiti from Gordion. The preference for Greek letter forms at Gordion is attested well before the earliest Greek language texts appear at Gordion, and so it is unlikely that the disappearance of the Phrygian script can be equated with the disappearance of the Phrygian language. Rather, Phrygian speakers at Gordion increasingly adopted the Greek writing system as part of a growing interest in Greek cultural artifacts during the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. The shift in orthography illustrates how Phrygians adapted to the changing cultural milieu of increasing Greek influence on Anatolia during this time, while still retaining their own identity.

Keywords: Phrygian language, Phrygian alphabet, Greek alphabet, Gordion

Language is usually considered a key marker of ethnic identity. The disappearance of epichoric Anatolian languages such as Lydian, Carian, and Lycian during the later 1st millennium BCE, coupled with the increasing spread of Greek in this region, is thus often considered a major sign of the decline of ethnic identity among the pre-Greek Anatolian peoples. In the case of Phrygian, however, we are looking at a more complex phenomenon. The Phrygian alphabet, the writing system de-

veloped to record written texts in Phrygian, ceased to be used during the 4th century BCE, but texts in the Phrygian language, written in the Greek alphabet, continued long after the Phrygian writing system disappeared. This paper will review the evidence for the appearance and distribution of texts written in the Phrygian alphabet to determine when texts using Phrygian script to record the Phrygian language disappeared, and why. My main focus will be on the mid- and later 1st millennium BCE, a time during which the Phrygians came under Achaemenian Persian and then later Greek political control. My hope is to contribute to our understanding of the changing status of Phrygia and the Phrygian people during this critical period of shifting hegemonies and increasing Greek influence on Anatolia.

As is well known, Phrygian is a language that is closely related to Greek. It was introduced into western and central Anatolia during the early 1st millennium BCE when the Phrygians migrated from southeastern Europe into this region (Roller 2011: 560–561). Phrygian is the oldest language in Anatolia to be written with an alphabetic script, and its potential role in the creation and dissemination of the alphabet is now widely accepted (Sass 2005: 146–149). We can follow the development of Paleo-Phrygian alphabetic texts that use Phrygian script to record the Phrygian language from their earliest appearance in the 8th century BCE to the latest clearly identifiable Paleo-Phrygian inscription, a funerary inscription of eight lines dating from the later 4th century BCE, found in a village near Dokimeion (Brixhe 2004: 7–26).[1] Thereafter, all written documents from Phrygia in both the Greek and the Phrygian languages used the Greek alphabet. This circumstance may be connected with the diminishing use of Phrygian as a spoken language, since texts written in Phrygian disappear altogether in urban centers of central Phrygia such as Gordion during the Hellenistic period (Roller 1987b). In more rural areas, written texts in the Phrygian language, known as Neo-Phrygian, reappear during the Roman era, but even in these areas, Phrygian seems to have been less widely used than Greek (Brixhe 2002a; Roller 2018).[2] We cannot follow precisely the decline of Phrygian as a spoken language, but we trace, at least in part, the disappearance of a

1 Following the example of Brixhe/Lejeune 1984, this phase of Phrygian writing will be called Paleo-Phrygian, to distinguish it from a later corpus of texts in Phrygian, dating from the 1st through 3rd centuries CE known as Neo-Phrygian.

2 The corpus of Neo-Phrygian inscriptions falls outside the parameters of this discussion. For Neo-Phrygian texts, see Friedrich 1932: 113–129; Haas 1966; Brixhe/Drew-Bear 1997; Lubotsky 1994. See the discussion in Roller 2018: 128–129 n. 11.

distinctively Phrygian script. The standard view is that the Phrygian script was replaced by the Greek following the Macedonian conquest of Central Anatolia in the late 4th century BCE. In practice, evidence from pottery graffiti found at Gordion suggests that the influence of Greek orthography on Phrygian writing started earlier, and that military conquest played a less important role than cultural exchanges.

The changing status of the Phrygian alphabet and its eventual replacement by the Greek alphabet within the Phrygian cultural zone is, however, a tricky process to follow. A major problem is that from its earliest appearance, the Phrygian alphabet had a high degree of overlap with the Greek alphabet.[3] Unlike the local scripts of Lydia, Caria, or Lycia, there are few letters that are unique to the Phrygian alphabet. A further drawback is that comparatively few texts in Phrygian survive. The largest body of Phrygian texts comes from Gordion, and most of those are very short, often consisting only of a proper name or part of a name (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 73–214; Brixhe 2002b: 24–102). As a result, especially in the case of very short texts, the letter forms of Phrygian and Greek are often so similar that it is difficult to distinguish between them. Nevertheless, I believe that one can trace an increasing preference for using the Greek script for Phrygian-language texts during the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. I will attempt to follow this process and propose an explanation as to why the Phrygian script disappeared. While the question of script is not the same as the question of language, the decreasing use of distinctively Phrygian orthography provides one clue to the changing status of Phrygian from its position as the dominant language of the people living in Phrygia to a secondary or obsolete language in the region.

Among the earliest alphabetic texts in Phrygian are those from Gordion, especially a series of texts from Tumulus MM, dated to the second half of the 8th century BCE (Young 1981: 79–190). These consist of graffiti applied to four bronze bowls and one clay dinos found in the burial chamber (Brixhe 1981; Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 99–103, G 105–109), and several more recently discovered graffiti incised onto one of the roof beams that was used to construct the chamber (Liebhart/Brixhe 2009). All the texts seem to consist of proper names. The writing used in these graffiti shows signs of a practiced hand, implying that alphabetic writing was known at least among a small segment of the Phrygian population by the mid-8th century BCE (Liebhart in Liebhart/Brixhe 2009:

3 See the chart of Phrygian alphabetic letters, Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 280.

145). The script used in the tumulus texts contains the distinctive Phrygian letter ↑ (arrow character, Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 280, no. 19), plus other letter forms such as the multi-barred sigma found in other early Phrygian inscriptions, marking this writing style as specifically Phrygian. The ↑ (arrow character) also appears in other prominent Phrygian stone or rupestral inscriptions, including the so-called black stone of Tyana (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 263–267, T-02), also likely to date from the 8th century BCE. Other early Paleo-Phrygian texts contain letter forms that are characteristic of the Phrygian script system and do not appear in other 1st millennium BCE Anatolian scripts. In addition to the ↑ (arrow character) already noted, these include the following: the letter φ, resembling the Greek *phi* although probably with a different phonetic value (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 280, no. 21); the letter can be found in the inscription on the right side of the Midas Monument (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 9–10, M-01b) and may be the equivalent of the ↑; and the *yod*, a three-barred character that may be a palatalized *i* (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 280, no. 18). All of these letters are unique to the Phrygian alphabet.

These distinctive Phrygian letter forms appear regularly in the corpus of Paleo-Phrygian inscriptions of the 8th through 6th centuries (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984; Brixhe 2002b; Brixhe 2004). The inscriptions occur on monuments that are very difficult to date objectively, apart from a few exceptions. The Gordion tumulus inscriptions described above should be contemporary with the construction of the tomb, dated by dendrochronological evidence to ca. 740 BCE (Kuniholm/Newton 2011: 79). Thus they lie at the beginning of the chronological range of Phrygian alphabetic texts. The inscriptions from Kerkenes Dağ have a clear *terminus ante quem* of ca. 540 BCE, since the site was destroyed by enemy action, probably in the 540's BCE as a result of the Achaemenian Persian advance across the Anatolian plateau (Brixhe/Summers 2006). The Kerkenes Dağ inscriptions may represent the end of the tradition of Paleo-Phrygian inscriptions created by an independent Phrygian polity. The long inscription on one of the cult facades in the Phrygian Highlands known as the Areyastin Monument (Haspels 1971: 79–80) can also be placed in the mid-6th century BCE. This is assumed in part from the architectural decoration on the carved facade which seems to imitate architectural terracottas, a decorative innovation that appears for the first time in Phrygia in the 6th century BCE; moreover, the monument is unfinished, suggesting that the façade was abandoned when Phrygia

came under Achaemenian control, a circumstance that deprived the Phrygian elite of the resources needed to finish the monument. It is likely that the other inscriptions found on the Phrygian rock facades, such as the Germanos inscription (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 62–68, B-01) and three Paleo-Phrygian texts from Çepni (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 52–55, W-08, 09, 10), can be dated to the same chronological range, mid-8th through mid-6th century BCE. All of these texts contain at least one distinctive Phrygian letter, marking them as Phrygian both through the language and the script system. During this roughly two-hundred-year period, the use of Paleo-Phrygian was quite extensive: examples of Paleo-Phrygian texts are found widely distributed throughout the Phrygian cultural zone, from Daskyleion in northwestern Anatolia to Boğazköy and Niğde in eastern Anatolia (see the collected texts in Brixhe/Lejeune 1984 and Brixhe 2002b; Brixhe 2004), and outside of Phrygia, in Lydia (Brixhe 2004: 103–108, HP-101, 102) and Lycia (Varınlıoğlu 1992; Brixhe 2004: 108–118, HP-103–113), with one example found in the Persepolis treasury tablets (Brixhe 2004: 118–126, HP-114). While comparatively few long Paleo-Phrygian texts are known to us, this may be a result of chance: the Paleo-Phrygian script was widely disseminated and used for multiple purposes.

By the 4th century BCE, however, texts written in the Phrygian script had disappeared. From that point on, all inscriptions in the Phrygian language were written using the Greek alphabet. In order to investigate how and why this happened, I will focus on the large body of alphabetic graffiti and texts from Gordion. Gordion was continuously inhabited from the early 1st millennium BCE through the end of the Hellenistic period, and excavations at the site have yielded nearly three hundred examples of alphabetic texts, most of them graffiti on pottery, extending through this entire time span. Thus Gordion furnishes a substantial body of material that can enable us to trace the progress of the change in script. But despite the abundance of material, this is not an easy task. As noted earlier, Phrygian texts used seventeen letters that are common to both Phrygian and Greek. Claude Brixhe has identified seven characters that are unique to the Phrygian script (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 280), but only five of them occur in the Gordion material; two are found in a single example and only three occur regularly in Gordion pottery graffiti. There are many Phrygian texts in the Gordion corpus of inscriptions and graffiti in which every alphabetic letter is common to both

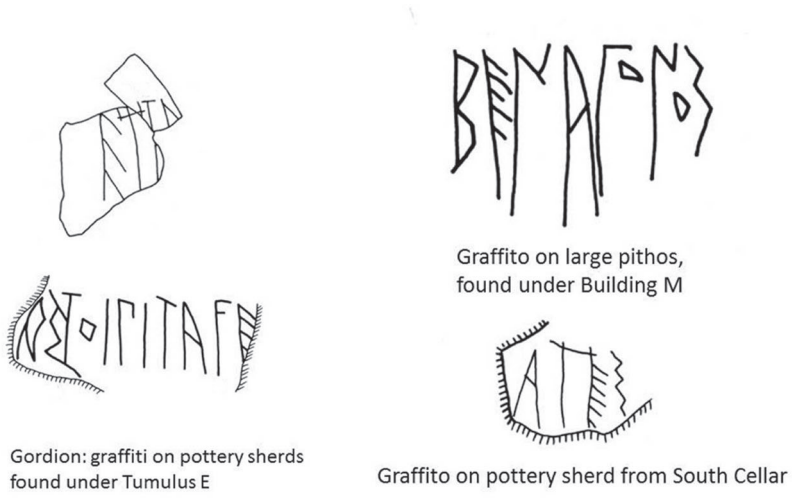

Fig. 1. Gordion pottery graffiti from the Middle Phrygian period, later 8th through 7th centuries BCE
(after Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: G-112, G-113, G-116, G-123).

Phrygian and Greek, making it difficult to be sure of the writer's linguistic preference.

Let us look at some early examples of Gordion pottery graffiti. Several examples of household pottery with graffiti found near some of the Gordion burial tumuli provide a good starting point, since the tumulus pottery comes from closed contexts dating to the 7th and early 6th centuries. These include pieces from the mantle of Tumulus E (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: G-112, G-113), that include the distinctive Phrygian letter forms ⫫ (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 280, no. 23) and multi-barred sigma. Other examples were found in the Middle Phrygian level of the Gordion citadel; a good example is a large inscribed pithos (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: G-116) found under Building M in the Middle Phrygian level, dated to the 8th or early 7th century BCE, with the multi-barred *epsilon* and *sigma* characteristic of Paleo-Phrygian lettering. In addition, several vessels with graffiti were found in the South Cellar, an area in the Middle Phrygian level that seems to have been used for debris cleared away after the Destruction Level fire of ca. 800 BCE (DeVries 2005: 37–42). One good example uses the multi-barred *e* and *s* to write the typical Phrygian name *ates* (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: G-123;[4] **Fig. 1**).

4 For the chronology of the Gordion Destruction level and the Middle Phrygian level South Cellar, see DeVries 2005: 37–43, and Rose/Darbyshire 2011.

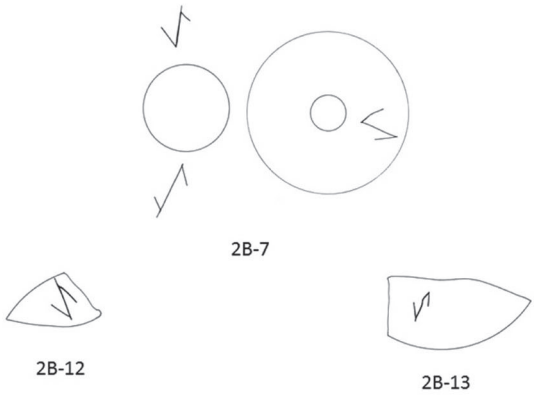

Fig. 2. Gordion pottery graffiti, 6th through 4th centuries BCE: distinctive Phrygian letters (after Roller 1987a: 2B-7, 2B-12, 2B-13).

There is also a large corpus of pottery sherds that have graffiti with typical Phrygian letter forms from the Later Phrygian level, 540–330 BCE. Over one hundred examples are known, many found in mixed contexts extending from the 6th through the 4th century BCE. The texts are usually very short, most of them probably simply part of a proper name. From Gordion, our best source of alphabetic pottery graffiti, there are several hundred examples, collected and studied by myself (Roller 1987a: 33–51) and Claude Brixhe (Brixhe 2002b: 24–101). The pottery graffiti occur on a variety of wares, most of them undecorated bowls, coarse ware storage jars, and cooking vessels, i.e., ordinary household pottery. The pottery is difficult to date accurately and many of the pieces were found in chronologically mixed contexts; thus earlier pieces can be found in fills from a later date. The graffiti are short, often just two or three letters, and often incomplete. We can, however, notice a general trend. Most graffiti, especially from contexts from the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, tend to use the long thin letters typical of earlier Phrygian period inscriptions, and many include characteristic Phrygian letters, such as the *yod* (Roller 1987a: 2B-7, 2B-12, 2B-13; **Fig. 2**). Increasingly, though, the pottery graffiti are written with letters that are more regular and using more carefully written, almost squared letters. Examples include, *nm*, *a k o*, and 𐤕𐤌 (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: G-215; G-237; G-275; **Fig. 3**). Because these graffiti are very short and do not make much sense as part of a word, we cannot be certain whether the word

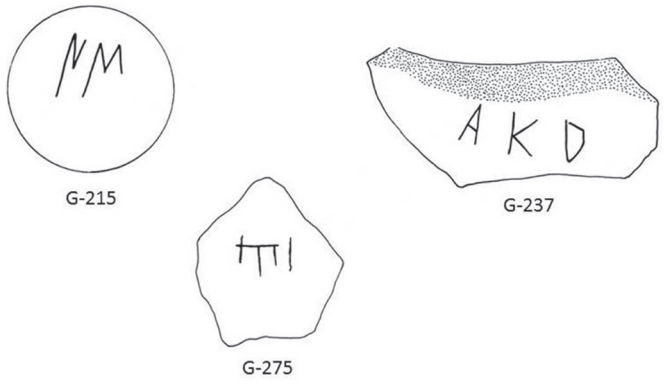

Fig. 3. Gordion pottery graffiti, 6th through 4th centuries BCE: groups of letters of indefinite origin, Phrygian or Greek
(after Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: G-215; G-237; G-275).

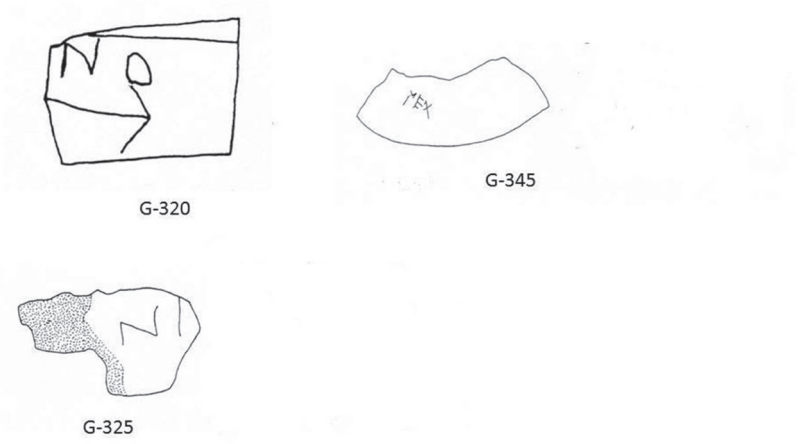

Fig. 4. Gordion alphabetic pottery graffiti, later 4th or early 3rd century BCE. Letters that could be Phrygian or Greek (after Brixhe 2002b: G-320, G-325, G-345).

incised on the vessel was Phrygian or another language, presumably Greek. Towards the end of the 4th century, graffito letters are more likely to be smaller and more squared in form, as we see here: *n o*, found on a sherd of Phrygian gray ware from a pit under the 4th-century Mosaic Building (Brixhe 2002b: G-320); *n i*, on a sherd of Phrygian red ware from an early Hellenistic context (Brixhe 2002b: G-325); *m e x* incised onto a piece of Attic black glazed pottery of the late 4th or early 3rd centu-

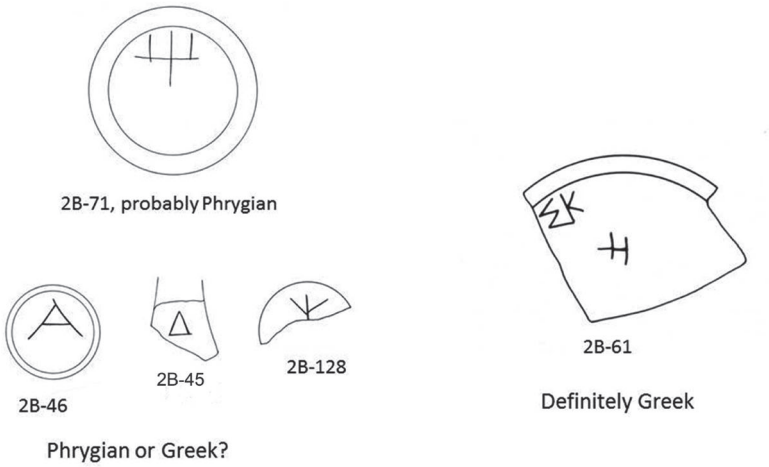

Fig. 5. Monograms on Gordion pottery, later 4th through 3rd century BCE, mixture of Phrygian and Greek letters
(after Roller 1987a: 2B-71, 2B-46, 2B-45, 2B-128, 2B-61).

ry BCE (Brixhe 2002b: G-345; **Fig. 4**). There is no reason to think that the individuals who incised these vessels were anything other than local Phrygian residents of Gordion and presumably Phrygian speakers, but the orthography that they used to incise the pots shows increasing influence of Greek letter forms. These graffiti give us minimal help in determining when the Phrygian language ceased to be spoken at Gordion, but they do suggest that unique Phrygian letter forms and distinctive Phrygian orthography had become less common.

The same trend can be noted in monograms found on Gordion pottery of the Middle and Late Phrygian levels. An assemblage of 203 examples of graffiti on household pottery that use a single letter or two letters as an identifying mark confirms that writing, at least to a limited extent, must have been known to a significant portion of the population (Roller 1987a: 73–74). Here, too, we see a similar pattern, with the increasing use of characteristic Greek letter forms for monograms. Examples include several pieces of locally made Phrygian pottery, found in mixed 4th- through 3rd-century BCE contexts. Some of the monograms use letters that are found in the Phrygian alphabet, but not in Greek such as the 𐤕 (Roller 1987a: 2B-71; **Fig. 5**). Others use letters found in both the Phrygian and Greek alphabets. Two examples are illustrated here, *a* (Roller 1987a: 2B-46) and the *d* (Roller 1987a: 2B-45), both found

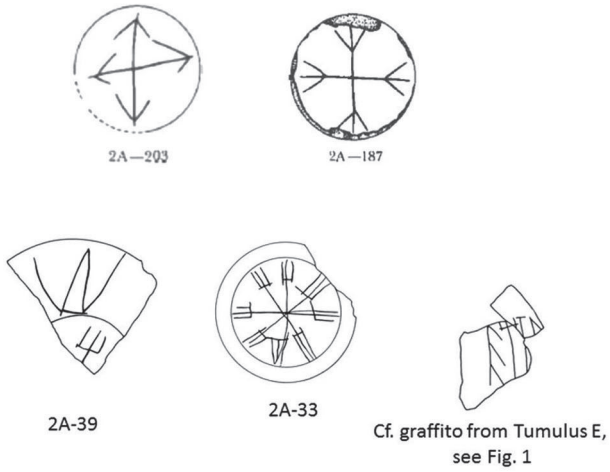

Fig. 6. Gordion pottery graffiti, non-alphabetic symbols that are also used as Phrygian letters (after Roller 1987a: 2A-201, 2A-187, 2A-39, 2A-33).

on pottery from 4th-century BCE contexts. The *psi* (Roller 1987a: 2B-128), also found on a piece from a late 4th-century BCE context, illustrates the difficulty of determining the language of the inscriber, since this character appeared as a Phrygian letter (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 280, no. 20) and in the Greek alphabet, where the letter may well have had a different phonetic value. Letter forms that are definitely Greek first appear in the later 4th century: the earliest known example from Gordion may be two graffiti on a Greek black-glazed bowl from the 4th century BCE, one with two letters, ΣK, and one monogram, H (Roller 1987a: 2B-61), but a few characteristically Phrygian letters on local pottery continue until the early Hellenistic period. As noted above, the great majority of singleton and two-letter pottery graffiti consist of letters common to both the Phrygian and the Greek alphabets, so that in most cases the language spoken by the inscriber remains uncertain.

This process is even more noticeable in graffiti that do not comprise individual letters, but consist of non-alphabetic signs and symbols. A great many examples of Phrygian pottery from Gordion from the Middle and Later Phrygian periods were marked after firing with non-alphabetic symbols, probably as a form of owner's mark (Roller 1987a: 8–33). Some of these are very similar to the letters in the Phrygian script system that are not found in the Greek alphabet, such as the ↑ (Roller 1987a: 2A-203), the *psi* (Roller 1987a: 2A-187) and the 𐤔 (Roller 1987a:

2A-33, 2A-39, also found in the Tumulus E graffito illustrated in **Fig. 1**; see **Fig. 6**). Other marks include characters that are letters in the alphabetic writing system of other 1st millennium BCE Anatolian languages including Lydian, Carian, Lycian, and Pamphylian.[5] These characters did not, as far as we know, convey a phonetic value to the writer of the Gordion graffito, but would have served as a form of identity. These non-alphabetic symbols were very common, with over two hundred examples known from the Middle and Late Phrygian levels revealed by the Young excavations of 1950–1973. During the 6th through early 4th centuries BCE, their numbers surpass the number of alphabetic graffiti on pottery. During the 4th century BCE, the use of non-alphabetic symbols declined and they occur less frequently during the Hellenistic period. Since the incidence of alphabetic letter graffiti increases during the 4th and 3rd centuries, the diminishing use of the earlier Phrygian non-alphabetic symbols furnishes further evidence for the decline of an older Phrygian system of written communication.

In sum, the Gordion material strongly suggests that Greek orthography began to make an impact on this community of Phrygian speakers, certainly no later than the 4th century BCE and probably earlier. The use of individual Phrygian letters and non-alphabetic symbols continued, but they are found much less frequently on material of the 4th century BCE and later. Concurrently, distinctive Greek letters and letters common to both the Phrygian and Greek alphabets were regularly inscribed using a Greek style of writing. This shift in orthography raises an interesting point, since the earliest examples of texts with recognizable words in the Greek language do not appear until the early 3rd century BCE, and then were used consistently throughout the Hellenistic period (Roller 1987b). The Phrygian speakers seem to have moved away from Phrygian letters and Phrygian orthography with its elongated letter forms towards an alphabetic writing system that made use of a more typical Greek style well before the presence of the written Greek language is attested at Gordion.

This provides some interesting context to the latest known Paleo-Phrygian inscription, on a marble block found in a village north of Isçehisar (ancient Dokimeion) and dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century BCE (Brixhe 2004: 7–23, W-11). This text marks something of a watershed in the history of Phrygian writing, since the language of the inscription is unmistakably Phrygian but the text uses the Greek al-

5 For examples, see Roller 1987a: 101, Chart A.

phabet. The text, probably a funerary epitaph, is inscribed with a fine example of Greek stoichedon lettering, with a number of characteristic Greek letter forms such as the four-barred sigma (Σ), mu (M), and pi (Π); the text also includes a Greek name, Nikostratos. Yet despite the legible Greek letters, the meaning of the eight-line Phrygian text has thus far defied translation. This is the clearest example we have of the influence of Greek letters and the stoichedon style of Greek epigraphy, coupled with the desire to communicate meaning in the language of the local Phrygian people.

Why would the Phrygians want to adopt the Greek style of writing when they had a complete script system of their own? At first glance, there does not seem to be any practical advantage to Phrygian speakers in adopting the script of another language. As already noted, the Phrygian script included several characters not found in the Greek alphabet, and these presumably were used to represent sounds in the Phrygian language that were not found in Greek. Thus the adoption of the Greek alphabet by individuals who continued to speak Phrygian would have eliminated alphabetic letters for specifically Phrygian phonemes, and this might have made written texts in their language less clear. It seems unlikely that the pre-Hellenistic residents of Gordion were speaking Greek: the impact of Greek orthography at Gordion can be seen several decades – perhaps as much as a century or more – before the earliest appearance of Greek language texts at the site. The shift in orthography, however, may be part of a general and growing presence of Greek cultural influence in Phrygia. At Gordion, for example, numerous examples of high quality Greek pottery have been found; the earliest examples date from the 8th century BCE (DeVries 2005), and the quantity of imported Greek pottery increased substantially during the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BCE.[6] During this time, Gordion, and indeed all of Phrygia, would have been under the control of the Achaemenian Persians, and so the growing influence of Greek culture cannot be attributed to Greek political hegemony. However, Gordion and other Phrygian sites could have been exposed to the influence of Greek visual culture present in Persian monuments from Western Asia, the so-called Graeco-Persian style. The double influence of Greek imports into Phrygia and the pres-

6 Note two fine examples of Attic black figure kylixes found in one Gordion tumulus, Tumulus V (Körte/Körte 1904: Pl. 7, 8). The presence of fine Greek pottery in a tomb of a local aristocrat is a good indication of the prestige that the Phrygians of Gordion placed on imported Greek objects.

tige signaled by Persian patronage of Greek artists could have made Greek forms more attractive and thus worth imitating. As a result of these circumstances, Greek letter forms started to influence Phrygian writing well before the Greek political conquest under Alexander and the arrival of Greek-speaking settlers in Central Anatolia. The shift in orthography illustrates how Phrygians adapted to the changing cultural milieu of 6th through 4th centuries BCE Anatolia while still retaining their own identity. Thus in central Phrygia the adoption of Greek letters marked not a decline of Phrygian identity, but a tool for Phrygian cultural survival.

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A RHETORIC OF ACCUMULATION

The multi-ethnic identity of Halikarnassos in antiquarian and public discourse*

Marco Santini

Abstract: Imbued with Greek tradition, exposed to the influence of the Ionian culture of Asia Minor, and occupying a strategic position, the city of Halikarnassos was chosen by Maussollos as the new capital of the Satrapy of Caria and is often regarded as the core center of the satrap's Hellenizing policy. Looking at the city's institutions and at its 4th-century artistic and architectural achievements, studies have emphasized Halikarnassos's progression towards complete Hellenization and challenged the claim that the Hekatomnids aimed at promoting a shared feeling of Carian identity. Yet some aspects of the city's social and cultural history suggest that the distinction between "Greek" and "Carian" was in fact extremely nuanced and oscillating: not only was Halikarnassos characterized by a vivid ethnic and cultural mixture, but, as the epigraphic and literary tradition reveals, it is the civic community that ultimately chose whether to present itself as "Carian" or "Greek" or the both together, according to contingent political and cultural factors.

Keywords: Ethnic identity, cultural memory, Maussollos, Hekatomnids, Halikarnassos, Hellenistic Caria

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1 NOBILISSIMA URBS CARIAE

In a long letter dated 60 or 59 BC, Cicero praised his brother Quintus, Proconsul of Asia, for having restored several cities of the Province, by then ruined and deserted. Among these – Cicero says – there were the *nobilissimae urbes*, the "most renowned" cities of Ionia and Caria, respectively Samos and Halikarnassos.[1]

If one were to seek an explanation for the repute of Halikarnassos, the figure of Maussollos, satrap of Caria between 377 and 353 BC, would take a prominent place: so it was for the ancients, and so it is for the moderns. Succeeding his father Hekatomnos, Maussollos was the promoter of a series of initiatives that are seen with good reason as the beginning of a "New Age" both for the city and for the whole Satrapy. A key point was the transfer of the capital city from Mylasa to Halikarnassos. This choice adheres to a precise strategic plan, seen already in Antiquity as the product of Maussollos's sagacity: endowed with an excellent harbor and surrounded by easily defensible hills, Halikarnassos proved a suitable place to host τὰ τῆς Καρίας βασίλεια (Diod. 15.90.3) and to establish a political and cultural center rivaling Athenian expansionism.[2] Accordingly, the city was – so to speak – re-founded. Maussollos undertook an impressive building program, which envisaged the construction of new walls, the organization of the space on a grid model, the erection of new buildings in Greek-Ionic style, and the project for his own "heroic" tomb, the Maussolleion. To execute this plan, he gathered in Halikarnassos the most famous Greek artists of the time.[3] Not only did Maussollos contribute to the physical re-foundation of the city, but he also repopulated it by synoikism, bringing there the population of six neighboring "Lelegian towns" – as they are called

1 Cic. *QFr*. 1.1.25: *urbis compluris dirutas ac paene desertas, in quibus unam Ioniae nobilissimam, alteram Cariae, Samum et Halicarnassum, per te esse recreatas*.

2 See most significantly Vitr. 2.8.11: *acumen autem eius et sollertiam ad aedificia paranda sic licet considerare. cum esset enim natus* [scil. *Mausolus*] *Mylasis et animadvertisset Halicarnasso locum naturaliter esse munitum, idoneum portum emporiumque utile, ibi sibi domum constituit. is autem locus est theatri curvaturae similis*. For further discussion see Hornblower 1982: 78–79; Pedersen 2010: 273–274; Pedersen 2013: 40–41.

3 On the building program see Hornblower 1982: 223–274, 294–332; Pedersen 1994a; Jeppesen 2000 (with updated maps); Caliò/Interdonato 2005: 53–59, and Pedersen 2010: 273–274. It is not possible to establish a precise chronology of the process, but it is generally accepted that it must be dated to the first phase of Maussollos's rule (around 370 BC).

in the ancient sources.[4] Finally, Maussollos's name is sometimes associated in scholarship with the introduction of democratic institutions in Halikarnassos on the model of Athens – a Council (βουλή) and an Assembly (δῆμος).[5] In virtue of his accomplishments, and especially of the grandeur of his monumental tomb, listed among the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World,[6] it is surely not by chance that Maussollos's name has been associated by antonomasia with the very concept of "monumental tomb" ever since the Romans did so.[7] The most significant ancient scholarly and literary tribute to Maussollos's activities is to be found in the description of Halikarnassos provided by Vitruvius, who most likely had the chance to visit the city in person.[8] On the other hand, the ruin and decay suffered by the city in Cicero's time[9] did not prevent it from being recognized even in Late Antiquity as a vibrant cultural center, comparable to Alexandria and Berytus, as the mosaics of the local Late Antique Villa testify.[10]

Maussollos's project for Halikarnassos has been interpreted in different ways. One often has the impression that, due to its grandiosity and undeniable resonance already in Antiquity, it should be seen as a litmus test for the assessment of the nature and impact of the satrap's policy both in the city and in the region, as well as for the glory and repute of Halikarnassos itself. Numerous modern accounts try to deter-

4 Strab. 13.1.59, quoting Callisthenes (FGrHist 124 F 25). In general, on Maussollos's synoikism see Hornblower 1982: 81–83; see also Plin. *NH* 5.107 with Varinlioğlu et al. 1992 for a similar operation carried out by Alexander the Great. On the "Lelegian" question see Flensted-Jensen/Carstens 2004 and Unwin 2017: 57–58; on the cultural significance of the designation "Lelegian towns" or "Lelegian buildings" in the ancient sources see also Santini 2016: 28–29.

5 Hornblower 1982: 84–86.

6 The earliest list of the Seven Wonders is preserved in an epigram attributed to Antipater of Sidon (*Anth. Pal.* 9.58, mid-2nd century BC), which reads μνᾶμά τε Μαυσώλοιο πελώριον (line 5). Cf. also Vitr. 2.8.11: … *Mausoleum ita egregiis operibus est factum, ut in septem spectaculis nominetur*.

7 Paus. 8.16.4.

8 Vitr. 2.8.10–15. It is likely that Vitruvius visited Halikarnassos in 47 BC, when he was following Caesar in the expedition against Pharnaces. His account can be deemed a combination of autopsy and hearsay: see Jeppesen 1981–1983: 85–98, and Ragone 2001: 99–108 (*pace* Hornblower 1982: 298, who tends to deny his accuracy).

9 See again Cic. *QFr*. 1.1.25, and *Verr*. 2.1.49.

10 The personified city figures on one of the three mosaic medallions in Room E of the Late Roman Villa at Halikarnassos, together with the personifications of Alexandria and Berytus (larger in size), all accompanied by legends. See discussion and further literature in Poulsen 1997.

mine the "direction" in which the project headed, and, subsequently, to assess the type of policy from which the glory of Halikarnassos stems. On the one hand, Maussollos's program is seen as the main example of the Hekatomnid policy of "Hellenization", which is also exemplified by the spread of Greek as the "official" language and by the revival and use throughout Caria of the archaic Ionian style in architecture – the so-called Ionian Renaissance.[11] This model has been used in scholarship to challenge the opposite claim that the Hekatomnids fostered a sense of Carian identity throughout the region – so-called "Carianization".[12] Yet, elements pointing to the persistence of this sentiment are far from uncommon in Classical and Hellenistic Caria: suffice it to mention the epigraphic use of the Carian language and script, in its multiple local variants, at least until the beginning of the 3rd century BC;[13] the presence of Carian personal names in inscriptions even down to the Roman Imperial period;[14] and the Carian elements that feature on the coinage of the Hekatomnids (in terms of legend and imagery).[15] In this context, the "Maussolleion" tomb-type has been interpreted as deriving from local Anatolian models, whether Carian, or Lycian, or even of Hittite legacy.[16] The increasing occurrence of Persian elements in local ono-

11 On the Ionian Renaissance in Hekatomnid Caria, see e.g. Pedersen 1994b.

12 This is the reading offered by Pedersen 2013. On the Hekatomnid "Hellenization" see also Hornblower 1982: 332–351. On the other hand, it was the same Hornblower who introduced the concept of "Carianization", drawing primarily on the revival of local cults and sanctuaries fostered by the Hekatomnids: see Hornblower 1982: esp. 276–293, 345–350. Cf. also Karlsson 2013 with further bibliography for e.g. the case of Labraunda.

13 On the Carian language and Greek–Carian bilingualism see Blümel 1994; Salmeri 1994; Adiego 2007 (*passim*); Bresson 2007: 217–225; Adiego 2013a. The use of multiple local variants of the Carian alphabet, which most likely developed independently from a common proto-alphabet, can be considered as a way in which the individual Carian communities expressed their own identity: see Adiego 2013a: 19 and Adiego 2013b; cf. also Luraghi 2010 for the same phenomenon as it occurs in the Greek alphabet.

14 See e.g. Blümel 1994: 85–86; Aubriet 2013: 192–198; Unwin 2017: 40–41.

15 For a study of Carian legends on Hekatomnid coins see Konuk in Adiego 2007: 471–492. Among the Carian imagery we may mention the figure of Zeus Labraundos, which features on the coinage of Hekatomnos. Further details in Konuk 2013: 106–107.

16 Carian: Henry 2013b, esp. drawing on the comparison with the Beçin monumental podium (late 6th century BC) and the Uzunyuva tomb in Mylasa, interpreted as Hekatomnos's tomb and seen as the direct model for the Maussolleion. Lycian: Zahle 1994: 86. Hittite model of "divine kingship": Carstens 2009.

mastics,[17] art, architecture,[18] and coinage types[19] is yet another aspect of this controversial debate.[20]

The concepts of "Hellenization" and "Carianization" have little heuristic value when set against Maussollos's policy, or against the complex socio-political and cultural background of Caria in general and Halikarnassos in particular.[21] More suitable models to account for such phenomena in the ancient world are, instead, those of "fluctuating" and "overlapping identities": the former indicates the self-conscious change of identities in a given individual or community according to the needs of the moment; the latter points to the existence of multiple layers of different kinds of identities in a given individual or community that are not mutually exclusive and can be changed in response to political or cultural factors.[22] Following this pattern, I would like to investigate here the cultural significance of the process of ethnic encounter in Halikarnassos as well as its impact on the cultural memory of the local population and on the public discourse and self-presentation of the civic community.[23] On this line of reasoning, in particular, it is worth asking how much weight is to be attributed to Maussollos and to his activities while considering the reasons for the city's long-standing repute.

2 BEFORE THE ORIGINS

As a matter of fact, the "myth" of Maussollos was created and emphasized by Antiquity itself. We can get a good sense of this by reading, for

17 See Hornblower 1982: 350–351.

18 In the sanctuary of Labraunda, for instance, we see a mixture of Ionic, Doric, and Persian styles: see Karlsson 2013.

19 Besides traditional Carian motifs (see above, note 15), some of the coins of the Hekatomnids clearly show characteristic Persian motifs, such as the king slaying a lion (in the case of Hekatomnos) and the archer figure (in the case of Maussollos): see Konuk 2013: 107.

20 Zahle 1994.

21 Cf. the remarks of Henry 2013a.

22 Cf. Chaniotis 2016: 89–90: "What defines identity is the context in which the question is asked: *Who wants to know? What consequences will the answer have?* The context of communication leads to different – sometimes overlapping, sometimes contradictory – expressions of identity" (original emphasis). The literature on the topic is huge: see also at least Chaniotis 2009a, with the case studies of Crete and Aphrodisias and extensive bibliography, and Giangiulio 2010 for fluctuating individual identities in Archaic Sicily.

23 Cf. the observations in Santini 2016: 3–6 and Unwin 2017: 51.

example, the conversation between Diogenes the Cynic and Maussollos in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* (29), where the author purposely reverses this myth. "Why, Carian, are you so proud, and expect to be honored above all of us?"[24] – Diogenes asks Maussollos at the beginning of the dialogue. The answer he gets is the one we expect from an individual who consecrated himself as a legend in his own funerary monument. After summarizing his own military achievements and praising his own beauty and courage, Maussollos emphasizes: "But, most important of all (τὸ δὲ μέγιστον), I have lying over me in Halicarnassus a vast memorial (μνῆμα παμμέγεθες), outdoing that of any other of the dead not only in size but also in its finished beauty, with horses and men reproduced most perfectly in the fairest marble, so that it would be difficult to find even a temple like it".[25] Diogenes's answer, needless to say, is cynical: "Perhaps your tomb and all that costly marble may give the people of Halicarnassus something to show off, and they can boast to strangers of the magnificent building they have, but I can't see what good it is to you, my good fellow, unless you're claiming that, with all that marble pressing down on you, you have a heavier burden to bear than any of us".[26] This last quote especially is telling insofar as it aims at reversing – from Lucian's perspective but through words significantly spoken by Diogenes the Cynic – something which by the 2nd century AD had become a sort of commonplace: the fact that the Halikarnassians owed the fame and reputation of their city to Maussollos and his tomb. The way in which Lucian puts it is, however, intriguing: the Greek reads ὁ δὲ τάφος καὶ οἱ πολυτελεῖς ἐκεῖνοι λίθοι Ἁλικαρνασσεῦσι μὲν *ἴσως* εἶεν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ξένους, i.e. the Halikarnassians might *perhaps* boast to foreigners of the Maussolleion and its marbles. To a reader even more cynical than Diogenes himself, Lucian's witticism seems to suggest, ultimately, that not even the Halikarnassians really believed that their fame was owed to Maussollos. Luckily, we have the means to check this. The city itself tells us the story of its glorious past in multiple ways. What is the picture that emerges, then, from the voice of the Halikarnassians?

Nobilissima urbs Cariae, we said. The glory of Halikarnassos does not start with Maussollos, nor is it limited to him. Quite tellingly, the Halikarnassians emphasize that their fame began even before their

24 Luc. *Dial. mort.* 29.1 (translation by M. D. MacLeod).
25 Luc. *Dial. mort.* 29.1 (translation by M. D. MacLeod).
26 Luc. *Dial. mort.* 29.2 (translation by M. D. MacLeod).

city was born, before its origins. This story of glory is preserved in a late 2nd- or early 1st-century BC inscribed epigram from the fountain building located beneath the promontory of Kaplan Kalesi, ancient Salmakis, west of the main harbor of Halikarnassos. In the opening lines an anonymous voice asks Aphrodite to give an account of the τίμιον, the "pride" of the city. Aphrodite's response comprises a narrative of the city's mythical history in pre-colonization and colonization times, followed by a list of pre-eminent individuals who contributed to the glory of the place in literature and arts.[27]

According to the poem, as we said, the city was destined to glory even before its own birth: the spot on which it would be founded was claimed to be the birthplace of none less than Zeus, relocated from Crete to Halikarnassos. On close reading, however, we notice that emphasis is placed not as much on Zeus himself as on his *paredroi*, "an illustrious stock of earth-born men", who took care of the infant god (lines 5–14):

Γηγενέων μεγάλαυχον ἐτέκνωσε στάχυν ἀνδ̣ρ̣[ῶν (5)
Ἀκραίου πάρεδρον κυδαλίμοιο Διός,
οἳ πρῶτοι κοίλην ὑπὸ δειράδα θέντο νεογνὸν
παῖδα Ῥέης κρύφιον Ζῆν' ἀτιταλλόμενοι
Γαίης ἀμφ' ἀδύτοισιν, ὅτε Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης
οὐκ ἔφθη λαιμῶι θέσθαι ὑποβρύχιον. (10)
Ζεῦς δὲ πατὴρ Γῆς υἷας ἀγακλέας ὀργειῶνας
θῆκεν, οἳ ἀρρήτων πρόσπολοί εἰσι δόμων.
οὔδ' ἄχαριν μόχθοιο παραὶ Διὸς ἔ̣[σ]χον ἀμοιβήν,
ἔργων ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἐσθλὰ κομιζόμενοι.

She brought forth an illustrious crop of earth-born men, to lodge beside mighty Zeus of the Height, who first in secret placed the new-born child of Rhea, Zeus, beneath the hollow ridge, caring for him, in the shrine of Gaia, when Kronos of the crooked counsels had failed to get him into the depths beneath his throat in time. And Zeus made the sons of Ge his honoured priests, who care for

27 *Ed. pr.* Isager 1998. Further editions and studies (selection): Merkelbach-Stauber, SGO I, 01/12/02; Lloyd-Jones 1999a (with *addenda* and *corrigenda* in Lloyd-Jones 1999b; cf. SEG 48.1330, from which I quote); Isager/Pedersen 2004 (collective volume); Gagné 2006; Bremmer 2009; Bremmer 2013; Santini 2016 (see for additional bibliography); Santini 2017.

> his awesome house. Nor was the reward they got from Zeus one of ingratitude, for they got good things in return for their good deeds.[28]

The mythical reference is clearly to the Kouretes,[29] whose cult was not unknown in Caria at the time of the inscription and is epigraphically attested at Mylasa and Olymos together with the cult of Zeus *Kretagenes*, which was of course of Cretan importation.[30] The link between Caria, Crete, and the Kouretes also emerges in two stories preserved respectively in Diodorus Siculus and in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. According to the first source (Diod. 5.60.2–3), five Cretan Kouretes reached the Carian Chersonesos, expelled the indigenous inhabitants, and founded there five cities – Loryma, Hasara, Phoinix, Thyssanos, and Tymnos – giving them their respective names. According to the second (*Etym. Magn. s.v.* Εὔδωνος, a river in the vicinity of Tralles), the Kouretes Labrandos, Panamoros and Palaxos (or Spalaxos) settled in Caria – most likely having sailed from Crete – following the indications of an oracle. These two stories are certainly of Carian origin, since the first gives an explanation for the names of the cities mentioned, while in the second the three Kouretes bear the epicleses of three different Carian Zeuses, which ultimately derive from three cultic places (Labraunda, Panamara, and, tentatively, Spaloxa near Aphrodisias).[31] The most interesting comparison for our purposes, however, is the sculpted decoration on the east frieze of the temple of Hekate at Lagina, more or less contemporaneous with the Salmakis inscription: here, three Kouretes appear while assisting Rhea in giving birth to Zeus. Their number inevitably reminds us of the Tralles legend, making it tempting to interpret them as the ideal representation of the respective cultic places.[32] Not

28 Translation by H. Lloyd-Jones. Detailed discussion of the passage in Bremmer 2009 and Graf 2009.

29 On the role of the Kouretes in the myth of Zeus's birth see e.g. Eur. *Hyps. TrGF* V.2 752g.23–24, and *Bacch.* 120–122; Call. *Iov.* 52–54; Diod. 5.65; [Apollod.] 1.1.6–7.

30 See I.Mylasa 102, 107, 806, all 2nd–1st century BC. On the Cretan Kouretes in Caria and on the cult of Zeus *Kretagenes* see Unwin 2017: resp. 81–87, 189–208.

31 While neither Zeus Labraundos nor Zeus Panamaros need further explanation as both are widely attested, for the little attested Zeus *Spaloxios* or *Spaloxos* see Chaniotis 2010: 239, 241–242 with documentation (two altar dedications and a coin) and further references.

32 On the dating and meaning of the friezes of the Hekateion see Schober 1933: 12–26, 70–79 resp.; cf. also Laumonier 1958: 344–365; Jungholter 1989: 18–23 (east frieze). For a connection between the case of Lagina and that of Halikarnassos see Isager 1998: 21–22.

only were Halikarnassos and Lagina reinterpreting a Cretan myth in a local fashion, but one was challenging the same claim advanced by the other – i.e. to be Zeus's birthplace. Halikarnassos's cultural operation, however, conceals something more. Additional emphasis is placed in this case on the epithet with which the Kouretes are alluded to at the very beginning of the section: ἄνδρες γηγενεῖς, 'earth-born'. Although the designation of γηγενεῖς, as well as that of πρόπολοι or even θεοί, was also applied to the Kouretes in other contexts,[33] it is clear that here it plays in favor of Halikarnassos's self-presentation. The city is stating openly that its Kouretes originated from its own territory, i.e. they are not "earth-born" Cretans, but "earth-born" – autochthonous, if we wish – Carians. They do not derive from cultic importation, nor were they resettling from Crete to Caria, as reported in the other legends that most likely circulated in the Hellenistic period.[34] The city is therefore celebrating the original Carian inhabitants of its territory, whose presence preceded that of the Greek founders.

What we see here, in the late Hellenistic age, is the revival of an ancient tradition that dates back at least to Herodotus and saw the Carians as autochthonous. In Herodotus the autochthony of the Carians is part of their self-representation, a criterion for the definition of their identity, as they themselves claim.[35] Their claim, however, was not universally accepted: Herodotus himself (reporting a Cretan story), but also Thucydides, Conon, and Diodorus Siculus,[36] all agree that the Carians were originally inhabitants of the Aegean islands. Now, what is at stake here is not to prove whether the Carians were right or not, but rather to understand the significance of their claim of autochthony as recorded by Herodotus, and the significance of Halikarnassos's validation of this claim. It has been convincingly argued that the myth of autochthony can

33 Strab. 10.3.19. Cf. also Unwin 2017: 86–87.

34 A counter-claim is that of the Cretan Palaikastro Hymn, an originally 3rd-century BC composition reinscribed in the 3rd century AD, which emphatically (re-)states that the new-born Zeus was reared in Crete, and namely at Palaikastro in East Crete (I.Cret. III ii 2, ll. 9–10): *ἔνθα* γάρ σε παῖδ' ἄμβροτον ἀσπί[δεσσι Κούρητες] | πὰρ Ῥέας λαβόντες πόδα κ[υκλῶντες ἀπέκρυψαν] ("For *here* it was that with their shields the Kouretes received you, immortal babe out of Rhea's hands, and hid you by dancing all around you", tr. W. D. Furley and J. M. Bremer). Cf. Chaniotis 2009a: 35–36.

35 Hdt. 1.171.5: […] νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ [*scil.* οἱ Κᾶρες] ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἠπειρώτας καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν.

36 Cf. Hdt. 1.171.2, 5; Thuc. 1.4, 8; Conon FGrHist 26 F 1.47.4–5 (*apud* Phot. *Bibl.* 186); Diod. 5.51.3–4, 5.53.2, 5.54.1.

be interpreted as a form of "charter myth" or "myth of precedence".[37] Myths of this sort aim to legitimate the possession of a certain territory by a people or ethnic group in virtue of a link to the relevant territory established *previously* by a mythical ancestor or hero connected to that people or ethnic group.[38] The myth of autochthony – actually not among the commonest myths of origin[39] – is a particular kind of myth of precedence, insofar as the intermediate period between the "mythical" primeval presence on the territory and the "historical" claim is reduced to zero: people who believe themselves to be autochthonous link their ethnic identity to their territory by claiming that they have *always* been present there. Just as the Athenians could claim to be autochthonous by proclaiming themselves as descendants of the "earth-born" king Erechtheus,[40] Hellenistic Halikarnassos is here recognizing the validity of the Carians' claim of autochthony by crediting them with "precedence" on its own territory: the γηγενεῖς ἄνδρες of the Salmakis inscription constitute the mythical proof of this validation, in their being the ancestors of the local priest class, and, ideally, the forefathers of later Carians. The cultural implications of this are evident: the "Hellenized" late Hellenistic Halikarnassos is presenting its "native" population as the first element of civic pride, both in rank and time.

3 THE ORIGINS

Whether proceeding from literary tradition, private commemoration, or public epigraphy, there is a considerable variety of stories about the origins of Halikarnassos. We learn something about this theme for the first time in Herodotus, who briefly mentions the Troizenian origins of the Halikarnassians.[41] Of particular significance is the integration of the theme with stories and genealogical discourses concerning the

37 Giangiulio 1983: 810–811 with note 73, regarding Athenian autochthony.

38 Cf. Giangiulio 1983: 799–800 with note 41 and *passim*. The most emblematic case, from which Giangiulio starts, is that of Herakles; for this case see also Malkin 2011: 119–141 with the relevant literature.

39 See Hall 2002: 30–36.

40 See Hdt. 8.55: Ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός κτλ., with Hall 1997: 54.

41 Hdt. 7.99.3: Ἁλικαρνησσέας μὲν Τροιζηνίους. The kinship tie between Halikarnassos and Troizen recurs in various forms during the Hellenistic and Roman ages: see Jameson 2004 for a full study with the relevant documentation.

founder and his descendants. The first author to provide the founder's name is Callimachus, quoted together with Apollodorus in the *Ethnika* of Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Ἁλικαρνασσός: according to Callimachus, "Anthes moved from Troizen, taking with him the tribe Dymaina" (αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἄνθης ἐκ Τροιζῆνος μετῴκησε, λαβὼν τὴν Δύμαιναν φυλήν, ὡς Καλλίμαχος), while according to Apollodorus he "fled from Troizen" (νάσασθαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Τροιζῆνος, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος).[42] The main information we draw from Stephanus's lemma – i.e. that Anthes came to Caria from Troizen – essentially tallies with the account preserved in Strabo,[43] but is in contrast with the more complex version we find in Pausanias, according to which it was the *descendants* (οἱ γεγονότες) of Aetios son of Anthas son of Poseidon who left Troizen and founded Halikarnassos.[44]

Pausanias's version, with its focus on the γεγονότες ἀπ' Ἀετίου τοῦ Ἄνθα, is part of the important discourse on the descendants of Anthes, which played a major role in Halikarnassos's cultural memory. Ἀνθεάδαι, namely 'descendants of Anthes', is indeed an alternative name for Ἁλικαρνασσεῖς, as is explained by the Augustan grammarian Habron, quoted in the same words by Aelius Herodianus (Περὶ παρωνύμων p. 871, l. 25 Lentz, *s.v.* Ἀθῆναι) and Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Ἀθῆναι):

> ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ πατρωνυμικῷ τύπῳ, ὡς Ἄβρων ἐν τῷ Περὶ παρωνύμων, ὅτι εἰσὶ διτταὶ προσηγορίαι παρὰ ποιηταῖς, ἀπό τε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ συνοικιστοῦ. Ἁλικαρνασσεῖς γοῦν Ἀνθεάδαι καὶ Φαλαντιάδαι οἱ Ταραντῖνοι ἐλέγοντο ἀπὸ τῶν διασημοτάτων παρ' αὐτοῖς, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Κοδρίδαι καὶ Κεκροπίδαι Θησεῖδαι Ἐρεχθεῖδαι. καὶ ταύτας γε τὰς κλήσεις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐντιμοτέρας ἐνόμιζον.

42 On the syntactical problems posed by Stephanos's entry see Huxley 1965 and the notes in M. Billerbeck's edition (Berlin–New York 2006). I hope to comment on it in further detail elsewhere.

43 Strab. 8.6.14: Τροιζὴν δὲ καὶ Πιτθεὺς οἱ Πέλοπος ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ τῆς Πισάτιδος ὁ μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὁμώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὁ δὲ Πιτθεὺς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐκεῖνον διαδεξάμενος. Ἄνθης δ' ὁ προκατέχων πλεύσας Ἁλικαρνασὸν ἔκτισεν. Cf. also Strab. 14.2.16.

44 Paus. 2.30.9: […] πολλοῖς δὲ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἐς ἀποικίαν ἐκ Τροιζῆνος σταλέντες Ἁλικαρνασσὸν ἐν τῇ Καρίᾳ καὶ Μύνδον ἀπῴκισαν οἱ γεγονότες ἀπ' Ἀετίου τοῦ Ἄνθα.

> They [*scil*. the Athenians] were also called by patronymic form, as Habron says in the book *On derivatives*: there are two kinds of denominations in the works of the poets – from the fatherland and from the founder. Indeed, the Halikarnassians were called "Antheadai" and the Tarantines "Phalantiadai" after the most illustrious among them, and the Athenians (were called) "Kodridai" and "Kekropidai", "Theseidai", "Erechtheidai". And they deemed such appellatives more honorable than those (derived) from the fatherland.

Habron argues that, in poetry, a city's inhabitants could be called after the toponym or after the name of the συνοικιστής, the 'co-founder', or also more simply the 'founder' as the one who brings the community together. Halikarnassos is given as one of the most prominent examples. Yet while Ἀνθεάδαι clearly derives from the name of the founder, Habron further specifies that this denomination, just like that of the Φαλαντιάδαι/Tarentines, also derives "from the most illustrious among them". This means that Ἀνθεάδαι was indeed an alternative (poetic and literary) name for the Halikarnassians in general, and more specifically also the name by which the most illustrious citizens were referred to, namely those who claimed to descend from the oecist. What is more, according to Habron such denominations were considered more honorable (ἐντιμοτέρας) than those derived from the toponym. It seems therefore that in Halikarnassos there were aristocratic families that constructed their genealogy in order to demonstrate their descent from the oecist.[45] Not only is this evidenced by the intertwined genealogical threads in Pausanias's account of Halikarnassos's foundation, but – as will be clear from the following – some interesting Halikarnassian inscriptions show further proof of these mechanisms both in the public and in the private sphere.

The importance of the genealogical discourse in Halikarnassos's self-representation emerges in all clarity in the famous list of priests of Poseidon Isthmios. The text, as it can be reconstructed with all the material at our disposal (copies and a marble fragment), comprises a prescript followed by two columns of names accompanied by the duration of the relevant priesthood.[46] The prescript, partially restored,

45 For these mechanisms in the Greek world see Roussel 1976: 51–64 and Malkin 1987: 250–254 (253 with reference to Halikarnassos).

46 Syll.[3] 1020. For a new reassessment and study of the text, only known from copies

features a patronymic followed by the order to "transcribe from the ancient stela ([ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας] | [σ]τ̣ήλης, the restoration by Boeckh is secure) placed next to the statues of Poseidon Isthmios those who, since the foundation, have been κατὰ γένος priests of Poseidon, (understood: whose worship was) established by those who led the colony from Troizen for Poseidon and Apollon".[47] This prescript makes it clear that we are dealing with an update of an older list of priests of Poseidon Isthmios, whose priesthood, introduced by the Troizenian colonists at the time of the foundation of Halikarnassos, is transmitted by inheritance among the members of the same "family" (κατὰ γένος), i.e. among a group of people associated by the shared belief that they descended from a common ancestor.[48] In this case, the common ancestor is identified as Poseidon himself: he is the forefather of the γένος of priests, being the father of the first priest, the mythical Telamon (A8: Τελαμὼν Ποσειδῶνος ἔτη ιβ΄). In the first generations, the priesthood remained among the descendants of Telamon, all belonging to myth: from his sons Antidios, Hyperes and Alkyoneus, to a second Telamon and Hyrieus, sons of Antidios, and finally to Anthas, son of Alkyoneus. Two names are particularly noticeable here: Hyperes, listed third (A10: Ὑπέρης Τελαμῶνος vacat θ΄), and Anthas, listed seventh (A14: Ἄνθας Ἀλκυονέως vacat ιθ΄). These correspond to the mythical sons of Poseidon and Alkyone we know from the later account of Pausanias,[49] but the respective positions within the genealogy of Poseidon are different in the two texts. However, we should not be surprised if we cannot find consistency in this type of tradition, nor should we even look

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and two fragments, see Isager 2015. According to her reconstruction, the list in the left column counts 23 names on the copies, plus 18 extant names on the newly published fragment; the right column comprises four names, all known from the copies, the last three of which seem to have been written by different hands in a different style.

47 [- - - Ἀ]ριστοκλέους μεταγράψαι [ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας] | [σ]τ̣ήλης τῆς παρεστώσης τοῖς ἀγά[λμασι τοῖς] | [τ]οῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ <Ι>σθμίου τοὺς γεγ[ενημένους] | ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως κατὰ γένος ἱερεῖς τοῦ Πο[σειδᾶ]|νος τοῦ κατιδρυθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ἀποικί[αν ἐκ] | Τροι<ζ>ῆνος ἀγαγόντων Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀπόλλω[νι]· | εἰσὶν δὲ ἐν αὐτῆι ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος οἵδε (the names follow).

48 For the religious associations of ancient Greece called γένη see Roussel 1976: 65–78. However, as is evident from the material discussed above and from what will be discussed below, the role and identity of the Halikarnassian Antheadai were by no means limited to the priestly γένος only.

49 Paus. 2.30.8: τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύσαντας οὐκ ἴσασιν ἄχρι Ὑπέρητος καὶ Ἄνθα· τούτους δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀλκυόνης Ἄτλαντος θυγατρός κτλ.

for it.[50] The purpose of the list, within the main tradition pertaining to Anthes and his "Poseidonian" ancestry, is to connect through myth the Troizenian colonization of Halikarnassos and the foundation of the city to the cult of Poseidon and the god's genealogy. Considering the fluidity of ancient genealogies, there is little point in trying to establish whether the list or Pausanias's tradition is correct, nor which tradition developed first: regardless of Anthes's position within this genealogy, the γένος of the Antheadai – i.e. those who claimed descent from the founder – appears *in any case* as a sub-section of Poseidon's genealogy. Therefore, the fact that we find an expanded genealogy in the list, and a contracted genealogy in Pausanias, is not surprising: constructing a genealogy is an antiquarian and mythographical operation that serves different needs at different times; expanding a genealogy with mythical and divine names emphasizes the nobility and prestige of the γένος, whereas contracting it establishes direct links with mythical or divine figures of particular interest.

The authors or promoters of the Halikarnassian list believed that they themselves belonged to the γένος of Poseidon just like the oecist Anthes. They may be Antheadai in the strict sense, i.e. real or alleged descendants of Anthes, or Antheadai in a broader sense, i.e. illustrious Halikarnassians who descended from the original group of Troizenian colonists. Either way, what mattered to them was to demonstrate the antiquity of their family and their link with the *origins*. The very fact that readers of the list from top to bottom cannot really establish a watershed between myth and history, i.e. between fictitious, legendary "priests" and real, actual ones, contributes to this aim.[51] But again, perhaps it does not even make sense to try: myth and history, heroic age and historical time are confounded for the benefit of the latter in terms of prestige and honor. All this applies not only to the promoters of the original list (ἀρχαία στήλη), but also to those who ordered it to be copied, republished and updated with the names of the new priests – in other words, to those whose initiative produced the document we are dealing with today. The chronology of this event is hard to determine – suffice it to say that Signe Isager's most recent reassessment points to a date not much earlier than the beginning of the 1st century BC.[52] Be that

50 *Pace* Brulé 2005: 253–254.

51 On this aspect of the list see Broadbent 1968: 23–26; Brulé 2005: 253–254, and Isager 2015: 134–135.

52 Isager 2015: 141, 146 n. 28. See also further in the text.

as it may, what matters is that at a certain point in the late Hellenistic age, a portion of the civic community of Halikarnassos felt the need to resurrect an important piece of the tradition regarding the γένος of the priests of Poseidon. This operation aims at the *construction* rather than the *re*-construction of the past. The encounter with the past, the aim of which is to bring glory to the present, occurs firstly through fiction, and only later through historical material.[53] The drawing up of this document, not once but twice, celebrates the glory of the sacerdotal γένος and serves at the same time as a public statement of an important part of the city's cultural memory: the acknowledgment of Troizen as the motherland, of the existence of a γένος κτιστῶν, and of the consecration of the city to Poseidon and Apollon. That only a portion of the civic community, the Antheadai in the strict sense, may have been promoters of the initiative does not necessarily point to internal contrasts: by celebrating themselves, the Antheadai promoted the definition of the civic identity of the *whole* community, for it favors the prestige of the *whole* community that one of its sacerdotal families is able to trace its origins back to the god Poseidon himself. This latter function of the list, by no means secondary, is possibly revealed by the prescript itself: despite being damaged, the first extant words [- - -Ἀ]ριστοκλέους μεταγράψαι κτλ. may point to the remnants of a formula of an official civic decree, implying that the proposal was advanced, voted on and ratified in the civic assembly.

As I mentioned above, the discourse on the origins of Halikarnassos and the glory of the founder's ancestry necessarily involves some overlapping of the public sphere with the private. The Hellenistic funerary epigram of Posis for his mother represents an excellent example of familial memory becoming part of the civic cultural memory.[54] Despite being preserved only in its left portion, the text suggests some interesting observations. The dedicator celebrates the woman not only as an affectionate and attentive mother, but also as an illustrious member of the family of the Ἀνθεάδαι (e.g. lines 5–6: ἤπιον, ἠπιόβουλον, ἐχέφρονα, [- - -] | Ἀνθεαδῶν, ἐρατήν· κτλ.). The commemoration occurs ἐν ξυνῶι προγόνων μνήμ[ατι (line 4), i.e. in "shared memory of the ancestors", or, understood in material terms, in the "shared monument of the an-

53 On ancient lists and their link with historiography see esp. Chaniotis 1988: 186–219 (201 no. L24, 205–206, 210–213 re. our case).

54 SEG 16.666; cf. Peek 1980: 19–22 (no. 10) = SEG 30.1261 with arbitrary restorations. See Merkelbach-Stauber, SGO I, 01/12/13, from which I quote.

cestors". The mention of the τιμαὶ Ἀνθεαδῶν, the "honors/virtues of the Antheadai", in l. 11 is linked to the remembrance of the woman's youth: the dedicator is emphasizing here that his mother had distinguished herself in the family already as a child, or, possibly, in the fulfillment of the family's (religious?) offices.[55] A last point that deserves particular scrutiny is in lines 17–19: καὶ κτιστῶν γένος εἶλκον ἀπ' Ἀν[θεαδῶν ἀγακλειτῶν] | πατρὸς ἐπεὶ προπάτωρ Πι[- - -] | τὴν Ἀνδροσθένεος Διομήδη[ς- - -], where the verb in the plural, εἶλκον, 'they drew', cannot but refer to both the woman and her children, who all "drew their origin, their stock (γένος) from the [glorious] founders Antheadai", with the following lines giving an explanation for this statement: "because (ἐπεί) Diomedes, forefather of the father Pi—(?), [married X], (daughter) of Androsthenes", as the text should probably be understood. A certain Androsthenes features as great-grandfather of an Athenippos in the list of priests of Poseidon (B8–9: Ἀθήνιππος Ἀ(θηνίππου) τοῦ Ἀ(θηνίππου) τ[οῦ] | Ἀνδροσθένους vacat ν'): according to the most recent reassessment of the chronology of these and other Halikarnassian inscriptions, this Androsthenes would be the most likely candidate to be identified with the Androsthenes who gave his daughter to the Diomedes mentioned in the Posis epigram.[56]

Family links and public celebrations within the Antheadai do not end here: a recently published inscription on a funerary altar records honors for a priestess, Athenodote, most likely issued jointly by the city of Halikarnassos and a σύστημα τῶν γερόντων, followed by a four-line epigram in honor of the deceased woman.[57] Athenodote, praised for her ἀρετή, σωφροσύνη and φιλαγαθία towards her fellow citizens and the γέροντες (lines 6–7), features as daughter of Euaion and wife of Poleites (lines 2–3: Ἀθηνοδό[την Ε]ὐαίον[ος τοῦ (?) - - -] | γυναῖκα δὲ Πολείτου τ[οῦ - - -]), two names that occur, again, in the final part of the list of priests of Poseidon (B10–11: Πολείτης Ἀνδρο|σθένους vacat ε'; B12, 15: Εὐαίων | Πολείτου vacat κη'; B16, 18-19: Πολείτης | Εὐαίωνος καθ' υἱ(οθεσίαν δὲ) | Ἀπολλωνίδου vacat κζ', the last recorded priest). Although the family links are not completely clear, it can hardly be doubted that Athenodote, by birth and marriage, was a member of that important family who traced their origins back to Poseidon and Anthes. What is more, in the epigram dedicated to her at the bottom of the

55 The latter is Peek's interpretation of τιμαί (Peek 1980: 21).

56 Isager 2015: 143.

57 Carbon/Isager/Pedersen 2017.

altar, she is praised for "having taken care of (*scil.* a conduct) worthy of her husband [and ancestors]" (line 17: ἀνδρὸς καὶ [προγόνων ἄ]ξια μησαμ[ένην], where the restoration προγόνων is suggested by meter, context, and the general spirit of the epigram).[58] In sum, what we learn from these documents is that belonging to the family of the Antheadai – explicitly defined as "founders" in the Posis epigram – was a matter not only of individual and familial pride but of public prestige: on the occasion of the commemoration of these women (Posis and Athenodote), the γένος gets a chance to celebrate its splendor and to claim its prominence in the civic community, while the civic community, in turn, benefits from the splendor, antiquity, and divine descent of the founder's stock.[59]

As I anticipated above, the discourse on the origins of Halikarnassos is not limited to Anthes and the Antheadai, but comprises a variety of stories, of which those relevant to the γένος of Anthes are only the most widely attested. Once again, it is the Salmakis inscription that offers important additions to the dossier. Here, the discourse on origins follows the praise of the pre-Greek land and its autochthonous inhabitants, who welcomed the new-born Zeus before the foundation of the city – as we saw above. The personified city itself, Halikarnassos, is now the protagonist of the following lines (15–17):[60]

τὸν τ' ἐρατὸν μακάρεσσιν ἀειδόμενον παρὰ χεῦμα
Σαλμακίδος γλυκερὸν νασσαμένη σκόπελον
νύμφης ἱμερτὸν κατέχει δόμον, …

58 Carbon/Isager/Pedersen 2017: 171, 174.

59 Alongside this documentation reference should be made to the dedicatory epigram that the Troizenians erected at Oropos in honor of a certain Diomedes, "distinguished from the splendid stock of Anthas" (l. 3: Ἄνθα ἀπ' ἐυσήμου κεκριμένον γενεᾶς), in which the link between the family and the civic glory (of Troizen, in this case) is extremely evident (ll. 6–7: … ἐγ δ' ἑνὸς οἴκου | Τροζὴν δὶς πατ[ρί]ωι τείχει ἐνηυγάσατο, "by virtue of a sole household Troizen shone twice within its ancestral walls"). See Jameson 2004: 98, 102 (n. 21) with literature for a discussion on the identity of the individual (a Troizenian, a Halikarnassian, or a Halikarnassian with Troizenian citizenship).

60 The only otherwise known personification of Halikarnassos is the female figure represented on the mosaic medallion from the Late Antique Villa (now in the British Museum): see above with Poulsen 1997.

> Occupying the promontory beloved by the gods next to the celebrated sweet stream of Salmakis, she [i.e. Halikarnassos] holds the loveable abode of the nymph …

This is a sort of poetical map of Halikarnassos: the city rises indeed on the area enclosed by two promontories that encircle its harbor like a ring. In antiquarian tradition the eastern promontory, formerly an island, was named Zephyrion, and "Zephyrion", "Zephyria" or "Isthmos" are also recorded as early denominations of Halikarnassos.[61] From the same sources it can be inferred that the first Greek colonizers – Troizenians, as we saw – were believed to have settled on the eastern promontory. Incidentally, Greek presence on the Zephyrion peninsula is archaeologically attested since the Mycenaean age. This first nucleus of Halikarnassos must have gradually spread beyond the Zephyrion promontory and come into contact with an originally separate local community settled on the opposite promontory. Both this community and the promontory take their name from the local spring, Salmakis.[62] The poet gives us two snapshots of Salmakis, taken before and after the origins of the city. With a sort of flashback at line 17, he brings us to a period in which Halikarnassos did not yet occupy the Salmakis promontory. It is a vague past time which predates the city's foundation and the Greek colonization. In this pre-Greek era, the native nymph Salmakis, eponym of the land and the ancient community, welcomed and nourished the Greek civilizing hero Hermaphroditos (lines 17–22):

> … ἥ [*scil.* Σαλμακίς] ποτε κοῦρον
> ἡμέτερον τερπναῖς δεξαμένη παλάμαις
> Ἑρμαφρόδιτον θρέψε πανέξοχον, ὃς γάμον εὗρεν
> ἀνδράσι καὶ λέχεα πρῶτος ἔδησε νόμωι, (20)
> αὐτή τε σταγόνων ἱεροῖς ὑπὸ νάμασιν ἄντρου
> πρηύνει φώτων ἀγριόεντα νόον.
>
> … [the nymph Salmakis,] who once, having embraced in her delightful hands our child, reared him, Hermaphroditos, the

61 On the topography of Halikarnassos see Vitr. 2.8.11; Ps.-Scyl. 99; Plin. *NH* 2.204; on the ancient denominations of the city see Strab. 14.2.16; Steph. Byz. *s. vv.* Ἁλικαρνασσός, Ζεφύριον, Ἰσθμός.

62 For a detailed discussion on the relationship between the two settlements and the historical role of Salmakis see Santini 2016: 6–15, with the documentation and literature cited therein.

excellent. The latter discovered marriage for men and first bound nuptial beds by law, and she, under the holy streams of drops of the cave, tames the savage mind of humans.

This episode constitutes the prelude to the origins of Halikarnassos: by emphasizing the encounter between the local (Carian) nymph and foreign (Greek) hero, the city is providing – I believe – the mythological basis for understanding the ensuing colonization in terms of ethnic mixture and peaceful cultural encounter. In other words, the territory of Halikarnassos, even before the city was born, was already prepared to be the locus of a multi-ethnic and harmonious community.[63]

There follows the account of the city's origins – the arrival of the Greek colonizers. The first to come are Athena and Bellerophontes, who set the boundaries of the Pedasis, as the extended *chora* of Halikarnassos was also called in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (lines 23–26):

Παλλάς τε πτερόεντος ἐπηέριον δαματῆρα
Πηγάσου οἰκιστὴν ἐσθλὸν ἐπηγάγετο
ἔνθ' ὅτε δὴ στείψασα μετ' ἴχνεσι Βελλεροφόντεω (25)
Πηδασίδος γαίης τέρμονας ἱδρύεται.

And Pallas led the tamer of the winged Pegasos, floating in the air, as a noble oecist, when she, treading on the footprints of Bellerophontes, marks the boundaries of the land Pedasis.

The reference to the Pedasis, which draws its name from the town of Pedasa, modern Gökçeler to the north of Halikarnassos, is not accidental. Pedasa was a prominent independent community in the 5th and early 4th centuries, before becoming involved, together with the neighboring "Lelegian" towns, in Maussollos's synoikism.[64] The fact that the boundaries of the new-born Halikarnassos are defined by the *chora* of Pedasis is noteworthy: this is a mythological re-reading of the synoikism, an operation which aims to trace back its real effects to the very origins of

63 I discussed this passage in detail in Santini 2016: 19–27, to which I refer, too, for further literature. See also at least Ragone 2001 and Sourvinou-Inwood 2004.

64 Sources and literature on Pedasa in Santini 2017: 127–130.

the city – effects that we cannot but read as a renewed strengthening of the multi-ethnic nature of the community.[65]

The Salmakis epigram makes this multi-ethnic nature the quintessential, the original trait of the city. Here the narrative of the city's foundation takes a very peculiar shape. As we have seen, the main literary tradition suggests that the first Greek nucleus was established on the Zephyrion promontory. Next, there was the gradual encounter with the community of Salmakis on the opposite promontory. Then, Maussollos's synoikism. In the poem, instead, it is the Pedasis that defines the very first boundaries of Halikarnassos, acting as the symbol of the city's embeddedness in the indigenous territory from the very beginnings of its story. The shaping of the multi-ethnic identity of Halikarnassos is not Maussollos's achievement. The following lines of the epigram point to an Attic/Athenian connection, as they refer to Kranaos, the mythical king of Athens, and to the Athenians, called "Kekropidai", "descendants of Kekrops". But here, too, the core of the settlement appears to be the "land of the holy Salmakis" (lines 27–28): ναὶ μὴν καὶ Κραναοῖο μέγα σθένος ἔκτισ' ἀρίστους | Κεκροπίδας ἱερῆς ἐν χθονὶ Σαλμακίδος ("Yes, indeed, the mighty strength of Kranaos settled noble sons of Kekrops in the land of holy Salmakis"), as if the poet wanted to stress, once more, that no isolated Greek settlement on Zephyrion is at stake here.[66] Then, it is the turn of the Peloponnesian colonists, led by Endymion (lines 29–30): Ἐνδυμίων τ' αἰχμῆι βασιληίδι κύδιμος ἥρως | λεκτοὺς ἐκ γαίης Ἄπιδος ἠγάγετο ("And the valiant hero Endymion with his royal spear led selected men from the land of Apis").[67] On the other hand, the poet alludes to the traditional Troizenian origins of the city only at lines 31–32, as a single moment in the whole colonial enterprise. The context is unfortunately damaged, but the mention of Anthes is what we might expect here, and therefore Lloyd-Jones's excellent restoration proposed

65 For a detailed discussion of the Athena and Bellerophontes episode see Santini 2017, with further literature.

66 No detailed discussion is to be found in literature on this section, except for few comments (see e.g. Lloyd-Jones 1999a: 8; Bremmer 2009: 305; Bremmer 2013: 68–69), and a more substantial interpretative attempt in Pirenne-Delforge 2011: 334–340 regarding the allusion to Kekrops, which I hope to treat in further detail elsewhere. On the significance of the expression ἐν χθονὶ Σαλμακίδος see Santini 2016: 16–19.

67 For Ἄπις as a reference to the Peloponnese see e.g. Aeschyl. *Ag.* 255–257 and *Suppl.* 260–270; Soph. *OC* 1302–1304; Theoc. *Id.* 25.183–184; Paus. 2.5.6–7 etc. On Endymion in Caria and his connection with mainland Greece see Robert 1987: 173–186. I hope to treat this passage as well in further detail elsewhere.

for line 31 is widely accepted: [Ἄνθης τ' ἐκ Τροιζῆνος ἰὼν Ποσιδ]ώνιος υἱός | [- - -]σεν Ἀνθεάδας. In line 32 only a verb in the aorist can be reasonably restored: the proposals are ἤρο]σεν,[68] from ἀρόω, lit. 'to plow', in the sense of 'to sow' and therefore metaphorically 'to procreate';[69] or ἔκτι]σεν ('to bring about, establish, produce') or ὤικι]σεν ('to settle as colonists') with Ἀνθεάδαι as object.[70] The proposed restorations are all acceptable in light of what was discussed above regarding the cultural significance of the designation Ἀνθεάδαι: ἤροσεν would emphasize the genealogical aspect of the term, i.e. "Anthes spread the seed of the Antheadai, his descendants"; ἔκτισεν may convey the same sense as ἤροσεν, but the use of κτίζω in this context would rather point to the colonial aspect of 'bringing about', and so would the expression ὤικισεν Ἀνθεάδας as well. It should be noted that here, in any case, the designation Ἀνθεάδαι may have the twofold sense outlined above: Anthes settled the Antheadai i.e. "the (primeval) Halikarnassians", or the Antheadai i.e. "his descendants". It may be tentatively argued that this sort of ambiguity is intentional, since both interpretations play out in favor of the city's proud self-image. In the last, damaged portion of the list of colonizers, we can make out the names Radamanthys ([- - - Ῥαδαμά]νθυος, l. 33, *ed. pr.*), as well as a 'son of Phoibos' (Φοιβήιος ἶνις, l. 35), and of Ariadne ([- - - ἀπὸ] χθονὸς ἦγ' Ἀριάδνην, l. 37) – all pointing to a Cretan connection.[71]

While looking at this list, and specifically at the role played in it by the Troizenian tradition, an important point must be stressed. Although – as we have seen – the tradition of Anthes and the Troizenian colonization is most strongly represented in the ancient sources on Halikarnassos, here it is accompanied by other traditions which preserve the names of other founders and colonists: namely, Athena, Bellerophontes and Pegasos; then Kranaos with the Kekropidai; then Endymion with "selected men from the land of Apis"; and then Radamanthys,

68 Lloyd-Jones 1999a: 9, followed by Merkelbach-Stauber, SGO I, 01/12/02, and Gagné 2006: 14.

69 Cf. lines 43–44 of the poem: Ἡρόδοτον τὸν πεζὸν ἐν ἱστορίαισιν Ὅμηρον | [*scil.* Ἁλικαρνασσός] ἤροσεν κτλ.

70 Austin 1999.

71 Cf. e.g. Gagné 2006: 15. In general on the Carian-Crete connection see now Unwin 2017, though her take on the putative transmission of tradition from the Bronze Age (esp. Chap. 3) should be treated with caution.

the mysterious "son of Phoibos", and Ariadne.[72] What is more, another Halikarnassian foundation story, preserved in Vitruvius, involves two ethnic groups, Argives and Troizenians, and two oecists, Melas and Arevanias,[73] whereas the Roman geographer Pomponius Mela mentions only an Argive component.[74] Most interestingly, the names of the oecists reported by Vitruvius are somehow connected to Ares: Arevanias may be indeed a compound of Ἄρης/Ἄρειος and ἀνία, whence 'Ares's bane'; and Melas, 'the Black', may just be an epithet of the god.[75] It may be no accident that a certain Ἀρεύς, son of Neon, grandson of Areus, and great-grandson of Neon, was explicitly honored by the community in the Hellenistic age "for the nobility of birth from (the stock of) the founders and tyrannicides by both his parents, and also for his virtue and magnanimity (inherited) from the ancestors".[76] Just as in the case of Poseidon Isthmios, it is also possible that the cult and priesthood of Ares, worshipped in a temple located at a prominent site in the city,[77] were associated with a particular γένος, whose members may have claimed descent from the oecists Melas and Arevanias – if we accept, as seems sound, their connection to Ares.[78] On the other hand, should the connection to the mythical founders not be proven or documented,

72 Cf. Unwin 2017: 59. Some echo of this multifaceted tradition must have passed down to Strabo. Since the section of his *Geography* dedicated to Halikarnassos (14.2.16) mirrors the Salmakis poem in its organization of contents (comments on the *beneficial* powers of the Salmakis spring, colonization, and list of authors; cf. Romano 2009: 557), one may infer that the anonymous "others" who accompany Anthes in the passage (οἰκισταὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο *ἄλλοι τε καὶ* Ἄνθης μετὰ Τροιζηνίων) in fact refer to the colonizers mentioned in the epigram.

73 Vitr. 2.8.12: *cum autem Melas et Areuanias ab Argis et Troezene coloniam communem eo loci deduxerunt* etc. On the significance of this passage see esp. Ragone 2001: 99–108, and also Santini 2016: 22–27. See also below.

74 Mela 1.85: *Halicarnasos Argivorum colonia est*.

75 Ragone 2001: 102.

76 SEG 44.872, ll. 7–14: διά τε τὴν ἀπὸ | τῶν κτιστῶν καὶ τυρα[ν]|νοκτόνων τῆς πόλεως | {ως} καθ' ἑκατέρους τοὺς | γονεῖς αὐτοῦ εὐγένιαν, | καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐκ προγό|νων ἀρετὴν καὶ μεγαλιό|τητα.

77 Vitr. 2.8.11.

78 Cf. Ragone 2001: 103. However, although individuals named Μέλας, Ἄνθης/Ἀνθεύς or even Μελάνθας/Μελάνθιος (e.g. Merkelbach-Stauber, SGO I 01/12/04 and 01/12/19; etc.) are attested for Halikarnassos, it must be stressed that these names are quite widespread in other areas of the Greek world (a quick look in LGPN will suffice) without any evident connection to mythical or divine figures linked to the place. The existence of traditions of multiple founders for a single city is not unparalleled: cf. Jones 1999; Chaniotis 2016: 91 and *passim* for ancient Aphrodisias.

it is still important to remember that expressions pointing to "foundation" or "founders" (such as e.g. γένος κτιστῶν, but also συγκτίζειν τὸν δῆμον *vel* τὴν πόλιν *vel* τὴν πατρίδα or the like) are often used in the Late Hellenistic and Imperial periods to emphasize the formation of a community's identity at *any* level (political, social, and so on), and, subsequently, to celebrate the members of the aristocratic families who contributed to the process in some capacity.[79]

To sum up, in the Hellenistic age the city – both as a united community and by means of the narratives set forth by its most notable families – shows multiple means of presenting a rich and complex tradition regarding its own pedigree, re-reading its own history through a mythological lens and providing key themes that help illuminate the origins of its glory and fame.

4 A RHETORIC OF ACCUMULATION

What is the sense of all this? It is, I would suggest, what can be defined as a "rhetoric of accumulation": different and only apparently contrasting traditions co-exist in the same city to explain the same event and pursue the same aim, i.e. to demonstrate the city's noble antiquity and its wealth of history, mythology, and tradition. The Salmakis inscription definitely assumes the foremost place in this rhetoric, for here multiplicity is condensed in a single document and a single narrative: from a pre-historical time in which the autochthonous Carians took care of the infant Zeus, passing through the foundation phases, and approaching the glories of the present time, the epigram presents a diverse and multi-ethnic mythical history. Most importantly, without denying Anthes his role of oecist, Troizen its role as motherland, or the Antheadai their rank as descendants of the oecist, the epigram renounces the pre-eminence of the Troizenian tradition and attributes to it a place equivalent and fully comparable to that of the other components. Put differently, the more balanced role allotted to the story of Anthes in the

79 On this usage see Chaniotis 2004: 381–382 esp. with note 14 and the examples and literature cited therein: rich documentation comes from Aphrodisias, most likely with reference to the unification of the city with Plarasa, to be seen as an act of "foundation". The title of κτίστης or οἰκιστής – the two having at some point become equivalent – could also be attributed to Roman emperors who contributed to the (re)foundation of cities or communities: see e.g. Robert 1987: 133–134 with note 6 (Hadrian).

"Pride of Halikarnassos" is functional to the construction of a new and enriched version of the city's cultural memory.

Of course, the Greek element plays an important role both in the Salmakis inscription and in the rest of the tradition: the foundation of the city is presented everywhere as the result of Greek initiative, and we have seen how the local elites boasted of their descent from Troizenian or Argive stock, the ultimate progenitor or patron of which is either Poseidon or Ares. Also, the list of poets and writers that rounds off the Salmakis inscription (ll. 43–56) suggests that the fame of Halikarnassos is inherently linked to the contributions of the city's sons to Greek literature and culture. However, this insistence on the Greek element should never be over-emphasized nor interpreted as if the city wanted to conceal its Carian past or to safeguard its reputation from the negative stereotypes that circulated in Antiquity concerning the Carian *ethnos*.[80] Instead, the self-portrait of the city is fully coherent, and the Salmakis inscription represents, once again, the key to understanding this important point: Halikarnassos has a twofold soul, Greek and Carian. The Carian soul was there even before the city was born. The city's birth, in turn, was both Carian and Greek. Greek was the initiative, Greek the development; but the city's gaze is projected over a glorious Carian past, which constitutes an important element of local pride.

As a matter of fact, the case of Halikarnassos stands out in the literary tradition: many Greek cities of the Ionian coast of Asia Minor, in contrast, consistently locate their origins at the conclusion of a conflict with and the expulsion of native Carians or Lelegians.[81] For those cities, ethnic purity seems to be a concern: the theme is at least as old as Herodotus, who, in a famous passage, criticized and confuted the arguments

80 On this line also Unwin 2017: 166 n. 60; and Gagné 2006: 20–24, who correctly proposes a double level of reading (Greek *and* Carian) and defines the text as a "product of negotiated memory". On the ancient traditions and stereotypes concerning the Carians see esp. Bresson 2007 (with a different interpretation of the question addressed here); Herda 2013, and Unwin 2017: 36–37 (sources). On the meaning of the term *barbarophonoi* applied to the Carians in the *Iliad* see Salmeri 1994: 87–88.

81 Cf. Strab. 7.7.2 and Vitr. 4.1.4 (in general terms); Pherecyd. FGrHist 3 F 155, *apud* Strab. 14.1.3 (with reference to Miletus, Myous, Mycale, Ephesus, Phocaea, Chios, Samos); Ion FGrHist 392 F 1, *apud* Paus. 7.4.9 (Chios); Hdt. 1.146.2–3 and Paus. 7.2.5–6 (Miletus); Paus. 7.2.10 (Myous and Priene), 7.3.2 (Colophon), 7.3.5 (Lebedos); Strab. 14.1.21 (Ephesus). These narratives of ethnic conflict in Ionian foundation stories, with particular emphasis on Miletus, are discussed in Mac Sweeney 2013: 44–79.

that the Ionians advanced in support of their claim of ethnic purity.[82] To be sure, a conflict is also mentioned in Vitruvius's account of the foundation of Halikarnassos, which doubtless derives from local sources: Carians and Lelegians are said to have plundered the land that Melas and Arevanias colonized. However, in contrast to the case of other cities, this ethnic conflict ends in a complete and peaceful resolution: the founders exploited the water of the Salmakis fountain and attracted the barbarians. Yet the latter's willing final conversion to Greek customs and delights – so the story goes – should not be understood as sheer "Hellenization". Vitruvius's story confirms, in fact, that what mattered to the Halikarnassians, and was thus emphasized in tradition, was that the peaceful co-existence of Greeks and Carians was made possible thanks to the *indigenous* Salmakis: it is the water of the fountain, of the nymph, that nurtures the encounter. There is no process of acculturation in action here, no osmotic transfer of Greek culture. There is co-existence, exchange, integration.[83]

How should we interpret, then, the words of the 2nd-century AD Halikarnassian rhetor Aelius Dionysios, who claims a univocal Greek, namely Dorian, origin for Halikarnassos, and rejects any Carian influence? By emphasizing the city's "Greekness", Dionysios advances an argument in support of Halikarnassos's ethnic purity, which – as the author himself seems to recognize – is similar to the famous argument advanced by the Ionians who came from Athens and colonized Miletus. At the same time, Dionysios claims that Halikarnassos was the only truly Greek *polis* among the cities of the Dorian *hexapolis* (Lindos, Kamyros, Ialysos, Kos, Knidos), which, as Herodotus narrates, expelled Halikarnassos from the confederation.[84] Therefore, the answer to the question

82 Hdt. 1.146.1–2. The narrative goes on with the case of Miletus (see previous note).

83 Vitr. 2.8.12. On the significance of this passage see also Ragone 2001: 99–108; Sourwinou-Inwood 2004; Bremmer 2009: 298–302, as well as my own remarks in Santini 2016: 26–27.

84 Ael. Dion. *Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα*, *praef.* 2 Erbse (= Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* I, p. 581 van der Walk): … Ἁλικαρνασσός, ἐξ ἧς ὥρμητο Αἴλιος Διονύσιος Ἁλικαρνασσεύς, καθὰ δηλοῖ αὐτός, ἐν οἷς περὶ Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων διαλεγόμενος λέγει οὐ Κᾶρας εἶναι τοὺς Ἁλικαρνασσεῖς, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνας, Δωριεῖς τῶν ἀποικησάντων Δωριέων Καρίαν, ὃ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ποιήσαντες καὶ εἰς Καρίαν κατάραντες – ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Νειλεύς – πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα φησὶν ἐν αὐτῇ Μίλητον κατεσκευάσαντο· ἐφ' οἷς τοὺς τοιούτους Δωριεῖς σεμνύνας καὶ μίαν τῆς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ἐξαπόλεως καὶ τὴν Ἁλικαρνασσὸν εἰπὼν εἶναι ἐπάγει πρὸς τῷ τέλει, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἴσως κωλύοι καὶ ἐν Καρίᾳ εἶναί τινα Ἀττικὴν φωνὴν καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις Καρικήν, φωνὴν Ἀττικὴν σεμνῶς εἰπὼν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. See discussion of this passage in Bru/Filippini 2016: 324–329. On the expulsion of Halikarnassos from the Dorian *hexapolis* see Hdt. 1.144.

is, again: as a part of the city's "rhetoric of accumulation". Just as for the mythical history recorded in the Salmakis inscription, as well as for the traditions of Anthes and the Argive colonization, we may infer with good reason that the city made recourse to this and other narratives according to the needs of the moment when dealing with its international affairs. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, it was common practice for poets, antiquarians, historians, and scholars to be appointed as embassy envoys: their task was to provide evidence drawn from antiquarian research and local history in support of whatever the city was arguing for in its international negotiations. By delivering lectures on their travels, these scholars earned public honors and prestige for exporting the glorious achievements of their communities beyond their borders.[85] Each part of the local tradition, accordingly, constituted valuable material in support of the city's international ambitions. Just as the Troizenian tradition may have been useful in dealing with the motherland and in establishing a close connection with the Greek mainland, the claim of Hellenic purity advanced by Dionysios may have been utilized to solicit benefactions from the philhellene emperor Hadrian, as has been tentatively suggested on the basis of the few legible words of a letter from Hadrian to the civic community.[86] Similarly, the importance that the Halikarnassians attached to the key themes of harmony, cultural exchange and integration between Greeks and locals – as emerges from the Salmakis poem – was, as we have seen, central in forging the city's tradition of good relations with the local population. Also, each "phase" of the "colonization", corresponding to a group of individuals and their leader in the list of colonizers of the Salmakis inscription, served the purpose of establishing for Halikarnassos a competitive network of kinship diplomacy with different parts of the Greek world.[87] All

85 On this phenomenon on a general level see Guarducci 1929; Hunter/Rutherford 2009; Franco 2010; Chaniotis 2015; on antiquarian research in support of a city's needs see esp. Amendola 2014 (on the case of the Lindian Chronicle and with a rich dossier of further examples). In particular, it is likely that the Salmakis poem was publicly commissioned and that it served as repository of mythical documentation: cf. Isager/Pedersen 2012: 100; Santini 2016: 4–5; Unwin 2017: 175–176.

86 *Ed. pr*. Isager/Pedersen 2012: 95–97. Detailed study and commentary in Bru/Filippini 2016, who propose the restoration of the city after an earthquake as the historical context of the letter. Prof. Chaniotis points out to me that the context may well be, too, that of the foundation of the *Panhellenion* by Hadrian, with the subsequent competition among cities for seniority and the title of *metropolis*.

87 For the concept of kinship diplomacy in the Greek and Roman world see Curty 1995; Jones 1999, and Battistoni 2010.

the same, to return to the point from which we started, we can now easily conclude that even the myth of Maussollos, instead of representing a litmus test for the city's prestige, should be considered as no more than another part of the same flexible rhetoric of accumulation.

The material that I have been discussing so far shows clearly, in my opinion, that the fluidity of genealogical tradition, foundation stories, and perceptions about civic pride plays in favor of the civic community. Most importantly, I would like to stress, once again, that different cultural operations which take different directions are only apparently in contradiction: multiplicity, ambiguity, inconsistency are not proof of conflict, but cultural strategies that contribute to enrich the city's prestige. To conclude, I believe that by offering this reading of the cultural history of the city, the categories of "Hellenization" and "Carianization", as well as any attempt at defining the *real* degree of "Greekness" or "Carianness" of the city or at evaluating the achievements of Maussollos's rule, are quite meaningless: it is the city itself that ultimately decides, in the light of the requirements of the day, whether to present itself as Greek, Carian, or both, thereby unfolding its multi-layered identity according to its own needs.[88]

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88 The most compelling parallel for the case of Halikarnassos is that of Late Hellenistic and Roman Aphrodisias: originating from a Carian substrate (App. *BC* 1.97) and featuring a number of local foundation legends (involving the legendary Assyrian king Ninos, Bellerophontes, and also Gordios son of Midas for the neighboring Gordiou Teichos) as well as a mixed Carian, Greek, Iranian, Macedonian and Jewish population, the city was able to negotiate multiple identities according to its own needs. See Chaniotis 2009a: 37–48; Chaniotis 2009b; Chaniotis 2016.

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RHOTACISM IN 1ST-MILLENNIUM BC ANATOLIA

Comparative Luwian and Lydian phonology

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Abstract: This paper deals first with the phenomenon of "rhotacism", well established in the Luwian language as attested in the Hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Iron Age period. Reemphasizing the overlooked restriction of the sound change vis-à-vis Luwian geminate consonants, we compare a similar phenomenon in the Lydian language. It is argued that Pre-Lydian has undergone "rhotacism" (or better, flapping) as well, which explains the strong presence of the letters *λ* and *l* in Lydian inflectional endings. As a result, a new Lydian sound law is posited. Furthermore, an areal diffusion between South-Central and West Anatolia during the beginning of the 1st millennium BC is posited.[1]

Keywords: Sound law, flapping, verbal endings, case syncretism, areal diffusion

1 RHOTACISM IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

In his work on Hieroglyphic Luwian, the Italian scholar Meriggi (1951: 34–39) explained that dental stop signs such as <ta> and <ti> can be replaced with the sign <+ra/i> expressing the resonant /r/, e.g. DEUS-*na-ti* vs. DEUS-*na-ri+i* 'with the gods', calling this phenomenon "rhotacism". Building on his work, Morpurgo Davies (1982–1983) demonstrated convincingly that not all dental stops undergo rhotacism in Iron Age Luwian, but only lenited ones. This lenited dental sound is spelled with a single <tV, Vt> sign in Cuneiform Luwian, and with the letter *d* in the Lycian alphabet, e.g. abl./instr. CLuw. *-a-ti* = HLuw. *-a-ti/a-ri+i* = Lyc. *-a/edi*. The distribution as explained by Morpurgo Davies led to further

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elucidation of the hieroglyphic script. In an article from 2008, Rieken made a major contribution to the field by discovering that this script in fact distinguishes between the fortis and lenis dental stops in combination with the vowel /a/. The sign <ta> consistently renders the fortis dental stop and is never replaced with the sign <+ra/i>, while the sign <tà>, which can be replaced with <+ra/i>, represents the lenis dental stop, e.g. encl. pron. 'it, them' CLuw. *-a-ta*, HLuw. *-a-tà*, *-a+ra/i*, Lyc. *-ede* vs. loc. particle CLuw. *-Vt-ta*, HLuw. *-ta*, Lyc. *-te*.

In a joint article, Rieken/Yakubovich (2010) argued convincingly that the hieroglyphic signs <ta$_4$> and <ta$_5$> should be reinterpreted as laterals <la/i> and <lá/í> respectively. What is relevant for the purpose of this paper is that these two signs can also be used to render the "rhotacized" sound, e.g. the 3rd sg. pret. of the lenited *mi*-conjugation /-da/ is spelled regularly with <tà> as in *i-zi-i-tà* 'he made', but it can be spelled instead with <lá/í> as in *tara/i-pa-lá/í* 'he trod'. Furthermore, it has been pointed out in the literature that not only the lenited dental stop undergoes rhotacism, but also the lateral /l/ and the nasal /n/ (Melchert 2003: 180; Rieken/Yakubovich 2010: 216–217). Building on these observations, Rieken/Yakubovich hypothesized that postvocalic *d*, *l*, *r* and *n* merged into a flap [ɾ]. However, what has not been properly emphasized in the literature is that only non-geminated /l/ and /n/ undergo rhotacism, because geminates are not expected to become flaps from a phonetic perspective. Moreover, the regular environment for "flapping" is intervocalic.[2] To demonstrate the restriction that only non-geminates rhotacize, we cite all relevant lexemes that are attested both in Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform texts and, afterwards, we discuss the examples found solely in the former corpus.

/-n-/

HLuw. adj. 'all' dat. pl. *ta-ni-ma-za* vs. *tara/i-ma-za* (AKSARAY § 5), cf. CLuw. *ta-ni-ma-* // HLuw. adverb *ma-nu-ha* vs. *ma-ru-ha* (SULTANHAN § 36), cf. CLuw. *ma-a-n(a)-* 'if' // HLuw. PN *i(a)+ra/i*-TONITRUS (KARAHÖYÜK § 2), cf. Hurr. *Ini-Tešob*[3]

2 Cf. Kümmel 2007: 80–89.

3 See Simon 2013 followed by Payne 2015: 37 n. 71; Manuelli/Mori 2016: 213 n. 4; Yakubovich 2016–2018. The previous idea that *i(a)+ra/i*-TONITRUS was a scribal mistake for *Ini-Tešob* is outdated (*pace* Hawkins/Weeden 2016: 10 citing Giusfredi 2010: 41; Giusfredi 2012: 161).

/-l-/[4]
HLuw. adj. 'evil' nom. pl. MALUS-*la/i-zí* vs. *á-tu-wa+ra/i-zi* (KARATEPE 1, § 20), cf. CLuw. *ad-du-wa-a-li-* // HLuw. title 'hunter' dat. pl. *zú-na-wa/i-ra/i-za* (KULULU lead strip 2, § 1.6) vs. *zú-na-wa/i-tà-za* (KULULU lead strip 2, § 2.13), cf. CLuw. ^{LÚ}*zu-na-ú-li-iš* // HLuw. subst. 'field' dat. pl. *wa/i-li-li-tà-za* vs. abl./instr. *wa/i-li-ri+i-tà-ti* (ANDAVAL § 3), cf. Hitt. *ú-li-li-* // HLuw. verb 'to die' 3rd sg. pret. *wa/i-la-tá* vs. 3rd sg. pres. med. *wa/i-wa/i-ri+i-ta-ti* (ASSUR letter e, § 10), cf. CLuw. *wa-la-an-ti-*/*u-la-an-ti-* // HLuw. adv. *zi-la* vs. *zi-tà* (KARATEPE 1, § 31), cf. CLuw. *zi-la*

The following cases of rhotacism of /-l-/ belong to lexemes that are isolated within Hieroglyphic Luwian so that we cannot verify independently if they reflect a single or geminate lateral. Nevertheless, etymological arguments can be adduced to substantiate claims for or against geminates in any given case. The personal name *á-sa-tú-wa/i-la/i-ma-za-si*$^{-i}$ (KARKAMIŠ A11, § 1) vs. *á-sa-tu-wa/i+ra/i-ma-za-si* (MARAŞ 8, § 1) contains as its second element the substantive /alaman-/ n. 'name', whose single /-l-/ is expected from a historical perspective (see Rieken/Yakubovich 2010: 203). The substantive dat. sg. *hu-hú+ra/i-pa-li* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, § 10) and its relational adjective in /-i(ya)-/ dat. pl. *hu-hu+ra/i-pa+ra/i-ia-za* (KULULU lead strip 2, § 1.11) refer to an object a person can sit on. The former could be either a neuter instrument noun in /-al-/ or a substantivized possessive adjective in /-alla/i-/ or even in /-al(i)-/. Further, the dat.(?) sg. substantive FINES+*RA/I+HA-ha-lí* 'frontier-post' (TOPADA § 6) and its relational adjective nom./acc. pl. n. FINES-*ha+ra/i-ia* (CEKKE § 15) show rhotacism. FINES+*RA/I+HA-ha-lí* is derived from HLuw. /irh(i)-/ c. 'frontier' either with the adjectival suffix /-alla/i-/, /-al(i)-/ or the substantival suffix /-al-/ n. From a semantic perspective, one could posit a substantivized possessive adjective in /-alla/i-/ or /-al(i)-/, i.e. 'that which belongs to the frontier' → 'frontier-post'. Morphologically speaking, it is not clear which of the two suffixes was used. The nom. sg. *tu-ni-ka-la-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, § 17c) and its rhotacized variant *tu-ni-ka-ra+a-sa* (ASSUR letter f+g, § 45) designate a 'bread caretaker'. It is interpreted by Melchert (1988: 225–226) as an agent noun in /-ala-/ c. borrowed from Hittite. A loanword from Hittite is likely due to the Hittite derivational base *tuni(n)k-* '(a type of bread)'. On the other hand, Sasseville (2014/15: 117) interprets it as a Luwian agent noun in

4 There are some instances of etymological *-l-* that are rendered with the sign <tà>, thus representing cases of hypercorrect spellings underlying a flap.

/-alla-/ c. Without independent evidence, both interpretations are possible. In sum, cases without a cuneiform parallel cannot be used for or against the phonological claim that geminates do not rhotacize.[5]

The Hieroglyphic Luwian data presented above with parallels in Cuneiform Luwian show that the distinction between single and geminate consonants seen in the Cuneiform Luwian script is indeed reflected in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of the Iron Age period: the phonemes /-d-/, /-l-/, /-r-/ and /-n-/ become flaps intervocalically, while their counterparts /-tt-/, /-ll-/, /-rr-/ and /-nn-/ do not.[6] This rule can in turn shed light on the morphology of the ambiguous Hieroglyphic Luwian examples listed above. In the following section, a comparable phonological phenomenon of the Lydian language will be discussed.

2 "RHOTACISM" IN LYDIAN

Already in 1975, Eichner (1975: 80) suggested interpreting the Lydian ending *-l* of the 3rd person singular preterite as the phonological outcome of the endings /-tta/ or /-da/ as seen in Luwian. Following his idea, Oettinger (1978: 86) hypothesized that this development was restricted to lenited *-d* before the back vowels *a* and *u*. Additionally, he pointed out that this sound law would have led to syncretism of the endings preterite /-da/ and imperative /-du/, which would explain why the imperative marker is missing in Lydian. Melchert (1994a: 342) was not convinced by the theory of deriving any Lydian *-l* from a pre-Lydian dental stop, because it failed to explain why it did not happen in certain words, e.g. in the conjunction *kud* meaning 'where' and in the 3rd person singular present active *-d* (< *-*di*). Consequently, he preferred the hypothesis that the 3rd person singular preterite ending *-l* originates from the Proto-Indo-European suffix *-*lo*-, which would have come to be used as a participial marker, before it was turned into a verbal ending. This would be a scenario comparable to the development of the preterite marker in Slavic languages.

5 Another problematic case is *ka-lu/a/i-na-* occurring alongside *ka-ru-na-* 'underground granary' (van den Hout 2010: 234–238), whose phonological interpretation depends on its etymology, which is unclear; cf. Hrozný 1939: 2 n. 4.

6 For space reasons, the extensive data on the non-rhotacizing expected geminate /-ll-/ cannot be listed here. However, clear instances of the possessive adjectival suffix /-alla/i-/ (CLuw. *-alla/i-*) do not show rhotacism.

The topic was revived much later in an article by Yakubovich (2005: 86), who attempted to equate the Lydian word *arlil(i)-* 'one's own' with Luwian /atr(i)-/ 'person, self'. In this attempt, he posited for Lydian an assimilatory sound change **t* > *l*, which would also account for the ending of the 3rd person singular preterite *-l*. He rightly rejected the hypothesis that the *l*-ending derived from the Proto-Indo-European suffix **-lo-*, because the participle suffix would be expected to extend to all preterite endings in Lydian similar to Slavic instead of just to the 3rd person singular.

In 2006, Melchert (2006: 1162) argued convincingly that Lydian has a medio-passive ending in *-taλ*, e.g. in *fapuwerftaλ* 'he wrests by force (*vel sim.*)'. He equated this ending with Hittite and Luwian *-Vt-ta-ri*, and thereby posited a development of the Pre-Lydian sequence **-ri-* to Lydian *-λ* explaining that the outcome of a palatalized *r* would have merged with a palatalized *l*, i.e. *-λ*. Kümmel (2007: 281–284) examined the synchronic distribution of Lydian *l* vs. *λ* and suggested that the phonetic difference between the two consonants resulted from their syllabic environment. He noticed for example that *λ* never occurs word-initially, which indicates a "weak" sound, while *l* never occurs after an initial consonant. Therefore, he posited that *l* is the starting point, which retains its phonetic quality between vowels but develops to *λ* in the tautosyllabic positions /$C_ and /_$, suggesting in the end that *λ* represents a post-alveolar flap [ɻ] derived from *l*. The phonetics underlying what these two letters represent is addressed again at the end of Section 3.

In 2012, Kloekhorst (2012: 169) attempted to explain the origin of the Lydian dative ending written with *-λ*, arguing that it goes back to a sequence **-Vi̯* in word-final position. His argument was based on the Proto-Indo-European dative ending **-ei̯*, which would develop to Lydian *-aλ*, the enclitic pronoun **smoi̯* to Lydian *-mλ*, and the medio-passive ending *-taλ*, which he traced back to **-toi̯* instead of **-tori*. Consequently, Kloekhorst assumed that the glide **i̯* first turned into **d* before it became an *l* in word-final position. Recently, Yakubovich (2017: 284 n. 19) brought an additional piece of data to the discussion, i.e. the Lydian prefix *p(a)λ-*.[7] He showed convincingly that it is a cognate of CLuw. *pari-i* 'forth, away' and Lycian *pri*, which provides decisive evidence that the sound rendered by the sign *λ* can be traced back to a pre-form **-ri* and thus supports the equation of the medio-passive ending *-taλ* with Luwian /-ttari/ as argued by Melchert (2006).

7 See also Mouton/Yakubovich 2019.

Considering the whole literature on this topic, it appears that most scholars see some kind of "rhotacism" occurring in Lydian, whose phonetic outcome would be rendered with the letters *l* or *λ*. However, opinions differ regarding which dental sound is subject to rhotacism and what the conditioning behind this sound change is. To shed more light on this problem, we need to consider as much data as we can. Just as vital for our comparative analysis is the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus of the late Iron Age, where rhotacism (or better, flapping) can be best observed. Nevertheless, while the Luwian data shows us the situation at the time when rhotacism was occuring and scribes were confusing signs due to syncretism of originally different phonemes, Lydian does not show any graphemic variation comparable to Luwian. Thus, Lydian appears to show only the outcome of this phenomenon.

In the following section, the concept of rhotacism in Lydian will be explored from a comparative perspective with Luwian.

3 EVIDENCE OF "RHOTACISM" IN LYDIAN: A NEW APPROACH

In this section, we shall first compare the nominal system of Luwian and Lydian. In Luwian, the ablative/instrumental ending /-adi/, spelled *-a-ti* or *-a+ri-i*, undergoes rhotacism. Looking at Lydian for a corresponding form, one notices that there is an empty slot for this nominal case; an ablative/instrumental ending has never been positively identified in this language. Earlier literature tried to identify some forms in *-ad* as ablatives, but all of them can be interpreted either as neuter singular forms or as verbal forms of the 3rd person singular present, as partially pointed out by Gusmani (1964: 36). However, there is one case ending whose origin is still debated, the dative ending in *-λ*, e.g. *-aλ*. Assuming syncretism of the dative and ablative/instrumental cases in Lydian, the ending *-aλ* would reflect an earlier /-adi/ with rhotacism. The type of case syncretism required here for Lydian had already happened in the Lycian relative pronoun, *tdi* meaning 'to whom', which would have come from an ablative/instrumental form **k^{u}édi*.[8] Thus, Lydian *qλ* meaning also 'to whom' can be equated with Lycian *tdi*. While the

8 Goedegebuure (2010: 87), on the other hand, associates the Lycian form *tdi* with the Luwian dative one /kuwatti/ deriving it from a locative **k^{u}éd^{h}i*. Her scenario is only possible if Čop's Law has not occurred in Lycian, which is still debated; cf. Kloekhorst 2014: 572–573.

merger in Lycian is restricted to the relative pronoun, the Lydian ending *-λ* with a new dative function must have been generalized at first among all pronominal paradigms, e.g. *pλ* 'to him', *ešλ* 'to this one here', and, afterwards must have been extended from the pronominal to the nominal paradigms, e.g. *artimuλ* 'for Artemis', eclipsing the former dative ending. Thus, we posit the following development for the Lydian dative ending: Pre-Lyd. **-adi* > **-ari* > *-aλ*.

Turning to the verbal system, the endings of the 3rd person singular present and preterite of the lenited *mi*-conjugation undergo rhotacism in Hieroglyphic Luwian, e.g. "PES"-*wa/i-ti* vs. "PES"-*wi-ri* 'he comes', *á-tà* vs. *á+ra* 'he made', *tar-pa-a-ti* vs. *tar-pa-lá/í* 'he treads, he trod'. In the Lydian verbal endings, there is a 3rd person singular preterite in *-l*, e.g. *fẽncal* 'he dedicated', *fapil* 'he gave'. It is important to remember that the ending of the 3rd person singular preterite in Lydian was extended to all stem classes. Such a recharacterization is likely to have been caused by a phonological change. In this regard, Lydian dropped word-final short vowels, which should have neutralized the distinction between the present and preterite tense for certain endings of the paradigm as noted by Yakubovich (2005: 86). This would certainly explain the need to recharacterize the preterite tense. We will examine the development of this Lydian verbal ending in detail. In **Fig. 1**–**4**, the first two columns contain the non-lenited stem classes, /-itti/ and /-atti/, and the latter two columns are for the lenited stem classes and subsequently rhotacized stem classes, /-idi/ and /-adi/. The first row of the tables lists the present tense, rows two and three record the preterite and the imperative respectively. In the first stage (**Fig. 1**), we have a Pre-Lydian situation comparable to Hieroglyphic Luwian.

	Pre-Lyd. Stage 1 (cf. HLuw.)			
pres.	**-itti*	**-atti*	**-iri*	**-ari*
pret.	**-itta*	**-atta*	**-ira*	**-ara*
impv.	**-ittu*	**-attu*	**-iru*	**-aru*

Fig. 1.

At Stage 2 (**Fig. 2**), short final vowels are dropped. In the present tense, the flap of the lenited conjugation becomes palatalized, but the preterite tense and the imperative mood are no longer distinguishable.

	Pre-Lyd. Stage 2			
pres.	*-*it*	*-*at*	*-*ir*^{j}	*-*ar*^{j}
pret.	*-*it*	*-*at*	*-*ir*	*-*ar*
impv.	*-*it*	*-*at*	*-*ir*	*-*ar*

Fig. 2.

At Stage 3 (**Fig. 3**), the imperative mood is eliminated. At the same time, the preterite tense is recharacterized by generalizing the flap from the lenited *mi*-conjugation across all stem classes. As to the present tense, we see from the Lydian evidence that the flap did not go through but that the dental fricative has in fact been restored. This means that Lydian speakers did not tolerate a 3rd singular present ending *-λ*. It is possible that the non-lenited *mi*-conjugation with its preserved fortis ending *-t* exerted some pressure and, since the lenited *d* and the flap [ɾ] must have been at first allophones of the same phoneme, native speakers would have had no problem recovering the dental fricative.

	Pre-Lyd. Stage 3			
pres.	*-*it*	*-*at*	*-*id*	*-*ad*
pret.	*-*ir*	*-*ar* ←	*-*ir*	*-*ar*

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4 shows us the situation as attested in Lydian.

	Lydian			
pres.	*-it*	*-at*	*-id*	*-ad*
pret.	*-il*	*-al*	*-il*	*-al*

Fig. 4.

In sum, the Lydian 3rd person singular preterite ending *-l* corresponds to the Luwian rhotacizing ending of the 3rd person singular preterite of the *mi*-conjugation, which can be spelled in the hieroglyphic script with

the signs *-tà, -ra/i* or *-lá/í*. Thus, the following reconstruction is suggested: Lyd. 3rd sg. pret. *-l* < *-ɾa* < *-da* < lenited *-to*.

As a last example from the verbal system, we adduce the Lydian infinitive ending *-l*, which is found for example in *inal* 'to make' or *ifrol* 'to misuse'. The corresponding Luwian ending is /-una/, which in Kizzuwatna and Empire Luwian is spelled with one *-n-*. Since the single spelled /-n-/ can rhotacize between vowels, we would expect a rhotacized form /-uɾa/ (*-u-ra+a*) to occur in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus. However, no examples of this have so far been found, though that may be simply due to chance. Regarding the vowel *-u-* in the infinitive ending /-una/, it is worth noting that it no longer exists in Lycian A and B, where the infinitive ending is simply *-ne* or *-na* (+ nasalization of the previous vowel). This ending must therefore have been reanalysed in Lycian, i.e. **-una* → *-na*. The same reanalysis must have occurred in Lydian as well, so that the development of Pre-Lydian **-na* to **-ɾa* can be posited; thence, following the apocope of word-final short vowels, one arrives at the Lydian infinitive ending *-l* (< **-ɾa* < **-na* ← **-una*).[9]

We have no space here to explore the whole Lydian lexicon with respect to the phenomenon of "rhotacism", but can adduce one example that should be of interest to archaeologists. The noun *mλwẽndav* (LW 2.5) has been morphologically analysed by Melchert (1994b: 184–185) as an adjectival formation in *-da-* going back to the relational suffix **-i̯o-* (Luw. /-i(ya)-/, Lyc. *-i(je)-*). The derivational base **mλwẽn(i)-* c. or coll. **mλwẽna-* is found also as the base of the derivative *mλwẽšiš* (LW 12.3) 'of the *mλwẽn(i)-*' (← **mλwẽn(i)-* + *-š(i)-*). The phrase *ešvav mλwẽndav iškon* 'everything pertaining to these *mλwẽn(i)-*' refers to an architectural feature that stands in relation to a rock-carved grave chamber.[10] On the premise that Lyd. *-λ-* can go back to **-ri-* as argued by Melchert and Yakubovich (see above), it becomes clear that the base **mλwẽn(i)-*, or rather the collective **mλwẽna-*, is a direct cognate of the Luwianism ^{GIŠ}*mariyawanna* (coll.) '(a wooden architectural feature surrounding a tower)' found in a Hittite context.[11] Phonologically, a pre-form **mariyawann(i)-* would, after syncope of the root vowel

9 *Contra* Serangeli (2017: 768–769), who sees its origin in a Proto-Indo-European verbal noun in **-l-/-n-* or in **-dʰ/lo-* following Gérard (2005: 113–114) with further references.

10 Gusmani (1964: 166–167 and 1980: 76) tentatively suggests the meaning 'part(?) (of a grave)'.

11 CHD L–N: 186. The form in *-a* is more likely to be a collective to a Luwian common gender stem in *-ann(i)-* than to a neuter stem in *-anna-*.

and contraction of the middle sequence *-iya-*, yield Lydian **mλwẽn(i)-*. Therefore, Lyd. *mλwẽndav* can be used as another piece of evidence for the Lydian phenomenon of "rhotacism". Regarding its semantics, Boysan-Dietrich (1987: 103–105) suggests, in view of the Hittite context, that GIŠ*mariyawanna* refers to the top part of the tower, i.e. its balcony including cornice and battlements. Therefore, it is possible that Lyd. **mλwẽna-* means 'balcony', i.e. *ešvav mλwẽndav iškon* 'everything pertaining to the balcony'. However, as verifying the precise meanings of the two cognates discussed here would require greater expertise in both Hittite and Lydian architecture, we will leave this task to the archaeologists at the conference.

Further support for the phenomenon of "rhotacism" can be gleaned from the relative distribution of the Lydian palatalized and non-palatalized *-l*. If we compare all the data presented in **Fig. 5**, it gives us a full picture of the environment determining the development of the rhotacizing dentals between vowels.

Examples in Phonological Interpretation	Hieroglyphic Luwian	Lydian
3rd sg. pres. med. /-ttari/	*-ta+ra/i, -ta-ti*	*-taλ, -tλ*
preverb /p(a)ri/	*pa+ra/i-i*	*paλ-, pλ-*
abl./instr. /-adi/	*-a-ti, -a+ri-i*	(dat.) *-aλ, -λ*
3rd sg. pret. /-ada/, /-ida/	*-a-tà, -a+ra/i / -i-tà, -i+ra/i*	*-al, -il*
infinitive /-una/	*-u-na, *-u-ra+a*	*-l*
(coll.) /mariyawanna-/		(coll.) **mλwẽna-*

Fig. 5.

The medio-passive ending /-ttari/, the preverb /-pari/, the ablative/instrumental /-adi/ and the second syllable of the word GIŠ*mariyawanna* have an *-i* following their *-r-* or *-d-*, and the Lydian outcome of the dental is *λ*. The 3rd person singular preterite ending as in /-ada/ or /-ida/ and the infinitive /-una/ all have the vowel *-a* following the *-d-* and *-n-*, and the Lydian outcome is *l*. Concerning the phonetics, we posit that the Lydian letter *l* represents a plain flap as in Iron Age Luwian, while *λ* represents a palatalized flap.[12] Such a phonetic contrast is not unparalleled among

12 *Pace* Kümmel 2007: 283–284.

Indo-European languages: both Old and Modern Irish possesses the same phonemic contrast between a flap and a palatalized flap, e.g. *fuar* 'cold' [fuəɾ] vs. *fuair* 'got' [fuəɾʲ].[13] Moreover, the process of "flapping" is typologically common for the dental fricative *d* [ð] as well as single *r*, *l* and *n* especially between vowels (Kümmel 2007: 79–89). Phonetically speaking, the so-called "rhotacism" can be renamed as "flapping" and a new Lydian sound law can be formulated as follows:

Pre-Lydian non-geminate intervocalic **d, r, n* > *-l* [ɾ] /V_*a* but > *-λ* [ɾʲ] /V_*i*

In addition, it is important to emphasize that the flap falls together with etymological **l* in Lydian but not with **r* and that flapping does not affect original geminates, as one would expect from a phonetic perspective. The comparative data further supports this claim, e.g. Lyd. prefix *paλ-/pλ-* (cf. *fa-paλ-kol*, *pλ-tarwod*) and CLuw. *pa-ri-i*, *pa-a-ri* vs. Lyd. prefix *šar-* (e.g. *šar-iš-trosλ*) and CLuw. *šar-ra/šar-ri*, Lyd. inf. *-l* and CLuw. *-u-na* vs. Lyd. 1st pl. *-wv* and CLuw. *-un-ni*. Moreover, the intervocalic environment for the flapping is important, because it accounts for why certain cases did not undergo rhotacism. For example, the pronominal neuter ending *-d* did not become *-l*, because it was word-final at the time "flapping" occurred. A word like *tada-* 'father' did not undergo flapping either, for two possible reasons. First, it is a babble word uttered by babies and children and thereby outside the realm of regular sound change. Second, the word may have been a consonantal stem at the time of the flapping process, i.e. **tad* (< **dada*), before it was transferred to the paradigm of *a*-stems; cf. the diverging stem class of Luw. /tad(i)-/ and Lyc. *tede/i-* 'father'. Therefore, when applying the sound law, it is important to consider whether the environment of the original **d*, **r*, and **n* was really intervocalic at the time the sound change occurred.

4 A NEW LINGUISTIC AREA

The data presented in this paper adds another region in which "rhotacism" (flapping) occurred during the 1st millennium BC. For Luwian

13 See Ó Baoill 2010: 164–165. The phenomenon of palatalization in Lydian is very common; cf. *s* → *š* / *_i*, *e* and *i_*, **di-*, **du-* > *ci-*, *cu-* (Kümmel 2007: 315 with further literature).

speakers of South-Central Anatolia, we find traces of this development already towards the end of the 2nd millennium BC up to the break in transmission in around 700 BC. This change occurs in various regions of the Neo-Hittite states such as Karkamiš, Maraş, Malatya, Tabal and Cilicia. It has been argued that "rhotacism" of *l* and *n* occurs earlier than that of *d* in Luwian. According to Goedegebuure (2010: 77), the rhotacism of *d* began only towards the end of the 9th century, although some data points are still disputed.[14]

To the west of Cilicia, in Pamphylia, Greek colonists had a similar rhotacism in their dialect. Inscriptions dated approximately to the 3rd and 2nd century BC show cases of ρ where δ is expected, e.g. in personal names such as ἐπιτιμίραυ for *ἐπιτιμίδαυ and Λυκομητίρας for *Λυκομητίδας. Moreover, lexical data found in the glosses of Hesychius are also adduced tentatively to show this sound change (Brixhe 1976: 83). The rhotacism occurring in this Greek dialect is undoubtedly due to a substrate influence from the local Anatolian speakers.

According to our analysis of Lydian "rhotacism", there are traces of this sound change in the Lydian inscriptions from the 7th century onwards up to and after the fall of the empire. The earliest examples are found not only in Sardis, but also in cities like Dascylium and Ephesus. Thus, the earliest data tells us that flapping in Lydian must have started prior to the 7th century BC.

According to the Hieroglyphic Luwian evidence, we can claim that there is a strong and widespread presence of this phenomenon in the 9th and 8th century BC. This coincides with the latest possible date for flapping in Lydian, meaning that speakers sharing this sound change must have had intensive contact with one another during that period or prior to it. Based on these observations, we can posit a diffusion area (or *sprachbund*) between South-Central and West Anatolia, i.e. between the speech communities of the Neo-Hittite states and the predecessors of the Lydian Empire. It is still unclear whether this diffusion passed through central Anatolia, i.e. Phrygia, or only through the south, i.e. Cilicia, Pamphylia and Pisidia, or possibly both. If the *sprachbund* indeed crossed through Phrygia, this would speak for a strong Luwian (or "Luwic") presence in this area prior to the 8th century BC (i.e. before the first Phrygian inscriptions appear). Therefore, the sound change of "rhotacism" and its diffusion could be dated roughly to the period from the early 10th till the end of the 9th century BC.

14 Cf. Simon 2012: 100.

In conclusion, it has been argued in this paper that the convergence of the dental consonants *d*, *r*, *l* and *n* into a flap occurs not only in Luwian but also in Lydian. The recognition of this sound change in Lydian makes this language even more "Luwic" than was previously assumed. This phonological development common to the two languages should be seen not as inherited, but as an areal feature between South-Central and West Anatolia. Its diffusion can be dated towards the beginning of the 1st millennium BC.

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CAVES AS CULT PLACES IN CILICIA

Mustafa H. Sayar

Abstract: The use of natural cave formations as religious sites can be seen in several places in the Eastern Mediterranean world. Caves were especially used for oracular activities related to the underground world. They were also especially favoured for the worship of Mithras. When the importance of the cave as a religious space and the reasons for choosing the cave as a religious site are investigated, it becomes clear that the natural caves in the Cilicia region were used for worship – not for oracular activities or for Mithras, but as sacred places for worship of the local mountain and fertility gods. The natural conditions of Cilicia had a strong impact on religious practices. This is shown by the many cave cults that can be documented in this area, both in pagan and in Christian times.

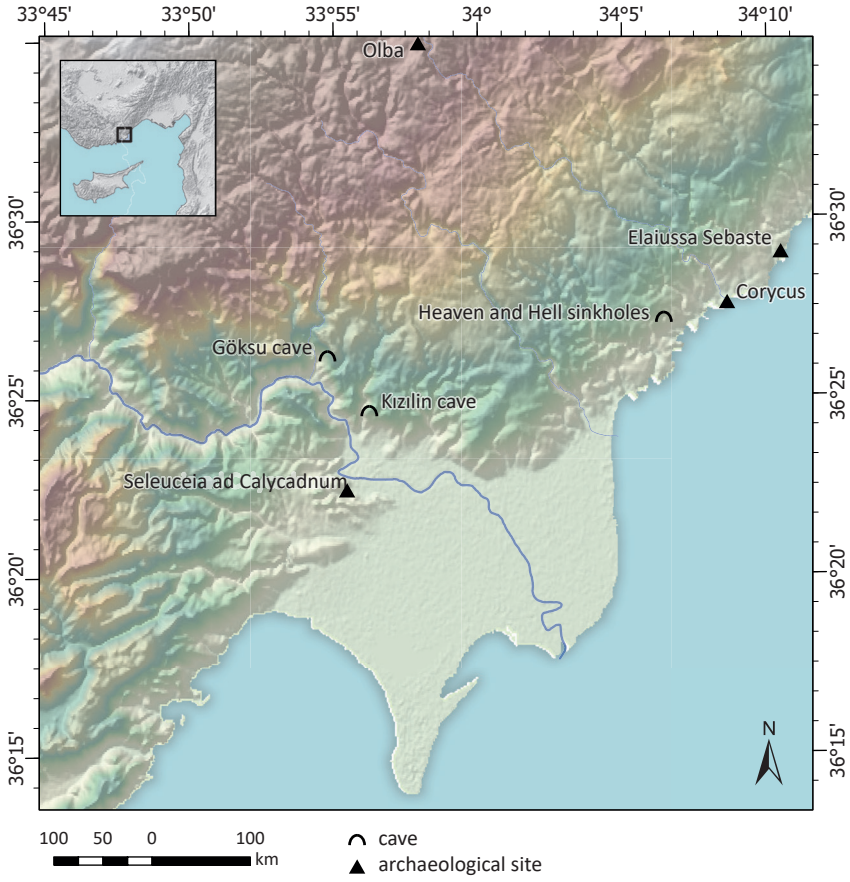
Keywords: cave, cult, priest, dedication, territory

The role of natural cave formations as religious sites can be seen in several places in the Eastern Mediterranean world.[1] Caves were especially used for oracular activities related to the underground world. They were also often used as places of worship, most notably of Mithras. When investigating the importance of caves as religious spaces and the considerations that play a role in the choice of a particular cave as a religious locus, it becomes clear that the natural caves in the region of Cilicia were used for worship – not for oracular activities or the cult of Mithras, but as sacred places for worship of the local mountain and fertility gods.

The most magnificent caves in Cilicia Tracheia are the Heaven and Hell sinkholes, which are/were supra-regionally recognized both today and in antiquity (**Map 1**). The sinkholes are also known as the Corycian Caves (Κωρύκ[ε]ιον ἄντρον).[2] The narrower and darker of the two round sinkholes is named "Hell" (**Fig. 1**), while the wider and lighter one is known as "Heaven" (**Fig. 2**). Several ancient sources define this

1 Mylonopoulos 2008: 56–59; Burkert 2011: 47–50; Biehl 2019: 199–226; Huy 2019: 145–176.

2 Zwingmann 2012: 343–348.



Map 1. Seleuceia and Calycadnus river
(© Susanne Rutishauser, IAW, Universität Bern).

place as Typhon's cave and associate it with the Typhon legend.[3] Pomponius Mela gives the most detailed information about both sinkholes.[4]

3 Hild/Hellenkemper/Hellenkemper-Salies 1984: 222–226; Hild/Hellenkemper 1990: 314–315; MacKay 1990: 2103–2110.

4 *Stad. Maris Magni* 173 (GGM I: 482); Strab. 14, 5, 5; Lucan. 3, 225–227 *deseritur Taurique nemus Perseaque Tarsos | Coryciumque patens exesis rupibus antrum; | Mallos et extremae resonant naualibus Aegae, | itque Cilix iusta iam non pirata carina*; Plin. *NH* 5, 92; 31, 30; Curt. 3, 4, 10 *Multa in ea regione monumenta vulgata carminibus vetustas exederat: monstrabantur urbium sedes Lyrnesi et Thebes, Typhonis quoque specus et Corycium nemus, ubi crocum gignitur, ceteraque, in quibus nihil praeter famam duraverat*; Solin. 38, 7–8; Porph. *de Themat.* 1, 13.

He mentions *specus Corycius* and *specus Typhoneus*,[5] which are probably the Hell and Heaven sinkholes.

According to Pomponius Mela, *specus Corycius* is a large, deep cave located on sloping land, difficult to reach and close to the seashore, with plants growing on its edges. Mela adds that those who come here will be impressed by the flora around the sinkhole. According to Mela, one has to descend for about 1.5 Roman miles down into the cave, and then there is another cave at the bottom where one can hear divine voices as the gods are present there. He mentions that while the entrance to the cave is bright, it gets darker with every step, and at the bottom of the cave there is a stream which comes out of an underground source and disappears again underground. Mela mentions that brave people can go up as far as the source, but no one dares to go further. This observation gives the impression that he visited the cave in person.

Galen, the renowned doctor who lived in Pergamon in the 2nd century AD, must have visited the Corycian Caves and their surroundings, where saffron, which had various medicinal uses, grows abundantly.[6]

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5 Mela 1, 71–76 (ed. Brodersen 1994: 66–68): *non longe hinc Corycos oppidum portu saloque incingitur, angusto tergore continenti annexum. (72) supra specus est nomine Corycius singulari ingenio, ac supra quam ut describi facile possit eximius. Grandi namque hiatu patens montem litori appositum et decem stadiorum clivo satis arduum ex summo statim vertice aperi, tunc alte demissus (dimissus) et quantum demittitur amplior, viret lucis pendentibus undique, et totum se nemoroso laterum orbe complecitur: adeo mirificus ac pulcher, ut mentes accedentium primo aspectu consternet (consternat), ubi contemplari duravete non satiet. (73) unus in eum descensus est angustus asper quingentorum et mille passuum per amoenas umbras et opaca silvae quiddam agreste resonantis, rivis hinc atque illinc fluitantibus, ubi ad ima perventum est, rursum specus alter aperitur ob alia dicendus, terret ingredientes sonitu cymbalorum divinitus et magno fragore crepitantium. (74) deinde aliquamdiu (aliquandiu) perspicuus, mox et quo magis subitur obscurior, ducit ausos penitus, altequequasicuniculo admittit. Ibi ingens amnis ingenti f{r}onte se extollens tantummodo se ostendit, et ubi magnum impetum brevi alveo traxit, iterum demersus absconditur. intra spatium est magis quam {a} ut progredi quisquam ausit horribile et ideo incognitum. (75) totus autem augustus et vere sacer, habitarique a diiset dignus et creditus, nihil non venerabile et quasi cum aliquo numine se ostentat. (76) alius ultra est quem Typhoneum vocant, ore angusto et multum, ut experti tradidere, pressus, et obi id assidua nocte suffusus neque umquam perspici facilis, sed quia aliquando cubile Typhonis fuit et quia nunc demissa (dimissa) in se confestim exanimat natura fabulaque memorandus.*

6 Gal. *de antid.* 14, 40, 2 (Kühn 1827); Καὶ κρόκου, ὃν ἄντρον θρέψατο Κωρύκιον; 14, 68, 5 (Kühn 1827): κρόκον δὲ τὸν κωρύκιον ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν ἅπαντες οἱ παλαιοὶ, μέχρι καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν 14, 68, 7 (Kühn 1827): κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἐν ᾧ γεννᾶται, καὶ τὸν κρόκον αὐτὸν ἐθεασάμην, εὐτραφῆ μὲν, κτλ. For the doctors who went to other regions for medical consultations like Galen in ancient world, see McKechnie 1987: 147–149; Chevallier 1988: 297–298.



Fig. 1. Sinkhole known as “Hell” (photo: M. H. Sayar).

The *specus Typhoneus* is known as the cave where Typhon lives (**Fig. 2**). Pomponius Mela tells us that the cave with its narrow entrance is quite dark and the air inside makes every living thing fade away.

Strabo describes only the sinkhole and the cave at its bottom, which Pomponius Mela called the Corycus Cave. Strabo defines the open part of the hole as κοιλάς and the closed cave proper as ἀντρον.[7] He draws particular attention to the plants in the sinkhole, especially to the saffron.[8] Indeed, it is mentioned in many sources that saffron may be gathered from the surroundings of Korykos.[9] Strabo describes the

7 Strab. 14, 5, 5. εἶτ› Ἀνεμούριον ἄκρα ὁμώνυμος τῇ προτέρᾳ, καὶ Κράμβουσα νῆσος καὶ Κώρυκος ἄκρα, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐν εἴκοσι σταδίοις ἐστὶ τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἀρίστη κρόκος φύεται. ἔστι δὲ κοιλὰς μεγάλη κυκλοτερὴς ἔχουσα περικειμένην ὀφρὺν πετρώδη πανταχόθεν ἱκανῶς ὑψηλήν· καταβάντι δ› εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνώμαλόν ἐστιν ἔδαφος καὶ τὸ πολὺ πετρῶδες, μεστὸν δὲ τῆς θαμνώδους ὕλης ἀειθαλοῦς τε καὶ ἡμέρου παρέσπαρται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐδάφη τὰ φέροντα τὴν κρόκον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄντρον αὐτόθι ἔχον πηγὴν μεγάλην ποταμὸν ἐξιεῖσαν καθαροῦ τε καὶ διαφανοῦς ὕδατος, εὐθὺς καταπίπτοντα ὑπὸ γῆς· ἐνεχθεὶς δ› ἀφανὴς ἔξεισιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν·καλοῦσι δὲ πικρὸν ὕδωρ.

8 For saffron in the Cennet sinkhole, see Gal. *de antid.* 14, 68 (Kühn 1827). For saffron in Lycia, see Marek 2010: 499; Pilhofer 2018: 57 with n. 263. There is also a saying for saffron from Cilicia – see Schol. in Aristoph. *Av.* 301 to transport saffron to Cilicia.

9 For saffron in the territory of Korykos, see Plin. *NH* 13, 2; Robert 1960: 334–335; Williams 1994: 274; Pilhofer 2018: 57.



Fig. 2. Sinkhole known as “Heaven” with Typhon’s cave (photo: M. H. Sayar).

underground creek that flows from the bottom of the cave and pours into the sea as πικρόν ὕδωρ (“bitter water”), adding that its name is *Aous* (**Fig. 3**).[10] We can assume that Strabo saw this cave in person. In his biography of Alexander, written in the 1st century AD, Curtius Rufus explains that this area was a place known and visited in the time of Alexander. According to him, there was a grove there named Korykos where saffron was grown. According to Stephanos Byzantinos, the cave in Korykos was dedicated to the Nymphs.[11]

Gaius Iulius Solinus, on the other hand, writes that there is a cave at the bottom of a sinkhole with an expanding opening, to which one descends for about 2.5 Roman miles. It was surrounded by woods, dedicated to Jupiter, and at the bottom of the cave was Typhon’s hide. Korykos was also said to be the place where the hundred-headed Typhon originated.[12] There are two different versions of the Typhon myth.[13] According to the narrative of Apollodoros of Tyana, Typhon was the son of Gaia and Tartaros, and Gaia wanted to avenge her Titan children,

10 Hesych. *s.v.* ᾽Αῶοι.

11 Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κώρυκος; <Κώρυκος,> πόλις Κιλικίας. Παρθένιος προπεμπτικῷ. παρ’ ᾗ τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον νυμφῶν, ἀξιάγαστον θαῦμα ... .

12 Scheer 1993: 291–293.

13 Scheer 1993: 312–315.



Fig. 3. Aous river in Typhon's cave (photo: M. H. Sayar).

who were killed by Zeus, through Typhon.[14] In another narrative, Gaia talks about Zeus with Hera, who wants to take revenge on the god by means of the creature that will be born from the eggs which she has

14 Apollod. 1, 39–42; ὡς δ› ἐκράτησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Γιγάντων, Γῆ μᾶλλον χολωθεῖσα μίγνυται Ταρτάρῳ, καὶ γεννᾷ Τυφῶνα ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, μεμιγμένην ἔχοντα φύσιν ἀνδρὸς καὶ θηρίου. οὗτος μὲν καὶ μεγέθει καὶ δυνάμει πάντων διήνεγκεν ὅσους ἐγέννησε Γῆ, ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι μηρῶν ἄπλετον μέγεθος ἀνδρόμορφον, ὥστε ὑπερέχειν μὲν πάντων τῶν ὀρῶν, ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν ἄστρων ἔψαυε· χεῖρας δὲ εἶχε τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν ἐκτεινομένην τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς· ἐκ τούτων δὲ ἑξεῖχον ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ δρακόντων. (40) τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ μηρῶν σπείρας εἶχεν ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐχιδνῶν, ὧν ὀλκοὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκτεινόμενοι κορυφὴν συριγμὸν πολὺν ἐξίεσαν. πᾶν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατεπτέρωτο, αὐχμηραὶ δὲ ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενύων τρίχες ἐξηνέμωντο, πῦρ δὲ ἐδέρκετο τοῖς ὄμμασι. τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁ Τυφὼν καὶ τηλικοῦτος ἡμμένας βάλλων πέτρας ἐπ› αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν μετὰ συριγμῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ βοῆς ἐφέρετο· πολλὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος πυρὸς ἐξέβρασσε ζάλην. (41) θεοὶ δ› ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν ἐπ› οὐρανὸν ὁρμώμενον, εἰς Αἴγυπτον φυγάδες ἐφέροντο, καὶ διωκόμενοι τὰς ἰδέας μετέβαλον εἰς ζῷα. Ζεὺς δὲ πόρρω μὲν ὄντα Τυφῶνα ἔβαλλε κεραυνοῖς, πλησίον δὲ γενόμενον ἀδαμαντίνῃ κατέπληττεν ἅρπῃ, καὶ φεύγοντα ἄχρι τοῦ Κασίου ὄρους συνεδίωξε·τοῦτο δὲ ὑπέρκειται Συρίας. κεῖθι δὲ αὐτὸν κατατετρωμένον ἰδὼν εἰς χεῖρας συνέβαλε. (42) Τυφὼν δὲ ταῖς σπείραις περιπλεχθεὶς κατέσχεν αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἅρπην περιελόμενος τά τε τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν διέτεμε νεῦρα, ἀράμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων διεκόμισεν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον κατέθετο. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ νεῦρα κρύψας ἐν ἄρκτου δορᾷ κεῖθι ἀπέθετο, καὶ κατέστησε φύλακα Δελφύνην δράκαιναν·ἡμίθηρ δὲ ἦν αὕτη ἡ κόρη.

taken from Kronos. Hera buries these eggs on the slopes of Mount Arimon in Cilicia, where Typhon is born.[15] Typhon, once he is fully grown, struggles with Zeus. According to Nonnos' narrative, Zeus hides his lightning in a cave at the foot of Mount Arimon while visiting his lover Pluto. Typhon steals the hidden lightning and attacks the gods of Olympus and Zeus' dominion.[16] In another version, Apollodorus of Athens tells us that Typhon seizes Zeus in Syria and, after incapacitating him by cutting his leg and arm muscles, takes him to his cave. According to Strabo's narrative, the river Orontes was formed by Typhon's tail.[17] There are different narratives about how Zeus survived. According to Apollodorus, he was saved by Hermes and his son Pan.[18] In Nonnos' account, Zeus overcomes Typhon with the help of Kadmos.[19] Kadmos persuades Pan to give him Zeus' muscles, and hides them in another cave where they will be safe. Pan then lulls Typhon to sleep with the beautiful music that he plays. Zeus, recovering his muscles, seizes the lightning that Typhon has hidden in the cave.[20] According to Oppian, a

15 Schol. in Hom. *Il.* 2, 783.

16 Nonn. 1, 140–149a: ἦλθε καὶ εἰς Ἀρίμων φόνιον σπέος, εὖτε κολῶναι | φοιτάδες ἀρρήκτοιο πύλας ἤρασσον Ὀλύμπου, | εὖτε θεοὶ πτερόεντες ἀχείμονος ὑψόθι Νείλου | ὀρνίθων ἀκίχητον ἐμιμήσαντο πορείην | ἠερίῳ ξένον ἴχνος ἐρετμώσαντες ἀήτῃ, | καὶ πόλος ἑπτάζωνος ἰμάσσετο·καὶ γὰρ ἐς εὐνὴν | Πλουτοῦς Ζεὺς Κρονίδης πεφορημένος, ὄφρα φυτεύσῃ | Τάνταλον οὐρανίων ἀεσίφρονα φῶρα κυπέλλων, | αἰθέρος ἔντεα θῆκε μυχῷ κεκαλυμμένα πέτρης | καὶ στεροπὴν ἔκρυψεν (Scheer 1993: 308).

17 Strab. 16, 2, 7. Το δ' ὄνομα τοῦ γεφυρώσαντος αὐτὸν Ὀρόντου μετέλαβε, καλούμενος πρότερον Τυφών. μυθεύουσι δ' ἐνταῦθά που τὰ περὶ τὴν κεραύνωσιν τοῦ Τυφῶνος καὶ τοῦς Ἀρίμους περὶ ὧν εἴπομεν καὶ πρότερον κτλ.

18 Apollod. 1, 41–44.

19 Nonn. 1, 319–325: ὣς ὅ γε χερσὶν ἔκαμνεν ἀμοιβαίῃσιν ἀείρων | μαρμαρυγὴν φύξηλιν ἀλωομένοιο κεραυνοῦ. | ὄφρα μὲν εἰν Ἀρίμοις ἐπεφοίτεε Κάδμος ἀλήτης, | τόφρα δὲ Δικταίης ὑπὲρ ᾐόνος ὑγροπόρος βοῦς | ἐκ λοφιῆς ἀδίαντον ἐῆς ἀπεθήκατο κούρην. | καὶ Κρονίδην ὀρόωσα πόθῳ δεδονημένον Ἥρη | ζηλομανὴς γελόωντι χόλῳ ξυνώσατο φωνήν. For the myth of Kadmos see Scheer 1993: 307–320.

20 Nonn. 1, 362b–367: οὐδὲ Τυφωεὺς | μέλλεν ἔτι κρατέειν Διὸς ἔντεα· τοξοφόρῳ γὰρ | Ζεὺς Κρονίδης σὺν Ἔρωτι πόλον δινωτὸν ἐάσας | φοιταλέῳ μαστῆρι δι› οὔρεος ἤντετο Κάδμῳ | πλαζομένῳ, ξυνὴν δὲ πολύτροπον ἤρτυε βουλὴν | ῥαψάμενος Τυφῶνι δυσηλακάτου λίνα Μοίρης. Nonn. 2, 18–27a: ὣς ὅ γε κερδαλέης δεδονημένος ἄσθμασι μολπῆς | πηκτίδος ἡδὺ βέλεμνον ἐδέξατο πομπὸν ὀλέθρου. | ἀλλὰ καλυπτομένου νεφέων σκιοειδέι μίτρῃ | ἔμπνοος εὐκελάδοιο δόναξ σίγησε νομῆος, | ἁρμονίην τ› ἀνέκοψεν. ἀερσιπόδης δὲ Τυφωεὺς | οἶστρον ἑλὼν πολέμοιο κατέδραμεν εἰς μυχὸν ἄντρου, | βροντὴν δ› ἠνεμόφοιτον ἐδίζετο φοιτάδι λύσσῃ | καὶ στεροπὴν ἀκίχητον, ἐρευνητῆρι δὲ ταρσῷ | ζαφλεγὲς ἁρπαμένοιο σέλας μάστευε κεραυνοῦ, | καὶ κενεὸν σπέος εὗρε.

native of Corycus,[21] Pan lures Typhon out of the cave and down to the seashore, using not his flute but an invitation to a fish feast. There Zeus attacks him with his lightning bolts and beats the heads of the burning monster on the rocks around him, and the yellow beach turns red with the Typhon's blood.[22] The names of Hermes and Pan are mentioned in a votive inscription, dating to the 2nd century AD, on the surface of a rock that can be seen from the steps carved into the rocks descending to the Heaven sinkhole (**Fig. 4**).[23] This indicates that the cave at the foot of the Heaven sinkhole, which, as already noted, was known as the Korykos Cave in ancient times, was dedicated to Hermes and Pan.[24] A chapel was built in the entrance to the cave in the 6th century AD.[25] It bears an inscription with a dedication to the Virgin Mary (**Figs. 5–6**).[26]

Next to the Heaven and Hell sinkholes, there is a basilica and a peribolos wall made of polygonal stones dating to the 3rd century BC, with a list of names dating to the Late Hellenistic period.[27] The Hellenistic temple, which was later converted into a church,[28] and some votive inscrip-

21 For the Corycian roots of Oppian, see: Dagron/Feissel 1987: 45 n. 5; Scheer 1993: 311.

22 Opp. *Hal.* 3, 13–25; ἄναξ, πρώτιστος ἐμήσαο καὶ τέλος ἄγρης | παντοίης ἀνέφηνας, ἐπ› ἰχθύσι κῆρας ὑφαίνων. | Πανὶ δὲ Κωρυκίῳ βυθίην παρακάτθεο τέχνην, | παιδὶ τεῷ, τὸν φασὶ Διὸς ῥυτῆρα γενέσθαι, | Ζηνὸς μὲν ῥυτῆρα, Τυφαόνιον δ› ὀλετῆρα. | κεῖνος γὰρ δείπνοισιν ἐπ› ἰχθυβόλοισι δολώσας | σμερδαλέον Τυφῶνα παρήπαφεν, ἔκ τε βερέθρου | δύμεναι εὐρωποῖο καὶ εἰς ἁλὸς ἐλθέμεν ἀκτήν·| ἔνθα μιν ὀξεῖαι στεροπαὶ ῥιπαί τε κεραυνῶν | ζαφλεγέες πρήνιξαν· ὁ δ› αἰθόμενος πυρὸς ὄμβροις | κρᾶθ› ἑκατὸν πέτρῃσι περιστυφελίζετο πάντῃ | ξαινόμενος· ξανθαὶ δὲ παρ› ἠϊόνεσσιν ἔτ› ὄχθαι | λύθρῳ ἐρευθιόωσι Τυφαονίων ἀλαλητῶν; for the fishing in Korykos, see also Lytle 2011: 333–386; Pilhofer 2018: 61. The colour of the sea turns to red in some seasons; iron-containing rock particles and fish eggs might be the reason behind this change of colour that Oppian mentions in relation to Typhon's blood.

23 ἄγκεσι καὶ δρυμοῖς ἠδ' ἄλσεσι πρὶν μυχὸν εὐρύν | δύμεναι ἐν γαίην βένθεσιν εἰν Ἀρίμοις| ἠχήεις ὅθ' Ἀῶος ἀφενγέσι | ῥεύμασι φεύγει | Πᾶνα καὶ Ἑρμείην Εὐπάφις εἰλασάμην; for this inscription see Hagel/Tomaschitz 1998: 191, *Korykion antron* 3; Merkelbach/Stauber 2002: 195–196 (19/08/01).

24 Pilhofer 2018: 60.

25 For the chapel of St. Mary see Bayliss 2004: 174–178.

26 ὥσπερ θεὸν ἐδέξω τὸν ἀχώρητον Λόγον | χαίρουσα μεικροῖς ἐνκατῴκησαν δόμοις, | αἷς Παῦλος ἀνήγειρε θεράπων ὁ σὸς καμών | τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν Χριστὸν ἐκμιμουμένη; for this inscription see Keil/Wilhelm 1931: 210; Hagel/Tomaschitz 1998: 191, *Korykion antron* A 5; Merkelbach/Stauber 2002: 198 (19/08/02).

27 Hagel/Tomaschitz 1998: 184–190, *Korykion antron* 1 A1; 1 A2; 1 A3; 1 A4; 1 A5; 1 A6; 1; A7; 1 A8; 1A9; 12 B1; 1 B2; 1 B3; 1 B6; 1 B7; 1 B8; 1 C1; 1 C2; 1 C3; 1 C6; 1 C7; 1 C8.

28 For this church see Feld/Weber 1967: 254–278; Bayliss 2004: 164–173; for the



Fig. 4. Dedicatory inscription for Hermes and Pan near the stairway in "Heaven" at the entrance to the Typhon's cave (photo: Özgür Topbaş/Museum Silifke).

tions found a few kilometres north, in the sanctuary of Zeus Korykios and Hermes Korykios, located in the Göztepesi, show that other gods, especially Zeus Kodopa, were also worshipped in this region.[29] Zeus and Hermes were revered with the epithet of Ἐπινείκειας for Epinikias in the inscriptions, documenting that they were worshipped as gods who had triumphed by defeating Typhon.[30]

The sinkholes of Heaven and Hell were located in the territory of the city of Korykos. Korykos developed as a polis on the Cilician coast from the 2nd century AD, but regressed to village (*kome*) status in the 3rd century AD. Developing as an important centre of trade in Cilicia Tracheia in Late Antiquity, at the beginning of the 4th century AD during the Ro-

church and for the houses and other buildings in the area of the sinkhole see Eichner 2011: 162–185; Pilhofer 2018: 201.

29 For Zeus Kodopa see Sayar/Şahin 2008: 113–124; SEG 58 (2008): 1654–1657. The origin of Kodopa is *Ku-tu-pa*, which was documented for the first time in 1200 BC in Ugarit; see Schürr 2014: 140; SEG 1462.

30 Dagron/Feissel 1987: 44–46, no. 16–17; Hagel/Tomaschitz 1998: 190, *Korykion antron* 2; Hagel/Tomaschitz 1998: 191, *Korykion antron* 4.



Fig. 5. Chapel of St. Mary in the entrance of Typhon's cave (photo: M. H. Sayar).

man Imperial period, Korykos controlled a larger area than neighbouring Elaiussa Sebaste.

The cult of the goddess Oreia, identified with Athena, is the best documented cult of the caves of Cilicia Tracheia.[31] The goddess Oreia is attested in many inscriptions found in the caves and on rock surfaces in the region of Cilicia Tracheia. Athena Oreia was first discovered in an inscription found in the Kızılin cave, located in the northeastern territory of the city of Seleuceia ad Calycadnum, which showed that someone named Rhondas had arranged the cave for Krisoa Oreia (**Fig. 7**).[32] Only the name of Krisoa Oreia was mentioned in the inscription, so the function of this goddess was not fully understood (**Fig. 8**). However, it is understood from a relief of a goddess with a votive inscription next to it, devoted to Oreia Athena Krisoa and found in the Lamas valley, that Krisoa Oreia of the Kızılin cave was also worshipped as a mountain goddess, with the name of Krisoa Oreia identified with Athena.[33] The relief and the inscription were made by a local stonemason named

31 Sayar 2004a: 455–465 (= SEG 54, 2004: 1497–1499).

32 Κρισουᾳ | Ὀρείᾳ | Ῥωνδας | [τὸ] ἄντρον | ἐπόησα; for this inscription, see Keil/Wilhelm 1931: 18–19, no. 33; Durugönül 1987: 116; SEG 37: 1327; Hagel/Tomaschitz 1998: 368, Seleuceia 107; Borgia 2003: 74 n. 3.

33 For Krisoa, see Borgia 2003: 75.



Fig. 6. Chapel of St. Mary (photo: M. H. Sayar).

Marcus Menas, son of Hermophilos, and the votive offering was presented to the goddess by Rhobzon.[34] Based on two *in situ* votive inscriptions found in the Kızılin cave and in Seleuceia, it was thought that the goddess Krisoa Oreia was only worshipped in the region of Cilicia Tracheia.[35] This idea was supported by three votive inscriptions found to the north of Elaiussa Sebaste.[36]

There is a relief of a goddess standing in a cave, which was discovered in the north territory of the city of Seleuceia in 2001. The location of this west-facing cave recalls the Kızılin cave in the northeastern territory of Seleuceia. However, no inscription with the name of the goddess was observed in this cave. There are many niches carved into the rocks in front of the cave (**Figs. 9–13**) and it is thought that these niches played an important role in the worship rituals of the goddess. This cave was probably used to worship the same goddess Oreia who was worshipped in the Kızılin cave. The goddess relief inside the cave, which has been

34 Μάρκ[ου] | Μηνᾶ | Ἑρμοφίλου | Τέχνη | Διονῦς | Ρωβωζων (?) | κατὰ κέλευ|σιν Ὀ|ρείᾳ | Ἀθηνᾷ | Κρισοᾳ; for this inscription see Durugönül 1987: 115–116; SEG 37 (1987): 1299; Sève 1989: 122; Hagel/Tomaschitz 1998: 315, Lamos 19; Sayar 2004a: 455.

35 The origin of the Krisoa was probably a toponym; see Durugönül 1999: 121.

36 Ἀθηνᾷ Ὀρείᾳ | Μηνᾶς; Ἀθηᾷ Ὀρίᾳ | Μηνᾶς and Ἀθηνᾷ ἱερά; for these inscriptions see Sayar 2004a: 455–456.



Fig. 7. Kızılin cave in the northeastern territory of Seleuceia ad Calycadnum (photo: M. H. Sayar).



Fig. 8. Dedicatory inscription for Krisoa Oreia in the Kızılin cave (photo: M. H. Sayar).



Fig. 9. Göksu cave in the northeastern territory of Seleuceia ad Calycadnum (photo: M. H. Sayar).

partially destroyed, is similar to another goddess relief found on a rock near the Lamas valley and can be identified as Athena Oreia by the inscription next to it. Athena Oreia is also attested in a dedicatory inscription on a votive altar in the territory of Korykos.[37] In the light of the inscriptions found in the Kızılin cave in the northeastern territory of Seleuceia ad Calycadnum, in Rough Cilicia, it may be assumed that another mountain goddess, Meter Oreia, was also worshipped in the Karain cave near Attaleia (Antalya), in Pamphylia, during the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period.[38]

Thanks to the inscriptions found to date, we can conclude that Athena Oreia was worshipped as the mountain goddess in Cilicia Tracheia and was identified with Athena.[39] Athena in the Greek pantheon was wor-

37 For this votive altar see Şahin 2016: 143–148.

38 Şahin 1991: 126–132; SEG 41 (1991): 1323–1330. Meter Oreia votive inscriptions on silver vessels are dated to 175–75 BC; see SEG 44 (1994): 1554 and SEG 49 (1999): 2377.

39 For the epitheton of Oreia see Nonn. 15, 178–180: <ϰ>αὶ στα<λίκων ξύλον ὀρθὸν ὀρειάδ>ος ἱστὸς Ἀθήνης· | <καὶ> καθ<αρῇ συνάεθλος> ὁ<μίλεεν> Ἰοχεαίρῃ | <κα>ὶ λίνον <ἐ>ν ϛ<κοπέλοιϛ>ιν ἀ<νέπλεκ>εν ἠθάδος ἄγρης | <νή>ματος ἀ<σκητ>οῖο φιλαί<τ̣ερο>ν·



Fig. 10. Relief at the entrance to the Göksu cave (photo: M. H. Sayar).



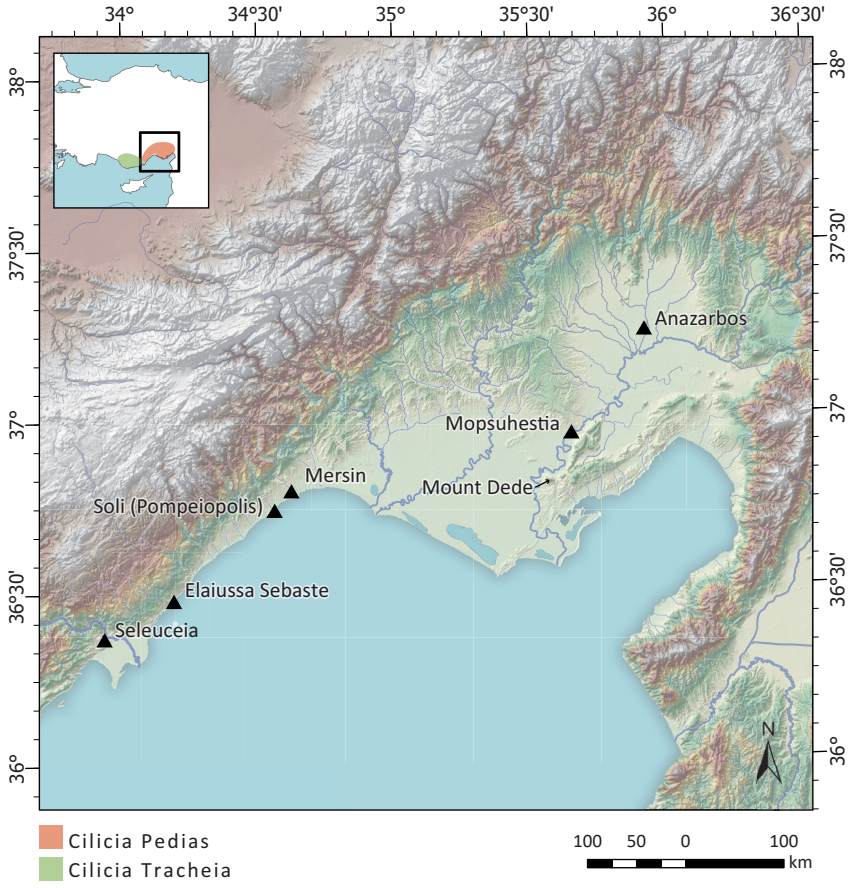
Fig. 11. Dedicatory relief in the Göksu cave (photo: M. H. Sayar).



Fig. 12. Ritual pools in front of the Göksu cave (photo: M. H. Sayar).



Fig. 13. Round hole for libation at the entrance of the Göksu cave (photo: M. H. Sayar).



Map 2. Cilicia Pedias and Cilicia Tracheia (eastern part)
(© Susanne Rutishauser, IAW, Universität Bern).

shipped as a virgin, not as a mother goddess.[40] Athena Oreia appears to have been honoured as a mountain goddess by the local people in the mountainous regions of Cilicia. It is possible that Athena Oreia was worshipped in the time of the Roman Empire as the continuation of goddesses with warrior attributes, like Šawuška, worshipped in Asia Minor by the local people of the Highlands of Cilicia. This could be why the goddess was depicted in rock reliefs standing with a spear at her side.

A votive inscription on a rock at the entrance to a cave on the western slope of Mt. Dede to the south of Mopshuestia (**Map 2**), one of the

40 For Athena Parthenos on Cilicia Plain see Williams 1977.



Fig. 14. Cave on the western slope of Mt. Dede (photo: M. H. Sayar).

cities of Cilicia Pedias, is also dedicated to Athena Oreia (**Fig. 14**).[41] Yet another dedication to the same goddess was found on a stone block in the foothills of Mt. Dede, and it is attested that the goddess was honoured in 17 AD in Cilicia Pedias (**Fig. 15**).[42] Both the Mt. Dede finds were probably votive inscriptions presented by the inhabitants of a local settlement referred to as Seliadneis (**Fig. 16**). According to the inscription, the people of Seliadneis or a member of a community with the name Seliadneis, offered a *kline* to be used in the rituals of the goddess. Many niches in the Mt. Dede cave are thought to have been used in cult ceremonies. This cave faces west, as do the two caves in the region of Seleuceia where Athena Oreia was worshipped. In the light of the above, it is clear that this cave was used as a cult place dedicated to Athena Oreia. These findings indicate that Athena Oreia was worshipped not only in the Cilicia Tracheia region, but also in the caves of Cilicia Pedias. The votive inscriptions show clearly that the offerings were made by the local people of Cilicia, as can be seen from their names.

41 ἔτους πδ’ | Ἀθ[η]νᾷ Ὀρείᾳ Σελιαδνεῖς | ὀρῶν κτλ. The year 84 seen on the inscription is the date according to Mopsuhestia’s local calendar and it is equivalent to 17 AD; Σελιαδνεῖς Ἀθηνᾶι | Ὀρείαι τὸν κύκλον του συν|ποσίου κτλ; Sayar 2004a: 457–458; Sayar 2004b: 183–185 and 238, nos. 33–34; SEG 54 (2014): 1510–1511.

42 See note 41.



Fig. 15. Dedicatory inscription for Athena Oreia in front of the Mt. Dede cave (photo: M. H. Sayar).



Fig. 16. Dedicatory inscription for Athena Oreia in the southern territory of Mopsuhestia (photo: M. H. Sayar).



Fig. 17. Anazarbos: Cave of the Theoi Agreis (photo: M. H. Sayar).

A votive offering to Zeus, Hera and Ares found in Anazarbos is evidence that other gods were worshipped in the caves in Cilicia Pedias (**Figs. 17–18**). This offering was made by Seitos, son of Tauriskos, during his priesthood of the gods of the hunt, and Regina, daughter of Asklepiades, holder of the sceptre[43] and priestess of the council and the city.[44] The gods of the hunt mentioned in the inscription by their priest were believed to live in the caves.[45] We can assume that the cave where the

43 Regina is σκηπτροφοροῦσα: she carried the sceptre as a sign of her dignity. She was the eponymous priest of the year. See σκηπτροφοροι βασιλευς in Homer (*Il.* 2, 86) and σκηπτροφοροι in Ephesos (IK 11 (1979): Nr. 27, 49, 94, 147, 209, 270, 300, 544, 561; IK 11 (1979) Nr. 34, 23; IK 15 (1980) Nr. 1687 (1), 13). For σκηπτροφοροι from Sardeis, see de Hoz 1999: 255, no. 40, 100 and see p. 89. The sceptre is the Symbol of the Priest with functions of the oracle – see Hom. *Il.* 1, 15; Aeschyl. *Ag.* 1265; Hebr. 2, 17.

44 For this inscription, see Sayar 2000: 47 n. 52: Διὶ καὶ Ἥρα γαμηλίᾳ καὶ/Ἄρει Θεοῖς πολιούχοις/Ῥηγεῖνα Ἀσκληπιάδου/σκηπτροφροῦσα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ/τῆς πόλεως [τε] καὶ τῆς/βουλῆς, ἐπὶ ἱερεως θεῶν/Ἀργέων Σείτου Ταυρίσκου. / ἔτους βορ΄.

45 For some examples from Lycia, see Hicks 1889: 55–56 Nr. 6, 56 Nr. 7; TAM II 148;



Fig. 18. Anazarbos: Dedicatory inscription for the Theoi Agreis on a tabula ansata in the Anazarbos cave (photo: M. H. Sayar).

inscription mentioning a priest of the *theoi agreis* is located was a cult place devoted to these gods in Anazarbos.

The natural conditions of Cilicia had a strong impact on religious practices.[46] This is shown by the many cave cults that can be documented in this area, both in pagan and in Christian times, such as those of the Corycian Caves, the caves of Athena Oreia, and the cave of the water gods found in the northern territory of the city of Soli (Pompeiopolis) to the north of Mersin (**Figs. 19–20**). It is highly likely that this cave, which records personal names in its inscriptions dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, is devoted to an aquatic goddess, nymphai or a god.[47] Numerous niches, both in the cave entrance and inside, prove that this cave was also used in cult ceremonies.

Weinreich 1913: 16–17 with a list of epigraphic sources from Asia Minor for some additions; Weinreich 1916: 70–71; according to Weinreich the Lycian-Cilician *theoi agreis* are wild creatures that live in caves on the Lycian mountains, accompanied by dogs, and they are hunters who carry lances.

46 For the historical geography of Taurus Mountain see Lebreton 2005: 655–674.

47 The inscriptions engraved on the rocks in this cave have been documented by the author and will be published in the corpus of the inscriptions of Soli/Pompeiopolis.



Fig. 19. Cave in the northern territory of Soli (Pompeiopolis) (photo: M. H. Sayar).



Fig. 20. One of the inscriptions in the cave in the northern territory of Soli (Pompeiopolis) (photo: M. H. Sayar).

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401 BC – THE YEAR THE NEO-HITTITE STATEHOOD ENDED

Zsolt Simon

Abstract: Based on the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Greek sources this paper argues for the validity of the old, but currently neglected view that Neo-Hittite statehood did not end during the Neo-Assyrian period, but only with the abolishment of the Kingdom of Cilicia in the Achaemenid Empire.

Keywords: Neo-Hittite, Tabal, Hiyawa, Hilakku, Cilicia

1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present paper is quite humble: it does not attempt ground-breaking discoveries but rather urges us to take our written sources (and the secondary literature analysing them) seriously. The reason for this plea is the clear tendency in current scholarship to neglect both written evidence and secondary literature concerning the end of Neo-Hittite statehood. Needless to say, one might immediately object that the end of Neo-Hittite statehood is a somewhat pointless academic question and that the term "end" is itself open to infinite discussion. However, this is not the case.

It never hurts to have a clear idea of the history of a region; moreover, as the following survey will demonstrate, confusion, superficiality and negligence pervade the current secondary literature on the end of the Neo-Hittite states, which is essential to understanding many specific and unsolved problems of Neo-Hittite Anatolia. Two key but poorly understood problems come from linguistics: the disappearance of the Hieroglyphic Luwian writing system (discussed in Hawkins 2008) and the disappearance of Luwian as a spoken language. The existence or absence of states where Hieroglyphic Luwian was used as a main writing system and where Luwian was a main spoken language is obviously quite crucial for solving these problems.

2 THE STATE OF THE ART

If we look at the most recent (but unsuccessful[1]) compilation of Neo-Hittite history by Trevor Bryce, we find the following statement: "The absorption of Kummuh into the Assyrian provincial system in 708 effectively brought to an end the era of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms (…) The absorption of the last of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms into the Assyrian provincial system in the late 8th century marked the end of the history of the Neo-Hittite world. But not the end of all the states that had belonged to this world."[2]

This statement is not only self-contradicting but evidently false to anyone who is familiar with the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Greek sources (see below). This must have been partly clear to Bryce, too, since his account concludes with some Neo-Hittite states regaining their independence, notably Hiyawa, Melid, Tabal and, finally, Hilakku during the reign of Ashurbanipal (668–630/627), although, typically, he did not include these rulers in his king lists; more importantly, he did not tell us what happened to those states (similarly in Bryce/Birkett-Rees 2016: 162–165).[3]

Nevertheless, Bryce's position is not unique: the very few other overviews of Neo-Hittite history also conclude at best with the reign of Ashurbanipal, usually without any explanation of its end.[4] Outside the narrow circle of Hittitologists, the situation is even worse: companion volumes, so popular in the Anglophone world and frequently written by non-specialists, pepper this problematic position with outright false claims. For example, Sagona and Zimansky claim that the Neo-Hittite

1 For several points of criticism see d'Alfonso 2013; Giusfredi 2013; and esp. Schachner 2013; Simon 2013b: 277 n. 1; 2014: 91 n. 2; 2017a: 203 n. 7; 2020.

2 Bryce 2012: 290, 293.

3 This marks a notable improvement in his views, since some years earlier he believed that "Assyrian imperial expansion west of the Euphrates led to the eventual disappearance of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, through their incorporation into the Assyrian Empire. The last of the kingdoms fell to Sargon II between 717 and 708" (Bryce 2009: 505). However, in other entries of the same book, he cites Neo-Babylonian sources. Yet in an earlier overview (2003: 105–106), he claimed that Hiyawa and Hilakku survived into Neo-Babylonian times and even that a Kingdom of Cilicia is mentioned in the Achaemenid Empire. These can hardly be considered coherent views.

4 See e.g. Jasink 1995; Hawkins 1995: 1304 (finishes with Esarhaddon, but cf. below); Collins 2007: 85; Alparslan 2009: 146; Ehringhaus 2014: 108; Aro 2019: 235 (who claims that only Tabal survived the Assyrian conquest). Only Hawkins 2002: 59 mentions the reason, viz. the absorption by the Assyrians.

states "flourished from the beginning of the 12th until at least the end of the 8th centuries BC" (2007: 294) and that "(…) many of the Neo-Hittite states were absorbed into the Neo-Assyrian Empire, losing their cultural identity. (…) By the end of the 8th century, the traditions inaugurated by the Hittites in central Anatolia were dead [sic], even in the southern areas to which they had migrated [sic] in the Iron Age" (2007: 296; there is absolutely no evidence for such a migration, see the critical overview in Simon 2013a). They continue: "His [Warpalawas's – Zs. S.] garments and jewellery show Phrygian traits and the rendering of his features is distinctly Assyrian – borrowings from the peoples who were to bury the Hittite tradition." (2007: 313). Gunter (2012: 798) believes that "through conquest or accommodation [sic], the Neo-Hittite states were gradually absorbed into the Neo-Assyrian Empire as client kingdoms or provinces by about 700 BC." (needless to say, no Neo-Hittite state was absorbed into the Neo-Assyrian Empire by accommodation).[5] But even experts of Iron Age Central Anatolia propagate unsubstantiated views, as in a recent article by Geoffrey Summers in which he states: "the turmoil around the middle of the seventh century BC (…) was associated with (…) the disappearance of the Neo-Hittite states on the Anatolian Plateau" (2018: 84).

Both positions – one with Neo-Hittite states silently evaporating from Anatolia and the other with a dramatic and bloody end, resulting in a century of darkness and emptiness in terms of states in the history of Central Anatolia – completely neglect the existing evidence in Neo-Babylonian and Greek sources. This has happened despite the existing written sources not only being appropriately listed in the corresponding entries of the *RlA* and the corresponding historical overviews in Hawkins 2000, but even the first handbook-style treatment by Hawkins claimed, as early as 1982: "Khilakku (…) doubtless survived as an independent kingdom, since in the next century a much enlarged Cilicia is found" (1982: 432), "Cilicia alone survived as a state with a pedigree stemming from the Late Hittite state of the early Iron Age (…) This Cilicia [of Syennesis I – Zs. S.] must have grown out of the kingdom of Khilakku

5 German overview works are no exception, see Schwertheim 2005: 22 (7th century) and Frei/Marek in Marek 2017: 144 (708). In fact, all of these works perpetuate the outdated dating of the end of the Neo-Hittite world of early research, see e.g. Gurney 1961: 45–46 (709, without even considering the Anatolian states), Akurgal 1961 (c. 700). It must be mentioned that not all overview works were interested in what happened to the Neo-Hittite states: Kuhrt 1995: 410–417 and Sams 2011 are but two instances where the question is not even addressed.

(whence its name)" (1982: 433) and finally that "there do not appear adequate grounds for rejecting the evidence of a substantial kingdom of Cilicia (Khilakku/Pirindu) lying between Lydian and Babylonian spheres and lineally descended from the Khilakku of Sandasarme (…) We thus find the last of the Late Hittite states preserving a certain continuity (…) into the Achaemenian period." (1982: 435).

Despite these clear observations, we find only three notable exceptions taking these claims seriously. Macqueen (1986: 160) attributes the end of the political history of the "Hittite-Luwian speaking peoples" to the Persian conquest. Liverani describes the events in his handbook on the ancient Near East as follows (1988: 747 = 2014: 454 [originally 2011[2]]): "In the reign of Ashurbanipal (…) Tabal and Hilakku were fully independent nucleuses of what would become the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Cilicia in the Neo-Babylonian and Median periods. Cappadocia eventually became part of the Median Empire, while Cilicia remained independent until it became part of the Achaemenid Empire (…)".[6] Finally, Starke concludes with the Kingdom of Cilicia and claims: "Als einziger luw. Staat überlebte Hilika schließlich den Zusammenbruch des assyr. Reiches und bildete den Kern des ab dem frühen 6. Jh. greifbaren, wesentlich größeren Staates Kilikien" (1999: col 530; cf. also Novák 2019: 112).

It is of course entirely legitimate to disagree with the positions of Hawkins, Macqueen, Liverani, Starke, and Novák, provided that this disagreement is based on arguments, but none of the above-mentioned scholars have argued against these claims – they have simply neglected them, as they have the Neo-Babylonian and Greek sources listed below.

3 THE EVIDENCE

The following paragraphs present a short survey of the written evidence to show that the period between the Assyrian conquest and the battle of Cunaxa is an integral part of Neo-Hittite history. I must emphasize that I will not discuss about "Luwian states" or "Luwian identities", because these, contrary to some claims, did not exist. Here I will consider those political entities and structures that can be labelled only as "Neo-Hittite" in political and cultural terms, and focus my search solely on evidence of Neo-Hittite statehood. Since I take no other aspects of

6 On the problem of Cappadocia, see below.

culture into account, the "end" becomes a more specific and tangible term.

3.1 The Neo-Assyrian period after 708

This period requires the shortest discussion, since, as was shown above, most of the scholars still include this period in Neo-Hittite history, even if only as a kind of appendix or epilogue. Before turning to the states themselves, it is worth noting that Hieroglyphic Luwian literacy, the criterion *par excellence* for Neo-Hittite states, may still have existed in this period. The PORSUK inscription in Tuwana and *perhaps* the KULULU lead strips and the ASSUR letters were composed in the first half of the 7th century (on PORSUK see Simon 2013b, on KULULU see Simon 2017b, on ASSUR see Hawkins 2000: 534), which is also supposed to be the case with KARATEPE in Cilicia (for its date see Simon 2014, but for an older date see Novák in this volume).

As for the political entities, the written sources report the existence of five states: Tuwana, Melid, Tabal, Hiyawa, and Hilakku (the precise nature of the relations between Tuwana and Tabal cannot be addressed here and is of no consequence for the present investigation).

Tuwana's fate is unknown after King Masaurhisas (first half of the 7th century), but it must have been absorbed by a neighbouring country: Hilakku, Hiyawa, or the united Tabal and Melid (cf. Simon 2013b: 291).

Melid was again independent at the latest by 675 under a ruler called Mugallu, as we learn from an unsuccessful campaign of Esarhaddon (for sources and discussion on the dating problems see Fuchs 2001 with refs.); the same applies to Tabal with its contemporary ruler Iškallû (for sources see Pruzsinszky 2000). These lands were probably united under Mugallu (-668–651-), since Melid disappears from our sources as a country and according to the *communis opinio*, Mugallu of Tabal is identical to Mugallu of Melid.[7] His son, [M?]ussi, is attested as a ruler c. 643/641–639: Assyria re-conquered his territory and presumably turned Tabal into a vassal state again (for the most recent discussion see Sano 2015 with refs.),[8] but no other rulers are attested yet.

7 E.g. Fuchs 2001; Hawkins 1982: 432; 1993–1997a: 39; 1993–1997b; 1998: 68; 2000: 428; Bryce 2009: 72; 2012: 335 n. 8; Aro 1998: 149–150; 2012: 390.

8 *Contra* Novák 2019: 112, who claims, without any evidence, that Tabal was annihilated by the Cimmerians c. 645.

The independence of Hilakku is signalled by Sennacherib's and Esarhaddon's unsuccessful campaigns in 698 and 679 (for sources see Hawkins 2000: 43), and an independent king called Sandas/šarme is still attested in 648/645 (Pruzsinszky 2002).

Finally, Hiyawa was under Assyrian governorship. The only question is whether this was with or without local rulers. If the dating of KARATEPE proposed in Simon 2014 is correct, it must have been with local rulers. Note that the existence of Sanduarri, the ruler of Kundu and Sissû (rebelled, defeated, and executed in 676), does not provide evidence for local rulers or another Neo-Hittite state (*contra* Freu 2012: 140),[9] since his connection to Hiyawa is obscure (besides the fact that Sanduarri is not identical to the Hiyawaean regent Azatiwada of the KARATEPE inscription; see most recently Simon 2014: 97–98 with detailed discussion and refs.). He might have been the Hiyawaean ruler himself (degraded in the Neo-Assyrian sources to the ruler of only these localities for propagandistic reasons, e.g., to minimize the importance of the rebellion of a vassal king) or just a local leader upgraded to a ruler (again for propaganda reasons: to magnify the importance of the Assyrian victory; for further discussion see Simon 2020). That aside, we do have a king called WRYK in the Cebelireis Dağı inscription. Unfortunately, his affiliation is not given in the inscription, but its location, the fact that it was written in Phoenician (used in the Neo-Hittite world only in Hiyawa, Tuwana, and Samʾal) and the king's Hiyawaean name all suggest Hiyawa. The inscription is dated to the second half of the 7th century (Mosca/Russell 1987: 4; Röllig 2004: 212, 2008: 51); thus, it is unclear whether it dates to before or after the collapse of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Either way, it clearly demonstrates the survival of the kingdom of Hiyawa until the end of the Neo-Assyrian period.

We may conclude that after the eclipse of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, at least the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of Hilakku and Hiyawa remained standing. Tabal's fate is unclear; the disappearance of Assyrian rule might have led to its independence, but we have no information about this. In other words, despite their merits, Starke's and Liverani's claims must be modified, as Hiyawa should be added to those Neo-Hittite states that survived Assyrian rule. This is fully confirmed by our sources from the

9 Desideri/Jasink 1990: 132 and Jasink 1995: 120 see him as a local ruler; Bryce 2009: 398, 658 cautiously assumes a vassal kingdom, while Freu 2012: 140 an independent kingdom. Needless to say, Bryce 2012 does not even mention Sanduarri by name.

following, Neo-Babylonian period as well, to which the next section is devoted.

3.2 The Neo-Babylonian period

The sources of the Neo-Babylonian period (including not only Neo-Babylonian but also Greek sources) basically show an unbroken continuity of these states after the disappearance of Assyrian power, albeit with some ongoing reconfiguration.

Hiyawa (under a linguistically equivalent Neo-Babylonian name) is continuously mentioned until 555 as the goal of campaigns of Neo-Babylonian rulers (for a summary of the evidence see Hawkins 2000: 43–44, 2006–2008: 194). The other country mentioned by these rulers as the objective of their campaigns (592–557) is, however, not Hilakku, but Pirindu, whose name is attested neither earlier nor later, nor outside of the Babylonian sources. Thus there is a wide-spread, though not uncontested assumption that Pirindu is actually, at least partly, Hilakku.[10]

The continuing existence of the kingdom of Hilakku is, however, beyond doubt, as not only the Babylonian gentilic but also Greek sources make clear. Herodotus 1.74 mentions Syennesis, King of Cilicia, as a mediator between the Lydians and Medes after their battle on 28 May 585.[11] Cilicia is, of course, nothing other than the regular Greek rendering of Hilakku, more precisely of Hittite Hilikka (IBoT 2.129 obv. 12 & KBo 55.202 obv. 2′, Kryszeń, forthcoming) / Luw. Hil/rika (ACLT *s.v.*) / Neo-Babylonian Hilik(k)u (Zadok 1985: 162).

Syennesis' role as mediator, however, raises the question of how far the kingdom of Cilicia/Hilika extended in this period, which in turn has repercussions for our investigation. His presence at the negotiations could have been motivated either because his territory was somehow involved in the clash of the Lydians and Medians or (as Max Gander reminded me) for other, political reasons, as a neutral mediator. It re-

10 Houwink ten Cate 1961: 17–18, 27–29; Hawkins 1982: 374 (Map 14), 434; 2000: 43–44; Desideri/Jasink 1990: 12, 166–172; Streck 2003–2005: 573 (tentatively); Bryce 2009: lii, 310; Freu 2012: 142; Bryce/Birkett-Rees 2016: 163–165. This Neo-Hittite state is not included in Bryce 2012 for reasons mentioned above. People from both Pirindu and Hilakku (*Hilikāja*) are contemporaneously mentioned in Babylonian documents (*Hilikāja* in 562, 558/7, Zadok 2005: 76). This would imply that two terms existed for this region in this language, which is of course not unparalleled.

11 The precise date is frequently questioned (see e.g. the overview in Bichler 2001: 240 n. 99), though it has no relevance here.

mains to be seen whether the ruler of a small country (as Hilika is usually reconstructed) on the edge of the Lydian Empire could have indeed served as a neutral and influential mediator between two powers. The assumption that the ruler of Cilicia's influence was boosted by the sheer extent of his realm is not only more logical but also has the advantage of allowing us to explain yet another passage of Herodotus, where he claims (1.72) that the river Halys rises in the Armenian Mountains, flows through Cilicia (!) and then reaches the Phrygians. Although it has been claimed that Herodotus's knowledge of the real course of the river "seems, to say the least, to have been limited" (Rollinger 2003: 307 with refs.), this specific description is correct in terms of the source of the river and the relative order of the topography. Thus, we have no reason to doubt that Cilicia extended at least as far as the Halys river. And if Cilicia bordered the Halys, this makes the king of Cilicia's mediator role between the Lydians and the Medes perfectly logical. If this reconstruction is correct, it implies that Hilakku at some point before c. 585 conquered the region of Tabal or a significant part of it, whatever Tabal's fate after c. 641.[12]

But Cilicia must have expanded into Hiyawa, too, after 555 (which is the last mention of Hiyawa) but before 539 (the Persian conquest), since Cilicia is the only Anatolian state that survived intact in the Achaemenid Empire: Hiyawa is not mentioned after 555, and Hiyawa's territory is known as Cilicia to Greek and later authors (it cannot be a simple Greek extension as proposed by Hawkins 1972–1975: 403 due to these circumstances). This conquest helps to explain yet another of Herodotus's remarks, according to which (5.52) the river Euphrates forms the border between Cilicia and Armenia. The king of Cilicia could have conquered the territory between Hiyawa and the Euphrates at any time, especially if Cilicia conquered Tabal before 585 as suggested above. Nevertheless, recent research has convincingly shown that Hiyawa already included the territory bordering the Euphrates in the Neo-Assyrian period (Goedegebuure, forthcoming). If this extension of Hiyawa was maintained throughout the 7th and the first half of the 6th century, one may surmise that the Cilician conquest of Hiyawa led to its extension to the Euphrates, hence Herodotus's description above. This eastern extension of Cilicia is supported by yet another remark of Herodotus (3.91), according

12 This is the traditional (and much discussed) account, cf. already Erzen 1940: 76–90; see more recent analyses in Jacobs 1994: 141; Aro 1998: 156–157; Casabonne 2004: 24–29, all with further refs.

to which the city of Posideion was founded on the Cilician-Syrian border, which is usually localized south of al-Mina (Wittke 2014: 749, cf. the critical discussion in Casabonne 2004: 21–22 with refs.).

Only one problem remains: that of the mysterious Aribaios, king of Cappadocia and a supporter of Croesus in 547, who fell in the battle against the Persians, mentioned only by Xenophon (Cyropaedia 2.1.5, 4.2.31). The location of his realm is completely unknown, nor is any Kingdom of Cappadocia known either earlier or later until the Hellenistic period. There is no hint either of any Neo-Hittite affiliation, except the name of his kingdom, which is, however, a very vague term geographically. Thus, prudence dictates we leave him aside until some explanation can be found.[13]

In conclusion, only one Neo-Hittite state demonstrably existed on the eve of the Persian conquest: Cilicia.

3.3 The Achaemenid period

The final question is what happened to the last Neo-Hittite state under Persian rule. Two more rulers of Cilicia are attested: Syennesis II (c. 500, during the rule of Xerxes), son of Oromedon (Herodotus, 5.118), and Syennesis III, at the end of the 5th century,[14] who supported both the Persian Great King and the pretender Cyrus in the latter's revolt in 401. Interestingly enough, in the next, 4th century, we find a Cilicia that is no longer a kingdom, but one simple satrapy among many in the Achaemenid Empire: the kingdom had obviously been abolished. Although we have no source providing the exact reason for the abolishment of the kingdom of Cilicia, circumstantial evidence points to the logical assumption that the true cause of the kingdom's demise was Syennesis's double loyalty.[15] By the 4th century BC, the Neo-Hittite state clearly is no more, and if my assumption is correct, even its final date can be given: 401 BC is when Neo-Hittite statehood came to an end.

13 See now Simon (forthcoming).

14 The much-discussed question, of whether we are dealing with a name or with a title is of no relevance here, see most recently Simon 2019 with refs.

15 This is the traditional account. For critical analyses see Jacobs 1994: 153 and Casabonne 2004: 166–167, both with refs.

4 CONCLUSIONS

It is possible to show a continuous political-territorial development of Neo-Hittite states between 708 and 401 (Melid, Tabal, Hiyawa, Hilakku > Tabal, Hiyawa, Hilakku > Hiyawa, Hilakku > Hilakku), thus demonstrating that the history of Neo-Hittite *states* ceased neither with the Assyrian conquest nor with Ashurbanipal's rule. In other words, it is time to return to the description given already by Hawkins in 1982. It is within this chronological framework that such questions as the disappearance of the Hieroglyphic Luwian writing system, the survival or decline of Luwian as a spoken language, and the existence of Neo-Hittite culture after 708 can and should be investigated.

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PHRYGIAN ONOMASTIC NOTES

Near Eastern and Aegean interfaces

Maya Vassileva

Abstract: The present paper offers some considerations on the graffiti found on a wooden beam from the construction of the burial chamber in Tumulus MM at Gordion. These are four personal names: *Nana*, *Si↑idos*, *Muksos* and *Urunis*. The latter two may be considered in the context of Phrygian–Near Eastern and Phrygian–Aegean interfaces. Special attention is paid to *Muksos*, which may be added into the discussion of the "House of Mopsos" and the Phoenician–Luwian bilingual texts from Cilicia. The new light shed on the Aḫḫiyawa–Ḫiyawa–Que question may offer historical implications for Phrygia as well.

Keywords: Phrygia, Gordion, Tumulus MM, Muksos, Cilicia, alphabet

Phrygian interactions with the ancient Near East have long been discussed. Current scholarship is focused mainly on Anatolian and Near Eastern interfaces of the Phrygian Iron Age culture. Architectural, artistic and iconographic possible loans or inspiration give sufficient grounds for such an emphasis. Evidence of contacts with or influences from the West in the early Phrygian period is almost non-existent. New epigraphic data could possibly shed more light on the complex Anatolian and Eastern Mediterranean network of cultural exchange in which the Phrygian lands were engaged.

1 THE TUMULUS MM GRAFFITI

In 2007, graffiti were detected carved on a roof beam at the northwest corner of the wooden tomb chamber of Tumulus MM at Gordion, and published soon after that (Liebhart/Brixhe 2009). They preserve four personal names: *Nana*, *Muksos*, *Si↑idos* and *cUrunis* (**Fig. 1** and **2**). The first three form a group, *Si↑idos* being placed below the other two and in slightly bigger letters, while *cUrunis* is carved about 15 cm away,



Fig. 1. The names *Nana*, *Muksos* and *Si↑idos* carved on the beam of Tumulus MM tomb (photo: Richard Liebhart; height of the letters after Liebhart/Brixhe 2009, 146: approx. 4–6.5 cm).

along the first line. A blank space is left between *Nana* and *Muksos*; all the names are written with the same orientation. In the following year, additional investigation revealed incomprehensible remains of more graffiti further along the same beam (Liebhart/Brixhe 2009: 145).

It remains an open question why these names were carved in such an inconspicuous place, since they could not be seen by anybody after the construction of the tomb. Long-term study of the tomb and its content has revealed that those attending the funeral would have stood by an open, timber-lined pit into which the deceased and the grave goods would have been lowered. Then, two layers of pine beams and one of juniper logs would have been set in place to seal the tomb. The graffiti were incised on the lowest, first-placed roof beam (Liebhart/Brixhe 2009: 143–144, Fig. 3 and 4). A proposed scenario[1] suggests that the roof beams were lying nearby and some of the participants in the funeral feast put down their names on one of them before closing the chamber. Thus, the graffiti would have been visible during the banquet.[2] But who were these persons: important officials in charge of the ceremony, members of the Phrygian elite, diplomatic guests? Should we assume a more important role for *Si↑idos*, as his name appears in a larger script?

1 By Richard Liebhart in the above quoted publication of the graffiti.

2 On the funeral banquet at Tumulus MM, see Simpson 1990; Simpson 2010: 127–135.

If we are to look for parallels of the practice, we can turn to the ancient Near Eastern tradition of placing inscribed foundation pegs and building inscriptions which were invisible after the completion of the building (usually a temple). Within the Old Phrygian corpus, we cannot expect such a text (dedicatory building inscription or royal annals). No temple building has to date been conclusively defined at Gordion. Yet, could we imagine a magical function of the first roof beam, bearing important names (titles?)? Still, the question about who these personages were remains open.

1.1 *Si↑idos*

The name *Si↑idos* has previously been attested on a bronze bowl from the same tomb (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 99–100, G-105). The graffito scratched on a wax strip along the vessel rim reads *Si↑idosakor*. The discovery of another graffito, again on a bronze phiale, from Tumulus D at Bayındır (Lycia) has suggested the word division of the Gordion inscription, and has led to the reconstruction of the name *Si↑idos* (Varinlioğlu 1992; Brixhe 2004: 115–116, HP-110). Its nature as a personal name, a toponym, a title or an office has been widely discussed (Varinlioğlu 1992: 16–17; Orel 1997: 169; Brixhe 2004: 116; Vassileva 2016: 640–641).

1.2 *Nana*

Nana was a very popular *Lallname* in Anatolia: it occurs as *Nan(n)a* in Hittite texts and there are numerous occurrences in Greek inscriptions of the Roman period (Zgusta 1964: § 1013). However, it cannot be ascertained whether it is a male or a female name, as asigmatic male names were not uncommon either in Anatolian languages or in Phrygian: *Nana/Nanas* (Liebhart/Brixhe 2009: 147). In Greek attestations, *Nana* seems to be more often used by women. The name is also known from an Old Phrygian graffito on a clay sherd (G-195). The funeral context, here, has suggested to scholars rather a male name, although the role of women in the Phrygian cult and life in general should not be underestimated. The other two names, *Muksos* and *cUrunis*, are mentioned here for the first time in the Old Phrygian corpus and could possibly offer an opportunity of revealing Phrygian interactions with Southeastern Anatolia and the Neo-Hittite world.



Fig. 2. The fourth graffito, *cUrunis* (photo: Richard Liebhart; same letter height as in Fig. 1 after Liebhart/Brixhe 2009, 146: approx. 4–6.5 cm).

1.3 *Urunis*

The name written to one side, *cUrunis*, poses serious difficulties in reading and understanding (**Fig. 2**). Claude Brixhe interprets the initial, much smaller sign, resembling a "lunar" sigma, as something like an ideogram for personal names (Liebhart/Brixhe 2009: 151–152). The same sign can be found in an inscription from Kerkenes Dağı, initially understood as a word division mark, as it appears twice, before and after a word (probably a name), and a third time, in front of another name (Brixhe/Summers 2006: V–VII, 121–125). In other words, this small lunar sign was used to highlight the following word, most probably a personal name. Thus, according to the publication of our graffito, the name itself should be read as *Urunis*. If Brixhe's assumption is correct, then we have two examples of influence from the Hittite–Luwian sphere: ideograms are not otherwise attested in the Old Phrygian script. They were not usually present in alphabetic writing.

As we continue further into the investigation, possible Luwian parallels of the name *Urunis* can also be found.[3] In a recent article, Ilya Yakubovich discussed the Luwian title of the Hittite king, always ren-

3 C. Brixhe cautiously suggested that *Urunis* could be viewed as a late avatar of the Hittite *Urawanni* (Liebhart/Brixhe 2009: 152). In a personal communication

dered by a logogram in the hieroglyphic script. Considering the separate words "great" and "king" which are phonetically attested, he demonstrated that compound names beginning with *ura/i-*, meaning "great" in Luwian, were mostly personal names, both in the 2nd- and in the 1st-millennium BC texts (Yakubovich 2014: 40). If such a parallel is to be accepted, then a meaning in the same semantic field would well match the idea of highlighting the name. Was *Urunis* "the big man" among our four names? If the above considerations still hold, we could possibly have a name of Luwian inspiration in Phrygia, or a "Phrygianised" Luwian name.

1.4 *Muksos*

1.4.1 Linguistics

Even more intriguing is the case of the name *Muksos*. It has already been explained as the equivalent of the Greek name Μόψος (Liebhart/Brixhe 2009: 147). The latter is attested as early as Linear B texts from Knossos and Pylos (*mo-qo-so*: KN De 1381.B and PY Sa 774; Ventris/Chadwick 1973: 562). Curiously enough, the oriental variant of the name, *Muksus*, appeared in Hittite cuneiform in a very fragmented passage from the famous "Indictment of Madduwattas" (late 15th to early 14th century BC; see Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 95; CTH 147, § 33). The text tells us, among other things, about the political and military conflict between the Hittites and Aḫḫiya over the Hittite vassal Madduwattas.

Because of the antiquity of the attestations of the name, both in Greece and in Anatolia, scholars are divided in defining its origin. Yakubovich (2015a), Oettinger (2008: 64) and Singer (2013) consider it Greek, while Hawkins assumes that it is Anatolian rather than Greek (Hawkins 1995; Hawkins 2009: 166; similarly Gander 2012: 301). In the case of the Gordion graffito, Brixhe suggests that it was transmitted to Phrygia by an Anatolian language (Liebhart/Brixhe 2009: 148; the same in Gander 2012: 301 n. 131).

Later on, the name occurred in two Luwian–Phoenician bilingual texts, from Karatepe and Çineköy (KARATEPE 1, XXI.108–113; Hawkins 2009: 165–166; Tekoğlu et al. 2000: 976), the Phoenician form being

at the time of the conference, Craig Melchert expressed his opinion that this is highly improbable.

MPŠ.[4] It is worth remembering that the phonetical value [*ks*] has long been accepted for the sign Ψ in Old Phrygian (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: 282). So, an analytical writing is not impossible here.

In the above bilingual texts, the kingdom of Que is addressed as "the House of Muksas" and the king projects himself as being from "the line of Muksas". The Luwian toponym *Ḫiyawa*, applied to Que, recently discovered in the inscriptions from Çineköy (Tekoğlu et al. 2000) and Arsuz (Dinçol et al. 2015), was interpreted as a variant of Aḫḫiyawa (Singer 2006: 251;[5] cf. Singer 2013; Oettinger 2008: 64; Yakubovich 2015a: 38–39; *contra* Gander 2012: 302). In the Karatepe bilingual, *Adanawa* is used instead, corresponding to *dnnym* in the Phoenician part. The name *Muksus* in the above-mentioned Hittite letter, although in an unclear context, appears in a document mainly concerned with Aḫḫiyawa and its interference in the Hittite political sphere. Linguists offer more examples in support of a Greek presence in Cilicia in the late 2nd and early 1st millennium BC, corroborated to a great extent by archaeological data.[6] Nevertheless, several issues about the use of these toponyms still remain debatable. An animated discussion is ongoing over the interpretation of the hieroglyph sign *429 in the Iron Age corpus, as Rostislav Oreshko suggested a reading of it as <*HIYA*> instead of <*DANA*>, thus yielding Aḫḫiyawa, without aphaeresis, in the Karatepe inscription (Oreshko 2013; Hawkins 2015; Yakubovich 2015b).

The activities of the "Sea Peoples" and other movements provoked by the collapse of both Mycenaean palaces and the Hittite Empire had probably dispersed Greek-speaking people to the East, who finally reached Cilicia. However, Yakubovich's idea about the emergence of a new elite in *Ḫiyawa*/Que, who would be using Luwian hieroglyphs as "a concession to the native population groups" (Yakubovich 2015a: 36) is just a hypothesis difficult to prove, as no early Greek inscriptions have been found in this area to date.[7] It is indeed tempting to accept that people who were adapting the Phoenician script used the model

4 The Phoenician form *mpš* also appears in the İncirli trilingual inscription: Awarikku is of the line/dynasty of *mpš*; see Kaufman 2007.

5 Singer's considerations are about *Ḫiyawa*-men, mentioned in a letter from the Hittite king (most probably by Šuppiluliuma II, in Akkadian) to the king of Ugarit (13th century BC) and located in Lukka.

6 The latter are summarised by Yakubovich with bibliography: Yakubovich 2015a: 38, 40–41.

7 As admitted by the author himself. The "concession" lasted too long in the area: until the 7th century BC.

language in the initial stage, but the evidence cannot so far support the idea. Scholars agree on the important role of Lycia and Cilicia in transmitting the alphabet to the West. On the other hand, as early Greek presence in Cilicia becomes more archaeologically visible, a mixed population may be assumed. Two distinct entities under the rule of Mopsos' dynasty have already been suggested (Jasink/Marino 2007: 410). Itamar Singer proposed a new geopolitical entity with a ruling dynasty of Aegean origin (Singer 2013: 325). Similarly, Oettinger accepts a Greek ruling dynasty (Oettinger 2008: 65). To date, archaeological evidence for Phoenician settlements or trading posts in Cilicia has not been detected. Nevertheless, Phoenician cultural influence is well-attested in the region (Özyar 2016: 142). Transmitted iconography, via objects of the minor arts, as well as itinerant artisans and scribes, might have contributed to the process. The Aegean group of settlers "within a few generations gave up their former vernacular" and adopted the language and practices of the new land (Özyar 2016: 145–146). The bilingual inscriptions and the monumental sculptural decoration at Karatepe and other sites reveal an amalgamation of various cultural traditions by the emerging new elites (Özyar 2013; Özyar 2016), the precise ethnic definition of whom seems irrelevant.

1.4.2 Mythology

Different versions of Mopsos are attested which, according to modern scholars, refer to several different heroes (Oettinger 2008: 63–64). The most famous of these was the legendary seer, adversary of Calchas. However, it might well have been a single figure of a prophet, an ornithomantis, who inspired different genealogies and geographical localisations over the course of time.[8] There is even a Thracian who subdued the Libyan Amazones in the account of Diodorus of Sicily.[9] All versions agree, though, that his prophetical talent was given to him by Apollo.

According to one group of stories, Mopsos, together with Orpheus, travelled with the Argonauts. Pindar relates that it was solely Mopsos who determined the start of the expedition after the respective favourable omens.[10] A fragment of a papyrus mentions Mopsos, Orpheus and

8 Compare, for example, the different genealogies of Orpheus and his various locations in Thracian lands: from the Hellespont to Pieria. However, nobody argues against a single figure for the Thracian musician and prophet.

9 Diod. 3, 55.

10 Pind. *P*. 4, 190–191.

Aetes in an Argonautical context.[11] Mopsos and Orpheus are often mentioned together in the rituals by Apollonius of Rhodes in his *Argonautica*.[12]

Mopsos participated in the Trojan War as well. On the way back, he challenged Calchas and their famous contest was held at Claros, at Apollo's Oracle.[13] Other later versions also associate the famous seer and his mother Manto with Claros.[14] Then he travelled along the southwestern and southern coasts of Anatolia (Lycia, Pamphilia[15] and Cilicia), reaching as far as Syria. He was also the founder of cities.[16] The toponyms have been attested on coins since the 2nd century BC and were mentioned by early Christian writers. Thus, secondary mythologisation could be supposed here. Could the name *Mopsou(h)estia* be a late echo of the "House of Mopsos"?

An interesting case is presented by an inscription, a decree, from Messambria, a Doric (Megarian) colony on the western Black Sea coast, honouring Sadala, a Thracian ruler, where Μοψυηστις is the first-mentioned of the four predecessors of the honouree: Mopsuestis, Taroutinos, Medista and Kotys.[17] The inscription is tentatively dated to the end of the 4th or 3rd century BC. The discussion of the inscription is focused on the question of whether Sadala's line was Odrysian or Astean,[18] a question that has little bearing on either the historical or the cultural implications, in view of the available evidence. The name Μοψυηστις is a *hapax* and the only non-Thracian name among Sadala's precursors. It is also an earlier epigraphic attestation of a derivative from the name Mopsos than the Anatolian toponyms.

Mopsos is comparable with another mythological figure – Bellerophon (Oettinger 2008: 65) who similarly became the founder of a dynasty in Lycia. The points on Anatolian soil associated with the two he-

11 *POxy* 53.3698.

12 Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1106, 1135, 1139; 2, 928–929; 3, 927.

13 Call. *frg*. 7 = Strab. 14, 4, 3; Hes. *fr*. 160 Rzach = Strab. 14, 1, 27.

14 Paus. 7, 3, 2.

15 Lemaire (2006: 106–107) suggested that the kingdom of Mopsos included Pamphilia, where his descendants took refuge after the conquering of Que by Sennaherib's army and ruled there for 135 years more.

16 *Mopsouestia* with variants (identified with today's Misis, see Hawkins 2000: 41; also D'Agata, during the conference): Theop. FGrHist 115 F102; Strab. 14, 5, 20; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μόψου ἐστία; Zgusta 1984: § 855; *Mopsoucrene*: a road station between Tarsos and the Cilician Gates: Amm. Marc. 21, 15, 2.

17 IGBulg I² 307; V 5086.

18 Summarised by Mihailov 1997: 47–50.

roes yielded archaeological evidence for Mycenaean and early Greek presence. The southwestern Anatolian coast provided more evidence of a Mycenaean presence (even Minoan in the case of Miletos; Niemeier 2005), while future Cilicia furnished more sub-Mycenaean material.[19] Combined data suggest that Mopsos' and Bellerophon's routes in Asia Minor might be considered as a metaphor for the line of contact between Mycenaeans and early Greeks within the Hittite–Luwian sphere in the late 2nd and early 1st millennium BC.

It is worth remembering that Bellerophon was carrying deadly tokens written on a folded tablet.[20] Northern Syria and Southeastern Anatolia were considered as possible zones where Greeks could have adopted and adapted Western Semitic writing to produce the Greek alphabet. The new current dating of the Gordion Citadel Mound's destruction level at c. 800 BC (Rose/Darbishyre 2011; *contra* Muscarella 2003) would also bring the origin of the Phrygian script into the debate (Brixhe 1995: 104, 110–112; Brixhe 2002: 27–28; Sass 2005: 146–149). The view, long since expressed by Rodney S. Young (Young 1969), of a simultaneous and independent adoption of the alphabet by the Greeks and the Phrygians seems to be refreshed now. Benjamin Sass argues against such a hypothesis, but cannot rule out the Phrygian precedence in the processes (Sass 2005: 148). He also recalls an interesting note by Richard D. Barnett that boustrophedon "in early Greek scripts, is apparently derived through Phrygia from the Hittite hieroglyphs." (Sass 2005: 147 n. 242; Barnett 1975: 434). The same Luwian inspiration for a boustrophedon arrangement of the Old Phrygian inscriptions is noted by Wittke (2007: 341).

Around the same time, when the Luwian–Phoenician bilingual texts from Karatepe and Çineköy were carved (second half to late 8th century BC), the Assyrian documents attest political and military activity in Southeastern Anatolia by King Mita of the Mushki (Hawkins 1993–1997; SAA 1.1; Vassileva 2008). He had even conquered, for a certain period, cities in Que (Fuchs 1994: 199, 125–126; Hawkins 2000: 42). Thus, the appearance of the name *Muksos* in Gordion does not seem so strange. Could we possibly imagine a noble member of the dynasty of Que/*Ḫiyawa*, homonymous with the founder of the dynasty, being present at the royal funeral at Tumulus MM? Or was *Muksos* a Phrygian adaptation

19 See note 6 above.

20 Hom. *Il.* 6.168–169.

of a royal name taken over from the elite nomenclature of an allied polity?

2 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Recent studies continue to reveal the multicultural situation in Anatolia in the first centuries of the 1st millennium BC. Greek legendary stories, in addition to the evidence of the above-mentioned bilingual texts, could possibly suggest a zone where early Greeks and Luwians were exposed to Western Semitic (Phoenician) influence. The Argonautical context of Mopsos might have been another echo, literarily reworked later, of the contacts between Mycenaeans, Hittites, Phrygians, and also Thracians along the southern Black Sea coast and its hinterland.[21] Hittite borrowings in the Greek myth about the Golden Fleece have long been demonstrated.[22]

If we accept the identification Aḫḫiyawa/Ḫiyawa = Mycenaean/early Greeks, then Southeastern Anatolia might have been the area from which King Midas' titles *lavagtaei wanaktei* (dative) originated, although the southwestern coast still remains an option. On the other hand, the same region was the area from which Luwian influence could have spread into Phrygia, and the zone where most probably the adoption of the alphabet occurred. Syro-Hittite impact has previously been discussed concerning the limited use by the Phrygians of stone stelae, usually rounded on top like a number of Luwian ones (see what are called the "Black Stones of Tyana": Brixhe/Lejeune 1984: T-01, -02; Brixhe 2004: T-03), the orthostates found at Gordion and other objects of Near-Eastern inspiration (Sams 1989; Sams 1993), the "doodle stones" (Roller 2009), etc. To these we can now add the possible occurrence of an ideogram/logogram sign in Old Phrygian texts and the names carved on the beam of the Tumulus MM tomb at Gordion. These newly discovered names *Urunis* and *Muksos* could possibly open up new avenues for revealing Phrygian–Near Eastern and Phrygian–Aegean interfaces.

21 See the important note by Oettinger (2008: 65) that Mopsos was probably a priest-king: a characteristic also typical of the Thracian rulers.

22 See the Telepinus myth: CTH 324: 28–30: Hoffner 1998²: 18; recently Bremmer 2008: 303–338. However, the mythical Colchis might echo Hittite realities of North-Central Anatolia rather than those of the territory of present-day Georgia.

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TOWARDS A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPHIC RESEARCH DURING THE 1930s

Šárka Velhartická

Abstract: After the Hittite language was deciphered in 1915, which yielded new findings on the history and languages of ancient Anatolia, researchers still faced another challenge: the Anatolian hieroglyphs. Efforts in decipherment intensified in the 1930s with publications by I. J. Gelb, P. Meriggi, E. Forrer, H. Th. Bossert, B. Hrozný and others. This paper introduces new archival documents and is based on an analysis of the original photographic documentation from the 1930s, articles published by prominent researchers of the period, as well as correspondence hidden in archives, all of which help us to understand the circumstances and the atmosphere of these attempts to decipher the Anatolian hieroglyphs during the interwar period.

Keywords: Anatolian hieroglyphs, deciphering, Bedřich Hrozný, Helmuth Theodor Bossert, Ignace J. Gelb, Piero Meriggi, Peter Jensen

Following the decipherment of the Hittite language in 1915, which provided many insights into the history and languages of ancient Anatolia and substantially changed the view of historians on the history of ancient Anatolia, researchers still faced another important challenge – the study and decipherment of the Anatolian hieroglyphs. Some hitherto unknown archival documents presented in this paper elucidate aspects of the decipherment efforts, particularly the collaboration among researchers involved in this topic, including figures such as Ignace J. Gelb, Helmuth Theodor Bossert, Piero Meriggi, Bedřich Hrozný and Emil Forrer. This new evidence allows us to gain a better understanding of the circumstances and atmosphere surrounding the attempts to read the Anatolian hieroglyphs in the interwar period. The material found includes correspondence between some researchers, their articles, contemporary newspaper articles and other unpublished documents, which have been preserved in several Czech archives.

After the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, Bedřich Hrozný became Professor of Cuneiform Studies in Prague. From the very beginning, his main aim was to perform archaeological excavations in the Near East in order to elucidate problems associated with the history of the 2nd and 1st millennia BC. He was an experienced academic and managed to obtain financing for the archaeological expeditions not only from the Czechoslovak president but also from numerous entrepreneurs. During his expeditions, he published popular educational articles, in which he described his experiences on his journeys. As we learn from these articles, his priority was to excavate at Hattusa, the former capital city of the Hittite Empire, or at Kültepe. However, the first permit he obtained was for excavations in Syria. The locality of Sheikh Saʿad was chosen on the assumption that some bi- or multilingual inscriptions, which might be of help in deciphering the hieroglyphic script, could be found in the area where the Late Hittite principalities clashed with the Egyptians.

1 ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS AND PUBLISHED ARTICLES

From an article entitled "**This year's excavations by Prof. Hrozný in Hauran**", written by the historian Justin V. Prášek (1924), we learn the following:

> "Prof. Dr. Hrozný, leader and director of the first Czech scientific expedition to the Near East, finished this year's period of his excavations at Sheikh Saʿad in Hauran. On 22nd May he left the site, where he had researched and investigated for almost three months, occasionally having as many as 240 people at his service. Through northern Syria's Alexandretta, he set out for Kaisarije[1] in Asia Minor, where he arrived on 31st May, according to reports that came from his family. … Dr. Hrozný, today a leading Hittitologist, mainly intended to find new material of Hittite provenience, inscriptions, whether written in cuneiform or Hittite,[2] and sculptures. It may not be improper to suppose that he desired to find some inscription that would be written in a script and language of the Hittites next to a synonymous text written in another known script and language, following the model of the Rosetta Stone, and which

1 I.e. today's Kayseri.

2 Prášek here means the cuneiform Hittite and hieroglyphs.

> would ultimately provide the key to deciphering the still enigmatic Hittite script. This supposition is entirely justified by the situation and further supported by the location of Sheikh Sa'ad, where to this day the hieroglyphic inscription of Ramesses II can be found *in situ*, lying not far from the border that was set by the famous peace treaty negotiated in the 21st year of the reign of Ramesses between this pharaoh and his Hittite opponent Chattušil. Therefore, it could be expected that on the site … there would appear a written monument in which the Egyptian pharaoh and the Hittite king spoke to the surrounding people about the same things, each in their own script and language."[3]

Later, in 1934, Bedřich Hrozný undertook another, five-month journey around Asia Minor for the purpose of mapping localities where Anatolian hieroglyphs were present.[4] Not only in museums (in Istanbul, Ankara, Kayseri or Aleppo) but also in the field, *in situ*, he photographed and copied the texts under the most demanding conditions and published his conclusions in his articles in *Archiv Orientální* and in the three-volume work *Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques*.[5] For instance, Turkish newspapers wrote about his visit to Turkey, and we know further details from an article in the Czech *Národní Listy* [National Gazette]:

> "**Professor of Charles University Dr. Bedřich Hrozný gave** a lecture on 15 October [1934] at the Gazi Institute in Ankara to the Turkish applicants for high school lectorship on the earliest history of Asia Minor. Around the 20th of October of the same year, he decided to undertake a trip to Topada, Suvasa, Bulgar Maden, etc., where he planned to study the large Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions found on the cliffs. The Ministry of Education in Ankara appointed Selahettin Bey, an official of this ministry, to be at his disposal as a guide on the journey."[6]

A long-forgotten article, recently rediscovered in a Czech newspaper, contains an interview that Bedřich Hrozný gave on his return:

3 Prášek 1924: 1.

4 See the report Hrozný 1938.

5 Hrozný 1933–1937.

6 Národní Listy LXXIV/291 (22. 10. 1934), 3.

Czech Scholar Visits Kemal Pasha. Into the Heart of Asia Minor in Search of Inscriptions of Mysterious Hittites[7]

Several days ago, our outstanding Czech orientalist, the most prominent scholar Univ.-Prof. Dr. Hrozný returned to Prague from his study tour in Turkey and Syria. At our request he kindly gave us an interview about the course and result of his latest scholarly sojourn in Asia Minor.

Prof. Dr. Hrozný on his findings

"What was the aim of your journey, Professor?"
"I published two volumes of the French treatise 'Inscriptions Hittites hiéroglyphiques', where I presented my decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions. The first volume is a grammar of this newly deciphered Indo-European language, and the other volume contains predominantly the first translations of the forty-one largest hieroglyphic Hittite texts-inscriptions. I must say that the discovery that the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions had been made by a completely different nation than the Hittite cuneiform inscriptions came as a great surprise. Nowadays, we can see that the name Hittite encompassed several oriental nations – about 5 in total, of various origins. While twenty years ago I devoted myself to deciphering the cuneiform Hittite language, which I discovered to be an Indo-European language still unknown to us at the time, now I am working together with other specialists on deciphering the inscriptions that remain a mystery to us and which are also ascribed to Hittites and written in hieroglyphic script. In the treatise I mentioned before, I found that the so-called Hieroglyphic Hittite is completely different from the Hittite cuneiform language. It also belongs to the western Indo-European languages, to the Kentum group, but is not known to us yet, and even though it is closely related to the cuneiform Hittite language, it is not fully identical. I went on my last journey, which took me to Turkey and Syria, with

7 Český učenec u Kemala Paši. Za nápisy tajemných Hethitů do nitra Malé Asie. Profesor dr. Hrozný o svých objevech, Večer 289 (13. 12. 1934), 1–2. Translated from Czech.

the aim of gaining some new precise material for the third volume of my treatise. The journey lasted five months in total and was realized with the support of the President, Minister Dr. Beneš, the Oriental Institute and some industrial enterprises, namely Škoda Works and the J. A. Baťa Company. It is clear that the Czechoslovak people have their benefactors who have an understanding of science. I left Prague on 28th June this year and spent all of July, August and September in Constantinople."

"Was the Turkish government willing to help?"
"I am glad to say that the Turkish government, and especially the Ministry of Education in Ankara, did their best to accommodate my needs. I greatly owe this to the fact that I was received by the President of the Turkish Republic, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal, who gave me a special audience in the presence of Turkish Prime Minister Ismet Pasha in the Dolma Bagche Palace in Constantinople. The Ghazi, who is very keen on Hittite studies, accepted with great interest my book which I gave him. He read it and wanted to give me another audience focusing on Hittite subjects; however, the audience never materialized as I was already sitting on my train to Ankara by that time. Only later in Ankara was I told that couriers of the presidential office had been looking for me at the railway station on the day of my departure."

"What did your work in the Constantinople Museum consist of?"
"In the Istanbul Museum, I mainly copied the inscriptions on four hieroglyphic Hittite altars from south[ern] Asia Minor dating back to about the 13th century BC. I also copied a large, beautiful obelisk of Izgin, which is very important from a historical perspective, despite the fact that the inscription has been badly damaged, as villagers had later used it as a threshold. Another interesting inscription in the Constantinople Museum is decorated with five crosses. This does not mean, however, that the Hittites knew the cross. I found out that it was a Hittite tomb stone later used by an Armenian Christian family."

“What was the next work programme on your journey?”
“At the beginning of September, I went to Ankara, where I spent six weeks working in the ruins of the famous Temple of Augustus, where Hittite antiquities are now temporarily placed. In the open air, and very often in the heat of the sun, I spent entire days copying the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, which were oftentimes like a sort of revelation even to me. I copied and deciphered inscriptions from Djerablus on the River Euphrates and as well as the epitaph of a Hittite king from the 12th century BC, also used later by the Christians who carved a cross and chalice there. My attention was mostly focused on four large inscriptions from north[ern] Syria, not yet published, which simultaneously mention one hieroglyphic Hittite king and one cuneiform Hittite, which is very important for the history of the Hittites. I consider these inscriptions to be the most important in the entire museum of Ankara because they helped me determine the most ancient settlements of hieroglyphic Hittites and, if I am not mistaken, also the name of these Indo-European people whom we had just discovered and which had been unknown to us.”

“Where did you go from Ankara?”
“From Ankara I went to a small Turkish village in the south of Asia Minor called Topada, where there is a large inscription carved in a rock near the village. On this journey, I was accompanied by a Turkish clerk assigned to me as my guide by the Ministry of Education in Ankara. I made an exact copy of the inscription at Topada, which was not at all a pleasant activity, as I had to stand on a ladder for whole days in the sun and draw sometimes complicated hieroglyphic signs. I learned that the author of the inscription was king Valudadanema, who lived in the 12th century BC. In the case of the Topada inscription, I found a large cave of unknown origin with the help of probes carried out at the expense of the Turkish government. From Topada we took a barouche to Suasa, a very poor Turkish village built into a rock. On the rock, where I found an ancient Hittite altar under the open sky, there is an inscription in hieroglyphic writing. From Suasa, we went first by barouche and then by car to Kaisarie. On this journey, we travelled across a most interesting landscape with hundreds of chapels, churches, dwellings and tombs, mainly of Byzantine origin, carved

in volcanic cones. I spent only two days in Kaisarie, because my subsequent programme did not permit me to stay longer. At the request of a local Ankara Nat[ional] Assembly member, I held an improvised lecture on Hittite matters there before the full house of the Ghazi's party. From Kaisarie we travelled in a very elegant and comfortable *autotrain* to Ulukisla. I learned later that Turkey received the *autotrain* from the Škoda Works. The product is something our industry can truly be proud of. We took the train to get from Ulukisla to the ancient spa Hammam, with hot springs where the temperature reaches 60℃ and where ancient Romans also enjoyed taking their baths. It might have been there that I contracted malaria, which manifested itself two weeks later in Aleppo. From Hammam, it was a three-hour ride on horseback over the steep slopes of Taurus to get to a Hittite inscription carved in a precipitous ridge of the Bulghan Dagh Mountains. The horses we were riding had no stirrups, and had just a single-sided primitive rein. We often travelled close to abysses and I was worried as the horse could have slipped and fallen into the abyss with me. However, nothing happened; Turkish horses know very well where to step. I examined the inscription once again properly, although it had already been published in my treatise. I spent one day only in Adana, because its museum did not have any Hittite inscriptions of interest to me. Then I took a Baghdad train to get to Aleppo in Syria, and in the museum there I copied an inscription on a large statue discovered by the French near the River Euphrates that mentioned hitherto unknown kings. My stay in Aleppo was spoiled by malaria, due to which I had to stay in bed for two days. Soon after that, I finished my work there and went to Ankara and Constantinople and back to this country, to our foggy Prague, where I arrived on 30th November. I am going to give a public lecture about my journey which will be held at the beginning of next year and organized by the Oriental Institute. The lecture will be accompanied by illuminated pictures. I am also going to talk on the radio about my journey, and then I intend to work exclusively on processing the priceless materials I have brought back. I do not know of any other scholarly task more appealing than deciphering ancient inscriptions that tell us about the destiny of an unknown Indo-European nation, which is closely related to us!"

2 CORRESPONDENCE

Recently discovered correspondence with other researchers who attempted to decipher the Anatolian hieroglyphs includes letters sent to Hrozný by the following scholars: Helmuth Theodor Bossert (a total of 15 letters from 1932–1950), Piero Meriggi (3 letters from 1933–1934), Ignace J. Gelb (5 letters from 1934–1937) and Peter Jensen (5 letters from 1914–1933). The three letters from Meriggi (1899–1982) were published in another article[8] and reveal collegial and respectful cooperation between the two scholars. The extant letters sent by Archibald Henry Sayce and Emil Forrer do not concern the question of hieroglyphs. This correspondence dates mainly from the early 1930s, and does not include later years. This does not necessarily mean that Hrozný ceased to correspond with these researchers. It is possible that the letters ended up among other material that has not been preserved for us.

We note that Bedřich Hrozný demonstrated extraordinary diplomatic tact in his relations with other researchers and managed to avoid personal disputes and disagreements. The extant correspondence with other protagonists in the decipherment of the hieroglyphs is on the whole very courteous. It attests to relationships of mutual respect with Piero Meriggi, Helmuth Th. Bossert and Ignace J. Gelb. Although it is often said that an uncommon competitiveness prevailed among the researchers who participated in deciphering the hieroglyphs, the preserved correspondence proves that Hrozný maintained friendly relations with the other researchers: the correspondence with Bossert, in particular, proves that they forwarded their work to each other and communicated the results of their research. The letters even contain some detailed messages concerning specific readings of signs and geographic names, and cast light on the decipherment process, which, to a certain extent, was advanced by their mutual cooperation and sharing of research results.[9]

Let us start with the lengthiest part of the correspondence found, i.e. the letters of Helmuth Th. Bossert to Hrozný.

8 Velhartická 2019.

9 Cf. Dhorme 1933.

HELMUTH THEODOR BOSSERT

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 1st June 1932[10]

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor, 1. Juni 1932.

Da ich nicht weiß, ob Sie bereits als Mitglied der AOG meine Arbeit „Šantaš u.[nd] Kupapa“[11] erhalten haben, möchte ich mir die ergebene Anfrage erlauben, ob Sie nicht in Ihrem Archiv[12] auf diese Arbeit hinweisen wollen. In diesem Falle würde ich Ihnen persönlich, da die AOG grundsätzlich keine Besprech[un]gsex.[emplare] verschickt, ein Ex.[emplar] meiner Arbeit zur Verfügung stellen.

Mit ausgez.[eichneter] Hochacht[un]g
sehr ergeben Dr. H. Th. Bossert

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 19th June 1932[13]

Hochverehrter Herr Professor, 19. 6. 32.

Ich danke Ihnen verbindlichst für die Übersendung Ihrer mir sehr wichtigen Arbeit. Ich kannte sie bereits u.[nd] habe sie auch schon in meiner neuen, in Druck befindl.[ichen] Arbeit, die im Weidnerschen Archiv[14] erscheint, benutzt u.[nd] citiert. Um so mehr freue ich mich, sie zu besitzen.

Gleichzeitig danke ich Ihnen für die Bereitwilligkeit, meine Abh.[andlung] zu besprechen. Wie Sie sehen, ist meine Auffassung die, daß uns in dieser schwierigen Frage nur minutiöse Einzeluntersuchungen weiterhelfen werden, nicht kühnes, phantasiebeschwingtes Daraufgehen allein, das sofort alle Probleme lösen will.

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10 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–131]. Address: DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / GLIENICKE (NORDBAHN) BEI FROHNAU / NOHLSTRASSE 21A / FERNSPRECHER: TEGEL 497. Address of Hrozný: Herrn Prof. Dr. B. Hrozný Prag XVIII Vořechovka 285.

11 Bossert, Helmuth Theodor 1932: Šantaš und Kupapa. Neue Beiträge zur Entzifferung der kretischen und hethitischen Bilderhandschrift (= Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft. Bd. 6, Nr. 3,), Leipzig.

12 I.e. Archiv Orientální.

13 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–133]. Address: DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / GLIENICKE (NORDBAHN) BEI FROHNAU / NOHLSTRASSE 21A / FERNSPRECHER: TEGEL 497.

14 I.e. Archiv für Orientforschung, founded by Ernst Weidner.

In meiner bei Weidner im Druck befindl.[ichen] Arbeit habe ich nun einige weitere Kasus, den Akkusativ u.[nd] Dativ, herausgearbeitet. Sie gehen auf -na und -da(ta) aus u.[nd] entsprechen vollkommen den ḫurlischen. Ich glaube nicht, daß man sich meiner Beweisführung wird entziehen können u.[nd] hoffe bestimmt, daß die Entzifferung jetzt bessere Fortschritte machen wird. Gewiß ist – bei der Lage der Sache – noch nicht alles als endgültig zu betrachten, immerhin scheint mir – und anderen – nunmehr eine Basis geschaffen.

Ich würde mich sehr freuen, wenn auch Sie bei Ihrer reichen Kenntnis des Vergleichsmaterials sich zu einer Mitarbeit an dem Problem entschließen könnten. Um so rascher werden wir zu einem brauchbaren Ergebnis kommen.

Mit den besten Grüßen bin ich Ihr ergebenster Dr Bossert.
Mit gl.[eicher] Post geht Ihnen ein Ex.[emplar] meiner Arbeit zu.

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 23rd October 1932[15]

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor, 23. Okt. 32.

Nehmen Sie meinen verbindlichsten Dank für die Übersendung Ihrer hochinteressanten neuen Arbeit, die für die Kulturgeschichte Nordsyriens von beispielloser Bedeutung ist. Hoffentlich bringt uns Ras Šamra noch recht viele solcher Überraschungen!

Zu dem Text Syria 10 pl. 64 Nr. 4,[16] den Sie öfter zitierten, möchte ich erwähnen, daß wohl eher tšb Zeile 10 u.[nd] 11 zu ergänzen ist, da Zeile 56 wohl tšb-d zu lesen ist. Ob ibid. Zeile 55 u.[nd] 57 die Gottheit Tarḫun steckt? In 57 kann „trḫnsk“ dem ganzen Zusammenhang nach wohl nur „und (K) trḫns“ bedeuten, damit rückte aber die Inschrift auch zum Lydischen, mit dem die Inschrift ev.[entuell] auch sonst Beziehungen hätte.

Bedenken habe ich bei Imân hinsichtlich des m und des â. Wohnten die Javan unter den Leuten von Ugarit, deren Schrift einen „w“-Laut besaß, warum sollten sie dann die babyl.[onische] Namensform, die doch nur einen Notbehelf darstellte, bevorzugt haben? Noch schwieriger

15 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–136]. Address: DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / GLIENICKE (NORDBAHN) BEI FROHNAU / NOHLSTRASSE 21A / FERNSPRECHER: ~~TEGEL 497~~ D7 0497.

16 Virolleaud, Charles 1929: Les inscriptions cunéiformes de Ras Shamra, Syria 10/4, 304–310.

scheint mir das „â“ zu erklären, das doch eine neue Silbe einzuleiten scheint. Vgl. Sie, bitte, dazu die syrische Landschaft jmjn(u) bei Gauthier oder Burchart[!]. Ferner zu ddm die palaestinensische Landschaft ttm. Allerdings würde ja „Nikomedas“ ausschlaggebend sein, falls es sich nicht um einen Namen wie „Alakšandu“ handelte, den später die Griechen sich mundgerecht machten.

Auffallend ist, daß die Danuna, deren Hauptstadt doch Ugarit früher war, bisjetzt in den Texten nicht vorkommen, obwohl sie, wie wir durch Ungers Veröffentl.[ichung] des Londoner Obelisken wissen, noch später in dieser Gegend saßen.[17] Noch in der Kilamu-Inschrift (um 825!) waren die D[n]nm ein erheblicher Machtfaktor!

Mit ergebensten Grüßen Ihr H. Th. Bossert.

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 20th January 1933[18]

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor, 20. 1. 32[!].

Hinsichtlich des Zeichens  = la, das mit „li“ abwechselt, vgl. Sie bitte in Šantaš u.[nd] Kupapa[19] das S. 67 Anm. 2 gesagte. Auch Muvatalleš wird in d.[er] Bilderschr.[ift] manchmal (vgl. a. a. O. Abb. 42 N. 1 u. 3) Mu-u̯a-ta-la-a u.[nd] aehnl. geschrieben. Vgl. Sie bitte ferner Eigennamen wie (Assur)  (Takasa-a-la-s[a]), die schwerlich von der Endung „silis“ zu trennen sein werden. Das Schwanken im Vokalismus ist typisch f.[ür] d.[ie] Bilderschr.[ift]-Sprache. Mit großem Interesse sehe ich Ihren „Inscriptions I“ entgegen.

Mit verbindlichsten Grüßen sehr ergeben H Th Bossert

17 “White Obelisk”, see Unger, Eckhard 1932: Der Obelisk des Königs Assurnasirpal I. aus Ninive, Leipzig.

18 The date of the stamp is “20. 1. 1933”, on the letter mistakenly “1932”. Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–129]. Address: DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / GLIENICKE (NORDBAHN) BEI FROHNAU / NOHLSTRASSE 21A / FERNSPRECHER: TEGEL 497. Address of Hrozný: Herrn Prof. Dr. B. Hrozný Prag Vořechovka 285.

19 See note 11.

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 28th January 1933[20]

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor, 28. 1. 33

verbindlichsten Dank f.[ür] d.[as] vorläufige Referat über Ihre „Inscriptions 1". Ich ersehe daraus, daß die Entzifferung immer mehr zur unabstreitbaren Tatsache wird u.[nd] daß sich unsere Forschungen aufs schönste ergänzen. Die Imperative auf -tu u.[nd] -ru hatte ich auch erkannt, ebenso Meriggi. – In wenigen Tagen werden Sie einen neuen kl.[einen] Beitrag von mir erhalten, aus dem hervorgeht, daß  = ḫe,  = ḫi u.[nd]  = u sein müssen. Weitere Identifikationen von Zeichen sind in Vorbereitung. Nach dem einmal die Grundlagen erkannt, überstürzen sich geradezu die Resultate. Hoffentlich bleibt es weiterhin so. Zu den schönen Typen gratuliere ich. Damit etwas zu drucken macht Spaß!

Sehr ergeben Ihr Bossert.

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 3rd February 1933[21]

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor, 3. II. 33

Ihr liebenswürdiges Angebot nehme ich gerne an. Hätten Sie nicht zu Folgendem Lust: ich möchte im Laufe der nächsten Jahre sämtliche Gottheiten, die in der heth.[itischen] Bilderschr.[ift] erwähnt werden, monographisch behandeln u.[nd] – soweit möglich – auch sämtl.[iche] vorhandene Götterbilder (Reliefs, Statuen, Siegel) dazu abbilden, denn nur so kommen wir weiter. Die einzelnen Götter werden – je nach Material – kürzer oder länger zu behandeln sein. Als erstes würde ich für Ihr Juni-Heft geben können: Ḫepat, die Hauptgöttin von Yasilikaya. Dazu brauche ich etwa 4–5 Druckseiten u.[nd] eine Abbildungstafel. Selbstverständlich brauchen Sie sich nicht etwa zum Abdruck sämtl.[icher] Götteraufsätze zu verpflichten! Ebensowenig wie ich mich verpflichten kann, alles zu schreiben. – Ich würde gerne mal nach Prag kommen

20 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–128]. Address: DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / GLIENICKE (NORDBAHN) BEI FROHNAU / NOHLSTRASSE 21A / FERNSPRECHER: ~~TEGEL 497~~ D7 0497. Address of Hrozný: Herrn Prof. Dr. B. Hrozný Prag XVIII Vořechovka 285.

21 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–127]. Address: DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / GLIENICKE (NORDBAHN) BEI FROHNAU / NOHLSTRASSE 21A / FERNSPRECHER: ~~TEGEL 497~~ D7 0497. Address of Hrozný: Herrn Prof. Dr. B. Hrozný Prag. Vořechovka 285.

u.[nd] einen Lichtbildervortrag über Yasilikaya halten, für das ich besonders schöne Bilder habe anfertigen lassen auf Grund der neuesten Aufnahmen. Leider kann ich dies auf eigenes Risiko in diesen elenden Zeiten nicht übernehmen, stehe jedoch jederzeit zu Ihrer Verfügung.

Sehr ergeben Ihr Bossert

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 6th June 1933[22]

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,
Ich danke Ihnen für die liebenswürdige Übersendung Ihrer neuesten Arbeit, die mich sehr interessiert hat. Leider bin ich noch nicht zu einem eingehenden Studium gekommen, da ich mit den Reisevorbereitungen nach der Türkei beschäftigt bin und aus diesem Grunde vorläufig auch den von Ihnen gewünschten Beitrag für Ihr Archiv nicht liefern kann. Ich hoffe, im Spätherbst auf Ihr liebenswürdiges Angebot zurückkommen zu können.

Mit nochmals verbindlichstem Dank und freundlichen Grüssen
Ihr sehr ergebener

Berlin, 6. 6. 33. Dr. Bossert

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 21st July 1933[23]

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor, Istanbul, 21. Juli 33

Ich danke Ihnen für Ihre fr[eun]dl.[iche] Karte v.[om] 23. 6., die mich hier in Konstantinopel erreichte, wo ich seit 3 Wochen weile u.[nd] oft Gelegenheit hatte, mich im Zusammensein mit Prof. Rypka[24] Ihrer zu erinnern.

Ihr Vorschlag, den Gottesnamen ddmś mit Dadamimaš zusammen zu bringen, hat viel für sich, zumal doch auch eine Kurzform „Dadamis“ nicht außerhalb der Möglichkeit liegt (vgl. Abb. 5 Nr. 3–9, sowie Nr.

22 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–130]. Address: DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / GLIENICKE (NORDBAHN) / BEI FROHNAU / NOHLSTRASSE 21A / FERNSPRECHER: TEGEL 497. Address von Hrozný: Herrn Prof. Dr. Hrozny, Prag Vořechovka 285.

23 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–135]. DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / GLIENICKE (NORDBAHN) BEI FROHNAU / NOHLSTRASSE 21A / FERNSPRECHER: ~~TEGEL 497~~ D7 0497 / Istanbul, Sira Selvi 100.

24 Jan Rypka (1886–1968), Czech orientalist and professor of Iranian Studies.

23 meines Aufsatzes im AfO).[25] Das Gentilicium ist dagegen schwerer zu erklären, wenn ja auch Ortsnamen, die mit „Dadaš-“ gebildet waren, nicht selten gewesen sein mögen.

Meine Vorarbeiten zum Corpus Inscr. Heth. schreiten gut voran u.[nd] ich hoffe im nächsten Jahre die erste Lieferung vorlegen zu können. Ich gehe in Bälde nach Angora u.[nd] Boghazköi, bin aber über Istanbul dauernd zu erreichen. Mit den besten Grüßen Ihr D[r.] Bossert.

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 31st July 1933[26]

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor, Istanbul 31. Juli 33.
Eben kurz vor meiner Weiterreise nach Angora & Boghazköi erreichte mich Ihre fr[eun]dl.[iche] Zusendung, für die ich Ihnen bestens danke.
Mit ergeb.[ensten] Grüßen Ihr D[r.] Bossert

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 16th October 1933[27]

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor, Ankara, 16. X. 33
Das Corpus hethit. Hieroglypheninsch.[riften] & Reliefs umfasst alles Vorhandene. Das Werk wird voraussichtlich im Frühjahr 34 zu erscheinen beginnen u.[nd] ist auf 5 Bände à 100 Lichtdrucktafeln vorläufig berechnet.

Ich danke Ihnen nochmals für die Bereitwilligkeit, mir Ihr Archiv zu Beiträgen zur Verfügung zu stellen. Ich werde seiner Zeit gerne von Ihrem mich ehrenden Angebot Gebrauch machen.

Etwa in 1 Monat hoffe ich wieder in Deutschland zu sein.

Mit ergebensten Grüßen Ihr H. Th. Bossert

25 Bossert, Helmuth Theodor 1932–1933: Das hethitische Pantheon, AfO 8, 297–307.

26 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–126]. Address of Hrozný: Herrn Prof. Dr. Hrozny, ~~Prag Vořechovka 285~~ t.[oho] č.[asu] Poděbrady Boučkova ul. čp. 224 u p. Kaliny.

27 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–137]. Address: Istanbul / Sira Selvi 100.

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 3rd February 1934[28]

Hochverehrter Herr Professor, 3. II. 34.

Nehmen Sie meinen herzlichsten Dank für die freundlichen Worte, die Sie meiner Arbeit widmeten u.[nd] seien Sie versichert, daß ich Ihr Vertrauen voll u.[nd] ganz rechtfertigen werde.

Die Anfrage von Prof. Meissner bezieht sich wohl auf ein Gutachten, das die preuß.[ische] Akad.[emie] d.[er] W.[issenschaften] von ihm über meine Arbeit erwartet. Um die notwendigen Gelder für mein Corpus zu bekommen, hatte ich einen Antrag an die Notgemeinschaft gestellt, diese hinwiederum hat diesen Antrag aus mir unbekannten Gründen an die Akademie weitergeleitet. Vermutlich will sich die Notgemeinschaft nach allen Seiten decken. Leider handelt es sich, wie gesagt, nur um die Bewilligung eines Druckzuschusses, bei dem für mich selbst – ich meine für meinen Unterhalt – nicht das geringste herauskommt. Ich bin jetzt im 5. Jahr ohne Einnahmen u.[nd] Sie können sich vorstellen, wie ich als Familienvater mit 2 Kindern lebe!

Daß ich meine Arbeitskraft für die Wissenschaft nur so „nebenbei" einsetzen kann, werden Sie aus dem Gesagten ohne Weiteres entnehmen. Ich muß ja zunächst immer sehen, „irgendwie" meinen Unterhalt zu verdienen. Und das war zu keiner Zeit schwerer als jetzt. Daß es bisjetzt immer noch geradeso gegangen ist, ist für mich selbst das größte Wunder.

Ich habe Ihnen noch für Ihre letzte Zusendung zu danken; seien Sie mir nicht böse, wenn ich so lange wartete. Ich hoffte Ihnen etwas dagegen schicken zu können, allein die Topada-Inschrift kommt erst im Märzheft der OLZ[29] und meine Fortsetzung bei Weidner auch wohl erst im März.[30] Letzte Arbeit lag bald ¾ Jahr bei Weidner u.[nd] ist teilweise schon überholt, aber ich war den ganzen Sommer weg, als sie gesetzt wurde, u.[nd] konnte dann nichts mehr daran ändern. Gerne hätte ich schon einmal etwas für Ihr Archiv geschrieben, allein es fällt mir unter den gegebenen Umständen schwer, nur die Arbeit für Weidner fortzuführen. Seien Sie jedenfalls für Ihr warmes Eintreten bestens bedankt,

28 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–134]. DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / GLIENICKE (NORDBAHN) BEI FROHNAU / NOHLSTRASSE 21A / FERNSPRECHER: ~~TEGEL 497~~ D7 0497.

29 Bossert, Helmuth Theodor 1934: Die "hethitische" Felsinschrift von Topada, OLZ 37, 145–150.

30 Bossert, Helmuth Theodor 1933–1934: Das hethitische Pantheon (Fortsetzung), AfO 9, 105–118.

sollte ich in die Lage kommen, in irgend einer Hinsicht Ihnen nützlich sein zu können, so würde ich dies um so lieber tun, als mir Ihre tabubrechenden Arbeiten immer vorbildlich waren.

Mit besten Grüßen

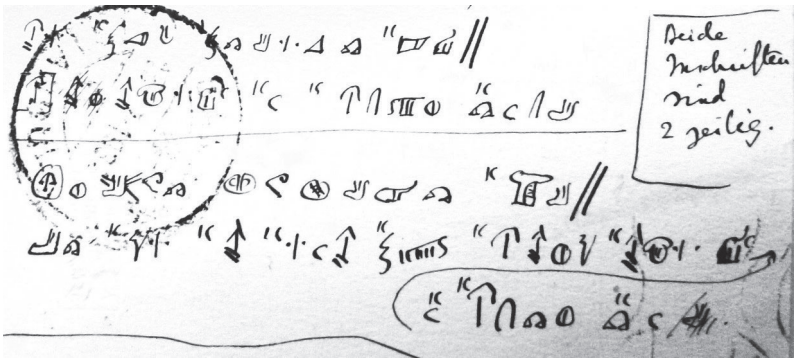
sehr ergeben Ihr H. Th. Bossert.

Bossert was appointed Professor in Istanbul in 1934. Hrozný arrived there the same year with the aim of copying inscriptions.

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 14th July 1934[31]

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege, Istanbul, 14. Juli 34.

Als Ihre Karte v.[om] 12. 7. ankam, hatte ich meine Umschriften & Photos gerade an Weidner zur Veröffentl.[ichung] gesandt, so daß mein ganzes Material bei ihm liegt.[32] Ich habe von der einen Erkelet-Inschrift noch eine mäßige Kopie, von der anderen garnichts mehr. Nachfolgend gebe ich Ihnen jedoch die Texte in Abschrift, so gut es geht.



Note on the upper right corner: “Beide Inschriften sind 2 zeilig”.

31 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–132]. Professor DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / ~~GLIENICKE (NORDBAHN) BEI FROHNAU~~ / ~~NOHLSTRASSE 21A~~ / ~~FERNSPRECHER: TEGEL 497~~ / Istanbul – Beyoğlu / Cihangir Palas Apart. 2. Address of Hrozný: Herrn Professor Dr. Hrozný Istanbul–Yedikule, Mahzen Sokağı I.

32 Cf. Bossert, Helmuth Theodor 1935–1936: Zwei hethitische Hieroglyphen-Inschriften aus Erkelet, AfO 10, 282–287.

Ich habe an die Kossäischen & Vedischen Namen auch gedacht, aber mich hinderte das „Kas“ in der Endung. Möglich ist Ihr Vorschlag immerhin.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen Ihr Bossert.

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 26th July 1935[33]

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege, 26. Juli 1935.

Wie ich zufaellig hörte, befindet sich in Ihrem Besitz eine hethitische Keilschrifttafel, die nicht aus B. stammen soll. Könnten Sie mir ganz kurz angeben, was der Inhalt dieser Tafel ist und ob Sie es tatsaechlich aus irgendwelchen Gründen für sich halten, dass diese Tafel nicht auch aus B. stammt? Ich verpflichte mich selbstverstaendlich zu jeder gewünschten Diskretion. Mit gleicher Post geht Ihnen eine Drucksache zu, von der ich allerdings nicht weiss, wie weit sie Sie interessiert. Kommen Sie dieses Jahr wieder hier her?

Mit freundlichen Grüssen Ihr: H Th. Bossert

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, s. d.[34]

Sehr geehrter Herr Koll[ege,]

Ich bin erstaunt x[...][35] v.[om] 8. 9. 36. In meinem [...] gab ich keine Geschichte der heth.[itischen] Grammatikausgaben, sondern ich besprach die Neuerscheinungen auf diesem Gebiet hinsichtl.[ich] ihres prakt.[ischen] Wertes f.[ür] d.[ie] Türkei. Daß Ihre Arbeit die Grundlage aller Forschung ist u.[nd] war, weiß jeder, den es angeht. Aber brauchbar (praktisch) ist Ihre Arbeit f.[ür] d.[ie] türk.[ischen] Studenten nicht, ganz abges.[ehen] davon, daß sie vergriffen ist und total veraltet. – Wenn ich dann über den Wert der deutschen Sprache f.[ür] d.[ie]

33 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–138]. DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / PROFESSOR UND DIREKTOR DES ARCHÄOL. INSTITUTS DER UNIVERSITÄT ISTANBUL / ISTANBUL–BEYOĞLU / CİHANGİR PALAS APART. 2.

34 One of the edges of the letter was cut off. MÚA, Archiv AV ČR, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný, IIb, i. č. 3. Profesör DR. HELMUTH TH. BOSSERT / ~~GLIENICKE (NORDBAHN)~~ / ~~BEI FROHNAU~~ / ~~NOHLSTRASSE 21A~~ / ~~FERNSPRECHER: TEGEL 497~~ / Istanbul – Beyoğlu / Cihangir Palas Apart. 2. Address of Hrozný: Herrn Prof. Dr. Hrozný Prag. Vořechkova[l] [i.e. Vořechovka] 285.

35 Probably a reference to Hrozný's letter.

türk.[ischen] Hethitologen sprach, konnte ich Sie, als Tschechen, nicht als ersten anführen, zumal Sie auf die Zugehörigkeit z.[um] deutschen Kulturkreis keinen Wert mehr legen, wie alle Ihre in französ.[ischer] Spr.[ache] veröffentl.[ichten] Arbeiten dartun. Daß ich Sie trotzdem als einzigen Nichtdeutschen hervorhob, zeigt die Wertschätzung, die ich Ihnen beimesse. Es sollte mich freuen, wenn ich ein Mißverständnis aufgeklärt hätte.

Prof. Dr. Bossert.

Helmuth Th. Bossert to Bedřich Hrozný, 3rd December 1950[36]

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege, Istanbul, den 3. 12. 1950
Ich danke Ihnen für die Übersendung Ihrer[i] Sonderabdrucks über die Inschrift aus Pylos und erlaube mir, Ihnen mit gleicher Post einen Aufsatz in italienischer Sprache zu zusenden. In dem ich Ihren Arbeiten guten Fortgang wünsche, verbleibe ich mit besten Grüssen

Ihr sehr ergebener *Bossert*

IGNACE JAY GELB

Ignace J. Gelb to Bedřich Hrozný, 10th April 1934[37]

Dear Professor Hrozný, 4-10-1934

Thank you very much for being so kind as to send me the reprints of your Hittite articles and for the greetings which you attached to the letter to Prof. Walther. This letter was handed over to me by Prof. Walther to answer a few of your questions.

The problem of publication of the Hittite hieroglyphic Corpus, as it stands, is as follows: Dr. Bossert in his last letter wrote me that he had become a professor at the University of Istanbul and was prepared to tackle the whole problem with his own forces. I myself have decided to spend this year on the preparation of all new texts and hope to be

36 MÚA, Archiv AV ČR, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný, IIb, i. č. 3. Prof. Dr. H. TH. BOSSERT / İSTANBUL – TOPHANE / Tavuk Uçmaz Sokağı, 8 / Kromit Apart. Note: UÇAK İLE PAR AVION. Address of Hrozný: Çekoslovakya Herrn Prof. Dr. B. Hrozný Praha V Smetanova[i] Nám. 1 [i.e. Smetanovo].

37 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–447]. Address of I. J. Gelb: THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

able at the beginning of 1935 to give to the press all the material which I have copied for the first time or collated. But as you yourself have stated there need be no fear of our having duplicated work. In the case of the bad inscriptions, independent copies by even three or four men would always be of great use.

During the last two years I have not had much time for the Hittite inscriptions, since I have been forced to dedicate all my free time to the publication of all the written material from Alişar, the work will be ready at the end of this spring,[38] and I hope to be able to send you a copy as soon as it appears off the press. It contains Cappadocian tablets, Cassite seals, Hittite hier.[oglyphic] inscriptions (two fragments) and seals, and a few Greek and Arabic fragments. I have spent a great deal of time on the Capp.[adocian] material and have been awaiting with eagerness the publication of your Capp.[adocian] texts, which were an<n>ounced by Geuthner some years ago. Will they appear this year, so that I could work them out and use them at least in the proofreading?

The second part of Dr. Forrer's Hittite decipherment was sent to the Institute last fall, but it was not accepted for publication because of the Institute's policy not to publish works written by non-members. It dealt mostly with grammatical problems. Dr. Forrer is at the present time in Baltimore.

A long time ago I discussed with Dr. Allen the need of hieroglyphic types for our Hittite publications. Since he is now on his vacation I have not been able to talk to him about it again. Will you please send us exact data concerning the number of types, price, and other details so we can decide on that when he comes back to Chicago?

Thanking you again for your kindness, I remain

very truly yours Ignace J. Gelb

38 Gelb, Ignace J. 1935: Inscriptions from Alishar and vicinity (= OIP 27).

Ignace J. Gelb to Bedřich Hrozný, 20th May 1935[39]

Dear Professor Hrozný: May 20, 1935

I have just heard from Dr. von der Osten that you are about to publish the inscriptions from Boy Bey Punarı, which were discovered by the Oriental Institute expedition. I myself copied these inscriptions in 1932. This year I am going to Asia Minor to collect various Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, and inasmuch as I should like to collate the inscriptions from Boy Bey Punarı, I should appreciate it very much if it were possible for me to obtain a reprint of your article on the subject.[40] Would you be so kind as to send me this reprint as soon as it appears? My address will be:

c/o American Embassy
Ankara, Turkey

A few weeks ago I sent you a copy of my Inscriptions from Alishar, which I hope you have already received.[41] In a month or so the second part of my Hittite Hieroglyphs will appear and a copy will be sent you immediately.[42]

Thanking you in advance, I am Very sincerely yours,
IJG EH[43] *Ignace J. Gelb*

Ignace J. Gelb to Bedřich Hrozný, 23rd September 1936[44]

Dear Professor Hrozný: September 23, 1936

For many years I have seen in various catalogs the announcement of the publication of your Cappadocian material from Kültepe, but up to now I have not seen a copy of it nor has the library of the Oriental

39 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz., without number]. Address of Hrozný: Professor Bedřich Hrozný / Prague / Vorechovka 285. Address of I. J. Gelb: THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

40 Hrozný, Bedřich 1935: Les inscriptions "hittites" hiéroglyphiques de Boybeypunari et le problème de la langue palâïte, ArOr. 7, 133–178, Plates XI–XXXVIII.

41 See note 38.

42 Gelb, Ignace J. 1935: Hittite hieroglyphs II. (= SAOC 14).

43 I.e. "Ignace J. Gelb eigenhändig" ("Ignace J. Gelb with his own hand").

44 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–450]. Address of I. J. Gelb: THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. Address of Hrozný: Professor Bedřich Hrozný / Vorechovka 285 / Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Institute acquired one. Would you be so kind as to inform me whether the book has appeared as yet, or if not whether the final date of publication has been set. I am translating all the Cappadocian tablets for the Assyrian Dictionary at the present time, and I should like to translate also your Cappadocian tablets from Kültepe as soon as I can obtain a copy of your book.

I am about to complete the preparation for publication of a collection of Hittite hieroglyphic monuments discovered by various members of the Oriental Institute during their travels in the Near East. I shall send you a copy of it as soon as it appears.

Yours very sincerely,

IJG EH *Ign. J. Gelb*

Ignace J. Gelb to Bedřich Hrozný, 9th December 1936[45]

Dear Professor Hrozný: December 9, 1936

It was not until now that I had time to go more carefully over the reprints of your latest articles which you were so kind as to send me.

On pages 171 ff. I observe that you mention having discovered in the Museum of Istanbul two inscriptions from Emirgazi,[46] previously unmentioned and unpublished. I saw and copied these inscriptions both in 1932 and in 1935. More important, however, is the fact that they were both mentioned by Sayce in his article in PSBA XXX (1908) 215–19[47] and one of them was even published by him. I am writing this to you because I hope you will be interested to know, in case you have not already discovered these facts yourself.

With best regards, Yours very sincerely,

IJG EH *Ign. J. Gelb*

45 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–449]. Address: THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE / *Cables*: ORINST CHICAGO / THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO / 1155 EAST FIFTY-EIGHT STREET CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A. Address of Hrozný: Professor Bedřich Hrozný / Prague / Vorechovka 285.

46 Hrozný, Bedřich 1936: Les quatre autels "hittites" hiéroglyphiques d'Emir Ghazi et d'Eski Kišla, et les divinités Apulunas(?) et Rutas, ArOr. 8, 171–199, Plates VIII–XXIV.

47 I.e. Sayce, A. H., 1908: Hittite inscriptions from Gurun and Emir Ghazi, PSBA 30, 211–220.

Ignace J. Gelb to Bedřich Hrozný, 26th November 1937[48]

Dear Professor Hrozný: November 26, 1937

Unfortunately I have not yet seen the third volume of your Inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques, but a few days ago Dr. Walther and I each ordered a copy of it and we hope to get it in a short time.

My own volume on the Hittite pictographic monuments is progressing slowly, and I expect to dedicate all my energy to it during the coming months. If no new obstacles arise, the volume should be completed around the beginning of next January and published around the middle of the coming year.

The thirty thousand Elamite inscriptions from Persepolis were transferred to the Oriental Institute of Chicago for study and publication. The supervision of the work is in the hands of Professor Poebel, who in collaboration with Drs. Cameron, Hallock, and Purves is preparing them for publication.

With kindest regards, Yours very sincerely,

IJG EH *Ignace J. Gelb*

PETER JENSEN

Peter Jensen to Bedřich Hrozný, 16th March 1914[49]

S.[ehr] g.[eehrter] H.[err] Dr.

Nachdem ich just vor Kurzem mit großem Interesse Ihre Ausführungen vorläufiger Natur über das Getreide und das Bier in Babyl.[onien] gelesen, wurde ich heute morgen freudig überrascht durch Ihr neues Geschenk. Ich zweifle nicht, daß ich es mit größtem Nutzen studieren

48 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 1/8–448]. The underlining of the names and data in the letter (with the exception of the name of the volume Inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques) in pencil, probably by Bedřich Hrozný. Address: Address: THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE / *Cables*: ORINST CHICAGO / THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO / 1155 EAST FIFTY-EIGHT STREET CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A. Address of Hrozný: Professor Bedřich Hrozný / Vorechovka 285 / Praha.

49 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 2/1–104]. Address: Herrn Dr. Hrozny Wien XVIII Scheibenbergstr. 20.

werde. Ich werde wegen KB VI, II (das jetzt endlich im Druck)[50] alsbald daran gehn.

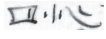
Mit herzlichem Dank Ihr ergebenster P Jensen.

d. 16. 3. 14.

Anbei etwas schon längst Gedrucktes, das ich Ihnen vielleicht noch nicht geschickt habe. Ev.[entuell] interessiert es Sie ein wenig.

Peter Jensen to Bedřich Hrozný, 30th January 1933[51]

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege,

Ich danke Ihnen vielmals. Vielleicht verdenken Sie es mir nicht, wenn ich die Meinung ausdrücke, daß Ihre Entzifferungen auf keilschrift-hittitischem Gebiete zukunftreicher als Ihre auf hieroglyphisch-hittitischem ebenso wie die von Bossert, wie die von Forrer sind. Tuu̯an- =  scheitert doch schon daran, daß  nach Bor, 3 u. s. w. Endung (des Genitivs) ist. Dieses Tuu̯an- hat ein allzu langes Leben.

D. 30. 1. 33. Ihr ergebener P. Jensen

Peter Jensen to Bedřich Hrozný, 1st August 1933[52]

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege. Marburg den 1. 8. 33.

Schönsten Dank. Da eine solche Erklärung Ihnen vermutlich unerheblich scheinen wird und Sie wohl so wenig beeinflussen wird wie irgendeinen von Ihren Parallel-Entzifferern, so trage ich kein Bedenken, auch von Ihrer neuesten Arbeit als meine Überzeugung auszusprechen, daß sie, wie alle Parallel-Arbeiten keinen Ewigkeits-Wert besitzt. Eine Würdigung auch dieser Ihrer neuesten Arbeit im einzelnen darf ich mir ersparen, da ich auch sie leider in einem Kapitel „Von Frank bis Hrozny“ in dem in Aussicht genommenen Buche von mir besprechen muß.

So lange man einer Nachprüfung des Charakters der hittitischen Hieroglyphen-Schrift mit Hartnäckigkeit aus dem Wege geht und anderer-

50 Jensen, Peter 1915: Texte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Religion. 1. Kultische Texte (= KB 6/2).

51 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 2/1–105]. Address: Herrn Prof. Dr. Hrozný Tschech.[ische] Universität Prag Vořechovka 285.

52 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 2/1–108 a Ar.Hroz. 2/1–109].

seit festhält an den von Sayce und mir etc. vermeintlich erwiesenen Lesungen Karkamiš, Hamat, Gurgum und Tyana, bleibt die Entzifferung im Sumpfe stecken. Sie halten sich darüber auf, daß ich in wichtigen Punkten mich bekehrt habe. Kennen Sie das Rückertsche Das sind die Weisen, die durch „Irrtum zur Wahrheit reisen“[53] oder die älteren Formen dieses Spruchs? Dessen Fortsetzung unterdrücke ich, um nicht als jemand zu erscheinen, der verletzen will. Ihnen zum Trotz aber schließe ich mit der Erklärung, daß ich auf Grund solidesten Nachdenkens weiß, was in den Inschriften steht, nämlich durchaus anderes als das, was man und Sie darin finden.

Ihr sehr ergebener P. Jensen.

Peter Jensen to Bedřich Hrozný, 2nd August 1933[54]

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege.

Es liegt mir am Herzen, Ihnen alsbald zu sagen, daß ich nach Wiederlesen der S. 4 Ihrer neuen Schrift sehe, daß ich Ihnen Unrecht angetan habe indem ich mich in meinem Brief an Sie darüber beklagte. Ich sehe jetzt, daß sich auf S. 4 eine rein sachliche Feststellung findet, in der man keine Spitze gegen mich zu sehen braucht.

Ihr ergebener P. Jensen

Übrigens ist meine erste, wie ich sage, grundlegende Arbeit über unsere Inschriften in ZDMG XLVIII erschienen.[55]

53 “Wise are they who arrive at Truth through Error.” The author of the quotation is the German poet and professor of Oriental languages Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866).

54 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 2/1–106]. Date of the post stamp. Address of Hrozný: Herrn Prof. Dr. Hrozný, ~~Prag XVIII Tschechische Universität~~ t[oho] č[asu] Poděbrady Boučkova ul. čp. 224 u p. Kaliny.

55 Jensen, Peter 1894: Grundlagen für eine Entzifferung der (ḫatischen oder) cilicischen (?) Inschriften, ZDMG 48, 235–352, 429–485.

Peter Jensen to Bedřich Hrozný, 12th September 1933[56]

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege.

Vielen Dank für Ihre freundliche Zusendung. Es tut mir nun wirklich leid, auch über die Bleitäfelchen nicht die gleiche Ansicht wie Sie haben zu können. Meine Ansicht ist die, daß sie zur Apotrope dienen und Grabbeilagen sind. Vielleicht kommt noch eine Zeit, die zwischen Ihnen sowie den anderen Lesern der hitt.[itischen] Hieroglyphen und mir autoritativ entscheidet.

Ihr ergebener P. Jensen D. 12. 9. 33

3 SUMMARY

Bedřich Hrozný was convinced, and constantly repeated the fact, that his reading of the hieroglyphs was correct: as an argument, he cited a situation he had experienced twenty years earlier, at the time when he announced his decipherment of Hittite.[57] After his 1915 lecture in which Hrozný presented Hittite as an "Indo-European language", opponents soon began to protest vociferously and rejected his decipherment, particularly comparative linguists who questioned his thesis. The preserved materials – his memoirs and the article "A Brief Synopsis of My Scientific Discoveries"[58] – show that Hrozný was persuaded he had correctly deciphered the hieroglyphs: "After deciphering the inscriptions of the cuneiform Hittite, I shifted my studies to Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions. There, I had collaborators in the scholars Bossert, Forrer, Gelb and Meriggi. I undertook a five-month journey to Asia Minor in 1934 for the purpose of copying there a number of unpublished or at least imperfectly published hieroglyphic inscriptions. The result was a large publication of 510 pages and 108 tables. In this book, I published the first grammar of the language in which these inscriptions were written. I further discovered that the language of the "Hittite" hieroglyphic inscriptions is an Indo-European language, namely West Indo-European, from the Kentum group, closely related to the Hittite cuneiform lan-

56 Archiv Náprstkova muzea, Praha, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 2/1–107]. Address of Hrozný: Herrn Professor Dr. Hrozný, Prag Vořechovka 285 Tschechische Universität.

57 Cf. Velhartická 2015.

58 Hrozný 1947.

guage. In it, I translated for the first time almost all (in total perhaps 90) of the most important and longest hieroglyphic inscriptions."[59]

Of Bedřich Hrozný's achievement, Annick Payne wrote: "As most of Hrozný's work on the hieroglyphic script predates this material, it is therefore unsurprising that Hrozný's transliteration and translation fall short by modern standards. His translations in particular include a considerable amount of guesswork which has not stood the test of time. Yet some of his guesses were inspired, so that in certain, more obvious contexts he occasionally achieved correct translations despite faulty transliterations."[60] If further documents and archival material are found on this topic, it will be possible in the future to reconstruct even more closely the circumstances of the decipherment of the Anatolian hieroglyphs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Český učenec u Kemala Paši. Za nápisy tajemných Hethitů do nitra Malé Asie. Profesor dr. Hrozný o svých objevech, Večer 289 (13. 12. 1934), 1–2.

Dhorme, Édouard 1933: Où en est le déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes hittites?, Syria 14/4, 341–367.

Hrozný, Bedřich 1933–1937: Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques. Essai de déchiffrement. I.–III.

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Payne, Annick 2015: Bedřich Hrozný and the Anatolian Hieroglyphic Script / Bedřich Hrozný a anatolské hieroglyfy. In: Š. Velhartická (ed.), Bedřich Hrozný and 100 years of Hittitology / Bedřich Hrozný a 100 let chetitologie, 227–232.

Prášek, Justin V. 1924: Letošní výkopy prof. dra Hrozného v Hauránu, České Slovo XVI/153 (1. 7. 1924), 1–2.

59 Hrozný 1947: 2.

60 Payne 2015: 228. Note by Annick Payne: "The dilemma of the decipherer who needs to be imaginative to achieve any success but may be condemned for this by later scholars is admirably described by Campbell Thompson, an even earlier decipherer of the hieroglyphic script (1934, 833–834, 842)." (Payne 2015: 232 n. 6).

Velhartická, Šárka 2015: Rezeption der Entzifferung der hethitischen Sprache in der österreichischen und deutschen Presse, MDOG 147, 9–23.

Velhartická, Šárka 2019: Le lettere di alcuni filologi italiani conservate negli archivi di Praga. In: P. Taracha/N. Bolatti Guzzo (ed.), “And I knew twelve languages”. A tribute to Massimo Poetto on the occasion of his 70th birthday, 715–733.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

If not listed below, the abbreviations used in the publication follow the *Abkürzungsverzeichnis des Reallexikons der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (https://rla.badw.de/reallexikon/abkuerzungslisten/literatur-und-koerperschaften.html).

a. a. O.	am angegebenen Ort	encl.	enclitic
		esp.	especially
Abb.	Abbildung	etc.	et cetera (and so forth)
abl./Abl.	ablative/Ablativ		
abs.	absolute	evtl.	eventuell
acc.	accusative	f.	(genus) femininum
adj./Adj.	adjective/Adjektiv	gen./Gen.	genitive/Genitiv
ai.	altindisch	ggf.	gegebenenfalls
Akk.	Akkadian	Gk.	Greek
Alb.	Albanian	GN	Geografischer Name
Aram.	Aramaic	Goth.	Gothic
arm./Arm.	armenisch/Armenian	gr.	griechisch
		heth.	hethitisch
bes.	besonders	Hitt.	Hittite
bzw.	beziehungsweise	HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
c.	(genus) commune		
Car.	Carian	Hurr.	Hurrian
cf.	compare; confer	ibid.	ibidem (in the same place)
chap.	chapter		
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian	id.	idem (identical)
col.	column	idg.	indogermanisch
coll.	collective	i.e.	id est (that is)
dat./Dat.	dative/Dativ	IE	Indo-European
Dem.Pron.	Demonstrativpronomen	impf.	imperfect
		impv.	imperative
d. h.	das heißt	Indef.Pron.	Indefinitpronomen
D.-L.	Dativ-Lokativ	inf./Inf.	infinitive/Infinitiv
ed./Ed.	edited by/Edition	instr./Instr.	instrumental/Instrumental
ed. pr.	editio princeps		
e.g.	exempli gratia (for example)	Iran.	Iranian
		Ital.	Italian

jmdn.	jemanden
kluw.	keilschriftluwisch
Konj.	Konjunktion
l(l).	line(s)
Lat./lat.	Latin/lateinisch
Latv.	Latvian
lit.	literally
Lit.	Literatur
Lith.	Lithuanian
loc.	locative
loc. cit.	loco citato (in the place cited)
Lok.	Lokativ
Luw./luw.	Luwian/luwisch
Lyc.	Lycian
Lyd./lyd.	Lydian/lydisch
lyk.	lykisch
m.	(genus) masculinum
med.	medium
Mil.	Milyan
mündl. Hinweis	mündlicher Hinweis
N	Noun
n./neut.	(genus) neutrum/Neutrum
No(s).	number(s)
nom./Nom.	nominative/Nominativ
o. ä.	oder ähnlich
o. g.	oben genannt
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
OGer.	Old German
OHG	Old High German
OIr.	Old Irish
OIran.	Old Iranian
OPers.	Old Persian
Oss.	Ossetian
OSwed.	Old Swedish
Pal.	Palaic
pers. comm.	personal communication
Phoen.	Phoenician
Phr.	Phrygian
PIE	Proto-Indo-European/proto-indo-européen
pl./Pl.	plural/Plural
PLuw.	Proto-Luwian
PN	personal name/Personenname
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
pron.	pronoun
Prs.	Präsens
ref(s).	references
resp.	respectively
s.	see/siehe
Sam.	Sam'alian
scil.	scilicet (namely)
sg./Sg.	singular/Singular
Sid.	Sidetic
s. o.	siehe oben
s. v., s. vv.	sub voce, sub vocibus, (under the word(s)/unter dem Ausdruck, unter den Ausdrücken)
tr.	translation
u. a.	unter anderem
uranat.	uranatolisch
v. a.	vor allem
ved./Ved.	vedisch/Vedic
vel sim.	vel similia (or similar)
vgl.	vergleiche
vs.	versus
z. B.	zum Beispiel
z. T.	zum Teil

TEXT EDITIONS AND DICTIONARIES

ACLT Yakubovich, Ilya: Annotated corpus of Luwian texts <http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/>.

BNJ Brill's New Jacoby.

BullEp. 1989 M. Sève, Bulletin Épigraphique, REG 102, 372–385.

C.Eu Carian Inscriptions from Caria (Euromos).

C.Ka Carian Inscriptions from Caria (Kaunos).

C.Kr Carian Inscriptions from Caria (Krya).

CAH The Cambridge Ancient History.

CAL Kaufman, Stephen A. et al.: The comprehensive Aramaic lexicon <http://cal.huc.edu>.

CHD Güterbock, Hans Gustav/Hoffner, Harry A. Jr./van den Hout, Theo P. J. (ed.) (1980-): The Hittite dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

CTH Laroche, E., 1971: Catalogue des textes hittites (= Études et commentaires 75) <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>.

DLL Melchert, H. Craig 2004: A dictionary of the Lycian language.

eDiAna Digital philological etymological dictionary of the minor ancient Anatolian corpus languages <https://www.ediana.gwi.unimuenchen.de>.

E.Me Carian Inscriptions from Egypt (Memphis).

EGM Fowler Robert L. 2000–2013: Early Greek mythography, I.–II.

EHD Kloekhorst, Alwin 2008: Etymological dictionary of the Hittite inherited lexicon.

FD Fouilles de Delphes.

FGrHist Jacoby, Felix 1923–1958: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. I.–III.

FHG Müller, Carl/Müller, Theodor 1841–1873: Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, I.–V.

GGM Müller, Karl. (ed.), 1855–1861: Geographi Graeci Minores. I.–II.

GHL Hoffner, Harry A. Jr./Melchert, H. Craig 2008: A grammar of the Hittite language (= LANE 1).

H II Wörrle, Michael 2012: H II. Die griechischen Sepulkralinschriften von Limyra. In: J. Borchhardt/A. Pekridou-Gorecki (ed.), Limyra. Studien zu Kunst und Epigraphik in den Nekropolen der Antike, 411–457.

HEG Tischler, Johann 1977–: Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar. Mit Beiträgen von Günter Neumann und Erich Neu (= IBS).
HMA History Museum of Armenia.
I.Cret. Guarducci, Margherita 1935–1950: Inscriptiones creticae.
IGBulg Mihailov, Georgius (ed.), 1956–1996: Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae.
IK Die Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien. 1972–.
I.Mylasa Blümel, Wolfgang 1987, 1988: Die Inschriften von Mylasa. I.–II. (= IGSK 34–35).
KAI Donner, Herbert/Röllig, Wolfgang 2002: Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.
KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, 1916 –.
KI Lidzbarski, Mark 1907: Kanaanäische Inschriften (Moabitisch, Althebräisch, Phönizisch, Punisch).
KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, 1921–.
KuT Texts from Kuşaklı.
LGPN The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names <http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/index.html>.
LIMC Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.
LIV² Rix, Helmut 2001: Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen.
LuvLex Melchert, H. Craig 1993: Cuneiform Luvian lexicon.
LW Gusmani, Roberto 1964: Lydisches Wörterbuch (mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung.
M Mørkholm, Otto/Neumann, Günter 1978: Die lykischen Münzlegenden.
MAARAV A Journal for the Study of the Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures.
N Neumann, Günter 1979: Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901 (= DAWW 135, Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 7).
NIL Wodtko, Dagmar S./Irslinger, Britta/Schneider, Carolin 2008: Nomina im indogermanischen Lexikon.
RE Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
RIC Roman Imperial Coinage.
RIMA The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods, 1987–.
RINAP The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, 2011–.

RPC	Roman Provincial Coinage.
SAA	State Archives of Assyria.
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.
SGO	Merkelbach, Reinhold/Stauber, Josef 1998–2004: Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten. I.–V.
Syll.^{3}	Dittenberger, Wilhelm, 1915–1924: Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum (3rd edition).
TAM II	Kalinka, Ernst 1930: Tituli Lyciae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti. II. Regio quae ad Xanthum flumen pertinet praeter Xanthum oppidum (= Tituli Asiae Minoris II/2).
TIB VIII	Hellenkemper, Hansgerd/Hild, Friedrich 2004: Lykien und Pamphylien (= Tabula Imperii Byzantini VIII = Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 320).
TL	Kalinka, Ernst 1901: Tituli Asiae Minoris conlecti et editi auspiciis Caesareae Academiae Litterarum Vindobonensis. Volumen 1: Tituli Lyciae. Lingua Lycia conscripti.
VBoT	Götze, Albrecht, 1930: Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte.

CLASSICAL AUTHORS

Ael. Dion.	Aelius Dionysius
Aeschyl. *Ag.*	Aeschylus *Agamemnon*
Aeschyl. *Suppl.*	Aeschylus *Supplices*
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus
And.	Andocides
Anth. Pal.	*Anthologia Palatina*
Anton. Lib. *Met.*	Antoninus Liberalis *Metamorphoses*
Apoll. Rhod.	Apollonius of Rhodes
Apollod.	Apollodorus
[Apollod.]	pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*
App. *BC*	Appian *Bellum Civile*
App. *Mithr*.	Appian *Mithridatius*
Aristoph. *Av*.	Aristophanes *Aves*
Aristoph. *Nub.*	Aristophanes *Nubes*
Arr. *exped. Alex.*	Arrian *de expeditione Alexandri*
Bakchyl. *epin.*	Bakchylides *epinicia*
Call. *frg.*	Callimachus *fragmentum*
Call. *Artem*.	Callimachus *hymnus ad Artemidem*

Call. *Iov*.	Callimachus, *Hymnus in lovem*
Cic. *QFr*.	Cicero *Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem*
Cic. *Verr*.	Cicero *in Verrem*
Claud. *carm. min.*	Claudius Claudianus *carminum minorum series*
Ctes.	Ctesias
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus
Dion. Hal. *AR*	Dionysius Halicarnasseus *Antiquitates Romanae*
Eur. *Bacch.*	Euripides *Bacchae*
Eur. *Hyps.*	Euripides *Hypsipyle*
Eus. *Pr. Ev.*	Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica*
Eus. *Chron.*	Eusebius *Chronicon*
Eust. *Comm ad Hom. Il.*	Eustathius of Thessalonica *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*
Gal. *de antid.*	Galen *De antidotis*
Hdt.	Herodot
Hell. Oxyrh.	*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*
Herodian of Syria *Hist.*	Herodian, *History of the Empire from the Death of Marcus*
Hes. *fr*.	Hesiod *fragmenta*
Hesych.	Hesychius
Hom. *Il.*	Homer *Ilias*
Luc. *Dial. mort.*	Lucian of Samosata *Dialogi mortuorum*
Lucan.	Marcus Annaeus Lucanus
Mart. Cap.	Martianus Capella
Mela	Pomponius Mela
Nic. *Al.*	Nicander *Alexipharmaca*
Nonn.	Nonnus of Panopolis
Opp. *Hal.*	Oppian *Halieutica*
Ov. *met.*	Ovid *metamorphoses*
Paus.	Pausanias
Pherecyd.	Pherecydes
Phot. *Bibl.*	Photius *Bibliotheca*
Pind. *P*.	Pindar *Pythia*
Plin. *NH*	Plinius Secundus Maior *naturalis historia*
Plut. *Art.*	Plutarch *Artaxerxes*
Porph. *de Themat.*	Constantinus Porphyrogenitus *de Thematibus*
POxy.	*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*
Ps.-Scyl.	Pseudo-Scylax
Schol.	Scholia

Serv. Dan. *Ad Verg. Aen.*	Servius Danielis *Ad Vergilii Aeneida*
Solin.	Gaius Julius Solinus
Soph. *OC*	Sophocles *Oedipus Coloneus*
Soz.	Sozomen
Stad. Maris Magni	*Stadiasmus Maris Magni*
Steph. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantinus
Strab.	Strabon
Suet. *Gramm.*	Suetonius *de grammaticis*
Suid.	Suda
Theoc. *Id.*	Theocritus *Eidyllia*
Thuc.	Thucydides
Tzetz. *ad Lycoph.*	Johannes Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem*
Vitr.	Vitruvius
Xen. *an.*	Xenophon *anabasis*
Xen. *Cyr.*	Xenophon *Cyropaedia*
Xen. *Hell.*	Xenophon *Hellenica*

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