

TOMBS AND TERRITORIES: THE EPIGRAPHIC CULTURE OF
LYCIA, c. 450-197 BC

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Abstract

In this thesis, I look at the use of inscriptions on stone in the Lycian peninsula during the fourth and third centuries BC, considering the effect of internal and external events on the production of inscriptions in the area, and looking at aspects of continuity and change across the two centuries.

In Chapter 1, I discuss the development of the Lycian alphabet, arguing that origins of the alphabet are far more complex than has usually been believed, and involved elements of both organic development and conscious devising of letters forms. Building on the work of earlier scholars, I consider the alteration of certain letters-forms over time, and use these – and other available indications of date – to allocated number of inscriptions from different sites to ‘early’ or ‘later’ periods; the results of this work are presented in the ‘harts’ at the back of my thesis.

In the subsequent chapters, I build on my conclusions from the first chapter to discuss certain aspects of the epigraphy of Lycia in a broadly chronological fashion, first setting out the what we know about the historical background of each period under discussion, and then considering inscriptions of particular interest.

In Chapter 2, dealing with the late-fifth and early-fourth century, I look at the earliest of the Lycian epitaphs, as well as the uniquely long inscriptions of the rulers of Xanthos. I consider the development and structure of the ‘building formula’ which is so common in Lycian inscriptions, and how this relates to other Anatolian epigraphy.

Chapter 3 looks at the effect of the internal strife in early-third century Lycia, and particularly the figure of Perikle, on the epigraphic culture of Lycia, with particular discussion of the *ẽnẽ...χñtawata* ‘ruler formula’, while Chapter 4

discusses the changes brought about by Hekatomnid rule over Lycia, and the beginnings of the use of Greek in private epigraphy.

Finally, Chapter 5 looks at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, arguing that Lycian continued to be used in both official and private inscriptions, and discussing the ways in which official epigraphy became more similar to that of other Greek *poleis* – while retaining specifically Lycian features.

98, 900 words [excluding catalogue of datable inscriptions (Chapter 1.16) and translations of Lycian and other non-classical languages].

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In Vienna, Professor Heiner Eichner was a generous and most helpful source of information, help and friendship. Dr. Martin Seyer and Professor Thomas Corsten were also generous with their time and support, allowing me access to the squeeze collections of the Austrian Archaeological Institute and the Austrian Academy of Sciences, respectively. In Oxford, Dr. Georgy Kantor has given me much helpful friendship and support, and read a substantial portion of the thesis in a very short amount of time, giving a huge amount of helpful advice. My particular thanks are also due to Dr. Peter Haarer, who has given me huge amounts of help and encouragement during both my undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, and who first suggested the history of ancient Anatolia as an area where I could combine my interests in both Ancient History and Linguistics, and to Dr. John Penney first encouraged my interest in philology and historical linguistics as an undergraduate, and has continued to be very generous in discussing various points and providing help with numerous queries. In Kaş, Herr Diether Schürr generously gave up his weekend to take me to Kandyba and Isinda, and showed me the newly rediscovered TL65. The support and enthusiasm of my travel companions on two walking trips along the Lycian Way - Joanna Staunton, Daniel Martin-Thomas, Agnes Treherne, Benedikt Weiss and Harriet Rix - enabled me to see a great number of sites I could not otherwise have visited. They showed endless forbearance with my insistence on seeing every possible corner of the towns we visited.

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CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

All dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

Where I discuss actual letter forms of the Lycian alphabet, these are inserted directly into the text without brackets: e.g. 𐌶 . Greek letters are given in majuscules, again inserted directly into the text.

When the specific letter form in use is not under discussion, I use <pointed brackets> to mark a the transcription of a single Lycian grapheme (e.g. <ē>, in whatever form); where whole words are transcribed, these are in *italics*, with no brackets.

Phonetic descriptions of a sound are given in [square brackets].

Lycian texts are transcribed using the method shown in Chart 1, which follows the modern transcription, used by e.g. Neumann (2007) and Neumann (2012).

Abbreviations are as used in l'Année Philologique, with the following additions:

BNJ	Worthington, I. (ed.) [in progress] <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> , Leiden [available only online at http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby]
CH	<i>Coin Hoards</i>
Jacoby, FGrH	Jacoby, F. (1923-1958) <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Berlin. <i>Burdur</i> Horsley, G. and Kearsley, R. (2007) <i>The Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum</i> . London.
ICentralPisidia	Horsley, G. and Mitchell, S. (2000) <i>The inscriptions of Central Pisidia</i> , Bonn.
IMilet	Rehm, A. and Herrmann, P. (1997) <i>Inschriften von Milet</i> , Berlin.
IPriene	Hiller von Gaertringen, F. et al. (1968) <i>Inschriften von Priene</i> , Berlin.
IRhodianPeraia	Blümel, W. (1991) <i>Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia</i> , Bonn.
M	Mørkholm, O. and Neumann, G. (1978) <i>Die lykischen Münzlegenden</i> (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1978 Nr. 1), Göttingen.
N	Neumann, G. (1979) <i>Neufunde Lykischer Inschriften seit 1901</i> , Vienna
ÖAI	Österreichisches Archeologisches Institut (Vienna)
ÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft (Vienna)
RC	Welles, C. (1974) <i>Royal correspondence in the Hellenistic period : a study in Greek epigraphy</i> , Chicago.
RO	Rhodes, P. and Osborne, R. (2003) <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC</i> , Oxford.
Syll ³	Dittenberger, W (1915) <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum 3rd edn</i> , Leipzig.
TAM II	Kalinka, E. (1920) <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris collecti et editi auspiciis academiae litterarum Vindobonensis Volumen II Linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti</i> , Vienna
TL	Kalinka, E. (1901) <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris. Volumen I. Tituli Lyciae Lingua Lycia Conscripti</i> , Vienna.

SOURCES OF TEXTS

A new edition of the inscribed monuments of Lycia, which will document every monument carrying a Lycian inscription, is currently being prepared by the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna by the Lycian Inscribed Monument project.

At present, the chief corpora of Lycian texts are:

Kalinka, E. (1901) *Tituli Asiae Minoris. Volumen I. Tituli Lyciae Lingua Lycia Conscripti*, Vienna. This is a collection of all the inscriptions known up to 1901, with sketches of the inscriptions and, in many cases, the monuments carrying them. The Corpus was based primarily on the information collected by a number of scholars working under the auspices of the ÖAW during the last decades of the nineteenth century, in particular Benndorf, Heberdey and Kalinka.

Neumann, G. (1979) *Neufunde Lykischer Inschriften seit 1901*, Vienna. This collects the inscriptions published between 1901 and 1979, up to N323.

Neumann (2012) has also re-published all the known texts from Limyra, in Borchhardt and Pekridou-Gorecki (2012) (as chapter H I).

Melchert (2001) *Lycian Corpus* (published online) collects the texts of almost all published Lycian inscriptions; in addition to the inscriptions in Neumann, he adds the more recently published texts up to N328. The text is generally that of Kalinka, although following the modern conventions of transcription (with x for χ, as elsewhere in Melchert's work). In general, Melchert gives only the Lycian text and the location of the inscriptions, as recorded by Kalinka and Neumann. In some cases, however, he presents more recent, improved texts: in particular, TL 72 (although this is still not the most recent version) and TL 45. The Lycian B texts – TL 44 and 55 – are not included; nor is the fragmentary Lycian-Aramaic bilingual N319.

The Lycian texts which have been discovered – or for which significantly improved readings have been obtained – since the publication of Melchert's *Corpus* are as follows (for the sake of completeness, I include those texts not on stone). N- numbers are those assigned by the Lycian Inscribed Monuments project:¹

N329 and N330: these numbers appear not to have been assigned to any texts.

N331 (Korba, central Lycia): epitaph on a stone block (base of a sarcophagus?). Ed. pr. Neumann (2000) 184-185 (with illustration).

N332 (Avşar Tepesi, central Lycia): graffito. Ed. pr. Neumann (2000) 183-184 (with illustration).

N333 (Tlos): epitaph on a stele (funerary altar?). Name of builder/deceased is missing. Ed. pr. Tekoğlu, R. (2002-2003) 104-114.

N334 (Tlos) epitaph of Ipresida, on a rock-tomb. Ed. pr. Tekoğlu, R. (2002-2003) 104-114.

N335 (Aşartas): epitaph of on a rock-tomb. Ed. pr. Tekoğlu, R. (2002-2003) 104-114.

N336 (Pinara): epitaph of Eseuwe(sa?), on a rock-tomb. Ed. pr. Seyer and Kogler (2007) 109-121.

N337 (Limyra): inscribed stele from Limyra. Ed. pr. Christiansen (2012) 141-153.

N338 (Limyra): unpublished epitaph from N II 100 – mentioned by Kuban (2012) 210-211 and Neumann (2012) 395.

¹ I would like to thank Heiner Eichner for sharing with me his list of newly discovered and unpublished Lycian inscriptions, from which much of this information derives.

N339 (Limyra): unpublished epitaph from N V 67 – mentioned by Kuban (2012) 347-8.

N340 (Limyra): unpublished fragment of stele

N341 (Xanthos): unpublished epitaph.

N342 (Tlos): unpublished epitaph.

N343 (Tlos): unpublished bilingual (Lycian-Greek) fragment.

N344 Xanthos: unpublished epitaph.

N345-N348: unpublished fragments from Xanthos.

N351 (Beykonak, near Kumluca, east of Limyra): epitaph on a rock-tomb. Ed. pr. Seyer and Tekoğlu (2009) 217-226.

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INTRODUCTION

In his novel of early twentieth-century Lycia, *Birds Without Wings*, the author Louis de Bernières describes a rock-tomb on the outskirts of the fictional town of Eskibahçe:

‘On the pediment above was inscribed in the as yet undeciphered Lycian script “Philiste, daughter of Demetrius, built this for Moschus, whom she loved”. Underneath were written details of the fine for violation...’.²

When I first read this description, during a trip to Lycia, I was filled with righteous indignation: how dare de Bernières – whose detailed research is evident in his adoption of names preserved in a well-known Greek graffito at Myra – knowingly ‘quote’ an epitaph that would never have been found in Lycian script?³ Not a single mention of love is seen in the known Lycian epitaphs: this example had been shamelessly ‘sexed-up’. Was de Bernières implying that the Lycian epitaphs, to which I had just decided to devote the next four years of my life, were in some way inadequate or uninteresting?

Over those four years, my initial indignation has cooled somewhat and I have come to realise that de Bernières’ adaptation of the standard, formulaic epitaph

² de Bernières (2004) 37.

³ Stark (1956) 151 translates the relevant graffito at Myra, found by Texier, as ‘Moschus loves Philiota, the daughter of Demetrius’.

highlights a number of ways in which Lycian inscriptions are, to a modern observer, unfamiliar and unsettling.

Most obvious is the puzzle of the Lycian language and alphabet which, as the passage quoted emphasises, remained undeciphered until the start of the twentieth century. Significantly more difficult than reading the Lycian alphabet is making sense of the language it was used to write. Lycian belongs to the Anatolian group of languages, which also includes Hittite, Luwian, Lydian, Carian and Sidetic. It is closest to Luwian, but had already begun to diverge from it before the time of our earliest records of that language. The existence of a few Greek and Lycian bilingual inscriptions has made it possible to discover the meaning of the commonest elements of the short epitaphs, while the meaning of various other words has been deduced from comparison with other Anatolian languages, but there are still large parts of the longest texts which remain only partly understood and many words whose meanings can only be guessed at from their context.

Long acquaintance with, and study of, certain texts can lead one to forget just how odd their contents actually are. Luckily my travelling companions on two walking tours around Lycia have been quick to remind me of the strangeness of the epitaphs which make up the largest homogenous group of inscription types written in Lycian, and are therefore central to this study. A typical conversation in front of an inscribed tomb:

‘What does it say?’

‘Well... It says that so-and-so built it for himself and his wife and his children. And paid three *ada* for something – but we don’t really know what.’

‘Oh. Is that all? How odd.’

The puzzlement – and slight disappointment – with which modern visitors react to the inscriptions is unsurprising. Those accustomed to modern gravestones and memorials in (for example) Britain expect epitaphs to express rather different sentiments: the desire that the deceased be remembered; a hope that they now ‘rest in peace’ or are in heaven; an expression of affection; sorrow at their death; a description of their good qualities. The lack of any mention of affection between the various family members mentioned in a Lycian epitaph seems callous, putting up a barrier between us and the ancient Lycians – no wonder that de Bernières, whose novel focuses on the essential similarities of all humans despite differences of religion, race and time, devised an alternative which seems more sympathetic to his readers.

Consideration of these apparent omissions is instructive: in addition to underlining the differences, now increasingly emphasised by scholars, between the modern and ancient worlds, it draws attention to the obvious, but easily forgotten, fact that no element of an inscription, whether an epitaph or a longer text, can be considered simply the ‘natural’ thing to write. Indeed, as Ramsey MacMullen points out in *The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire*, the connection between literacy and the use of epigraphy is extremely complex: it is

by no means inevitable that a literate society will produce any inscriptions on stone at all.⁴ Indeed, although tombs are the most common context for inscriptions in Lycian, it must be remembered that only a very small proportion of the hundreds of rock-cut tombs recorded on the peninsula carry an inscription (although, as discussed in Chapter 2, it is probable that at least some would have had a painted epitaph instead). Jan Zahle, in his survey of Lycian tombs, counted 70 sites at which Lycian tombs had been found, whereas inscriptions are currently known from only 33.⁵

Content of the Thesis

In this thesis, I consider the epigraphic culture of Lycia between the mid-fifth century and the end of the third century – a period which covers Lycian membership of the Delian league, renewed (and perhaps intensified) Persian domination, rule by the Hekatomnid dynasty of Caria, Alexander the Great's visit to the area, and Ptolemaic control. The end of the Ptolemaic period in Lycia, brought about by the conquest of the peninsula by Antiochus III, seemed an appropriate place to end my survey, since it allowed me to consider one key alteration in the epigraphic culture – the change from the use of Lycian to the use of Greek – but preceded the next crucial shift: the foundation of the Lycian *koinon* in the early second century, and its subsequent effect on the production of inscriptions.⁶ With the term 'epigraphic culture' I refer to the inscribing of

⁴ MacMullen (1982) 233-234.

⁵ Zahle quoted in Mellink (1975) 213. An interesting comparison can be drawn here with early modern England, where, although many splendid funerary monuments were produced, failure to build one – like failure to inscribe an epitaph in Lycia – was not necessarily an indicator of poverty or lower status, since, as Peter Sherlock has shown, '...a majority of the early modern nobility were buried without the provision of permanent grave markers'. (Sherlock (2008) 21).

⁶ See Behrwald (2000) 79-90.

texts on stone, and consider three overarching questions: *what* was inscribed? *Why* was it inscribed? And how (and why) did the answer to these first two questions change over time?⁷

I first look in detail at the development of the Lycian alphabet, and the possibility of using the palaeography of the inscriptions to establish their approximate dates (Chapter 1). I conclude that the Lycian alphabet, rather than being simply an adaptation of the Rhodian alphabet, is in fact a more complex combination of graphemes from a variety of Greek, and perhaps even non-Greek, scripts. In the second part of the chapter I hope to have shown how certain letter forms - specifically the uniquely Lycian letters <ẽ> and <ã>, but also <χ> - developed in the course of the fourth century. Consideration of these letter forms, in combination with the more general appearance and content of the inscriptions and the tombs, makes it possible to allocate many of the tombs (especially from sites such as Xanthos and Limyra where the epitaphs are particularly prolific) to very broad chronological periods such as 'early' or 'late' fourth century; at the same time, I have pointed out, and taken into account, the limitations of this palaeographical approach.

⁷ My decision to use the term 'epigraphic culture' here stems, in particular, from discussion with Dr. William Mack, who pointed out to me that the more common term 'epigraphic habit', coined by MacMullen (MacMullen (1982)) to refer to a specific epigraphic phenomenon of the Roman empire but since used more widely (at, for example, Hedrick (1999) 389) to refer to the use of epigraphy in any designated place or time, is potentially unhelpful, since it emphasizes (as MacMullen intended), the trends and fashions which are often seen in epigraphy, and risks hiding the fact that, in most places and at most times, the erection of an inscription - even one of the most conventional sort - would have required deliberate choices and effort on the part of the individual concerned. This does seem to me to be a real danger, hence my use of the alternative, if somewhat insipid, term 'epigraphic culture'.

In the next four chapters, I have combined the results of this palaeographical investigation with consideration of those inscriptions which can be more closely dated due to their content. Taking a broadly chronological approach, I look at the nature of the epigraphic culture of various parts of the peninsula during four consecutive periods: the early fourth century (Chapter 2); the mid-fourth century (Chapter 3); the period of Hekatomnid rule over Lycia (Chapter 4); and the effect of the arrival of the Ptolemies (Chapter 5). In each case, I consider the epigraphic remains from specific sites – as well as examples of individual inscriptions – and what they might be able to tell us about the more general nature of epigraphy at the time, the reasons for which the inhabitants of Lycia produced inscriptions on stone at various different points, and how both the nature of, and motivation for, the production of epigraphy altered over time.

In Chapter 2, consideration of the earliest Lycian epitaphs demonstrates the uniqueness of the 'building formula' with which they commonly open, and shows how they reflect the concerns of those who commissioned them: the emphasis on the ability to build a tomb, and the importance of enabling the burial of future generations, as well as of ensuring the undisturbed rest of the deceased. In addition, I argue that the building of tombs and the inscribing of epitaphs was used as a way of demonstrating allegiance to certain rulers, and perhaps of emphasising ownership of particular pieces of land; an argument which is expanded upon in Chapter 3. Chapter 2 also includes consideration of the rather different way in which the rulers of the Xanthos valley used epigraphy to demonstrate and reinforce their power, both within Lycia and in the wider Aegean world. Chapter 3 considers again the use of inscriptions to show

allegiance to a certain ruler, this time against the background of conflict within Lycia between the rulers Perikle and Arttuṃpara – in which the satrap Autophradates was also involved – and considers the likely importance of Perikle's territorial expansion on the spread of epigraphy, concluding that this was particularly important in the production of the unusual epitaph at Kızılcā, near Elmalı (N314).

In Chapter 4, I look at the effects of the Hekatomnid takeover of Lycia, showing how, in spite of the increased appearance of Greek during this period (both in the official epigraphy of Xanthos and the necropoleis of Limyra), the uses of epigraphy remained fundamentally unchanged, with both the form and content of Greek inscriptions determined, in many cases, by that of their Lycian counterparts. Finally, Chapter 5 deals with the change in the epigraphic culture of Lycia under the Ptolemies, which saw the main towns of the region using epigraphy in ways that can only be described as 'hellenised': recording, for example, the awarding of honorific decrees. At the same time, however, Lycian continued to be used in inscriptions at least into the first decades of the third century, as shown by the dating formula on a Lycian inscription from Kadyanda (TL35) which places it 'in the fourth year of Ptolemy'.⁸ This conclusion, although accepted by a number of scholars, is one which many have been reluctant to concede or, at least, to follow up. Its logical extension, however, is that at least a few of the undated Lycian epitaphs may also have been produced during this time and I suggest two instances, one at Isinda (TL63) and one at Limyra (TL105), for which this might be the case.

⁸ Laroche (1979) 56.

Study of an Epigraphic Culture

My decision to concentrate on the epigraphic culture of Lycia, rather than looking more widely at literacy in Lycia, was initially dictated by the nature of the evidence. With the exception of the inscriptions on stone (and even these are few enough), surviving examples of Lycian writing are limited to a few potsherds, an inscribed phiale, an inscribed silver jug in the British Museum, an inscribed statuette of the Egyptian goddess Min (which may be a forgery) and the coin legends of numerous Lycian coins.⁹ We know, of course, that many perishable writing materials were used in the ancient world, including wax tablets, parchment, and papyrus and these would surely have been used in ancient Lycia - but no surviving examples have so far been found and so we have no way of knowing to what extent they were used, and at what point they first appeared. Any general discussion of literacy in the Lycian peninsula would be seriously hampered by lack of evidence.

In addition, the study of the use of epigraphy in Lycia is of interest for its own sake. As Louis Robert emphasised in his article *Les épigraphies et l'épigraphie grecque et romaine*, 'une inscription ne livre ... ne prend son vrai sens qu'au sein d'une série;... L'inscription doit être mise à la fois dans la série des inscriptions du même lieu, de la même époque et du même sujet.'¹⁰ The Lycian inscriptions are in many of these ways an ideal subject. Comparatively few inscriptions in either Lycian or Greek were produced in fourth century Lycia, and the majority are short epitaphs of the type already mentioned; in this sense, they can be

⁹ Potsherds: N313a-m (from Xanthos); N332 (from Tüse). Phiale (late-fifth/early-fourth century): N323. Jug (c. 400): N307. Statuette: N301.

¹⁰ Robert (1961) 23.

considered a 'series'. It is a series, also, quite circumscribed in time, since it begins in the mid-fifth century and seems to end by the mid-third century. Of particular interest, in my opinion, the fact that this series, which begins in Lycian only, is soon paralleled in Greek and, in one case, in Aramaic.

The fact that the inscriptions, and their original language, are limited to a comparatively small area is also significant. The Lycian peninsula is remarkable for the distinctiveness of its culture, which extended to funerary practices as well as language – and led to the development of its unique epitaphs. In fact, the area in question is far smaller than a map of the peninsula suggests: both the funerary and epigraphic evidence is limited to the coastal zone. Although the area is small, the rough terrain suggests that communications between the two sides of the peninsula would have been difficult: in the mountainous area of central Lycia, around Kaş (ancient Antiphellos) numerous small sites, each on a hilltop overlooking their own small plain (known in modern Turkish as an *ova*), can still only be reached on foot. Either side of this region are two areas of very fertile coastal plain, around the modern towns of Kınık, to the west, and Demre and Finike, to the east; near these modern towns are the ancient centres of Xanthos, Myra and Limyra. The plains have been created by silt washed down from the interior of the peninsula by three river systems: the Esen Çayı, which has carved out the Xanthos valley, with Xanthos at its bottom, and Pinara, Tlos and a number of other ancient sites in the hills along its sides; the Demre Çayı, formed from two shorter rivers which start in the Kasaba basin, inland of the rocky coastal part of central Lycia; and the Avkır Çayı [\[Aykırı Çay?? Check this\]](#), which

runs down from the much larger Elmalı basin, right in the centre of the Lycian peninsula.

*'A Sense of Audience': the Viewers of Inscriptions*¹¹

One especially important way in which epigraphy is distinguished from other uses of writing is by the fact that almost all inscriptions on stone, whether graffiti carved by a goatherd or a decree of a satrap, are intended to be seen and noticed by passers-by, even illiterate passers-by. Naturally, there are exceptions to this – one inscription at Xanthos, TL49, is carved inside a tomb – but as a general rule, epigraphy tells us not only facts about the person who commissioned the inscription, but also about the image he or she wished to project.

This leads to consideration of the potential 'audience' of the inscriptions, and thence to the question of ancient literacy: how many fourth-century Lycians would have been able to read the texts they saw? Unfortunately, there is little direct evidence for levels of literacy in fourth-century Lycia. In *Ancient Literacy*, however, Harris argued that classical scholars have tended to be over-optimistic in their estimates of the extent of literacy in the ancient world, and estimates that even in Greek cities of the fourth century, which produced large numbers of official inscriptions apparently addressed to the entire population, illiteracy would have been 'far above 50%'.¹² He points out, however, that in Mediterranean cities, where men spent much of their time in public spaces, there would always have been someone to read inscriptions to those who could not do

¹¹ MacMullen (1982) 246 argues that 'the rise and fall of the epigraphic habit was controlled by what we can only call the sense of audience'; while – at least in Lycia – myriad other factors were at play, the phrase seems to capture one of the defining characteristics of epigraphy.

¹² Harris (1989) 7-9, 22

so themselves¹³. As a result, the words recorded in inscriptions would have been accessible even to those passers-by who could not actually read them.

In addition, the presence of writing would presumably have been noticed by illiterate viewers, and would have affected their understanding of the monument in some way, perhaps by impressing upon them the erudition of the erector. However, while these interpretations seem plausible, they do rely on modern assumptions about the relationship between literacy and status which cannot necessarily be transferred to other societies. In the Mesopotamian kingdoms of the seventh century many kings were unable to write: Ashurbanipal boasts that he is an exception, recording on a clay tablet found at Nineveh that 'I mastered the tablet writing art, as none of my predecessors ever did...', showing that, although literacy was valued, it was not seen as an essential skill for a ruler.¹⁴ It must also be remembered that some of the most literate members of Greek and Roman society were slaves (although perhaps slaves of comparatively high status). We do, however, have three relief scenes from Lycia, from graves in Pinara, Tyberissos and Kyaneai, which show men reading, implying that this was, at least in some cases, a high-status activity.¹⁵

Related to the question of the level of literacy in fourth and third century Lycia is that of how many Lycians could speak and read Greek at this point, and how

¹³ Harris (1989) 34-35

¹⁴ Reichmann (1980) 44. Yararis of Karkamiš makes a similar in KARKAMIŠ A15b 19-22 (Payne (2012) 84-87, no. 2.3.10) when he states that he can write not only in the writing of his own city, but also in that of Tyre, in Assyrian, and in the Taimani writing (perhaps Aramaic).

¹⁵ Schürr (2013) 38-39 discusses the implications of these relief scenes. As he points out, (only) two of the three graves in question carry an inscription, although it is possible that the third could have had a painted epitaph.

many other Greek-speakers were present in Lycia at the time. Greek was inscribed alongside Lycian from an early period, but it is not clear how many people would in fact have been able to read or speak the language fluently. As discussed in Chapter 1, there were plenty of opportunities for Lycians to come into contact with, and speak to, Greeks, and there is plenty of evidence that individuals in a number of places were able to speak Greek and use the Greek alphabet. Recent research has shown the many different levels of bilingualism which existed in the ancient world (as well as bringing out the complexity of language choice and language use).¹⁶ In spite of this, however, certain aspects of the development of the alphabet (see Chapter 1.13), alongside the lack of any monolingual Greek inscriptions until the second part of the fourth century and, in particular, the use of Lycian as well as Greek in official inscriptions of the Hekatomnid period implies that there were at least some people in the area who could not easily understand Greek. It is of course possible that, by this time, Lycian was being inscribed in order to indicate respect for the indigenous culture of the area rather than because it was more comprehensible than Greek, yet the fact that, even at the end of the fourth century, the Lycian texts of bilingual inscriptions appear to be the primary versions implies that this was the first language of most inhabitants of Lycia (see Chapter 4.9).

Lycian tombs, and the mechanics of creating inscriptions

One point which is crucial for the understanding of Lycian inscriptions is the fact that the majority were carved onto rock-tombs, which were hewn out of the cliff face, and usually consist of a single tomb chamber, with funerary couches carved

¹⁶ e.g. Adams and Swain (2002) 16-18; Mullen (2012) 5-29; Mullen (2013) 53-66.

along the sides; in some cases additional tomb chambers are found.¹⁷ The façades of these tombs, as is well known, are carved so as to imitate houses built of wooden beams, with the joints and ends of the protruding side beams depicted (see fig. 1).¹⁸ The most common design depicts two ‘doors’, one of which is false, while the other would have been closed by a sliding stone, now usually lost. Larger tombs usually show a second ‘storey’. Over the door is a lintel – the most common position for the epitaph – over which the ends of a roof made of pole ends are often depicted (a ‘pole-roof’) topped by three *fasciae*.¹⁹ Naturally there are numerous variations on this pattern, many of which show the influence of Ionic architecture: some tombs, for example, have square ‘dentilation’ of the type familiar from Greek architecture in place of the ‘pole-roof’, sometimes together with triangular pediments and small columns, making them resemble Ionic temples rather than houses. There are also much smaller examples at certain sites: at Limyra and at a few other sites, for example, a particularly simple design of tomb, with a single, small door emerged (now designated the ‘Limyra-typus’; see fig. 2).²⁰

Two other types of tomb were common in early Lycia: pillar tombs and sarcophagi. The former consisted of a shaft of stone (the ‘pillar’) with a burial chamber on top, decorated with reliefs; one example is the so-called Harpy Monument at Xanthos, the original reliefs of which were removed by the British

¹⁷ The design of the tomb chambers developed over time: see Seyer (2009) 51-82, discussed in Chapter 1.21.

¹⁸ Kuban (2012) 24-29.

¹⁹ There has been extensive study of the architecture and decoration of the rock-cut tombs at various sites. Xanthos: Demargne (1958) 116-126; Demargne and Laroche (1974) 31-45. Limyra: Kuban (2012) 22-81 gives a detailed discussion of the typology of the façades and burial chambers of the tombs, and of their construction. Central Lycia: Hüllden (2006) 31-50.

²⁰ Kuban (2012) 42

traveller Charles Fellows in the nineteenth century, and are now in the British museum.²¹ The majority of these pillars were produced during the sixth or fifth centuries, and only three bear an inscription (the Inscribed pillar at Xanthos (TL44), a pillar at Kadyanda (TL34), and a much later pillar at Tlos (TL29)).²² The sarcophagi are as distinctive in form as the rock tombs; almost all have ogive lids - they are the forerunners of the smaller, plainer, ogive-lidded sarcophagi which became so common in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods.²³ In the fourth century they tended to be larger, with relief decoration on the lids and in some cases the sides, and with beams and frames depicted as on the rock-tombs.²⁴

It is clear from the epitaphs that individuals commissioned their own tombs during their life-time, intending them for themselves and their families; this may be one reason for the apparent lack of any emotion in the epitaphs – yet since the tombs were used by entire families, it would have been possible for more affectionate messages to be added if this had been felt to be desirable. Instead, it seems – as I argue in Chapter 2 - that the inscriptions were intended almost as much as a way to establish the builder's ownership of the tomb as to commemorate him (or her) *per se*, although naturally it would also have had that function.

²¹ Demargne (1958) 37-47.

²² Deltour-Levie (1982) 183-205 (who does not consider the Tloian monument as a pillar tomb).

²³ Kolb (2008) 179-183 discusses the development of the Hellenistic sarcophagi, pointing out that the plain lower-sections of these later forms appear to be modelled on Greek sarcophagi.

²⁴ E.g. at Xanthos: the Pajawa sarcophagus (with TL40; see Chapter 3) and sarcophagus of Merehi (with TL43; see Chapter 2); at Limyra: the sarcophagus of Xñtabura (with TL 125; see Chapter 2). The sarcophagus of Sidarios at Limyra (with the bilingual inscription TL117) is one obvious exception to the standard design. Hüllden (2006) 51-98 discusses the typical features of sarcophagi.

Although the person who commissioned the tomb is referred to in this thesis (as is usually the case) as a ‘tomb builder’ – a reflection of the meaning of the Lycian word (*prñnawate* ‘he built’) usually used in the epitaphs – we naturally need not assume that he or she would have been physically involved in the construction of the tomb, which would have been created by specialist stone masons, perhaps travelling from place to place. Similarly, although the exact mechanism involved in the addition of an epitaph cannot be known for certain, it seems most likely that the stone mason would have been responsible for this as well.

This raises a number of questions: were stonemasons literate? And were those who commissioned the inscriptions literate?²⁵ Was it the stonemasons who chose the form of words used, or would they simply have copied a text written out by their customer? The answer to these questions might well have varied in different parts of Lycia and at different times. The difference between the neatly cut letters of certain epitaphs and the more ‘scrappy’ lettering of others suggests a difference in different masons’ familiarity with letter-cutting, but it is not entirely easy to interpret, since some of the least carefully cut epitaphs are at Limyra, the site with the highest number of inscriptions; it may be that those who were *more* familiar with writing on stone in fact cut more quickly, and thus less neatly, than those who were simply copying a model.

‘Official’ and ‘Private’ Epigraphy

²⁵ Although they would presumably have been able to read if they were to have any interest in the addition of an inscription, they need not necessarily have known how to write; as is often pointed out by e.g. Thomas (1992) 10 reading and writing are two separate skills.

As mentioned above, one of the ways in which epigraphy is set apart from other uses of writing is in its high level of visibility. This makes it impossible to speak of ‘public’ epigraphy, since all epigraphy is to some extent public. In Lycia, however, as elsewhere, there is an important distinction between inscriptions commissioned by private individuals (the majority of those in the Lycian language) for their own individual purposes, such as asserting ownership of a tomb, and those commissioned for ‘official’ purposes, such as the recording of decrees. The distinction is not, of course, clear cut: those inscriptions which record payments to the *miñti*, for example (as discussed in Chapter 3), appear to have had an ‘official’ purpose – but they nevertheless refer primarily to matters of interest to one family, rather than to the whole community. At various points in the thesis, therefore, I have drawn attention to this distinction by talking of ‘private’ and ‘official’ epigraphy, with ‘private’ epigraphy being that commissioned by and relating to private individuals – but still, naturally, on public display.

Lycia – a case study for Hellenisation?

One of the key themes in the study of Lycia – both in the observations of early travellers and in more recent scholarship – has been that of ‘Hellenisation’, with attempts to trace ‘Greek elements’ in the architecture and culture of Lycia, to look at the ways in which the Lycians gradually become ‘more Greek’, to find out when these changes took place, and how they were encouraged by different rulers and historical circumstances. Investigation of Hellenisation – or the casual assumption of its existence – has had two main strands: consideration of the effect of Greek art and architecture on Lycian art and architecture; and

consideration of the emergence of *poleis* and of institutions typical of a Greek *polis*, governed in a quasi-democratic fashion.

These two strands have tended to focus on different time periods, and raise some rather different questions. Discussion of Lycian sculpture, for example, has identified 'Greek', 'Persian' and other non-Anatolian elements in various monuments of the sixth century and onwards, while discussion of the development of Lycian towns has attempted to pinpoint the time at which they became Greek-style *poleis*, with the expected institutions and constitutions, and to explain how these developed. Study of the epigraphy of Lycia necessitates taking both these strands into account: many of the earliest monuments carrying inscriptions have sculptural decoration containing apparently 'Greek' elements (for example, the sarcophagus of Merehi, discussed in Chapter 2), while later epigraphy appears heavily affected by – and is often used as evidence for – the development of institutions typical of a Greek *polis*, such as archons and assemblies (see Chapter 5).

However, the whole concept of 'Hellenisation' is extremely problematic, as has frequently been pointed out.²⁶ First comes the obvious difficulty of identifying what is 'Greek'. The independence and variety of the various Greek city-states make this practically impossible to define, but at the same time it is clear that, from a comparatively early stage, those who considered themselves 'Greek' were able to define themselves as such, at least when this was felt to be desirable –

²⁶ e.g. Hall (2002) 104-124 (discussing also the question of language as a marker of 'Greekness'); Mullen (2013) 4-19 (also discussing problems of ethnic identity and language more widely); Vlassopoulos (2013) 7-11; Prag and Quinn (2013) 3-10.

and there is no reason to assume that those who considered themselves *not* to be Greek were not similarly able to recognise ‘Greekness’ (alongside other ethnicities).²⁷ Such distinctions were, however, fluid from an early period, as shown by Isocrates’ assertion, in the fourth century, that ‘people are called Greeks (Ἕλληνας) because they share in our education rather than in our birth’.²⁸

There is also the danger of a certain cultural imperialism, assuming that ‘Greek’ elements were superior simply by virtue of being ‘Greek’. This attitude frequently appears in accounts by early travellers, and was common as late as the 1980s, when A. S. Childs could still talk of ‘the element of provincial conservatism’ in Lycian art.²⁹ On the other hand, there are some indications that the Lycians themselves saw knowledge of the Greek language and Greek literature, in some situations, as an indication of culture and education. Most noticeable is the use of Greek poetry on monuments of the rulers of Xanthos (see Chapter 2.12ff): recognition of the dangers of assuming the superiority of ‘Greek’ culture must not blind us to those occasions when it actually might have been considered desirable by non-Greeks in the ancient world.

²⁷ Herodotus, for example, famously has the Athenians talk to the Spartans of τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὸν ὁμαῖμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότραπα... (Hdt. 8.144.2); quoted by Hall (2002) 35, who emphasises, however, that ‘on the collective level, the Hellenes never subscribed to a mono-genetic origin’. Although Herodotus’ passage must be seen in the context of Athenian rhetoric in the face of Persian invasion, the very fact that he was able to point to these areas suggests at least some idea that they were indeed elements of a shared culture.

²⁸ Isocrates *Panegyrikos* 50 (trans. Papillon (2004) 40); as Hall (2002) 209 point out, Isocrates’ main intention here is to restrict the definition of ‘Hellene’ to those who have been educated in Athens, ‘but this only emphasizes the point that Hellenicity is something that can be taught and learnt – a matter of enculturation rather than the destiny of birth’.

²⁹ Childs (1981) 71.

As a result of increased sensibility to such questions, modern discussions of Lycian art and architecture have focussed on the conscious adoption of non-Anatolian (particularly Greek and Persian) techniques and iconography for artistic or political purposes, and the role played by this ‘acculturation’ in the creation of a distinctively ‘Lycian’ style.³⁰ Alongside this emphasis on the conscious adoption of elements from non-Lycian cultures has come increased – although less frequently discussed – appreciation of the fact that certain techniques, in sculpture and other areas, originating in the Greek world might be adopted not so much because they were ‘Greek’ as for the technical advantages they offered. For the Hellenistic period, the idea of a ‘Mediterranean *koine*’ which came to be widely used across the Mediterranean has been extensively considered, for example by Jonathan Prag in his discussion of Hellenistic epigraphy in the western Mediterranean.³¹ It seems, however, that such an idea is also applicable to the artistic life of the eastern Aegean at a much earlier period – and even, perhaps, to the use of the Greek language.³²

Discussion of the political development of Lycia has tended to remain focussed on the idea that the Lycian cities eventually became Hellenistic *poleis*, with

³⁰ e.g. Bryce (1990) 540 suggests that ‘outward manifestations of Greek culture were due, initially at least, to an upper class cultural bias in Lycian society towards the Greek world, and to the deliberate adoption by the administrative elite of a number of the trappings of Greek civilisation’.

³¹ Prag (2013) 344-347.

³² Keen (1998) 68 suggests that the increased use of Greek in Lycia ‘had something to do with the growing spread of Greek as a *lingua franca* in the fourth century’, an idea that is discussed at various points throughout this thesis. The idea of Greek artists and artistic techniques being used primarily for pragmatic reason is hinted at by Vlassopoulos (2013) 264, who, in his discussion of the Nereid monument, argues that ‘[t]he style of Lycian art is effectively exclusively Greek’, but that artists working in Lycia (whom he appears to assume were Greek) combined ‘Greek and non-Greek iconographies in order to create an art that is uniquely Lycian’. Similarly Anne-Marie Carstens, in her work on ‘creolisation’ in neighbouring Caria suggests that a key factor in Maussollos’ use of Greek craftsmen was their technical excellence (Carstens (2013) 214; see also Chapter 4.1-3).

debate: so, for example, Marc Domingo-Gygax, in his *Untersuchungen zu den Lykischen Gemeinwesen*, asks ‘wie in Lykien um gewisse urbane Zentren solche fest umgrenzten Territorien, die Chorai, entstanden sind, ab wann die Bürger, die in solchen Territorien lebten, sich durch typische Institutionen einer griechischen Polis – regelmäßig tagende Volksversammlung und Ämter – selbst verwaltet haben und wie sich diese Elemente bis zur definitiven Konsolidierung des Polissystems in Lykien entwickelt haben’.³³ These different approaches seem to point to a real difference in the evidence and time-periods being discussed: developments in Lycian art and sculpture took place over a long period of time, and encompassed many different techniques and styles, some plainly of Greek (usually Ionian) origin, some clearly not, others doubtful, whereas the final result of the development of the Lycian towns was communities which at least presented themselves as ‘Greek’, and were accepted as such by others (as shown, for example, by the letter from the Kytenians to Xanthos, discussed in Chapter 5).

In the study of Lycian epigraphy, both the conscious adoption of non-Lycian elements in order to create a specific effect and the use of new technologies for their own sake rather than as ideas specifically tied to a certain culture are crucial. Were the Lycians aware, for example, of the Greek origins of their alphabet, and, if so, how much significance did they attach to it? At a later date, how much importance was attached to the use of the standard wording of Greek decrees by Lycian towns, and what was the significance of departures from this?

³³ Domingo-Gygax (2001) 68.

In one sense, discussion of ‘Greek’ elements in epigraphy is less problematic than in, for example, sculpture: it is clear – at least *vis-à-vis* Lycian – when the Greek language and alphabet is being used. Even here, however, the significance of the use of Greek rather than Lycian is seldom obvious. Furthermore, discussion of ‘Greek’ *uses* of epigraphy, and of ‘Greek’ influence on what is said in inscriptions, what types of inscriptions are produced, and the linguistic features of Lycian soon becomes far more problematic – as shown, for example, by controversy over the origin of the phrase *atli ehbi*, in the few epitaphs which explicitly state that a man is building a tomb ‘for himself’ (see Chapter 1).

However, there are certain formulae and conventions which do appear widespread in Greek epigraphy and less common in that of other languages. In this thesis, when referring to such traits as ‘Greek’, I mean to imply only that they are seen in a number of Greek states, and are therefore impossible to describe simply as, for example, ‘Rhodian’ or ‘Athenian’; I should add the proviso here that such ‘Greek’ traits and uses of inscriptions will only ever have occurred in some areas of the Greek speaking world (especially since others, most famously Sparta, had limited epigraphic culture).

A final question in discussion of Hellenisation and cultural transfer more generally is that of the mechanics of such transfer. This point is well made by Ulf, in his paper ‘Rethinking Cultural Contacts’, who states that ‘[w]e cannot necessarily assume that goods and ideas travel from one culture to another of their own accord; or that travelling individuals passively convey them as part of their baggage, as it were’ and points out that it is not certain either that ‘those

who transmit a given object, idea or text are willing and able to pass on its significance', or that those receiving it will use it in the same way.³⁴ Consideration of this question is particularly pertinent to discussion of epigraphy: technical skills such as knowledge of the alphabet, as well as less easily defined ideas, such as which elements of a statement can or can't be elided from an inscription, cannot simply 'arrive' in an area, but must come about through contact between individuals. Such contact is, of course, now impossible to reconstruct with any certainty, but I have attempted to consider the various possibilities involved in the different stages of the development – and eventual Hellenisation - of Lycia's epigraphic culture.

A note on Lycian numismatics

Our main source of evidence for the history of Lycia other than the inscriptions on stone is the coinage produced in the area. Between the early fifth century and the mid-fourth century, large numbers of coins were produced, many of which carried alphabetic legends; coin production in the peninsula appears to have ceased around the middle of the fourth century.³⁵ Indeed, these constitute the earliest surviving evidence of writing (in the Greek alphabet) in Lycia, as well as the earliest evidence of the Lycian alphabet (see Chapter 1).

A detailed discussion of the Lycian coinage and coins legends falls outside the scope of this thesis, which, for the reasons described above, concentrates on inscriptions on stone; in addition, numismatics is not an area in which I can claim

³⁴ Ulf (2009) 83.

³⁵ For detailed discussions of the dates and nature of Lycia coinage see, *inter alia*, Mørkholm and Zahle (1972) and (1976); Kolb and Tietz (2001).

any expertise. Nevertheless, the numismatic evidence has been crucial as (in most cases) the sole source of information about the historical background to the epigraphy, other than that found within the inscriptions themselves. This makes it a vital tool in avoiding the circular argumentation which would otherwise result from interpreting the inscriptions in the light of a historical reconstruction based entirely upon their own content.

I therefore give a brief overview here of some key points about Lycian coinage. Almost all Lycian coinage has become known to scholars only after its arrival on the antiquities market. This is true, too, of the majority of coin hoards, which have often been reconstructed after appearing on the market.³⁶ The most important of the hoards found in Lycia are the Dekadrachm hoard (c. 460), the hoard found in Kaş in 1961 (c. 450), the Tissaphernes hoard (c. 400-380), found near Kadyanda, and the Podalia hoard, from near Elmalı (c. 375/70).³⁷

Lycian coinage is remarkable for the fact that the coins' legends can name people as well as places, occasionally both - but most often the names of people.³⁸ Also noteworthy is the use, within the circumscribed area of the Lycian peninsula, of two distinct weight standards: the 'light' standard (with a stater weighing c. 8.50g) of western Lycia (which arose in the mid-fifth century, succeeding an earlier 'middle' standard) and the 'heavy' standard (with a stater of c. 9.80g) of

³⁶ Vismara (1999) 16-17.

³⁷ Dekadrachm hoard: *CH* VIII.48; discussed in detail by Fried (1987) 1-19, Kagan (1987) 21-28 and Spier (1987) 29-42 (all in Carradice (1987)). Kaş hoard: *IGCH* 1251. Tissaphernes hoard: *CH* III.14, *CH* V.16. Podalia hoard: *IGCH* 1262. Details of all four hoards – together with other known hoards including Lycian coins – are given in Vismara (1999). However, Spier (2000) 369-372, a very critical review of Vismara (1999), points out numerous errors in this work, making it necessary to treat the information it contains with extreme caution.

³⁸ Mørkholm and Neumann (1978) provide a list of all the Lycian coin legends known at that time, giving each one a number (prefixed by M).

eastern Lycia.³⁹ This geographical division has been questioned by Novella Vismara, but her argument that the two weight standards instead resulted from a chronological development seems to be invalidated, and the traditional interpretation maintained, by the fact that at least two rulers of Xanthos (Kuprilli, in the mid-C5th, and his successor Xeriga) minted coins on both standards, presumably for use in different parts of the peninsula.⁴⁰

Distinguishing between personal names and place names on coins can be difficult: confusion was caused in the past by the fact that a number of coins appear to carry the names of two individuals. In most such cases, however, it has since been demonstrated that one of the names is a place-name – in particular, *Zagaba* is now generally accepted as the name of a place rather than of a ruler.⁴¹

Even after the identification of certain names as places rather than dynasts, the numismatic record remains complex, with more than one individual apparently minting in one place at the same time, and, conversely, individuals apparently minting in disparate locations: Mithrapata and Aruwâtijesi, for example, both seem to have minted coins at Zagaba in the early fourth century, while Mithrapata might also have minted at Tlos.⁴²

³⁹ Weights as given by Spier (1987) 30-32, based on his study of the Dekadrachm hoard. Mørkholm and Neumann (1978) 5-6 had given weights of c. 8.00 - c. 8.60 g for the light standard and of c. 9.40-10.00 g for the heavy. The use of different standards is also discussed by e.g. Mørkholm (1964) 70; Zahle (1989) 170-171 (who gives narrower weight ranges, similar to Spier's, of c. 8.40g for the light staters and c. 9.70-9.90g for the heavy); Kolb and Tietz (2001) 349-350 (who again give a weight of 8.00-8.60g for the light staters, but have a wider weight range of 9.10-9.90g for the heavy staters).

⁴⁰ Vismara (1996) 7; contradicted by Kolb and Tietz (2001) 350.

⁴¹ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 348.

⁴² Kolb and Tietz (2001) 385, 387.

The connection between the coinage record and the epigraphic record is often complex: the coinage record sometimes offers evidence of the importance of sites which would appear from the epigraphic record to have been extremely unimportant, and *vice versa*. For example, none of the sites proposed as the location of Zagaba, the mint mentioned above, has an epigraphic record as rich as we would expect from such a prolific mint. The weight standard of the coinage from the town, together with the names of the dynasts mentioned, prove that it was situated in central Lycia, but its exact location is still debated. Melchert suggests that it was at Lagbos, in northern Lycia, but it appears very unlikely that coins would have been minted this far north by those also known to have been active in the central coastal area. Keen suggested that the town was Antiphellos, but this conflicts with Pliny's statement that that town's earlier name was Habesos.⁴³

The two latest ideas are Kolb and Tietz's suggestion that it was at Avşar Tepesi, south-west of Kyaneai, and Schürr's that it was at Seyret (Gökçeören), slightly further west.⁴⁴ Of these, the second is most convincing: as Schürr points out, Avşar Tepesi has very few rock-cut tombs, while Seyret has a higher number, concomitant with the apparent importance of Zagaba; it also fits better into a passage of TL44a42-43 which seems to describe a campaign heading west from Phellos to Patara.⁴⁵ An inscription at Seyret (N315) also mentions that the tomb was built 'under the rule of Mizrppata', which would fit the fact that a certain Mithrapata (not necessarily the same man; see Chapter 3.1) minted coins at

⁴³ Keen (1998) 55; Habesos: Pliny Nat. 5. 28. 100 (quoted by Bryce (1986) 229; Bean (1978) 97).

⁴⁴ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 348.

⁴⁵ Schürr (2012b) 28.

Zagaba. Even Seyret, however, has produced only two inscriptions up till now, either providing an excellent illustration of the lack of any clear link between the prosperity of a site and the production of inscriptions – or suggesting that the site of Zagaba has not yet been correctly identified.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ The lack of an obvious connection between the prosperity of a site and its epigraphic culture is noted by, *inter alia*, MacMullen (1982) 245.

Chapter 1

THE ORIGINS OF THE LYCIAN ALPHABET

*πέμπε δὲ μιν Λυκίηνδε, πόρεν δ' ὃ γε σήματα λυγρά,
γράφας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῶ θυμοφθόρα πολλά,
δεῖξαι δ' ἠνώγειν ὧ πενθερῶ, ὅφρ' ἀπόλοιτο. (Iliad 6.168-170)*

These lines contain, famously, the only reference to 'writing' in the Iliad - the σήματα λυγρά through which Proitos tells his father-in-law, the king of Lycia, to kill Bellerophon. There has been much debate about whether these σήματα should be understood as alphabetic letters, or whether they were merely logograms or pictograms of some sort. It is also unclear why Bellerophon hands the tablet to the king of Lycia; is he simply unable to open the tablets or is he unable to read the signs? The simplest interpretation is that the Lycian king and his son-in-law were able to understand some sort of written communication which was incomprehensible to Bellerophon.⁴⁷

What is the significance of this passage? Does it give us any information about early literacy in Lycia? Unfortunately, it probably does not. In fact, there is no archaeological evidence of writing in Lycia before the final few decades of the sixth century, at least 150 years after the first appearance of alphabetic writing in Greece. Nor is there any evidence for the use of syllabograms such as those of Linear A or Linear B, or of hieroglyphs, although these were used to write

⁴⁷ Powell (1991) 198-200; Graziosi and Haubold (2010) 124-125. See also Bryce (1986), for discussion of whether this is in fact part of the Homeric Iliad or a later interpolation.

Luwian, a language closely related to Lycian. The connection of the σήματα λυγρὰ with the Lycians may have less to do with historical fact than with the negative image of writing, which is presented as sneaky and underhand and therefore more suited to ‘barbarians’ such as the Lycians than to Greeks.⁴⁸

Despite this, it is not impossible that the passage reflects some memory of an earlier writing system used in Lycia before the appearance of the alphabet; Bryce even argues that the nasalised letters of the Lycian alphabet are ‘the vestiges of a syllabic system’ although, as discussed below, this seems unlikely.⁴⁹ The discovery of a set of wooden writing boards in a late bronze age shipwreck off Ulu Burun, just east of Kaş (ancient Antiphellos) shows that inhabitants of Lycia were very likely to have come into contact with literate traders at this time.⁵⁰ In addition, an hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from the 13th century, recording a Hittite military campaign, mentions a number of Lycian towns: *Awarna* (Arña, i.e. Xanthos); *Talawa* (Tlos); *Pinata* (Pinara) and *Patara* (Patara).⁵¹ It even seems to record the setting up of a stele at Patara, although what the nature of this stele was, and whether it would have been inscribed, remains unknown.⁵²

We have no way of telling, however, whether certain Lycians ever saw either a syllabic script or the hieroglyphic Luwian script in use, or, if so, whether they attempted to imitate it. If they did, it has left no trace either in the archaeological

⁴⁸ Graziosi and Haubold (2010) 10; Powell (1991) 199.

⁴⁹ Bryce (1986) 58; Bryce (1987) 95.

⁵⁰ Payton (1991) 99-106. There are three symbols on the border of one board: one of these is O, but since we do not know what script is being used, we cannot know whether this represented the sound [o]. The other two signs are unidentifiable.

⁵¹ Poetto (1993) 21-74; Hawkins (1995) 66ff; Adiego (2007c) 763; Gander (2014) 269-371.

⁵² Poetto (1993) 33 (Block 4 (I)).

record or in the alphabetic script of Lycia. For the purposes of this thesis, therefore, I deal with the emergence of the Lycian alphabetic script, and the use of the Greek alphabets from which it developed, without reference to any putative earlier writing systems used in the area.

1.1 Greek and Lycian letter forms.

Even a cursory glance at the Lycian inscriptions shows that most letters of the Lycian alphabet (see Chart 1) developed from those of the Greek. Indeed, Hajnal describes the Lycian script as a ‘modifizierten Variante des griechischen Alphabets’, implying that it need not be considered a separate alphabet.⁵³ However, it is distinguished from Greek alphabets in a number of significant ways: the Lycian alphabet lacks a number of Greek graphemes, and uses others to represent phonemes different from their Greek value. It retains, for example, the separate graphemes <w>, <h> and <q> (which had their own symbols in certain early Greek alphabets, but not in the Ionic alphabet that became standard across the Greek speaking world during the fourth century) and makes use of a number of graphemes not seen in any Greek script.

As Table 1 shows, the Lycian alphabet has no letters representing the sounds shown by Ionic H, Ξ, O, Φ, Ψ or Ω, and uses different letters for <θ>, <χ> and the vowels <e>, <i>, and <u>. The last two of these are written using letters also found in the Greek alphabet, but used there to denote different vowels - probably indicating that the qualities of the Lycian vowels did not correspond precisely to any of those heard in Greek. The Lycian alphabet also contains eleven letters

⁵³ Hajnal (1995) 7.

representing phonemes which have no equivalent in the Ionic Greek alphabet: of these, however, <K>, <τ> and ⋄ appear very rarely, while only <ē>, <ā>, <ñ> and <h> are frequently encountered.

Greek (Ionic) ⁵⁴	Lycian	Sound (approx.)	Transcription of the Lycian
Ε	↑	[e]	<e>
Θ	⋈	[t ^h]	<θ>
Ι	Ε	[i]	<i>
Υ	Ο	[u]	<u>
Χ	∨	[k ^h]	<χ>
[H]	+	[h]	<h>
[F]	F	[w]	<w>
[Q]	⋈	[k ^w]	<q>
-	Ι	[j]	<j>
-	↓ ∨ ∨	[a ⁿ]	<ā>
-	∨ ∨ ∨	[e ⁿ]	<ē>
-	×	[Vm]	<ṁ>
-	⊥	[Vn]	<ñ>
-	∕ ^w	?	<K>
-	∨ ∨	[t ^w]?]	<τ>
-	⋄	?	⋄ (not usually transcribed)
Η	-	[ē]	-
Ξ	-	[x]	-
Ο	-	[o]	-
Φ	-	[p ^h]	-
Ψ	-	[ps]	-
Ω	-	[ō]	-

Table 1: Differences between the Greek and Lycian alphabets

Consideration of the development of the Lycian alphabet presents a number of questions, some common to all alphabets but others specific to this one.⁵⁵ Why did the alphabet appear when it did, rather than at some earlier or later point?

⁵⁴ Greek letter forms given in square brackets are those found only in earlier Greek alphabets.

⁵⁵ For similar questions about the Greek alphabet, see e.g. Jeffery (1990) 1.

How and when did the Lycians first acquire knowledge of the Greek alphabet, and how did the specifically Lycian version arise? Did it develop slowly, after initial use of the Greek alphabet, or was it deliberately invented? Did it contain elements of other neighbouring alphabets? Indeed, since the Greek alphabet was well established in the vicinity and in use, even if only in a limited fashion, in the peninsula itself, why did a different alphabet develop at all?

1.2 The first Lycian letters

The question of why the Lycians became literate when they did is easy – and important – to ask, but practically impossible to answer. Our first evidence of a specifically Lycian alphabet is graffiti on potsherds from Xanthos: N313a, reading *pinike* (with the Lycian ↑ for <e> and E for <i>), is believed to date from c. 500, while N313c, inscribed on a pot from the second half of the fifth century, shows a characteristically Lycian form of <a>, and the Lycian genitive ending -ah◇.⁵⁶ Coin legends using the Lycian alphabet appear slightly later, on coins of Kuprlli from c. 480-440 and on early fifth-century coins of other local rulers (including Thibān(uwa), and Ėkuwēmi) and towns (including Aperlai and Wehñte (Phellos)).⁵⁷

Discussion of the development of the Greek alphabet, as well as the Phrygian and Carian alphabets, has led some to conclude that these alphabets were developing

⁵⁶ Metzger (1972) 164; Schürr (2013) 30.

⁵⁷ Bryce (1986) 51. Kuprlli: Morkhølm and Zahle (1972) 75-77; see Chapter 2.1. Kolb and Tietz (2001) discuss Thibānuwa (pp. 358-359), Aperlai (pp. 355-357) and Wehñte (Phellos) (pp. 357-358). Coins of Kuprlli and Ėkuwēmi appear in the Dekadrachm hoard, buried c. 460: see Vismara (1999) 87.

long before the first concrete evidence for them appears.⁵⁸ Could this also have been true of the Lycian alphabet?

1.3 The Greek alphabet in Lycia

Evidence for the use of the Greek alphabet in the peninsula prior to the first appearance of Lycian can go some way towards answering this question. The obverse type of some coins of around 520-500 bears the legend KVB.⁵⁹ The Lycian alphabet has no letter with the form √: only one back vowel is distinguished, and this is written with the letter ○ (although usually transcribed <u>).⁶⁰ This KVB coin legend must, then, be considered to be in the Greek alphabet, with √ the widespread early form of Υ.⁶¹ The use of the boar motif found on many Lycian coins, together with the Lycian weight standard of around 9.5 g, makes it almost certain that they were produced there.⁶² KVB is probably an abbreviation of Kubernis (or Kuberniskos), the name of the commander of the Lycians in Xerxes' fleet, c. 480; it has been suggested that Kubernis and Kuprlli were in fact the same man, with the former a Hellenised version of the latter, but

⁵⁸ Greek: Naveh (1982) 177; Miller (1994) 43-45. Carian: Adiego (2007a) 233. Phrygian: Brixhe (2007) 279-282 (arguing that the Phrygian and Greek alphabets developed concurrently and interdependently from Phoenician).

⁵⁹ Examples of this series of coins are recorded in Hill (1897) xxi-xxii, 3 and Pl. I as 'Series I' (dated c. 520- c.480). Nos. 8 and 9 bear the legend K[V]B, no. 13 the legend MΘ. The KVB coins are dated to some time in the last two decades of the sixth century by, inter alia, Bryce (1986) 45 and Keen (1998) 88-89, although Kolb and Tietz (2001) 374 suggest a date c. 500-480. (Vismara (1999) 93 lists examples of these coins in the hoard she labels 'Lycia 1972 (?)' (CH 1.6; tentatively dated to the end of the fifth century). However, there appears to be some confusion here: Spier (2000) 371 states that this is a newly published hoard, containing some intrusions, but Vismara refers to it as part of CH 1.6, and appears to have separated it from the Demirler hoard (also CH 1.6, described at Vismara (1999) 85-86). Spier, Arslan and Dervişağaoğlu (2002) 88, in their discussion of the 'Demirler hoard', do not mention the KVB legend among few inscribed coins to be found. Zahle (1989) 172-173 seems to list the hoard as no. 1a (with possible additions, 1b and 1c), but does not describe the legends on any of these coins.)

⁶⁰ Kloekhorst (2008a) 120; see Chapter 1.7.

⁶¹ Seen, for example, on a mid sixth-century black figure cup from Rhodes (Jeffery (1990) 357 no. 20).

⁶² Kraay (1976) 269.

since Kuprilli continued to issue coins down to 440, it seems unlikely that he could already have been doing so in 500.⁶³ Other coins of the same series, also from the late sixth or early fifth century, are inscribed ΠV, MΘ and ΦE; it is not clear to whom (or to where) they referred, although MΘ could have been a Mithrapata, perhaps a forerunner of the coin issuer active c. 400-380, while ΦE might designate the town of Phellos (see Chapter 2.1).⁶⁴

The Greek letters on these coins seem to date from only two decades – at most – before the earliest Lycian graffiti, and may even come from the same time. Did Kubernis deliberately choose to use the Greek alphabet in spite of the fact that a distinctively Lycian alphabet was already in existence? Or, conversely, was his use of a Greek coin legend really one of the first uses of alphabetic writing by the Lycians?

It is not entirely clear who constituted the intended audience of these coin legends: Keen, for example, suggests that the coins with Greek legends were ‘for circulation amongst Greek speakers’, perhaps (since the unusual weight standard suggests the coins were intended only for circulation within Lycia) the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Lycia, with the more common uninscribed coins of the time used by the majority of the population.⁶⁵ However, it is hard to imagine that this was the case, since there is little evidence that Greek speakers were widespread in Lycia at this point. In particular, since legends on Greek coinage tended to give names of towns rather than of individuals, it is hard to understand

⁶³ Hdt. 7.98; see Keen (1998) 87-90 for a detailed discussion of the identity of Herodotus’ Kubernis.

⁶⁴ Head (1887) 689; Schürr (2013) 30.

⁶⁵ Keen (1998) 90.

why Kubernis would have felt moved to put his name on a coin directed at Greek speakers, since this would not have been a usage familiar to them.

As a result, the idea that names written on Lycian coins were primarily intended for a Greek audience seems improbable; it is more likely that the legends arose from the conventions of coinage of the Achaemenid empire, and were intended primarily for the eyes of Kubernis' Lycian subjects, to advertise and reinforce his power. If this is accepted, the use of Greek rather than Lycian letters by Kubernis and his contemporaries strongly implies that the Lycian alphabet had not yet developed (or had, at least, not become widely used) and that, at this point, the Greek alphabet was the only writing-system available to literate Lycians.

1.4 Transmission of the alphabet

Whether the use of the alphabet on coinage was really the Lycians' first introduction to, and adoption of, the concept of writing is less clear; in fact, it seems extremely unlikely. Certainly, as discussed above, there is no other concrete evidence of writing, either Greek or Lycian, from prior to 500: the next examples of Greek in Lycia are seen on potsherds from the same archaeological context on the Xanthian acropolis as those which carry the Lycian graffiti (N313a and N313c). None of the Greek examples can be securely dated earlier than the first appearance of the Lycian script, but the earliest certainly pre-dates the destruction of Xanthos in 470, and might be significantly earlier. This consists of what appears to be a line of verse, either boasting of, or accusing someone of, a

theft.⁶⁶ The pottery on which it is written is Attic in style, but Metzger believes the use of a form of Ψ for [ps] rather than the ΦΣ used in the early Attic script, and of the standard form of Λ rather than the upside-down Attic form, shows that it was written by ‘un Grec de l’Est, soit dans une cité des îles, soit à Xanthos même’.⁶⁷ Recording a line of verse relating directly to the vase on which it was scratched was a use of writing typical of archaic Greece.⁶⁸ So is the recording of names alone, as seen on most of the other Xanthian fragments, including one dated to the end of the fifth century. Xanthians, at least, must have been well aware of the various potential uses of literacy by the start of the fifth century. It is, however, somewhat surprising that there is so little other evidence for the use of Greek writing in Lycia prior to the appearance of the Lycian alphabet – literacy was, by this time, well established not only in the Greek-speaking Aegean but also in Caria, Lydia and Phrygia, so why did the Lycians not begin to use writing at an earlier stage?⁶⁹

The fact that Xanthos was destroyed c. 470 might provide a partial explanation for this scarcity of evidence: large amounts of pottery – some of which could have carried graffiti – was probably destroyed at this point. Similarly, many other

⁶⁶ Metzger (1972) 166-170, with plate 85. The graffito is complete, and reads Κιμμέριός με ἔκλεψεν ἔπειτ’ ἔκρινε μ’ ἄμυστιν.

⁶⁷ Metzger (1972) 169.

⁶⁸ Voutiras (2007) 273-275, gives the famous examples of the Nestor Cup from Pithekoussai (Jeffery (1990) 235-6) and the Dipylon oinochoe, from Athens (Jeffery (1990) 76, with Pl. 1; IG I² 919). Schürr (2013) 30-31 suggests that this cup shows the presence of Greek symposiastic culture at Xanthos at this time, but this is not certain: we have no way of knowing whether the verse was added before or after the cup arrived in Lycia, or what those Xanthians who saw it would have made of it (assuming, that is, that they could even read it).

⁶⁹ Greek: although the date of the earliest examples of the alphabet is debated, literacy was well established by the seventh century; see *inter alia* Jeffery (1990) 12-42; Thomas (1992) 53; Voutiras (2007) 266-275. Phrygian: the earliest inscriptions date from the eighth to the fourth centuries (Tzitzilis (2007) 753); Lydian: Adiego (2007d) 768; Carian: Adiego (2007a) 1-2 (the earliest datable evidence for Carian writing being from 7th century Egypt rather than Caria itself).

potential uses of literacy (such as recording lists of goods) would presumably have employed perishable materials such as papyrus, parchment, or wood. As a result, the absence of evidence for the use of Greek in sixth-century Lycia cannot be considered proof that it was not happening.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, even if literacy in early fifth-century Lycia was more widespread than the archaeological evidence suggests, it is almost certain (as discussed further on in this chapter, and in chapter 2) that inscriptions on stone only began to appear in the middle of that century.

Although the surviving Greek graffiti from Xanthos seem not to pre-date the earliest evidence of Lycian, it is highly likely that similar examples *were* present at an earlier period, meaning that Lycians could easily have learnt about the alphabet by way of graffiti or owners' marks on ceramics. It is hard to see how the meagre number of letters given by coin legends could enable anyone to learn an entire alphabet: since graffiti can be much longer (as demonstrated by the Greek verse mentioned above), they would enable the full alphabet to be transmitted more easily. There are enough examples of Greek abecedaria scratched on ceramics and other portable items to make it plausible that one or more found its way to Xanthos, although we have no actual evidence of this.⁷¹

We can, then, imagine the Lycians learning of the existence of alphabetic writing in the course of the sixth century through graffiti on pots and other small scraps of writing. Why, however, it took until the end of that century for the Lycian

⁷⁰ For a similar situation in Phrygian, cf. Brixhe (2007) 279.

⁷¹ Examples include a loom-weight from the Athenian agora (Jeffery (1990) 431) and a number from Etruria (Jeffery (1990) 236-237).

alphabet to appear, and why it *did* appear then, remains a mystery. Closely linked to this question is that of *why* a specifically Lycian alphabet in fact appeared at all.

1.5 Adaptation of Alphabets

It is widely recognised that languages are often written for generations in scripts to which they are not well suited; the cuneiform script, for example, was used to write Hittite, but does not do so easily.⁷² Similarly, ‘ideal’ alphabets, in which each letter represents only one phoneme, and each significant phoneme (that is, each allophone) is represented by only one letter, are almost non-existent; indeed, even alphabetic writing cannot be understood simply as a representation of speech.⁷³ It is, therefore, seldom easy to explain the appearance of new writing systems simply on the grounds that existing ones are unsuited to certain languages.

On the other hand, a writing system adopted from one language to write another often does alter significantly. The Greek alphabet, for example, developed from the Phoenician, and denotes vowels using signs which originally represented certain consonants not used in Greek. Debate is ongoing as to whether this was the result of a gradual process of multiple ‘mishearings’ by Greek speakers of Phoenician letter-sounds, or the conscious work of a single individual.⁷⁴ However, most recent discussions reject the hypothesis that the Greek alphabet was deliberately created, whether to record the Homeric epics (as suggested by

⁷² Thomas (1992) 56. On Hittite: Kloekhorst (2008b) 20.

⁷³ Thomas (1992) 55; Miller (1994) xii-xiv.

⁷⁴ For an overview of recent arguments, see Powell (1991); Thomas (1992) 53-58; Miller (1994) 39-57; Voutiras (2007) 267-275; Brixhe (2007) 277-287.

Powell) or for some more utilitarian reason: they emphasise instead the importance of the difference between the sound pronounced by a native speaker of a language and the sound heard by a non-native speaker, who will 'hear' phonemes which are significant in their native tongue.⁷⁵ So, for example, a Greek hearing the Phoenician glottal stop, *'aleph*, would have thought they were hearing the vowel phoneme [a] and therefore have used the grapheme *'aleph* to write it – the origin of the Greek Α. A similar argument sees a number of Greek speakers at different times adopting the Phoenician letters whose names began with a vowel to write vowel-sounds (which may suggest a more conscious decision to depict vowels).⁷⁶ These observations can inform discussion of the development of the Lycian alphabet from the Greek, but do not map directly onto it, since the circumstances of transmission and the extent of adaptation may have differed significantly.

1.6 The Lycian Graphemes: Origin and Modes of Transmission

It is generally accepted that transmission of a writing system has to take place in a bilingual environment – that is, that in order for the principles of a writing system to be passed from speakers of one language to speakers of another at least one party must be able to speak the language of the other.⁷⁷ The level of bilingualism required need not, however, be very high: indeed, if the alteration of certain Phoenician consonants into vowels in Greek resulted from Greek inability to hear the former, it suggests that the original learners of the alphabet were not fluent speakers of Phoenician. There is no direct evidence of Greek speakers who

⁷⁵ Thomas (1992) 55; Brixhe (2007) 283.

⁷⁶ Brixhe (2007) 284-285.

⁷⁷ E.g. Jeffery (1990) 7; Brixhe (2007) 283.

were able to write Phoenician, although we cannot be certain that they did not exist; another possibility is that they were able to speak the language only at a basic level or were taught the names and sounds of the letters by a Greek-speaking Phoenician.

The situation for Lycian learners of the Greek alphabet was rather different. As discussed above, the presence of Greek writing on potsherds at Xanthos, and, in particular, the use of Greek letters on coins prior to the emergence of the Lycian alphabet, shows that some – although probably not many – Lycians could read Greek. In addition, both Neumann and Metzger interpret the name *Pinike*, on the Xanthian fragment mentioned above as a ‘Lycianised’ version of a Greek name such as Φοῖνιξ; if this is correct, it suggests either that Pinike was either a Greek who had integrated into Lycian society to such an extent that he used the Lycian alphabet and a ‘Lycian’ version of his name in preference to the Greek, or that he was a Lycian with a name of Greek origin. There are also plentiful indications in the archaeological record (for example, the sculptural reliefs of Xanthos) for the presence of itinerant craftsmen from Greek-speaking areas in sixth-century Lycia: All the available evidence indicates a high level of contact between Xanthos and the Greek world, and supports Metzger’s assertion that ‘il ne manque pas d’artistes et de marchands grecs à Xanthos au début de Ve siècle’. Furthermore, in the middle of the fifth century, Lycia was briefly a member of the Delian league, suggesting that there would have been some diplomatic contacts between Athens and Xanthos before this point. This likelihood seems to be reinforced by the 187 Athenian coins in the Decadrachm Hoard (buried near Elmalı in c. 460), representing the third largest group of coins in the hoard from

a single area (the majority of the coins (c. 970) being Lycian, with 289 from Kamiros, as well as coins from a number of other Greek towns).⁷⁸ While the presence of Athenian coinage need not indicate the presence of Athenians themselves, the high number indicates, at the very least, that other items could also have travelled easily from Athens to Lycia. The fact that many of the coins are uncirculated does suggest that their path to Lycia was comparatively direct.⁷⁹ Another coin, showing typically Lycian motifs but overstruck on the reverse with the Greek inscription ΠΟΛΙΩΝ, seems to show particularly close contact between Rhodes and Lycia in the first half of the fifth century, hardly surprising in the light of their geographical proximity.⁸⁰

As a result, the model of an alphabet developing spontaneously through misinterpretation of the sounds of an earlier alphabet is less convincing for the Lycian alphabet than for the Greek: if certain Lycians were already able to write Greek they surely *could* have used the same alphabet to write Lycian, even if the sounds of the two languages did not match exactly. This might still have led to alterations in the sounds represented by some letters – but the number of Greek letters adopted to represent entirely different sounds in Lycian, as well as the apparent invention of other symbols, suggests that there was also an element of conscious alteration and remodelling of the alphabet.

The question of *why* a specific alphabet developed in Lycia is, therefore, a crucial question for discussion of the epigraphic habit, and is as interesting as the

⁷⁸ Fried (1987) 4-6, 9; Kagan (1987) 21-28 (on the dating of the hoard).

⁷⁹ Fried (1987) 1, 5; Kagan (1987) 21.

⁸⁰ Zahle (1989) 173 no. 3; Vismara (1999) 87.

question of why, later, the decision was made to use it to record texts on stone. In the remainder of this section I suggest that the Lycian alphabet resulted from a combination of the gradual development of letters borrowed from various archaic Greek alphabets and individuals' invention, or intentional borrowing, of other symbols to represent phonemes which were important in Lycian but not distinguished in Greek. I argue that the attested alphabet which emerged was felt to be 'Lycian' and, by the end of the fourth century, could be consciously used alongside the Lycian language as a marker of identity.

The borrowing of the main elements of the Lycian alphabet from the Greek is clear - thirteen of the twenty-nine letters represent a phoneme equivalent to their original value in Greek. A similar pattern can be observed in the Lydian and Phrygian alphabets, and this has led to the formulation of the 'stability principle' – that where the sound of a particular Greek letter was the same as or similar to a phoneme in the other language, it was adopted without alteration.⁸¹ Indeed, the Lycian alphabet is closer to the Greek alphabet than the Lydian (and far closer than the Carian), perhaps because it developed in an environment of comparatively high-level bilingualism and was used on coinage as soon as it appeared, and on stone not too long afterwards.

When considering this principle, the extent to which letter signs can alter after adoption into the recipient language must not be underestimated. In Carian, letter forms apparently identical to those of Greek can represent radically

⁸¹ Adiego (2007a) 231. The primacy of the Greek script to Phrygian has been questioned by Brixhe (2007) 279-282, but the general principle remains (and can also be seen in the adoption of the Phoenician script into Greek).

different phonemes. Adiego explains this as the result of a drastic alteration in Carian cursive writing of letter forms adopted from Greek, followed by the remodelling of these forms, again after the pattern of Greek letters, into shapes suitable for inscription on stone. Thus, for example, original Greek Τ > a cursive *<τ> sign > Carian Ϟ <τ> modelled on Greek *qoppa*.⁸² As discussed below, a few Lycian letters have forms which may suggest a similar process (with the remodelling based on the Anatolian alphabets rather than the Greek), while other letters, such as ϣ, from <Γ>, do diverge noticeably from the Greek original. Most Greek forms used in Lycian, however, stayed almost identical to the original: Β , Δ <d>, Ζ <z>, Κ <k>, Λ <l>, Μ <m>, Ν <n>, Π <p>, Ρ <r>, Τ <t>. Even here, however, the stability principle does not work perfectly; as discussed below, transliteration of Greek names into Lycian suggests that a number of the letters which appear identical in fact sounded very different. The similarity between the alphabets may be to some extent an illusion created by our imperfect system of transcription; certainly the breakdown of the principle is seen in the vowels, with Ε for <i>, and Ο for <u>.

A number of the less obviously 'Greek' graphemes provide interesting information about the sources from which the alphabet was adopted. The Doric alphabet of Rhodes is often said to have provided the basis of the Lycian alphabet.⁸³ Most obviously, the early forms of the letter <χ> (ϣ, ϣ̣, and ϣ̤) are identical to early forms of <Ψ>, which became *psi* in standard Greek but was

⁸² Adiego (2007a) 231-233.

⁸³ See, *inter alia*, Kalinka (1901) 5; Houwenk ten Cate (1961) 3; Neumann [1963] 371; Bryce (1986) 55; Colvin (2004) 45.

originally used for *chi* in Rhodes and a number of other Greek cities.⁸⁴ Similarly, it is easy to see how the Lycian letter 𐌃 <a> developed from the sloping 𐌃 seen in the early Rhodian alphabet.⁸⁵ Kalinka pointed out various other ways in which Lycian usage seems to continue that of the early alphabet of Rhodes: like the early Rhodian alphabet, Lycian has no single characters for [ps] and [ks], instead writing <pss> and <χss> respectively, as in *Ddapssm̃ma* (a name) in TL11 and *χssaθrapazate* ‘he was satrap’ in N320. However, examples of these phonemes are very rare, and are almost invariably found in names and loan-words, suggesting that Lycians rarely had any need to write them. He also suggests, plausibly, that the letter form <Ξ> [ks] was known in Rhodes even though it was not used, which allowed it to be appropriated in Lycian as the nasalised consonant <ñ>.⁸⁶

The proximity of Rhodes to Lycia makes it a plausible source for Lycian acquisition of the alphabet. It is very near Xanthos, with Lindos almost due west of the mouth of the Xanthos valley; the fact that the earliest evidence for the use of the Lycian alphabet on potsherds comes from Xanthos and the Letöon, makes it seem highly likely that the Lycian alphabet first developed there.⁸⁷ There are some Greek letters adopted into the Lycian alphabet, however, which seem unlikely to have derived from Rhodes. The most noticeable of these are 𐌥 <s> and

⁸⁴ Interestingly, Jeffery (1990) 346 shows that many of the other Greek alphabets used in the vicinity of Lycia, for example at Knidos and Halicarnassos in Caria, used the other form of *chi*, <χ>; this has encouraged the identification of the alphabet on which the Lycian alphabet was based as specifically Rhodian.

⁸⁵ On e.g. the kylix inscribed Ἰδαμενῆος ἡμί (Smith (1885) 374-5).

⁸⁶ Kalinka (1905) 5; Jeffery (1990) 27, discussing the Greek use of the Phoenician signs for sibilants, suggests that Ξ remained ‘frozen’ in the formal abecedaria of many local scripts which never used it.

⁸⁷ Neumann [1963] 371, however, suggests as a place of transmission ‘veilleicht die dorische Kolonie Rhodos oder eine dorische Siedlung in Lykien selbst?’.

Ɀ <w>: the latter is not known at all either at Rhodes, or in the Greek cities of Caria, while there are only three examples of the former at Ialysos and one at Kamiros; the ‘four-stroke’ form Ɀ was the usual version.⁸⁸ Many Greek scripts used the Ɀ form of *sigma*, and retained the *digamma* (Ɀ [w]), but the Attic is one of those which seems most likely to have reached Lycia: as already discussed, there were close links between Athens and Lycia during the fifth century, and probably before. The use of Ɀ for <w> is particularly striking, since it could easily have been represented by the semi-vowel Y which was not, after all, used in Lycian as a vowel. The Attic script might also suggest a source for the Lycian letter + <h>, which, since proto-Anatolian *[s] > Lycian [h], was far more common in Lycian words, than in Greek.⁸⁹ At the end of the fifth century + was the most common Attic form of <χ>, from which it could easily have been adopted to denote <h>. However, + <h> could also have developed from Rhodian Ɀ or Ɀ, both of which were used for [h] as well as [ē].⁹⁰ One other possible source of many of the graphemes is the Euboian alphabet, which both uses the Ɀ form of <χ> and retains Ɀ; although Ɀ is used here, Ɀ is again more common. Since Euboian pottery was widely spread across the eastern Mediterranean as early as the eighth century, it is certainly possible that the Euboian script could have reached Lycia at some point, whether on pottery or in the form of a literate trader.⁹¹

This evidence for Attic as well as Rhodian elements in the Lycian alphabet complicates the picture of its development. Were the basic elements taken over from Rhodian, with Attic letter forms added later, or were there a number of

⁸⁸ Jeffery (1990) 345-346.

⁸⁹ Melchert (1994) 288; Kloekhorst (2008a) 124.

⁹⁰ Jeffery (1990) 67, 345-346.

⁹¹ For, e.g., Euboians at Al Mina, see Hall (2007) 96-98.

individuals who began, in the late sixth and early fifth century, to use various versions of the Greek alphabet to write Lycian, with these versions eventually coalescing into the version recorded in the inscriptions? If Lycian $\vdash$ <h> did derive from Attic < χ > this might suggest the first option; if Rhodian $\downarrow$ < χ > were already in use in Lycia this would explain why the Attic grapheme was used to represent a different, but related, sound. If the Attic forms were adopted slightly later, this must still have occurred at an early stage in the development of the alphabet, since the earliest datable inscriptions, TL77 and N310, contain both $\vdash$ <h> and $\sqcap$ <w>.

The idea that there were initially several different forms of the alphabet, some based on Rhodian letters and some on Attic, is supported by the appearance of a number of common Greek forms of certain graphemes at an early period: for example, three forms of < χ >, ψ , $\downarrow$, and $\Downarrow$, at least two forms of <n> $\wedge$ and $\wedge$, and two forms of , $\mathbb{B}$ and $\mathbb{B}$.⁹² On the other hand, all these variants are so similar that they could easily have arisen within Lycian, after the use of a single form began to be widespread. The homogeneity of the Lycian alphabet – especially by comparison with the Carian, which shows numerous regional variations even within the mainland Caria – is in many other ways remarkable. Although, as shown below, there were some regional variations in the Lycian alphabet, this seems to be restricted to the frequency with which different letter forms were used. All variant letter forms appear to some extent right across the peninsula, suggesting either that the alphabet spread outwards from one single source – perhaps Xanthos – or that there was a high level of interaction between literate

⁹² The second form of was the earliest form seen in Attica.

Lycians of the various towns. Similarly, the absence of any examples of <ß> for <s> in Lycian texts and the use of special graphemes such as <ã> and <ẽ> across the whole peninsula suggest that even if there were multiple ‘transmissions’ of the alphabet a comparatively standardised version soon emerged.

1.7 The Effect of Lycian Phonology

Although it adopted so many elements directly from Greek alphabets, Lycian – as an Anatolian language – had a phonological system significantly different from that of Greek.⁹³ As a result, it seems likely that many of the graphemes used for Lycian stops, although identical in appearance to those of the Greek, represented different phonemes. This results primarily from the difference in the quality of Greek and Lycian stops: while Greek distinguishes series of voiced, unvoiced and unvoiced aspirated stops (that is, <δ> [d], <τ> [t], <θ> [tʰ] and <β> [b], <π> [p], φ [pʰ]), Kloekhorst argues that Lycian, like the other Anatolian languages, did not distinguish voiced and unvoiced stops, and that the ‘voiced’ stops Δ <d>, ʃ <g> and ʙ in fact represent the voiceless fricatives [θ], [χ], and [φ], which were voiced only in intervocalic positions.⁹⁴ A difference in the sound of Greek <Δ> and Lycian Δ is certainly suggested by the consistent transliteration of Greek <δ> in initial position as Lycian <ñt>, suggesting that Lycian speakers heard in Greek <δ> a stop more similar to <t> than to <d>. This is seen, for example, in N312 (a Greek-Lycian bilingual statue base from the Letöon), where Δεμοκλείδης is transliterated *Ñtemuxlida*.

⁹³ For a brief general overview of the phonological system of the Anatolian language group see Kloekhorst (2008b) 17-18; for discussion of the phonological system of Lycian see Kloekhorst (2008a) 119-137.

⁹⁴ Kloekhorst (2008a) 125-126.

Similarly, difference in the sounds represented by Ვ <k> and Თ <χ> in the two alphabets are suggested by the Greek transliterations of Lycian names in various bilingual inscriptions: for example, Xuwata is written in Greek as Κοατα (in TL134, at Limyra) while Krb̥b[s]eh is written as θερβερσιος (in N312, at Xanthos) and Krupsse as Θρυψις (in TL25, at Tlos), but Tikeukēpre as Τιςευσεμβρα (also in TL25). From this Kloekhorst concludes that <χ> was in fact pronounced as [k] and <k> as [c] (although the latter presumably had a more dental sound before [r]).⁹⁵ Both N312 and TL25 are among the latest of the bilingual inscriptions, while TL134 was probably produced in the mid-fourth century, so we cannot tell how early this alteration in the sounds of the letters took place: would earlier inscriptions have had *Χοατα or *Κρυψις? There seems no clear reason for Თ to have been used to write [k] if Ვ were still available to represent that sound, so presumably Ვ at some point began to be pronounced [c], with Თ then used to fill the gap left for a voiceless stop. This suggestion does not explain, however, why Ვ was ever adopted for the [c] sound if this could have been better represented using Greek <θ> or <σ>: the answer may lie either in phonological change within Lycia, or in the difficulties of trying to portray a sound not represented by any letter of the Greek alphabet – it does, however, seem likely to have been a more complex process than simply that of a Lycian speaker hearing Greek K as [c].

A similarly complex situation can be seen in the development of the Lycian vowels. Lycian has four vowels (Რ <a>, Ს <e>, Ტ <i> Უ <u>) instead of the five found in Greek, and the graphemes clearly do not correspond to those of Greek.

⁹⁵ Kloekhorst (2008a) 125.

The adoption of the Greek grapheme O rather than Y to denote the Lycian back vowel conventionally transliterated <u> seems to imply that it sounded more similar to the former; certainly, its sound seems to have been somewhere between the two, since Greek O and Y are both used to transliterate Lycian <u>, which in turn is used to transliterate both Greek letters.⁹⁶

The treatment of Lycian <e> and <i> is less easy to understand. Lycian <e> was probably pronounced [æ] (that is, with a sound somewhere between [a] and [e]), was usually transliterated into A in Greek, and was in turn used to write Greek A and H; Lycian <a>, meanwhile, is also usually transliterated as Greek A, and is used to write Greek A. Lycian E <i> is usually written in Greek as I, but sometimes also as E, and once EI, suggesting a sound more open than [i] but less so than [e].⁹⁷ This fits with Hajnal's assertion that the vowels of Lycian were generally, in comparison with Greek vowels, 'hell (oder offen)'.⁹⁸ The adoption of Greek A into Lycian (in an archaic version which soon became 𐌂) is therefore unsurprising. It is, however, puzzling that the next most 'open' vowel, E, was not simply used to write the next Lycian vowel (even if this did also sound more similar to A) but for a more 'close' vowel, Lycian <i>, which is usually transcribed into Greek as I. The answer may lie in the use of the Greek letter I to write the glide, <j>: in Greek there was never any need to distinguish the vowel [i] and the semivowel [j], but in Lycian a distinction is seen between sequences such as <aije>, with <i> before <j>, and those without (e.g. <aje>). It would presumably

⁹⁶ Kloekhorst (2008a) 120.

⁹⁷ Kloekhorst (2008a) 119-120.

⁹⁸ Hajnal (1995) 11.

have been possible to write the first using a double <ii>, but clearly <j> was strongly enough pronounced that it was felt desirable to write it.⁹⁹

Once I was used for <j>, it would clearly have made sense for E to be used as <i>, leaving <e> without a grapheme. The ↑ sign which was used is also seen in Carian and Lydian. In both cases, however, it represents an entirely different phoneme (<τ> in Carian and <c> in Lydian).¹⁰⁰ It seems most likely that the Lycian letter was formed either by rotation of an angular form of E or (since it was closer in sound to [a]) by adaptation of Ɑ. Whether this was a solution deliberately devised by an individual, or whether it arose purely by chance (rotation of letter forms being common in early alphabets) is impossible to know.

1.8 Non-Greek Sounds

Two graphemes do, however, seem to have been devised by individuals with the specific intention of representing phonemes found in Lycian but not in Greek. These are the nasalised vowels <ẽ> and <ã>, originally written Ɑ and Ɱ; two similar phonemes, <ĩ> and <ñ>, were denoted using the graphemes Ɐ and Ɒ, which originally represented entirely different sounds in Greek.

The precise value of these letters is unclear, but it may be assumed that they were not felt to be adequately represented by any existing Greek symbol. Adiego, for example, states that the new symbols in Lycian were ‘invented to render

⁹⁹ Phrygian also had separate graphemes for <i> and <j> (although not the same ones as in Lycian): see Brixhe (2007) 280-281.

¹⁰⁰ For the Carian alphabet, see Adiego (2007a) 232-233; for the Lydian: Gusmani (1964) 29.

sounds not represented in the Ancient Greek alphabet'.¹⁰¹ Could they, however, if desired, have been written using a combination of letters of the Greek alphabet? Bryce implies so, suggesting that they represent the syllables [an] and [en], and are a hangover from an earlier, syllabic writing system. In favour of this argument, he observes that the Greek name Λύσανδρος is spelled in three different ways, Lusātra (in TL90), Lusñtra (in TL104) and Lusãñtra (in TL103), and that in the first two versions <ã> and <ñ> respectively represent the whole syllable [an], while in the third they are used together, apparently with the same effect.¹⁰² Similarly, the letters are represented in Greek using a combination of vowel and nasal, as in Τισευσέμβραν, the Greek version of *Tikeukẽprẽ* in TL25.

However, while it is not impossible for new letters to emerge in order to represent combinations of sounds which could be written by combining other letters (as, for example, in the supplementary letters of the Greek alphabet: ψ could be – and, in certain regional alphabets, was – written <φσ> or <πσ>¹⁰³) the invention of new letter forms cannot be entirely unmotivated, and it therefore seems likely that the sounds represented by the letters <ẽ>, <ã>, <ñ> and <ñ> had a specific quality which made it desirable that they be represented by discrete letters. Hajnal suggests that <ã> and <ẽ> were vowels with a nasal quality, which he depicts as [aⁿ] and [eⁿ], implying a weaker or shorter [n] sound than in the syllables [an] or [en].¹⁰⁴ Kloekhorst has refined this interpretation, suggesting that the phonetic quality of the letters differed depending on the environment within which they were situated: he suggests that in front of most

¹⁰¹ Adiego (2007c) 765.

¹⁰² Bryce (1986) 58.

¹⁰³ Jeffery (1990) 66, 79 and 89; Voutiras (2007) 271.

¹⁰⁴ Hajnal (1995) 11.

consonants, <ã> and <ẽ> are to be interpreted phonetically as [aⁿC] and [eⁿC], but that in front of the nasals <m>, <ñ>, <n> and <ñ>, where they alternate with <a> and <e>, they represent simple vowels (so that <ẽnV> = [enV], and so on).¹⁰⁵ Kloekhorst shows that ‘the sequence -ẽC- is clearly distinguished from the spelling -ẽñC-’, so that <ẽC> = [eⁿC] while <ẽñC> = [enC], and that a contrast is seen between <Cẽi> (the only sequence in which <ẽ> appears before a vowel) and both <Cẽni> and <Cẽñni> (as well as between <Cãi>, <Cãni> and <Cãñni>).¹⁰⁶ It is noticeable before <i>, plain <en> and <an> never alternate with <ẽ> and <ã>, showing that the latter were more than simply the syllabograms that Bryce believe them to be; rather, they must – at least in some phonetic environments – have had a sufficiently distinctive quality to make it both possible and desirable to represent this graphically.¹⁰⁷

The letters used to do this, ⚡ and ⚡, are both the most distinctive letters of the Lycian alphabet, and – as will be seen below – the most unstable in form, with a number of significant variants of each eventually arising. Their instability seems to be the result of the complexity of the original forms, which meant that variations appeared almost every time the letters were written in a different hand. This complexity suggests that they were devised from scratch by an

¹⁰⁵ Kloekhorst (2008a) 121.

¹⁰⁶ Kloekhorst (2008a) 122-3.

¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, comparison of the 3. pl. present verb forms *tāti* ‘they put’ and *qāñti* ‘they strike’ suggests interesting shifts in the difference heard between <ãC> and <ãnC> or <ãñC>. Out of twenty-seven recorded occurrences of *tāti*, the only known variant is *tēti* (in TL102, a late inscription showing a typical confusion of vowel sounds) (Melchert (2004) s.v. *ta-*); by contrast, there are only six occurrences of *qāñti*, but also one each of *qāti* and *qañti* (Melchert (2004) s.v. *qā(n)-*). This suggests that the [n] sound inherent in <ã> was weak enough that no one would consider inserting an extra <n> into *tāti*, but that – as in *Lusāntre* – <ã> could sometimes represent the full syllable [an]. This, however, must have been a secondary use of the letter, presumably arising from its use in other environments alongside <ñ> or <n> to represent <an>, rather than a continuation of an old syllabic system as Bryce suggests.

individual, or group of individuals, who identified the nasalised sounds as important in Lycian and non-existent in Greek, and therefore wished to be able to write them properly.¹⁰⁸ Schürr has recently suggested that the forms were related to $\wedge$ and Υ , the Lydian letters <ã> and <ẽ>.¹⁰⁹ Some link between the two forms of <ẽ> is particularly plausible, since there are two examples of Lycian <ẽ> written Ψ : one at Limyra (in TL143) and one at Pinara (N336). However, since in Lycian Ψ is the early form of <χ> it seems unlikely that it could have been retained from the start of the alphabet. Even if Schürr is correct to see Ψ as an adaptation of Υ , an individual adapter must have been involved at some stage. As Brixhe argues, it seems naïve to think that we can detect the hand of individuals in the adaptation of ancient scripts, but it is also necessary to consider the mechanics of borrowing between cultures: Lydian Υ could not have simply ‘developed’ into Lycian Ψ of its own accord.¹¹⁰ Even if it did provide the initial inspiration for the letter, some individual must have seen it and consciously decided to adapt it. The two instances of Ψ in Lycian therefore remain puzzling: was Lydian Υ adopted into cursive writing (which might account for its appearance at opposite sides of the peninsula) at a later date? Or are the two Lycian examples simply unrelated adaptations by individual letter cutters? It seems, therefore, that Ψ and $\downarrow$ must have been deliberately devised to represent the phonemes of Lycian. Could their invention have resulted, at least in part, from the desire to distinguish the Lycian alphabet clearly from the Greek?

¹⁰⁸ Suggested by e.g. Neumann [1963] 371, who argues that they are best seen as ‘freie Schöpfungen der Lykier’.

¹⁰⁹ Schürr (2013) 31.

¹¹⁰ Brixhe (2007) 282-283. As mentioned in the Introduction, Ulf (2009) 83 points out the importance of considering the mechanisms by which goods and ideas are transferred from one culture to another; this seems particularly relevant for the transfer of items such as letter forms, which have a very precise meaning in their original context.

Unlike <ẽ> and <ã> which, at least before <i>, contrast with both <e>/<a> and <en>/<an>, making them separate allophones, <ĩ> and <ñ> are, according to Kloekhorst, allophones of <m> and <n>, used only between consonants (where plain <m> and <n> would not appear) or before <m> and <n>, respectively, to represent a double consonant.¹¹¹ The use of separate signs to indicate these letters is therefore rather puzzling. Further light is shed by the alternation of <ã>, <ñ> and <ĩ> in the name *Padrãma* in TL48a, an epitaph from Xanthos.¹¹² This is spelled *Padrñma* in TL49 (an inscription inside the same tomb), and *Padrĩma* in TL48b (a later addition to the main epitaph). The different spellings might, especially in the case of the first two, have originated with *Padrãma* himself, if he wrote down the words of the epitaph for the letter-cutter to copy; alternatively, different letter-cutters might have differed about the best way to spell the name. All three letters are apparently sufficient to represent a nasalised vowel alone; the [a] quality of the vowel was presumably not so strong as to make the <ã> spelling obligatory, which implies that the sound heard might have been closest to a nasalised *schwa*. Perhaps, in such cases, it was desirable to have the option of designating a vocalised nasal without having to imply that the vowel had either an [a] or an [e] quality. The use of ⊕ for <ñ> and × for <ĩ> certainly implies a deliberate adoption of these graphemes rather than an organic development from the sounds they represent in Greek, which are entirely different. As discussed above, ⊕ might have been ‘fossilised’ in the Rhodian abecedarium, but it is also possible that some Lycian literate saw it in a

¹¹¹ Kloekhorst (2008a) 122-123.

¹¹² See also below, Chapter 1.17.i and Chapter 3.4.

Greek writing from a different area, and adopted it from there. The origin of ✕ is not easy to understand: if it was adopted from a form of <χ> in a non-Rhodian alphabet it would not even, unlike ±, have had its position in the abecedarium to encourage its use as a nasal. ✕ is a very natural and easy letter to write, and it may be more realistic to see it as a sign simply ‘made up’ to accommodate an otherwise unwritable sound.

One further point of importance for consideration of development of the alphabet is the absence of signs for nasalized <i> or <u>: were these distinguished from plain <i> and <u> in Lycian, and, if so, why were separate signs not used to represent them? It seems most likely that such sounds simply did not exist in Lycian, since, as Kloekhorst convincingly points out, in the 3. pl. preterite verb form *puñtē, -ñtē* seems to be used to write [uⁿteⁿ], with the ending *-tē* restored by analogy with *prñnawātē* etc.. The word *miñti*, he suggests, should be phonologically interpreted as miⁿti, with <iñ> used to show a nasalised [i]. The fact that these sequences are not found more often therefore suggests that [uⁿ] and [iⁿ] ‘only found their way into the language via loanwords or via restorations’.¹¹³

1.9 Some more non-Greek graphemes

Two sounds which *are* found in both languages, but are written in Lycian using graphemes which appear unrelated to Greek, are ✧ <θ> and ✱ <q>. Greek <Θ> is comparatively common, and a version is found in all Greek alphabets; it is

¹¹³ Kloekhorst (2008a) 121. His understanding of *miñti* as a loanword is, however, very problematic, as there is no real evidence for this, and no known example of any similar body elsewhere in Asia Minor (see below, Chapter 3.5).

impossible to know why >< was used instead of one of these. The situation with >< <q> is slightly easier to understand, since the Greek letter *qoppa* <Q> was seldom used, and disappeared in most areas around the start of the fifth century.¹¹⁴ By contrast, Lycian <q> [k^w], the reflex of the laryngeal sound *[H^w], which was preserved in proto-Anatolian, is seen quite frequently (in, for example, the theonym *Trqqas* (the Lycian version of Tarhunt)).¹¹⁵ Again, these two graphemes seem likely to have been devised by individuals when required, with the shape of one perhaps inspiring the shape of the other. Another possibility is that they were adopted from the Cypriot syllabary (where >< represents <xa>, which appears a strange choice for <θ>, but >< <wi> would be a more understandable source of a grapheme for <q>); alternatively, they might have been drastically altered versions of the Greek letters Θ and Q.¹¹⁶

One grapheme with no Greek equivalent, ^w<K>, is seen in only three inscriptions, all from Xanthos: the Inscribed Pillar (TL44), the trilingual decree from the Letöon (N320), and N327, a short inscription on a statue base.¹¹⁷ Like <ã> and <ẽ>, it has no obvious counterpart in Greek or any other language, and might, therefore, simply have been devised by some individual when required. This may be supported by Laroche's suggestion that since it is found on the Letöon trilingual (N320) only in the name of *ArKKazuma* (N320 l.8, l.18), apparently a Carian deity, it was used to represent a Carian phoneme not

¹¹⁴ According to Jeffery (1990) 346 it is seen, for example, on Rhodes in the third quarter of the sixth century, but was lost by c. 490.

¹¹⁵ Kloekhorst (2008a) 124-5; (2008b) 18.

¹¹⁶ The possibility that <q> was taken over from Cypriot script was first suggested by Babelon (quoted in Neumann [1963] 371; he himself, however, argues that they were devised independently by the Lycians).

¹¹⁷ Neumann (2007) xi.

otherwise found in Lycian.¹¹⁸ This would fit its other appearance on the first part of the Inscribed Pillar at Xanthos (*Kadunimi*, TL44a l.39, 40; probably a personal name¹¹⁹), but is not so convincing as an explanation of its more frequent occurrence in the section of the pillar written in the dialect known as Lycian B; there seems no reason for a 'Carian' phoneme to have appeared more often in Lycian B than in Lycian A. Furthermore, since the Greek version of N320 transcribes the sound simply as <k>, it is hard to understand why this could not simply be done in Lycian as well. The answer may lie in the Lycian B text, with the grapheme /^w devised initially in order to represent a guttural sound distinguished from <k> in Lycian B but not in Greek nor, usually, in Lycian; unfortunately, the scarcity of Lycian B texts makes it impossible to know whether this was indeed the case.

1.10 Anatolian letters?

Some of the letter forms which have no Greek counterparts can also be seen in the alphabets of the other Anatolian languages. Unfortunately, we lack any evidence for the interaction of literate Lycians with the other languages and writing systems of Anatolia: with the exception of TL151, a Carian inscription on a rock tomb from Krya, near Telmessos, on the border of Lycia and Caria, and a stater of Erbbina with a Carian legend as well as the Lycian one, we have no evidence from Lycia of writing in other Anatolian alphabets, or of Lycian being

¹¹⁸ Laroche (1979) 57: 'la rareté de la lettre et son emploi limité à deux monuments officiels de Xanthos [since N327 had yet to be discovered] n'excluent pas un emprunt isolé à une écriture étrangère, emprunt destiné à reproduire des mots contenant un phonème spécial.' Laroche states that a similar grapheme is attested in Carian (although this is not visible in the table at Adiego (2007a) 232-233) and therefore suggests: '[q]uelle qu'on soit la valeur, il est possible qu'on l'ait introduit en Lycie à l'occasion et intentionnellement, à seule fin de noter un son du carien inconnu du lycien...'

¹¹⁹ Melchert (2004) s.v. *Kadunimi*.

written elsewhere in Anatolia.¹²⁰ However, since the most portable writing materials are also the most perishable, this is hardly surprising. During the fifth and the early fourth centuries, Lycia appears to have been included, at different points, in the satrapies of Lydia and of Ionia; later – certainly under the Hekatomnids, and probably already in the time of Cyrus – it was part of a separate Carian satrapy, so that knowledge of the Carian alphabet among a number of Lycians seems almost certain, while some would surely have come into contact with the Lydian alphabet as well.¹²¹

Letters in different alphabets can sometimes appear identical but have very different values: in such cases it is possible that their origins differ entirely and that one grapheme, having diverged significantly from its original shape, has been remodelled after a similar-looking, but different-sounding, letter from another alphabet.¹²² As already observed, Lycian $\uparrow$ <e> seems more likely to be an altered form of Greek <E> or <A> than to have any connection with the $\uparrow$ sign of other Anatolian languages (or the related Ionian $\top$), which seem to have represented dentals of some sort; later on, however, the final form of the grapheme could have been influenced by the existence of a similar sign in Carian.

¹²⁰ Stater of Erbbina: Konuk (2009) 194-195.

¹²¹ Hdt. 3.90.1 states that Lycia was included in the first *nomos* (Ionia) for the collection of tribute. Childs (1981) 55 discusses the position of Lycia under Darius and Cyrus, as does Bryce (1983) 33-34, (1986) 101; Keen (1998) 90-93 argues that Lycia was governed from Sardis from 511 onwards.

¹²² This is the mechanism proposed by Adiego (2007a) 230-233 to explain the lack of correspondence between the many apparently identical signs of the Carian and Greek alphabets (although with Greek as both the original source of the letter forms and the later model): he suggests that the Carian alphabet was modelled on the Greek alphabet, but underwent such significant alteration in the context of cursive writing that nearly all similarity between the two was effaced. Later, he suggests, the cursive forms were adapted for inscription on stone, again using the model of the Greek alphabet, but adopting the Greek signs most similar to the Carian letters in appearance, rather than in value. Adiego's proposal sees a remodelling of the entirely Carian alphabet; in Lycian only a few possible examples appear, but I see no reason that this same process could not have occurred on the level of individual letter forms.

Likewise, 𐌶 is very similar in appearance to the Lydian liquid transcribed as $\langle\lambda\rangle$ (the precise value of which is unknown); in Lycian, the letter seems to represent a dental stop.¹²³ The Lycian grapheme is seen only eleven times, seven of which are on the Inscribed pillar (TL44); it is used exclusively before $\langle e \rangle$, and appears in only four different words: in *tezi* ‘sarcophagus’ (in TL72), in *teteri* ‘city’ (in TL44b) and *tere* ‘land, district’ (in TL44a and b), two words which are surely related, and in the name *Mñneteide* (TL36). (The other examples, in TL71 and N328a, are too poorly preserved to show the context of the letter.) The first three words (*Mñneteide* appears only this once) are more commonly written with $\langle t \rangle$; since proto-Anatolian $*[k^w]$ became Lycian $\langle t \rangle$ before front vowels, Melchert tentatively concludes that $\langle \tau \rangle$ represented a sound such as $[t^w]$, somewhere between the two.¹²⁴ This would explain its rarity, since in the majority of cases the transition to $[t]$ was apparently complete – or, at least, the labial element of the sound was so weak as to be easily ignored. Since the similarity to Lydian $\langle\lambda\rangle$ is so marked, we might imagine, for instance, that 𐌶 was adapted by the Lycians as a form of 𐌷 , possibly encouraged both by the alternation between $[d]/[t]$ and $[l]$ which appears to have existed in some Anatolian languages, and is perhaps seen in the transcription of the Lycian name Dapara as Greek $\Lambda\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ (in TL6) and in the shape of Carian $\uparrow$ (also transcribed $\langle \tau \rangle$) or Ionian 𐌷 .¹²⁵ Then, since $\uparrow$ represented the far more common $\langle e \rangle$ – or soon came to do so – the sign for $\langle \tau \rangle$ would have had to be remodelled by the addition of extra letter-strokes, leading

¹²³ Adiego (2007d) 769.

¹²⁴ Melchert (1994) 282.

¹²⁵ Alternation of $[d]/[t]$ and $[l]$ in Anatolian languages: Yakubovich (2010) 230-231; cf. Sihler (1995) 150-151, which gives a number of examples of PItal. $*[d] > \text{Latin } [l]$. Carian and Ionian graphemes: Brixhe (2007) 281.

to the appearance of $\aleph$, the shape of which might at this point have been encouraged by the existence of the same form in Lydian.

1.11 An Aramaic letter form?

Aramaic was one of the main languages of official communication within the Achaemenid empire; Aramaic documents must have arrived in Lycia at intervals, and some inhabitants of Lycia would have known the Aramaic alphabet (as proven by the appearance of an Aramaic epitaph at Limyra (TL152; see Chapter 2.18) and, towards the end of the fourth century, on the Letöon trilingual (N320; see Chapter 4.4.)). Hajnal suggests that the rare $\diamond$ sign originated in Aramaic *hêth*, since the shape is one which could easily have become $\diamond$.¹²⁶ $\diamond$ is found only in a few inscriptions, most commonly in the genitive of personal names (either following or instead of final *-h*) but also at Limyra, in two words where $\langle k \rangle$ is otherwise found: the name *Sbi* $\diamond$ *aza* (TL106) and the pronoun *ti* $\diamond$ *e* (TL128).¹²⁷ Hajnal suggests that this is some kind of neutral vowel, possibly a *schwa*, for which *hêth* might have been an appropriate letter to choose. In this case, it could conceivably have been used in the centre of words to represent a glottal stop or other velar sound, perhaps an inherited one which soon altered to $\langle k \rangle$. This suggestion is supported by the fact that TL106 and TL128 are among the oldest inscriptions of Limyra, while the retention of $\diamond$ in the genitive singular may have been due to a tendency for personal names to conserve more archaic features.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Hajnal (1995) 23-24. Also suggested by Pedersen, quoted in Neumann [1963] 372 (who points out that this remains unproven).

¹²⁷ In genitive endings, after *-h*: Xanthian graffito (N313c); *Terssiḡzeh* $\diamond$ at Rhodiapolis (TL149); *Murāzah* $\diamond$ at Phellos (TL54); *Zēmuh* $\diamond$, on coinage of Limyra (M142a,b; M145b); instead of *-h*: in TL69, at Kyaneai (names only, three of which are in the genitive).

¹²⁸ Hajnal (1995) 23-34.

A final important feature of the Lycian inscriptions is the use of word dividers (:), which are found, used with varying degrees of consistency, in almost all inscriptions.¹²⁹ In Greek inscriptions the use of word-dividers is uncommon: it is rarely seen in Rhodes, and although it appears in sixth-century Athens (and continued to be used into the fifth century) a three-dot version is far more common there than the two-dot version seen in Lycia.¹³⁰ At Halicarnassos, however, the two dot version is seen, while Phrygian rock-cut inscriptions (at, for example, Midas şehir) also show word dividers; their prevalence in Lycian might, therefore, have been encouraged by their use in other Anatolian languages.¹³¹ More interesting than questions about their origin, however, is what they tell us about the state of literacy in Lycia: the need to divide words as clearly as possible, at least in the earliest inscriptions, might imply that many of those expected to read the inscriptions were, although literate, not entirely fluent readers.

1.12 The Alphabet as a Marker of Identity

It can be seen that, while the Rhodian alphabet does seem likely to have provided the original version of most letters of the Lycian alphabet, the situation was far more complex than this. Rather than simply 'borrowing' a Greek alphabet, Lycians – and we should think here in terms of a number of individuals, operating in Xanthos and the surrounding area at the start of the fifth century – adopted graphemes from more than one Greek alphabet, as well as devising other letters, and adding letters and conventions borrowed from other Anatolian

¹²⁹ Neumann [1963] 372.

¹³⁰ Jeffery (1990) 67, 346.

¹³¹ Berndt-Ersöz (2006) 232-234.

alphabets. This provides further evidence for the high level of interaction between Lycia and the rest of the Aegean during the sixth and early fifth centuries already implied by archaeological and historical evidence; it also, however, suggests that at least some members of the population were conscious of their difference from the speakers of Greek and other Anatolian languages with whom they came into contact; the alphabet became one way to represent this difference (see Chapter 4.9-10). One important point is that the difference between the Greek and Lycian alphabets might well have been recognisable even to a person with little or no ability to read either.¹³²

The significance of the appearance of the alphabet at the start of the fifth century is not clear, but it is noticeable that it seems to coincide with the appearance of the earliest coinage. Although, as discussed above, the *transmission* of the Greek alphabet to Lycia seems unlikely to have taken place through coin legends, the desire to use coin legends which were visibly distinct from those of the Greek states might have encouraged or even motivated the development of the Lycian alphabet, especially its distinctive symbols. Is it too romantic to imagine a member of some ruler's court, in Xanthos or nearby, devising the alphabet for use on his master's coinage? Sadly, it probably is – but nevertheless, some form of conscious creation of certain letters seems likely.

1.13 A Land of Two Alphabets

¹³² As, indeed, is the case today: Clow (2000) 24 points out that '[i]t is not necessary to know Greek to be able to distinguish it from Lycian... Lycian contains distinctive characters which look like arrows'.

It is particularly noticeable that, in spite of the Greek origins of the Lycian alphabet and the early and continued presence of Greek writing, there is very little evidence that the Lycian alphabet was influenced by the Greek – or that the Greek alphabet used in Lycia was influenced by the Lycian. This might have been simply the result of limited knowledge of the Greek alphabet and language even among literate Lycians. As shown above (Chapter 1.4), though, there is extensive evidence of contact between Greek-speakers and Lycians even in the sixth and fifth centuries. In addition, bilingual inscriptions (N311 and N324 & 5) dedicated in the Xanthian Letöon strongly imply that at least one Greek (probably two and possibly three) was employed as a tutor by the ruling family of Xanthos (see Chapter 2.13-16.). Elsewhere, Greek is found in the first half of the fourth century at Kyaneai (a bilingual epitaph, TL72) and at Limyra (a bilingual epitaph TL117, and a dedication of Perike; see Chapter 3.13). Conversely, there is no reason to believe that many Lycians were truly bilingual in Lycian and Greek prior to the Hekatomnid period; for most, Greek would have been a second language, used, perhaps, to demonstrate education and culture.

Nevertheless, there must have been Lycians who could read Greek with comparative ease, and therefore see the similarities between the two alphabets. In such an environment – especially in view of the apparent use of Greek as a ‘prestige language’ of some sort (see Chapter 2.16) by rulers of the Xanthos valley – we might well expect some interaction or confusion between those characters which were still obviously similar in Lycian and Greek. In reality, there is very little sign of either. The consistent Lycian use of 𐌪 for <s> is especially striking because all surviving Greek texts of Lycia use Ϻ ; the two forms

are similar enough that we might expect to see the Greek version adopted in Lycian (or the Lycian version used in Greek inscriptions), but this was not the case. Similarly, Lycian 𐌪 is close enough to Greek A to have allowed for some confusion between the two, but this is never seen. It is also noticeable that the Greek supplementary letters (Φ , Ψ and Ω) were never used in Lycian: this may be simply because, as already mentioned, the phonemes they represent did not exist in very many Lycian words, and appear only in loan-words, but it is perhaps still significant that the letter-cutter of the bilingual inscription TL25, for example, did not use $\langle\Psi\rangle$ in the name *Kruppse* – it seems clear that by the time it was cut, the distinction between the Lycian and Greek alphabets was clearly felt and consciously maintained (see Chapter 4).

Since the form of the grapheme 𐌪 is the same in both languages but the phonemes represented are different, we might expect to find some confusion here, with 𐌪 used for $\langle e \rangle$ in Lycian, or even – within Lycia – used for $\langle i \rangle$ in Greek. In all the surviving inscriptions, however, there is only one potential example of this: a bilingual epitaph from Kaya Köy (TL6) transliterates the Greek name Ἀπολλωνίδης as *Pulenjda*. Bryce argues that the $\langle j \rangle$ here is an error in transcription, with the Lycian 𐌪 $\langle j \rangle$ ‘mistakenly equated with Greek *iota* and used as the symbol for the Lycian *i* in place of the symbol 𐌪 or 𐌫 .¹³³ This implies that the letter-cutter was more familiar with the Greek alphabet than the Lycian, and therefore gave the letter its Greek rather than its Lycian value. Tempting though this interpretation is, consideration of the rest of the inscription suggests that

¹³³ Bryce (1987) 92. Bryce argues that the Lycian symbol 𐌪 was in fact a ‘vowel-divider’ rather than specifically representing [j] or [y] (although admitting that this would, in most cases, amount to the same thing) since elsewhere it appears only between vowels.

the situation was not so simple. While the use of I rather than E certainly could have been encouraged by the presence of I in Ἀπολλωνίδης , the fact that it is found both times the name appears implies that it was not just a slip. Both texts appear to have been cut by the same person, meaning that the letter-cutter must have been aware that Greek I did not simply equate to Lycian I : the Lycian names *Mullijese* and *Purihimete* are written in Greek as Μολλίσιος and Πυριμάτιος , with I (not E , as in Lycian) representing *-ije-* in the former and *-ihi-* in the latter. The loss of initial A- from Ἀπολλωνίδης , and the unusual – indeed, unique – appearance of $[\text{e}]$ in the place of Greek $[\text{ō}]$ might also suggest that *Pulenjda* was not simply a transcription of a Greek name, but was the version in everyday use in Lycian.¹³⁴ In this case, it would seem odd for it to be misspelled simply because of its proximity to the original Greek version. Does this appearance of $\langle \text{j} \rangle$ in a context in which Greek semi-vocalic $\langle \text{i} \rangle$ would never be found in fact give us a clue about the nature of the Lycian phoneme $\langle \text{j} \rangle$, which, unlike in Greek, was distinctive enough to be distinguished from $\langle \text{i} \rangle$? Did $\langle \text{j} \rangle$ represent a consonant here, perhaps in combination with the following $\langle \text{d} \rangle$?

As discussed in Chapter 4, writers of Lycian apparently had no desire to bring the appearance of their alphabet closer to that of the Greeks, even when they inscribed their monuments in Greek as well as Lycian. This reinforces the idea that the development and use of the Lycian alphabet was not only a pragmatic response to phonological differences between Greek and Lycian, but was also a

¹³⁴ Bryce (1987) 93 also suggests that the initial $\langle \text{Π} \rangle$ was used to write $[\text{ap}]$, and that the same is true of the initial consonants of other Greek names which began with a vowel but are written in Lycian with an initial consonant. If this was the case, however, it only demonstrates that the letter-cutter of TL6 was still particularly conversant with the conventions of Lycian orthography. Kloekhorst (2008a) 119-120 notes the unusual use of $\langle \text{e} \rangle$ to transcribe ω , and states ‘the rationale behind this is unclear to me’.

deliberate assertion of Lycian culture and identity, perhaps in reaction to a perceived threat of outside interference from first the Persians and then the Athenians; the use of the Lycian language in inscriptions can, especially in the second part of the fourth century, be seen at least in part as an extension of this feeling.¹³⁵

1.14 Palaeographic dating of Lycian inscriptions

Although the majority of Lycian inscriptions contain no explicit indications of the date at which they were inscribed, a small number do include either a 'ruler formula' (discussed further in Chapters 2 and 3) or some mention of an individual known from other sources (either literary or numismatic) which can indicate an approximate date for the text. Even then, it is often unclear exactly when each person was active, and at what point during – or after – their lives the inscriptions were produced. Nevertheless, the existence of these roughly dated texts offers the tantalising possibility of detecting developments in the letter forms (and tomb architecture) of other inscribed tombs.

¹³⁵ The use of certain writing systems as a deliberate assertion of a group's identity can be seen in many examples from both the ancient and modern worlds: Sebba (2009) 39- 43 demonstrates clearly the importance of scripts in the formation and maintenance of national identity in the modern world. Particularly interesting as an analogy for the Lycian script are his examples of writing systems in which one or two unique symbols which distinguish them from more widespread scripts gain 'ethnic significance', such as the <ɛ> used in Bamileke languages in Cameroon to denote a high central vowel (Bird (2001) 'Orthography and identity in Cameroon' in *Written Language and Literacy* 4(2): 148, cited by Sebba (2009) 40). Payne (2008) 121 points out the importance of writing and scripts as a demonstration of power in antiquity, suggesting that a key factor in the development of the Hittite hieroglyphic script was the need not only to 'forge a collective identity' but also to remind 'the various vassal states of the power of their overlord'. As will be seen below (Chapter 3.8-3.9) the assertion of power – or, at least, ownership – may have been an element in the use of Lycian in tomb epitaphs, but in general the assertion of 'Lycianess' seems to have been a more important factor.

Students are regularly warned against the use of Greek letter forms to date inscriptions, since they are so dependant on the choices of individual masons who continued to use earlier letter forms even after later ones had developed.¹³⁶ The Lycian inscriptions have the advantage of coming from a relatively small geographical area and a relatively short time period, but there is still disagreement about the extent to which palaeographical dating can be relied upon.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, if we know when a specific variant form first appeared, this can provide a *terminus post quem* for any inscription containing it. Use of an 'early' letter form is, however, never definitive proof that an inscription is early in date, since there are many possible factors – including geographical variation and personal preference – which might encourage the retention of a conservative script.¹³⁸ Failure to recognise this can lead to serious inaccuracies in the use of palaeography to date inscriptions.¹³⁹

Moreover, the scarcity of Lycian inscriptions and, in most cases, the difficulty of dating them with precision makes it, in practice, almost impossible to establish exactly when any given letter form first appeared: the discovery of just one new

¹³⁶ See, for example, Woodhead (1981) 62-66, Cook (1987) 14 ('this method of dating is notoriously unreliable').

¹³⁷ Bryce (1976a) 168, (1986) 59-60 argues that only one letter form (the nasalised <ẽ>) demonstrates any chronological development, but the possibilities of palaeography have been emphasised by Heiner Eichner and Martin Seyer (both of whom have given me much help and encouragement in the following study). Woodhead (1981) 62 mentions the swiftness of the development of the early epichoric Greek alphabets, a phenomenon which also seems to appear in Lycian.

¹³⁸ This difficulty is identified by, for example, Seyer (2009) 62, who, although primarily concerned with architectural features, emphasises that it is also the case for decorative, and epigraphic elements.

¹³⁹ Seen, for example, in Jenniges and Swiggers' article on the development of Lycian <ã> to <u> in which they rely heavily on the assumption, derived from a study by Laroche, that '[t]he older form [of <ẽ>] (Ϝ) is found till ca. 360-350, the younger (ϝ) from around 350' (Jenniges and Swiggers (2000) 113 n. 26, using Laroche (1979) 55). This makes their dating of a number of inscriptions very dubious, since the older form of <ẽ> in fact continued to be used throughout the epichoric period, especially at Limyra (Bryce (1986) 60; see Chapter 1.17.ii for further discussion).

datable inscription could entirely alter all our ideas. In addition, many of the variant forms (for example, forms of <n>, <p>, <a>, and <χ>) are so similar to, or the result of such an obvious natural development from, the original letter form that they could have arisen independently, or at least semi-independently, in a number of different times and places – and some apparently did. Another complication in the study of letter forms is the likelihood that they developed differently, and at different speeds, on different materials. Letters written with ink on leather or papyrus, or painted on pottery or wood, seem very likely to have altered more quickly than those scratched on pottery, carved into dies for coinage, or inscribed on stone. Nevertheless, some interchange between the various media would presumably have taken place and, as suggested below, this may explain apparently random appearances of the certain letter forms in a few, widely scattered inscriptions. Jeffery emphasised the importance of taking this into account when establishing the relative dates of Greek *epitaphs*, graffiti, and inscriptions on stone, pointing out that letters can be written far more quickly with a brush or pen than they can be cut on stone, leading to rounded and often simplified letter forms. She also suggested that the early Ionic inscriptions, the lettering of which tends to be ‘distinctly smaller and more hasty than the contemporary script of the mainland’, were particularly influenced by writing on leather and papyrus, in use there earlier than in mainland Greece.¹⁴⁰

As I discuss below, the majority of the ‘later’ letter forms first appear at a comparatively early date, meaning that the occurrence of one or two ‘late’ letters in a particular inscription cannot be considered a firm indication that an

¹⁴⁰ Jeffery (1990) 64-65.

inscription was produced at a particularly late date. Although certain 'late' forms (such as those of <χ> and <ς>) make their first appearance slightly later than others, many had emerged by the second or third decade of the fourth century. At this point, however, they were apparently not used consistently by all stone-cutters – nor even used consistently by individuals. Furthermore, while 'late' forms of some letters became widespread, 'early' forms of others remained more common: for example, the earliest form of <ã> fell out of use comparatively early in most places, but the original form of <ẽ> continued to be popular throughout the fourth century.

As a result of these various complications, any suggestion as to the date of an inscription must consider the whole ensemble of letter forms used, as well as the size and style of the lettering. The high number of inscriptions in which 'early' and 'later' forms of certain letters are used simultaneously, or in which 'later' forms of some letters are found alongside 'early' forms of other letters suggests that letter-cutters did not tend to use all the 'later' forms together until a comparatively late date: as shown by Chart 2, which sets out the letter forms found in datable inscriptions, the latest inscriptions do tend to show 'late' forms more consistently. When, therefore, an inscription contains *only* 'late' forms, it seems likely that it was produced towards the end of the fourth century. Conversely, inscriptions which contain those 'early' forms which later dropped out of use (and no 'late' forms) can tentatively be assigned an early date.

One of the central tenets of the study of Greek epigraphy is that letter forms must be studied within the inscriptions of a circumscribed geographical area, since

there were significant geographical variations in the stylistic devices of letter-cutters in different areas. It is usually argued – or assumed – that the Lycian inscriptions come from a sufficiently small area, were inscribed over a sufficiently short period, and are homogenous enough in their content, to allow them to be considered as a whole.¹⁴¹ However, it seems to me that the inscriptions of different towns of Lycia do show some differences in style and in their use of the variant letter forms, in spite of the fact that almost all letter forms appear to some extent across the peninsula. I have therefore considered the inscriptions of individual towns and regions, which has indeed revealed small but significant regional variations, concentrating particularly on the inscriptions of Limyra and those of the Xanthos valley area (comprising Xanthos, Tlos and Pinara) since these towns offer a comparatively large number of inscriptions and I have had access to squeezes of many of these.¹⁴²

After a brief review of previous work on Lycian palaeography, I give an overview of the datable inscriptions and discuss the development and distribution of those letters which display notable variant forms. Next, I consider other possible indicators of the date of a monument, before, in the ‘palaeographical charts’ at the back of this thesis, attempting to set out a relative chronology of the undated inscriptions, when palaeographic and archaeological features make this possible.

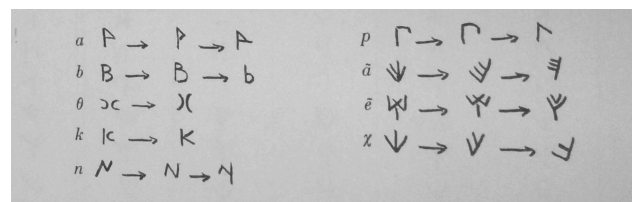
¹⁴¹ E.g. by Laroche (1979) 54-56.

¹⁴² Modern squeezes from these sites – as well as from Xanthos, Tlos and elsewhere – have been made by teams from the ÖAI and are stored in the Insitut in Vienna, along with nineteenth-century squeezes of the Limyran inscriptions from the collection of the ÖAW. Other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century inscriptions are in the ÖAI. I am very grateful to Professor Martin Seyer for giving me access to the squeezes in the ÖAI and to Professor Thomas Corsten for giving me access to those in the ÖAW.

In what follows I consider a number of letters which show variant forms sufficiently different from each other to warrant further investigation. It is often not easy to decide whether certain letter forms should be considered ‘variants’, or simply different ways of cutting the same letter: as discussed below, those who have previously worked on this question have detected a high number of variant forms, many of which appear to show no significant difference in their distribution. I have therefore attempted to identify broader ‘significant’ letter forms, allowing for variation between different instances of what is essentially the same letter form (e.g. $\mathbb{W}$ and $\mathbb{W}$).

1.15 Previous work on the palaeography of Lycian inscriptions

Emmanuel Laroche made the first serious attempt to trace the chronological development of Lycian letter forms, using those inscriptions which give fixed chronological points to trace developments in the forms of the letters <a>, , <θ>, <k>, <n>, <p>, <ã>, <ẽ> and <χ>.¹⁴³ He proposed the following schema:¹⁴⁴



Laroche’s suggestions are based on the dated inscriptions TL44, N324 and 325 (from the early fourth century), a group of inscriptions mentioning Perikle (TL67, TL83, TL103, TL132, TL133), TL40 (from the mid fourth century), N320 and TL45 (from the time of Pixodarus) and TL29, which mentions Alexander the

¹⁴³ Laroche (1979) 54-56.

¹⁴⁴ From Laroche (1979) 56.

Great and is therefore ‘postérieur à 334-330’.¹⁴⁵ Having used the dated inscriptions to establish the developments of some variant letter forms, Laroche then apportions the following inscriptions across the same time scale (in this order): TL84 (Sura), TL25 (Tlos), TL143 (Limyra), TL23 (Tlos), TL149 (Rhodiapolis), TL38 (Xanthos), TL56 (Antiphellos), TL39 (Xanthos), TL35 (Kadyanda), N318 (Xanthos) and N308 (Myra).

One limitation in Laroche’s work is the limited number of locations from which the inscriptions which he used to establish his initial hypothesis come: all, with the exception of the inscriptions connected to Perikle (from Limyra, Timiussa and Arneai), and TL29, (from Tlos) come from Xanthos or the Letöon. This makes it hard to be sure that the chronology he establishes is also valid for, for example, Tlos and Myra. He himself did not consider his analysis definitive, cautioning, for instance, that ‘...il faut sans doute tenir compte de varieties locales, encore difficiles à apprécier, vu la rareté des documents’.¹⁴⁶ Additionally, his omission of the Υ form of <ē> and the V form of <ã> from his schema for the development of letter forms misses an important element in the development of the nasalised vowels (see below, 1.17.i and ii). Related to this is the omission of TL104a-c from the group of inscriptions mentioning Perikle, although (as discussed below) these would have been inscribed either at the same time as or shortly after TL103. This means that its use of the V form of <ē> – possibly one of the earliest examples – is not noted. Indeed, his treatment of all the inscriptions from the time of Perikle as a single entity leads to some inaccuracy in his table of letter

¹⁴⁵ Laroche gives a date of 358 for N320 and therefore TL45; as discussed below, a later date of 337 is now almost universally accepted, although this makes little difference to the chronology he establishes - its position between Pajawa’s sarcophagus and TL29 remains unchanged.

¹⁴⁶ Laroche (1979) 56.

forms: he states, for example, that these use the $\forall$ form of $\langle\chi\rangle$, in spite of the fact that TL67 shows exclusively $\forall$. Nevertheless, many of Laroche's conclusions about the date of those inscriptions which he considers can be seen to be roughly correct.

There has been much discussion of how many of the variant letter forms detected by Laroche are in fact significant, and whether the chronological developments he suggests are realistic. Bryce has argued that most of the variations detected by Laroche are 'too slight, in my opinion, to be regarded as any more than minor variations on the part of the individual stone carvers'¹⁴⁷ and this is undoubtedly true in many cases; Laroche's two forms of (early) $\forall$ $\langle\epsilon\rangle$ and (late) $\forall$ $\langle\chi\rangle$, for instance, have no particular significance. Indeed, Bryce concludes that only $\langle b\rangle$, $\langle\chi\rangle$, $\langle\tilde{a}\rangle$ and $\langle\tilde{e}\rangle$ show significant variations, with $\langle\tilde{e}\rangle$ alone showing evidence of chronological development; he correctly identified $\forall$ as the earliest form, which continued to be used throughout most of the epichoric period, and suggested that $\forall$ and $\forall$ were common later variants, but considered the evidence for other variants, including $\forall$, too meagre to allow their dating to be discussed.¹⁴⁸ While he is correct to point out that the various forms of $\langle\tilde{a}\rangle$ and $\langle p\rangle$ already appear in comparatively early inscriptions, this in fact means that they can be of use in detecting which inscriptions might be the very earliest; this is particularly true of $\langle\tilde{a}\rangle$, the earliest form of which, at least at Xanthos and Limyra, was widely replaced by later forms. Bryce is unfairly dismissive of the possibility that the various types of $\langle\tilde{a}\rangle$ could have

¹⁴⁷ Bryce (1986) 59.

¹⁴⁸ Bryce (1976a) 168-170.

chronological or geographical significance, and also underestimates the potential significance of variants of <χ> and <n>.¹⁴⁹

The importance of identifying *significant* variant forms is well illustrated by the work of G. Lang, who has prepared an exhaustive list of every variant letter form detectable in the sketches in Kalinka and Neumann's corpora. He finds, for example, 27 variants of <n>, 25 of <ã> and 23 of <ẽ>.¹⁵⁰ The majority of these show variations so small that they cannot realistically be considered distinct letter forms: the huge number of variant forms of <ẽ> and <ã> illustrates well the number of possible ways in which these complex symbols could be produced, often within a single inscription. Nevertheless, access to such a detailed piece of work has made it far easier to detect those variant letter forms which differ from each other in a meaningful way.

The most recent, and most convincing, work on the palaeography of the Lycian inscriptions has been that of Lynn Kogler and Heiner Eichner, carried out as part of the Austrian Archaeological Institute's project on the inscribed monuments. Kogler's initial research identified the letters <χ>, <n>, <p>, <ã> and <ẽ> as chronologically significant.¹⁵¹ Her method of comparing the lettering of the inscriptions she studies with, in the first instance, that of others from the same site, gives her results more credibility than the earlier studies. Her discussion of the palaeography of N336, from Limyra, for example, draws useful comparisons

¹⁴⁹ Bryce (1976a) 168

¹⁵⁰ I owe particular thanks to Heiner Eichner for providing me with a copy of this invaluable unpublished list.

¹⁵¹ A preliminary description of her findings was given in Seyer (2005) 156-157, which identified √ <χ> and √ <n> as late forms; further significant letters are mentioned in Kogler and Seyer (2007) 116-117.

between the lettering of that inscription and the dated inscription TL11, before considering comparanda from elsewhere (Limyra) for those letter forms not seen in other inscriptions of Pinara (in particular the nasalised <ẽ>).¹⁵² At Myra, consideration of the letter forms as a group enables her to conclude that TL90 and TL89 were cut at a similar time, and quite probably by the same stonemason; since the earliest forms of <ã> and <χ> are used, and none of the 'later' forms appear, she suggests a date 'um das Jahr 400 v. Chr. oder in die erste Hälfte des 4. Vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts'.¹⁵³ So far, however, no detailed description of Kogler's conclusions about general patterns in the development of the Lycian letter forms has appeared. In what follows, I try to build on the work of Kogler, Eichner and Lang by looking again at the evidence of the datable inscriptions and also considering the geographical distribution of the chronologically significant forms.

1.16 The datable inscriptions (catalogue)

My starting point has been a thorough review (carried out together with Heiner Eichner) of the palaeography of the following inscriptions – that is, all those that can be comparatively securely dated from their mention of specific rulers, either in a 'ruler formula' (see Chapter 3.8 for discussion of this phenomenon) or in some other way. Naturally, this list is very close to – and draws heavily on – those given by Laroche and others who have studied this question.¹⁵⁴ (To Laroche's original, it adds a number of earlier inscriptions and, by treating all the

¹⁵² Kogler and Seyer (2007) 116-117.

¹⁵³ Borchhardt, Eichner, Kogler, Pesditschek, and Seyer (2004) 23-24, 45.

¹⁵⁴ Laroche (1979) 54-55. Similar lists and discussions of datable inscriptions also given by Zahle (1983) 23-25, Bryce (1986) 46-50, and Seyer (2006) 720 n. 7. Seyer (2009) 58-61 discusses the datable inscriptions from the first half of the fourth century and, in particular, their burial-chambers.

inscriptions from the time of Perikle separately, illustrates more fully the complexity of the developments which can be seen).

Time of Harpagos. The earliest datable inscriptions are two epitaphs from central Lycia which state that they were inscribed during the reign of Harpagos - around, or prior to c. 440 (see Chapter 2.1-2.2).

TL77. Epitaph on the tomb of Ñtarigaḫã at Çindam, near Isinda.¹⁵⁵ The early date appears to be confirmed by the form of the sarcophagus. The lettering appears somewhat irregular in size, carved in three slightly crooked lines.¹⁵⁶

N310 (see fig. 3 and 4). Epitaph on the tomb of Xlasitini at Phellos. The form of the tomb is less obviously early, but certainly need not preclude an early date; the lay-out of the chamber tomb remains unknown, since the chamber is full of soil. The inscription is deeply and neatly cut.

Time of Xeriga. **TL43** (figs. 5 and 6). Epitaph on the sarcophagus of Merehi at Xanthos, with a ruler formula mentioning Xeriḫa (= Xeriga), enabling it to be dated c. 440-400 (see Chapter 2.9, 2.11). The inscription runs in a single line; the lettering is large, well-spaced and deeply cut.

Time of Xerēi (?). **TL44** (fig. 7). The Inscribed pillar at Xanthos (the Xanthos Stele). As discussed in Chapter 2.12, the pillar was probably erected by Xerēi; a date in the final decade of the fifth century is implied by the historical information recorded in the text.

¹⁵⁵ See Seyer (2004) 221-236.

¹⁵⁶ I have not been able to see a squeeze of this inscription, or the original. However, there is a photograph at Seyer (2004) 232 fig. 11, and a sketch in Kalinka (1901) 65.

Time of Erbbina (Arbinas). Xeriga's son Arbinas dedicated two statue bases at the Letöon, inscribed in both Lycian and Greek. These cannot be precisely dated, but it seems most likely that they were cut c. 390, at the start of the period during which coins were produced in Erbbina's name (see Chapter 2.10 and 2.13).¹⁵⁷ Both monuments are bilingual, inscribed in Greek as well as Lycian.¹⁵⁸

N324 & N325. Large statue base dedicated to Leto. N324 is on one of the narrow sides and N325 on one of the wide sides; the other two sides carry Greek inscriptions (published as CEG 888*i*, *ii* and *iii*). There are also a number of smaller fragments, belonging to one or other of the Lycian inscriptions. The two Lycian inscriptions appear to be in the same hand.

N311. Smaller statue base, with a two-line Lycian inscription on one of the narrow sides, and a Greek inscription (CEG 889*i* & *ii*) on one of the wide sides (apparently the front of the base). The Lycian letters appear to be quite irregular, although this may be partly the effect of the poor preservation of the stone.¹⁵⁹

Time of Arttumpara. The exact dates of Arttumpara's reign are uncertain, but he ruled in western Lycia some time in the middle of the first half of the fourth century, probably in the 370s and possibly again at a later date (see Chapter 3.1).

TL11 (fig. 8). An epitaph on the sarcophagus of Ddapssma at Pinara. The inscription is carved on the long side of the base of the sarcophagus, in large,

¹⁵⁷ Ed. pr. Bousquet (1975) 138-148.

¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately I have not been able to see either the originals or squeezes of these inscriptions: the best images to which I have had access are the photographs and sketches in Bousquet (1992) 150-152 and Plates 72-74, 76-79.

¹⁵⁹ Bousquet (1992) 149.

deeply cut letters; they are set out carefully in three long lines, with the letters almost (but not quite) stoichedon.¹⁶⁰

TL104 (see below) records Perikle's fight against Arttuṃpara.

Relations of Trbbēnemi. Only two inscriptions from Limyra give any indication in their content of a date earlier than the time of Perikle: these are **TL135** and **TL128**, both of which identify the builder of the tomb as a *tideri* of Trbbēnemi. Trbbēnemi was probably Perikle's predecessor as ruler of Limyra during the early fourth century (c. 400- c. 375), but might also have been his contemporary (see Chapter 3.1) Uncertainty about both the exact meaning of *tideri* and the dates at which he was active make it impossible to say with certainty whether these inscriptions were produced during Trbbēnemi's lifetime or after it, and, if during Trbbēnemi's lifetime, exactly when. The widely accepted meaning of *tideri* is 'foster-brother', suggesting that the tomb-builders were near-contemporaries of Trbbēnemi and that the inscriptions would have been during (or shortly after) his lifetime.¹⁶¹ Kuban, assigning later dates to the tombs on the grounds of their architecture, argues that its meaning must be one which 'einen Bezug zwischen zwei Personen ermöglicht, bei der ein Zeitabstand von 40. oder 50. Jahren keine Probleme aufwirft'.¹⁶² However, as shown by Chart 2, the letter forms displayed in the inscription are more similar to those of the earlier inscriptions of Xanthos and central Lycia than to those from the time of Perikle; this supports the

¹⁶⁰ Kogler, discussing the date and palaeography of this inscription at Kogler and Seyer (2007) 117, suggests a date of 380-360, based on Keen (1998) 46ff and Bryce (1986) 133 f.

¹⁶¹ Melchert (2004) s.v. *tideri* suggests '*collacteus, collactea*'; Neumann (2007) s.v. *tideri* suggests 'Milchbruder, Milchschwester'.

¹⁶² Kuban (2012) 122.

argument that Trbbēnīmi held power at Limyra before the time of Perikle, and that the inscriptions were produced in his lifetime.

TL128. Epitaph on the tomb of Krusti. Kuban argues that the Greek decorative features (fluted Ionic columns, set on a base) are of a type which she believes indicates a date after the reign of Perikle, during the time of Hekatomnid domination.¹⁶³ However, the use of apparently 'Greek' architectural features began in Lycia at a very early point, and cannot therefore be thought to indicate a late date. Two benches at ground level, one on each side of tomb with a sunken area between, also suggest an early date (see Chapter 1.24), as do the letter forms (see Chart 2). The lettering is well-spaced, in two lines of text, with letters finely but not deeply cut.

TL135. Epitaph of [X]uwata (the initial letter of the tomb-builder's name is missing), on a single-door rock-cut tomb similar to 'Limyra-typus', but slightly wider; no 'beam-ends', but instead two plain vertical 'beams' on either side of door. To the right-hand side of the door is a near life-size relief of two warriors, one standing with a dagger, the other (with shield) kneeling in defeat. Kuban argues that this type of tomb did not appear until c. 365, in which case the inscription would come from the end of, or after, the reign of Perikle; but again, the letter forms and mention of Trbbēnīmi suggest otherwise.¹⁶⁴

Time of Perikle of Limyra (see Chapter 3.1, 3.8 and 3.10). Perikle is the ruler mentioned in the highest number of inscriptions. The exact dates of his reign are still debated but it appears to have stretched from c. 380 until c. 360-350. It is

¹⁶³ Kuban (2012) 122.

¹⁶⁴ Kuban (2012) 121.

therefore hardly surprising that significant differences can be seen in the inscriptions produced during his reign, which could have been produced more than twenty years apart.

TL132 (fig. 9). Epitaph of Xudrehila, including a 'ruler formula' of Perikle. On tomb Kuban N V 90 (see Kuban (2012) 360). Two door rock-cut tomb (338 cm wide) with beam ends and 'pole-roof'. Now badly broken on left hand side. Stands towards the west side of the main group of graves in necropolis V. Lettering is regular in size, regularly spaced, neatly and comparatively deeply cut for letters of this size.

TL133. Epitaph of Xñtlapa, a *mahinaza* (religious official?) of Perikle. On tomb N V 68 (See Kuban (2012) 348). Two door rock-tomb (345 cm wide) with beam ends and 'pole-roof'; a flattened area is carved out of the rock in front of tomb. Stands towards the east end of the main group of tombs in necropolis V, higher than most (on approximately the same level as N V 90, above). Interior of tomb has a bench at ground level, running around all four sides (the arrangement identified by Seyer as early), with later alterations to create further benches. Letters appear (from a poorly preserved squeeze in Vienna) to have been quite deeply cut, with letter strokes comparatively narrow for such large lettering. Letters irregular in size and shape; many letter-strokes do not meet at apices.

TL103 and **TL104**.¹⁶⁵ Inscriptions associated with the tomb of Tebursseli (N II 140), a two-door, single-storey rock-cut tomb, plainly cut with beam-ends and pole-roof. This is one of the few tombs at Limyra to be decorated with both a relief and an epitaph.

¹⁶⁵ Borchhardt, Eichner, Pesditschek, and Ruggendorfer (1997-1999) 69-85 give a detailed description of the monument and its inscriptions, as well as translation and discussion of the texts. Schürr (2012) 19-22 gives rather different translations, and different interpretations of various points.

TL67 (see fig. 10). Epitaph on a rock-cut tomb at Timiussa (modern Uçağiz). Lettering is comparatively small and not deeply cut, but moderately neat; the two lines are quite straight, and roughly parallel.

TL83 (fig. 11). Long epitaph on a house-tomb (free-standing, but cut from a single block of rock) at Arneai. The inscription is badly weathered, and for most letters it is now very hard to be certain which form was used; unfortunately I have not been able to see a squeeze. The most common form of <ā> is √, but Kalinka's sketch shows √ in line 4, and I am unable to tell from the photographs I have seen whether this is in fact present – √ also appears to be a possibility here, or some intermediate stage between the two. Similarly, it is hard to decide whether the form of <p> used is ∟ or moving towards a variant of ∟. All examples visible on the photograph seem to be curved, but it is also conceivable (as in many other inscriptions) that this is simply the result of weathering. Similarly, examples of <s> are now slightly curved, but appear to have been angular when first cut. Lastly, Kalinka's sketch shows two examples of <χ>, both √, but in the photograph at least one of these more closely resembles √. The burial chamber is laid out in the early way with a bench running along all four sides.¹⁶⁶

N314 (figs. 12, 13 and 14). Epitaph of Masauwēti on a tomb at Kızılca, just south-west of Elmalı. This is the furthest inland of all surviving Lycian texts. Its physical appearance is unique: rather than being placed on the lintel of the tomb or to one side of the façade, it is carved – in extremely large letters (c. 8.5-10 cm high¹⁶⁷) – directly onto the unsmoothed rock face, below the tomb itself.

¹⁶⁶ Seyer (2009) 56-58.

¹⁶⁷ Neumann (1979) 36.

Time of Autophradates. Autophradates was satrap of Lydia in the middle of the fourth century and appears to have had direct control over part of Lycia at some point c. 365 (see Chapter 3.1).

TL61 (figs. 15 and 16). Epitaph of Sbikezijēi, at Bayindir Limanı, probably ancient Sebeda.¹⁶⁸ On a large tomb cut into the cliff-face, looking out over the sea.

TL40 (fig. 17). Pajawa sarcophagus, from Xanthos (now in the British Museum). Four inscriptions, one on front, one on each side, and one on crest of lid (see Chapter 3.3).

Time of Mizrapata. As I argue below (see Chapter 3.1), Mizrapata appears to have ruled the western part of central Lycia c.360, or slightly later.

TL64 (see figs. 18 and 19). On a small (two door, one storey) plain tomb cut into a large boulder at Isinda, a mountain-top site just east of Kaş. The inscription is very badly preserved, with only a few letters now surviving. Most are around 15 mm high, although they can be as tall as 20mm; they are cut with delicate and slightly scrappy, but comparative firm, strokes.

N315. On a small rock-cut tomb at Seyret (Gökçeören), north-east of Kalkan. The façade of the tomb imitates the lid of an ogive sarcophagus. The inscription is very poorly preserved, but those letters legible on the squeezes in the ÖAI appear uneven, and somewhat irregular in size: c. 20-25mm high, with the occasional larger letter as tall as 35mm.

¹⁶⁸ Bayındır Limanı (so called in e.g. Bean (1978) 98-99) is also known as Liman Ağzı (e.g. in Clow (2000) 65-66). The nineteenth-century name for the site was Porto Sevedo, and it is so called by Kalinka (1901) 58, who accepted Benndorf's identification of the site as ancient Phellos. Bean (1978) 99 suggests this 'surely preserves the ancient name' of Sebeda (recorded by Stephanos Byzantios s.v. Σέβεδα) as a λιμὴν Λύκίας mentioned by Alexandros Polyhistor ἐν περίπλῳ (first century).

Hekatomnid Period. Two decrees survive from 340-336, the period during which Lycia was ruled by the Carian satrap Pixodarus (see Chapter 4.1-2; on the decrees, see Chapter 4.4).

N320 (the 'Letöon trilingual'; fig. 20). Decree of the Xanthians from the first year of King Artaxerxes IV (337) carved in Lycian, Greek and Aramaic on a stele found in the Letöon.¹⁶⁹ All three texts are similar in style, and could have been cut by the same hand. Both the Lycian and Greek texts are cut in a *stoichedon* pattern.

TL45. Stele from Xanthos, with a bilingual (Lycian and Greek) decree of Pixodarus. A second part of the text, designated TL45b, has subsequently been identified by Bousquet (and is accepted by, *inter alia*, Melchert in his *Corpus*).¹⁷⁰ In contrast to N320, the script is not *stoichedon*, and the Lycian does not use word dividers; the Lycian text of the newly identified part appears particularly untidy.¹⁷¹

A later epitaph from Limyra. **TL99.** Epitaph of Purihimeti (Greek Purimatis), son of Masas, also honoured in a Greek honorific decree inscribed on a rock-cut stele.¹⁷² Wörrle, the first editor of this decree, suggests a date 'etwa in der mittleren zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts'; it could, however, be significantly later than this, perhaps as late as the early third century.¹⁷³ The appearance of the tomb, with a 'Greek' gable on top of a 'Limyra-typus' façade, the overt statement that the tomb is built *hrppi atli ehbi* 'for he himself' as well as for his

¹⁶⁹ For discussion of the date of the decree (originally believed to be 358), see Chapter 4.4.

¹⁷⁰ Bousquet (1986) 101-106; the fragment was first published in Laroche (1979) 115-117.

¹⁷¹ Bousquet (1986a) 104.

¹⁷² Ed. pr. Wörrle (1991) 218-234; SEG 41:1379.

¹⁷³ Wörrle (2012b) 364.

children, and the fact that the palaeography (as seen in Chart 2) fits well with the more securely datable late-fourth century inscriptions all support a late date.¹⁷⁴ The second line of the inscription has been added in a different hand.

After the arrival of Alexander the Great. **TL29** (fig. 21). Long inscription from Tlos inscribed on what appears to have been a late imitation of a traditional pillar tomb. Although its date is unclear, it appears to mention both the Carian satrap Idrieus and Alexander the Great, meaning that it must have been inscribed after 334.

Reign of Ptolemy II (?). **TL35** (fig. 22). Lycian inscription on a stele from the modern town of Üzümlü (below Kadyanda). It begins with a date: ‘the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy’ – in Chapter 5.4, I argue that this refers to the fourth year of Ptolemy II, 282/1, making it the latest datable Lycian inscription.

Although the dates of the inscriptions of Perikle and Mizrapata remain uncertain, there is a gap of at least twenty years between the last datable inscriptions of the first half of the fourth century and the inscriptions from the time of Pixodarus. In view of the number of developments which take place in the earlier period, one might expect these missing twenty years to show equally significant alterations in letter forms. However, this seems not to have been the case: for example, the $\forall$ and $\forall$ forms of $\langle\tilde{a}\rangle$, which begin to appear in the earlier inscriptions, are still being used together N320, and the latest form of $\langle\chi\rangle$ is $\forall$, already seen in TL103,

¹⁷⁴ Seyer (2007) 726-728, who accepts that the Greek decree ‘der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts zuzuordnen ist’. (As discussed below, I doubt that the *hrppi atli ehbi* is necessarily an indicator of a particularly late date – but in this case the other reasons are sufficiently convincing that this is not problematic).

although used more consistently in the later inscriptions. The only clear exception is the Υ form of <ẽ>, which seems to have appeared in the second part of the century; this may also be true of the later form of .

1.17 Variant letter forms

Chart 2 gives a table of the various letter forms shown by the datable inscriptions described above.

Study of the initial development of Lycian letter forms is facilitated by the Greek origin of most letters of the alphabet: if one of two or more variant letter forms is the same as or similar to a Greek form (as is the case, for example, with <n> and) we can be reasonably certain that this was the ‘original’ form of that letter, although naturally this cannot help us determine how quickly the other forms developed. Unfortunately, the two letters which show the greatest number of variant forms are <ã> and <ẽ>, which seem not to derive from the Greek alphabet. Further difficulty is caused by the fact that the Lycians seem to have had little interest in using the same letter forms consistently within inscriptions, so that, even in very short inscriptions, it is common for more than one version of a specific letter to be used.

1.17.i $\Downarrow, \Downarrow, \Downarrow, \Downarrow$ <ã>

As discussed above, the original grapheme for <ã> (apparently $\Downarrow$) seems most likely to have been the invention of a single individual or group of individuals. As Chart 2 shows, this form appears in the epitaph of Ñtarigaḫã at Çindam (TL77), one of the two inscriptions from the reign of Harpagos (the other inscription

from this time (N310) contains no example). It is also found on coins of Thibānuwa, dating from the second quarter of the fifth century, where a number of variations can already be seen: √ and √ appear in addition to √.¹⁷⁵

As early as the time of TL43 (Merehi's epitaph at Xanthos, c. 410), however, √ is found; this is clearly a forerunner of the later √ form. TL44 (the Inscribed pillar, c. 400), on the other hand, consistently shows the earlier √ form, which continues to be seen well into the fourth century: it appears (admittedly alongside later forms) in TL104 at Limyra and TL83 at Arneai (both from the time of Perikle); on the Pajawa Sarcophagus at Xanthos (TL40 - time of Autophradates); and on coins of Aruwātijesi from Zagaba which date from a similar, or slightly earlier, period.¹⁷⁶ At Myra and across central Lycia it is particularly common: this may suggest that the inscriptions there were produced at an early point, but could also show that it remained in use longer in these areas – or a combination of the two.

Fully developed examples of the two main alternative forms, √ and √, also start to appear comparatively early. These seem to represent independent developments of the earlier form, and the relationship between them is very difficult to discern – as is any pattern in their distribution, especially during the early fourth century.

¹⁷⁵ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 368, with Abb. 4, 5, 20, 26, and 48. It is, of course, possible that one of these other forms was the very earliest, but since only √ is widely used in epigraphy it is that which is important for the purposes of our enquiry.

¹⁷⁶ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 388, with Abb. 43 (suggesting a date c. 400-380 for Aruwātijesi).

The form $\mathbb{V}$ is already seen in N324 (one of Erbbina's statue bases at the Letöon, c. 390). Bryce suggests this form derived from an inversion of $\mathbb{E}$, one of the early variants of the Greek letter E.¹⁷⁷ In fact, like $\mathbb{V}$, it developed from the earlier form, as can be seen in TL26, from Tlos (see fig. 23), an inscription tentatively dated to the first half of the fourth century.¹⁷⁸ A very similar pair of intermediate forms can be seen on the undated inscription TL37, at Xanthos (see fig. 24).

Even more surprisingly, a smaller fragment of N324 shows both $\mathbb{V}$ and $\mathbb{V}$, used only four lines apart.¹⁷⁹ This is the earliest evidence for the either of these letter forms; it is also particularly noticeable that no example of the 'early' form appears in either inscription. The next occurrence of $\mathbb{V}$ is seen in TL11, at Pinara (from the time of Arttuñpara, possibly c. 375 – or maybe a decade later). $\mathbb{V}$ next appears at Timiussa, in the time of Perikle. One possible explanation is that these forms developed more quickly in cursive writing on perishable materials, and took longer to be adopted by most stonemasons.

The evidence of Erbbina's inscriptions seems to indicate a swift evolution in the form of $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$ in the ten years after the production of TL44. However, the fact that TL44 uses the earlier forms naturally does not allow us to assume that the later forms did not already exist. Indeed, since TL44 was clearly designed as a formal and imposing document (see Chapter 2.12), it is not surprising that the earliest and most traditional letter forms should have been used, even though (as the

¹⁷⁷ Bryce (1986) 58.

¹⁷⁸ The name Izraza is seen on both TL24 and TL26. Zahle (1979) 320, *inter alia*, dates the reliefs of TL24 to c. 350, making a date somewhere in the middle of the century (perhaps slightly pre-350) likely for TL26, too; see Chapter 3.7.

¹⁷⁹ Bousquet (1992) 186 and Pl. 77, frag. A (probably part of N324).

appearance of ∇ on TL43 shows) other forms had already begun to develop. Elsewhere, intermediate forms of these same letters continue to be seen at a later date, showing both that the shape of the letter was still extremely fluid and that different stonemasons adopted the new forms at different rates – and perhaps that letter forms developed at different speeds in different parts of Lycia.

The fact that the end results of the various developments were the same across the peninsula suggests that, at least, some literate Lycians were encountering writing from other parts of Lycia on a regular basis. It is, of course, impossible to be certain whether this writing was in the form of inscriptions on stone or of documents written on other materials: however, it is not inconceivable that the former could have played a significant role. We know, for example, that in the middle of the fourth century - the period at which many of the most significant developments took place - Perikle's army ventured a significant distance west and north of his base at Limyra. This would surely have encouraged travel within the area (see below, Chapter 3.8-3.9). In addition, stonemasons, who were probably responsible for the cutting of many epitaphs, would presumably have travelled between the different towns of Lycia; tombs at isolated sites such as Çindam, for example, would surely have been created by itinerant craftsmen (see Chapter 2.2). As a result, different letter forms favoured by different masons could have been used simultaneously at a single site.

Consideration of the later development of <ã> illustrates this well. Of the inscriptions which mention Perikle, the ∇ form is found at Timiussa (TL67). At

Limyra itself the intermediate forms ∇ and ∇ are seen in TL103, but in TL104b (on the same tomb) the early form ∇ is still used. The appearance of this form in TL104 can be explained either as the simple retention of an earlier form by a less up-to-date cutter or as deliberate decision to use an earlier, more ‘formal’ style; the latter is particularly plausible because the inscription appears to have been carved with some care in order to compliment the relief decoration of the tomb. Does the use of intermediate forms in TL103 show the letter form developing more slowly at Limyra than at Timiussa?

At Kızılca, meanwhile, the other ‘later’ form, ∇ , is found. This, combined with the irregularity of the lettering, the use of another ‘late’ letter form (∇ for $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle$), and the placement of the inscription on an unsmoothed piece of rock below the tomb, suggests that the letter-cutter was not accustomed to stone-cutting, but was used to writing on other materials (see also Chapter 3.8). Are we dealing here with a soldier of Perikle masquerading as an amateur stone-cutter?

Even in the Xanthos valley and central Lycia, where they first developed, the newer forms of $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$ were not used consistently. At Xanthos, N324 is the only inscription from before the time of Perikle to show the ∇ form; the Pajawa sarcophagus (TL40, time of Autophradates) shows the intermediate ∇ , alongside earlier ∇ form, and ∇ is also found further east, at Bayındır Limanı (in TL61, again from the time of Autophradates).

In spite of Bryce’s claim that no chronological or regional development can be seen in the various forms of $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$, it is clear that the original appearance of the

letter was $\Downarrow$ (and the reversed form). Certainly, though, the distribution of the two later forms is harder to interpret. In the dated inscriptions, $\Downarrow$ and $\Updownarrow$ appear in the earlier period slightly more frequently than $\Updownarrow$. As explained, however, the first appearance of the latter comes only a little after the first known example of $\Downarrow$, and at the same time as the fully developed $\Updownarrow$ form. In the later period, $\Updownarrow$ is the more common form: it is seen in the Hekatomnid decrees N320 and TL45, the later epitaphs TL99 and TL29, and in TL35; yet in N320 and TL29, $\Downarrow$ is also seen.

Concentration on the dated inscriptions distorts the picture of the relative frequency of $\Downarrow$ and $\Updownarrow$: the two forms appear roughly the same number of times in the dated inscriptions but $\Updownarrow$ is in fact far more common, as shown by the table overleaf:

Site	$\Downarrow$	$\Updownarrow$	$\Updownarrow$
Limyra	7	2 (possibly 3)	19
Myra and Sura	5	1	6
Sites of central Lycia	7	4	7
Xanthos	3	2	7
Pinara	0	2	4
Tlos	0	0	6
Telmessos and Kadyanda	0	1	5

Table 2: *Number of inscriptions containing $\Downarrow$, $\Updownarrow$ and $\Updownarrow$ ('intermediate' forms not included).*

This distortion seems to result from the fact that both forms developed at a similar time and were initially used interchangeable (during the time that the

majority of datable inscriptions were produced), with $\mathbb{V}$ becoming more widespread only later.

Here, N320 is of particular interest. $\mathbb{V}$ is used until line 21, and $\mathbb{V}$ from then on – with both apparently used by the same stone-cutter, since there is no other evidence of an alteration in the hand.¹⁸⁰ Exactly how this is to be interpreted is unclear. Many of the other inscriptions in which $\mathbb{V}$ is found date from the first half of the fourth century. At Xanthos, the only example of $\mathbb{V}$ other than that seen in N320 is in TL48, an inscription consisting of two parts (see Chapter 3.4). The first part, which is somewhat earlier than the second, shows the $\mathbb{V}$ form; together with the use of early forms of <p> and <χ>, this implies a date in the first part of the fourth century. The second, meanwhile, uses the more usual form $\mathbb{V}$. Similarly, $\mathbb{V}$ is seen at Pinara in TL11, probably the earliest inscription at the site, and in N336, which also appears to be comparatively early (see Chart 6).

In these two towns, at least, $\mathbb{V}$ seems to have been used in the first half of the fourth century, before being displaced by $\mathbb{V}$. The use of $\mathbb{V}$ in the second half of N320 seems, therefore, to be reversion to an earlier form, although exactly why this would have occurred is difficult to understand: did the stone-cutter start off deliberately using the most ‘modern’ form, and then subconsciously revert to $\mathbb{V}$, or was the use of $\mathbb{V}$ somehow felt to be more appropriate for a formal document? Lycian letter-cutters evince little interest in consistency in the use of letter forms, but even so it seems strange to switch to a more ‘formal’ style of letter in the middle of a document. On the other hand, since $\mathbb{V}$ is seen so seldom,

¹⁸⁰ Adiego (2012) 93-95 appears to have been the first person to observe this important point.

and otherwise appears to have fallen out of use in epigraphy by the time of these inscriptions, it is difficult to envisage the stone-cutter using it unconsciously.

One possible (although unverifiable) explanation is that ∇ was still being used more frequently in cursive writing, although $\mathbb{V}$ was for some reason preferred in epigraphy. This suggestion, tentative though it must remain, could account for the few times that ∇ appears at Limyra (where it is found only in TL122 and TL101) and at Myra (where it is seen only once, in TL93); the apparently random appearance of an unusual letter form in such a small proportion of inscriptions is very hard to comprehend unless it was comparatively common in other styles of writing.

The shape of the letter ∇ can, I would argue, be of some help in the dating of inscriptions. The earliest form, ∇ , seems quickly to have fallen out of use in the Xanthos valley and at Limyra, meaning that its appearance in an inscription from these areas may suggest an early date, certainly within the first half of the fourth century, and probably within the first quarter (although it is always possible that the stone-cutter was deliberately retaining an earlier form). The situation in Myra and central Lycia is less clear, since ∇ is so much more common there – but again, inscriptions with ∇ are likely to be earlier than those with $\mathbb{V}$ or ∇ , assuming that no ‘late’ forms of other letters appear. Since $\mathbb{V}$ and ∇ both appear so early, their use indicates little about the date of an inscription, other than the fact that it is probably not earlier than the first decade of the fourth century. I would also tentatively suggest that ∇ may indicate a date in the second or third

quarter of the fourth century, when used without the $\mathbb{V}$ form and if other letter forms do not contradict this.

A final comment should be made about the variant forms $\mathbb{V}$ and $\mathbb{V}$. Laroche, in the table reproduced above, attempts to see a development in these various styles, but in reality they appear merely to be slight variations in the same fundamental letter form: I have compared the occurrence of the various styles at Limyra (where the highest number of examples are found) and failed to detect any chronological development – in addition, the number of forms which could not be clearly placed into either category implied that efforts to do so were pointless.

1.17.ii $\mathbb{Y}$, $\mathbb{Y}$, $\mathbb{Y}$ <ē>

As suggested above, this letter, like <ā>, seems likely to have been devised artificially for use in Lycian – hence its complexity and the comparative instability of the form. Kalinka lists ten different forms, Bryce gives examples of nine, and Lang's list identifies a total of 23.¹⁸¹ Almost all can, however, be seen to be variations on three main forms: $\mathbb{Y}$, $\mathbb{Y}$ and $\mathbb{Y}$. The earliest inscriptions all show exclusively $\mathbb{Y}$, as seen in Chart 2.¹⁸² Unlike the $\mathbb{V}$ form of <ā>, $\mathbb{Y}$ was never really displaced by the later forms, and continues to be widely seen long after the development of $\mathbb{Y}$ and $\mathbb{Y}$. Certainly, the form of <ē> cannot by itself be used to assign inscriptions to pre- or post-350, as Laroche suggests.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Kalinka (1901) 4; Bryce (1986) 57; Lang, unpublished list of letter-forms.

¹⁸² See Bryce (1986) 59-60; Laroche (1979) 55.

¹⁸³ Laroche (1979) 55.

Unlike the later forms of <ã>, the two main variants of <ẽ> do not appear to have developed at the same point in time. Ȳ appears first, and is significantly more common; it is used in at least 14 of the known inscriptions (there are up to six additional, unclear cases).¹⁸⁴ Once again, development towards later letter forms is already visible in the dedications for Erbbina, with Ȳ seen once in N324, although elsewhere ȳ is used. The earliest datable examples of the fully developed Ȳ are found at Xanthos, in TL40 (on the Pajawa sarcophagus), TL104 (the inscriptions under Tebursseli's reliefs at Limyra) – where the early form also appears – and on N314 (the 'amateur' inscription from Kızılca); it had become comparatively widespread by the end of the reign of Perikle, at the latest. TL40 and TL104 also show the intermediate forms Ȳ and Ȳ respectively, which suggests that, as for <ã>, intermediate stages in the development of the later letter forms continued to be used long after the later forms had developed.¹⁸⁵

The third, rarer, form of <ẽ>, ȳ, does not appear in any of the securely dated inscriptions earlier than TL29 (after the time of Alexander). It is possible that it can be seen – far earlier – on coins of Trbbēnimi (c. 370 at the latest). More likely,

¹⁸⁴ This form certainly appears in TL12, 14, and 18 (Pinara); TL23, 25, and 29 (Tlos); TL35 (Kadyanda); TL38, 40 and 41 (Xanthos); TL56 (Antiphellos); N314 (Kızılca); and TL104 and 145 (Limyra). Other possible occurrences are in TL6 and 7 (Kaya Köy); TL27 (Tlos); TL65 (Isinda); and TL120 and 113 (Limyra).

¹⁸⁵ It is not entirely clear from the squeeze I have seen whether TL104 does in fact contain the intermediate form – it is possible that this is merely an illusion caused by a crack in the stone.

however, that in these cases, the dynast was spelling his name Trbbānīmi rather than Trbbēnīmi, with the legends showing $\mathbb{V}$ <ā> rather than $\mathbb{Y}$ <ē>.¹⁸⁶

This interchange between <ā> and <ē> is seen in a number of inscriptions: most noticeable is the Limyran epitaph N317, in which the same letter (a form of $\mathbb{V}$, presumably representing <ā>) is found where both letters would be expected.¹⁸⁷ It is not clear whether this represents an elision of the actual sounds <ē> and <ā> at some point, a similarity which meant that the two were sometimes interchanged, or a confusion between the written letters, but in any case the similarity between the two sounds appears marked.

As with the 'late' forms of <ā>, it is not easy to spot patterns in the geographical distribution of $\mathbb{Y}$ and $\mathbb{Y}$. Although $\mathbb{Y}$ seems to have been the first to appear, it is still seen in the Ptolemaic inscription TL35, at Kadyanda. At Karmylessos, where the only surviving inscriptions are two tombs built by the same man, one (TL8) uses $\mathbb{Y}$ but the other (TL7) apparently shows $\mathbb{Y}$, although the latter is so badly preserved as to be practically illegible. A bilingual epitaph (TL6) on the other side of the same valley (in modern Kaya Köy), probably contemporary with, or later than, these, has $\mathbb{Y}$, showing that all three forms were in use concurrently.

¹⁸⁶ Eichner (1983) 50 n. 10. The coins in question are from the Podalia hoard (*IGCH* 1262), published in Olçay and Mørkholm (1971) 8-9 (nrs. 157-253) with plate 5 (= M141a-j); the authors sketch the letter form in question as $\mathbb{V}$, and this also seems to be visible on the photographs on plate 5, although the letters are not easy to make out. (Olçay and Mørkholm do, however, transcribe the name of the dynast as Trbbēnīmi, implying that they believe that $\mathbb{V}$, here, was intended to represent the sound <ē>). Since the $\mathbb{V}$ form of <ā> is seen in inscriptions by the time of Trbbēnīmi, this seems to be the most likely explanation. However, the possibility that the alternative form of <ē> was in use on coinage long before it is first seen in inscriptions cannot be entirely discounted; if this was the case, we might suspect that its use was at first restricted to coinage, although it is also possible that it was used in earlier inscriptions and that this has simply been obscured by accidents of preservation.

¹⁸⁷ Melchert (2004) s.v. *ebe*-1 'this'.

In the Xanthos valley, the distribution of the three forms of <ē> varies significantly across the three main sites. At Xanthos ☿ is by far the most frequent form, with ☿ seen in three inscriptions (in two of which it appears alongside ‘intermediate’ forms) and ☿ not found at all. At Pinara, the ☿ form is again most common (appearing in seven out of fourteen inscriptions), and ☿ is seen in only two or three examples (TL12 and 14 – both of which also contain ‘intermediate’ forms – and perhaps TL18¹⁸⁸), proportionally more than at Xanthos. ☿ is seen in TL15, and maybe in the (now lost) TL13. TL12, TL14 and, in particular, TL15, show a ‘curved’ style of lettering also found at Tlos and Karmylessos, which may indicate a date in the second part of the fourth century (see Chapter 1.19).

At Tlos, TL25, uses the ☿ form of <ē>, and N333 has the ☿ form; both inscriptions are in the ‘curved’ style. Both these forms are also seen in other inscriptions at Tlos. Of particular interest, however, is the fact that the ☿ form is seen only once in the surviving inscriptions from the site (in TL26). This seems to indicate that the epigraphic habit was not firmly established there until comparatively late, but might also imply that, when it did appear, it was less conservative than that of other sites.

Almost all of the inscriptions of central Lycia show the early, ☿ form. No ☿ form is found, and even ☿ appears only at Antiphellos, in the bilingual inscription TL56 (which can plausibly be considered slightly later than TL58, from a tomb on the other side of the site, which carries the intermediate version). In eastern Lycia,

¹⁸⁸ According to Linn Kogler, in Kogler and Seyer (2007) 117, the use of this form of <ē> shown in the sketch at Kalinka (1901) 21 cannot be confirmed.

too, examples of later variants of <ẽ> are rare, in spite of the comparatively high number of surviving inscriptions. At Myra, 𐤅 appears in three epitaphs: TL88, TL91 and N308. All three seem, from the other letters they contain, to come from a late date, probably some time at the end of the fourth century; TL88 and TL91 also use the 𐤆 form of <ã>, which might have encouraged the use of the corresponding form of <ẽ>. 𐤅 is not seen in any known inscription from here.

At Limyra, 𐤅 and 𐤆 are somewhat more evenly distributed. Once again they are used only rarely, but it does seem that 𐤅 was used at an earlier point than 𐤆, although 𐤆 remained the norm throughout. 𐤅 appears once in an inscription from the time of Perikle (TL104); once in a neat, but poorly preserved epitaph for Hla (TL145), where it is one of the few parts of the final line, cut in slightly larger letters than the rest of the inscription, which is still visible; and once – alongside three examples of 𐤆 – in an epitaph for Urssm̃ma (TL113).

The 𐤆 form, meanwhile, is found in two inscriptions, TL102 and TL99: as explained above, TL99 can be dated to the late fourth century or later, and TL102, which also contains many of the ‘late’ letter-forms, seems likely to come from a similar period. Both use the ‘later’ 𐤆 form of <ã>, but since this is very common at the site it is doubtful whether it would have had much effect on the choice of the form of <ẽ>.

Once again, the question arises of whether the use of the earlier letter form at certain sites shows that more of the inscriptions there were produced at a comparatively early stage or whether it shows regional variations in the

popularity of each letter form. In this case, we can say with some certainty that the ‘early’ form continued to be used more frequently than the new forms, even at a later date, and that this phenomenon is particularly marked at Limyra.

1.17.iii Ψ , $\Downarrow$, ∇ < χ >

The development of the letter < χ > is somewhat easier to discuss than that of the two nasalised vowels. Firstly, the origin of the letter seems clear. In a number of the Greek epichoric alphabets, Ψ was the earliest form of < χ >: it is known from areas as diverse as Lakonia, Boiotia and – most significantly for its transfer to Lycia – Rhodes.¹⁸⁹ Other versions of the letter, including ∇ and $\Downarrow$, appeared by the end of the sixth century and would therefore have been in use by the time the Lycian alphabet was devised.¹⁹⁰ All three are seen in Lycia: Ψ appears in TL77, but $\Downarrow$ is already seen at the same time, in N310. This suggests that both forms were adopted from Greek alphabets, rather than $\Downarrow$ developing from Ψ within Lycia. The inscription on Merehi’s sarcophagus (TL43) shows $\Downarrow$, while in TL44 ∇ is found; this co-existence of $\Downarrow$ and ∇ at a single site is typical, and comparison of the various instances of the two shapes shows no discernable chronological or geographical difference in their distribution, with the precise shape resulting only from the personal choice of each letter-cutter.

¹⁸⁹ This sign is found (the wrong way up) on a graffito from a Greek bowl from Kamiros, Jeffery (1990) 356 no. 3a-b; and in IG xii 1.720, the aryballos of Astyochides (Kamiros, 600-550). Elsewhere, Ψ often designated <ps>, and it was this value which was eventually adopted in the standardised Greek alphabet.

¹⁹⁰ At Rhodes, ∇ is found on SEG 12:364 (Jeffery (1990) 356 no. 13; a bronze wheel from Kamiros, c. 550-525) and IG XII1 709 (Jeffery (1990) 356 no. 15; a gravestone from Kamiros, c. 550 - 525?), while $\Downarrow$ is not recorded at Rhodes, but is found elsewhere.

Although all three forms seem to have arrived in Lycia simultaneously, ∇ occurs only in a small number of inscriptions, and soon ceased to be used: it is not found in any of the later datable inscriptions. It does, however, appear in a small but widely-dispersed group of epitaphs: at Antiphellos (TL59), at Kyaneai (TL70 and 71) and, most commonly, at Limyra, where it is found in four inscriptions (TL128, TL106, TL146 and TL100) all of which could plausibly be among the earliest at the site.

Even on the Xanthos stele, occasional examples can be seen alongside the more normal ∇ of a ∇ form, in which the central stroke is slightly off-set from the centre; this is also seen in N324 and N325, the dedications for Erbbina. This is the first step in the development of ∇ , the common later form of the letter, which is already seen by the time of Perikle: it is used consistently in TL103, while a similar form (∇) is found in TL133. It also seems to appear in N315, one of the inscriptions from the time of Mithrapata: a ∇ form is seen in the first word, $\chi\upsilon\pi\upsilon$, but one squeeze, and Neumann's sketch, also shows ∇ (in the second line). Of course, the 'late' form is very similar to the original forms, and probably arose independently in the work of a number of letter-cutters, without any feeling that it was a different form of the letter.

Like the late versions of $\langle\tilde{a}\rangle$ and the ∇ form of $\langle\tilde{e}\rangle$, ∇ (or ∇) cannot be considered to indicate a particularly late date in those cases where it appears alongside the ∇ or ∇ version. Unlike the nasalised vowels, however, it does seem to have been used fairly consistently at a later period: although the earlier form was is still found used in the particularly formal Letöon trilingual (N320), the

other decree of Pixodarus, TL45, has √ in most cases, although √ does appear once (as does √). The three later datable epitaphs (TL99, TL29, and TL35) consistently show √, as do many others. The even distribution of the ‘early’ and ‘late’ forms across the majority of Lycian sites, suggests that the later form was adopted throughout the peninsula, and that where the later form was particularly common (for example, at Tlos) this does in fact indicate that the majority of inscriptions were produced at a comparatively late period.

1.17.iv ϐ, ϑ, ϓ <p>

The original form of <p> was surely that of the Greek letter, ϐ, which appears during Harpagos’ reign (in TL77 and N310). A ‘curved’ form, ϑ, seems also to be found in TL77 – although this could be merely the result of weathering – and is certainly seen in TL44, where a more ‘hooked’ form, ϓ, is also found. Both curved forms can be difficult to distinguish from poorly preserved versions of ϐ, but ϓ also seems clear in other comparatively early inscriptions, including Erbbina’s dedications (N324 and N325) and the Pajawa sarcophagus (in TL40a). In general, however, ϐ continued to be the most frequent form during the first part of the fourth century. The fourth common form, ϑ, does not appear in any datable inscriptions until the time of Perikle, when it is seen at Limyra, in TL132 and TL133. It also appears in the second part of the late inscription TL99, and in the very latest datable inscription, TL35; TL29 has ϑ. Nonetheless, ϐ still continued to be widely used: it is found in the first (still comparatively late) part of TL99, and in the Hekatomnid decrees N320 and TL45, as well as in other inscriptions where otherwise late forms are used (for example TL109, at Limyra).

The development of $\sqcap$ via $\sqcap$ and $\sqcap$ to $\sqcap$, as already identified by Laroche (see above), is very easy to understand, and examples of $\sqcap$, in particular, could easily have emerged independently in a variety of locations. Since $\sqcap$ is identical to the Greek form of <p> and $\sqcap$ rather different, it is tempting to suppose that the latter would have been seen as a distinctly ‘Lycian’ form, while $\sqcap$ might have been considered more ‘formal’, or preferred by those who were aware of the Greek alphabet and wished to highlight the similarity between this and the Lycian alphabet. Thus, while $\sqcap$ indicates that an inscription was inscribed at a later date – especially (as for the other letters discussed) when used alongside other ‘late’ letter forms – the use of $\sqcap$ cannot be used as proof of an early date.

1.17.v $\simeq, \simeq, \simeq$ <n>

Of those letters which represented the same sound in both Lycian and Greek, <n> is the one which shows the most noticeable variation, developing from $\simeq$ or $\simeq$ to a form which, in its most idiosyncratic form, became $\simeq$ or similar. In the two inscriptions from the time of Harpagos, the form $\simeq$ is seen, but other early examples (for example, TL43) often show $\simeq$, with an extended stroke on the left hand side; this form is also seen in N313a, a pot-sherd from Xanthos dated to c. 500.¹⁹¹ The choice of one or other of these forms has no obvious chronological significance; nor is it possible to establish whether one of the two was the ‘original’ form in the Lycian alphabet, or whether both were adopted from an earlier alphabet and used concurrently from the start. Both were widely used in Greek epichoric alphabets by the later-sixth and early-fifth centuries, when the

¹⁹¹ For the date of N313a: Neumann (1979) 30.

Lycian alphabet was first being developed, making it likely that both would have been used by the first writers of Lycian.

As early as the first or second decade of the fourth century, however, a different variation of the letter begins to appear, with an elongated right hand stroke continuing below the point where it meets the diagonal stroke. This is seen, for example, in a fragment of N324, where <n> has the shape $\nearrow$. In other inscriptions a different variation on the form is seen, with two diagonal strokes meeting a third vertical stroke: $\wedge$. Later, however, a particularly distinctive form, $\nearrow$, is seen: this appears in both TL29 and TL35 (the latest datable Greek inscriptions). At Rhodiapolis (in TL149) the forms $\wedge$ and $\nearrow$ both appear in the same inscription, showing how the first could have developed into the second.

Like the earlier forms of <p>, the earlier forms of <n> continued to be the most commonly used, even at the end of the fourth century: at Limyra, indeed, the $\nearrow$ form never appears; TL45, at Xanthos, also shows the standard $\wedge$ form. Again, use of one of the early forms cannot, therefore, indicate an early inscription, but use of $\nearrow$ may indicate a date in the second half of the fourth century, often towards its end.

1.17.vi $\searrow, \swarrow$ <s>

As discussed above, the consistency of the $\searrow$ form of <s> is of particular interest in view of the ubiquity of $\searrow$ in the Greek inscriptions of Lycia and other parts of Asia

Minor.¹⁹² The form does, however, show minor variations. From an early period, curved forms such as $\curvearrowright$ (in e.g. TL44) are found in addition to $\curvearrowright$; this is such a natural and obvious development that it cannot be used as any indication of date. Some of the later inscriptions, however, show a more stylised form, with a single straight diagonal line above a curved section: $\curvearrowright$. In many cases the initial stroke is even closer to vertical, giving e.g. $\curvearrowright$. This is first seen in TL104 (alongside $\curvearrowright$) and appears in N320, TL45, TL29 and TL35; it might, therefore, be an indicator of a late date. As such, however, it must be treated with caution: like the late form of <n> it seems never to have come into general use, and it is often – especially when an inscription is not well preserved – rather difficult to decide whether any particular example should be treated as an example of the ‘late’ form or simply as an irregularly carved version of the standard form. This is true, for example, of the versions seen in TL120 and TL123 at Limyra. One indication that <s> underwent some sort of chronological development at Limyra is given by the strange forms seen in TL112 ($\curvearrowright$; also seen in TL 57 at Antiphellos) and TL99 ($\curvearrowright$); both could arise as further developments of $\curvearrowright$ with the initial stroke, which in some examples becomes very short, omitted (although $\curvearrowright$ could also have come directly from $\curvearrowright$). Another possibility is that this simplified form was taken over from cursive writing, in which it would have arisen particularly easily (indeed, it is also seen in the modern handwritten Latin alphabet).

In the Xanthos valley the stylised $\curvearrowright$ form is more frequent, and appears primarily in comparatively late epitaphs (as well as in the two Hekatomnid inscriptions). Quite *how* ‘late’ they are is not clear, however: in TL48, (the Xanthian inscription

¹⁹² See Jeffery (1990), Table 1.

to which a second, later section was added) it seems (although this may be an illusion caused by weathering) to appear in the original inscription alongside the $\forall$ form of <ã>, a possible indicator of a mid-fourth century date; the later addition has the more normal ς form. In TL36, another inscription with a later addition, it appears only in the second section; even this, however, seems to have been among the earlier Xanthian inscriptions, produced around the mid fourth-century.

It is therefore impossible to use the form of <s> as any general guide to the date of an inscriptions - but ς or b , when sufficiently well-preserved to be identifiable, may indicate a date in the second half of the fourth century. More important is its stylised nature – in its most exaggerated form it is extremely distinctive, and could conceivably have been considered particularly traditional or ‘Lycian’; if so, this would explain its appearance in the two multilingual inscriptions of Xanthos (TL45 and N320), which retain the ‘traditional’ $\forall$ form of <ẽ>.

1.17.vii B , B , b

The most common form of is the common Greek form, B . However, two variants are also seen: B , with a clear space between the two loops, and b , with only a single loop. The former is seen at an early point: it is found in Merehi’s epitaph (TL43), which also shows one example of B . It also appears intermittently in TL44 (e.g. 44a, l. 54), again alongside B . B is seen, too, at Limyra, in TL103 (from Perikle’s reign) as well as in various other inscriptions, some of which appear from their other letter forms to be early (TL106) and others late (TL131).

The single-loop version, b , has been the subject of some debate. Neumann, in his discussion of N308, argues that it was an early form, but both Laroche and Eichner consider it a later development.¹⁹³ Its appearance in the third-century inscription TL35 certainly suggests this. It is also seen TL39 and N308, which Laroche considers late; there is clearly a danger of circular reasoning here, since the use of this form of b is one of the criteria through which he assigns them a late date. However, since both consistently display ‘late’ forms of other letters, as well as apparently late architectural (in TL39) and linguistic (in TL39 and N308) features, his suggestion is convincing. The other inscriptions in which the b form appears are TL5, TL62, TL91, TL93, and TL108.¹⁹⁴ It is also used in N313b, a name painted on a pottery fragment from Xanthos; this gives no indication of its date (although fifth-century fragments were found in the same context), but in any case, as noted above, painted letters probably developed at a pace different to, and rather faster than, incised letters. None of the inscriptions give any reason to suppose that they are early in date, and most contain other ‘late’ letter forms, which seems to confirm that b emerged at a late date. However, it is so rare that this is of little help in the dating of inscriptions, especially since it is clear that B and B (which appears alongside b in both TL5) also continued in frequent use.¹⁹⁵

1.17.viii Other graphemes

Alterations in the forms of other Lycian graphemes, as far as can be seen from the surviving inscriptions, result only from variations in the practice of different

¹⁹³ Neumann (1979) 22; Laroche (1979) 56; Eichner in Seyer (2006) 725, n. 43.

¹⁹⁴ Seyer (2006) 725, n. 43.

¹⁹⁵ Kalinka’s sketch shows a B form (although with a slightly smaller top loop) in l. 14 of TL35, but Heberdey’s sketch (see fig. 22) shows the b form here as well.

stone masons. The rare letter $\forall$ <τ>, however, does seem to appear slightly more often in early inscriptions, and this is perhaps also true of $\diamond$.

1.18 Laroche's hypotheses

When the letter forms discussed here are compared with Laroche's chart, many of his suggested developments can be seen to be essentially correct, although in many cases more complex than he supposed: thus $\forall$ for <ẽ> did develop to $\forall$, but also to $\forall$, while $\forall$ itself continued to be the most commonly used form. For <ã>, $\downarrow$ did become $\downarrow$, but no distinction can be drawn between $\downarrow$, $\downarrow$ and other forms. Similarly, no alteration can be seen in ways of cutting $\forall$.

The lines of development he suggests for and <n> seem not to be supported by the evidence: rather, both letters have minor variations in the standard form, in which no chronological or geographical pattern can now be detected. Only $\downarrow$ and $\downarrow$, the forms he identifies as latest, seem to have any chronological significance, and these are so rare, and their use so sporadic, that they are of no real help in dating otherwise undatable inscriptions – they can only confirm dates suggested by other means. Any development of the other letter forms is so obscure as to be useless for the purpose of dating inscriptions: the two forms of <k>, for example, seem to appear simultaneously, and so rarely as to make any further conclusions impossible.

1.19 Style of lettering

The most distinctive style of Lycian lettering is the 'rounded' style, found at a few sites in western and central Lycia. An <m> with curved rather than sharp apices

is often an element of this, although it can also be found in inscriptions which otherwise have unrounded forms, such as TL59 at Antiphellos (while the standard <m> can be round in inscriptions showing other rounded letters). The same is true of the ζ form of <s>, and the curved forms of <p> (although these are even more common elsewhere). In the most extreme examples of the 'rounded' style, all the horizontal lines on top of $\top$, Ξ , and Ξ are curved; this is seen, for example, in TL25 (the bilingual statue base at Tlos) and TL15 (an epitaph at Pinara). In others, including TL56 (a bilingual epitaph at Antiphellos) and TL14 (another Pinaran epitaph) the effect is less overpowering, but still noticeable.

As well as being restricted to western and central Lycia, the rounded style, particularly in its most pronounced form, appears to have been most common at a comparatively late date. It is noticeable that it is found in three bilingual inscriptions (TL6, TL25 and TL56), and while not all bilingual epitaphs were produced particularly late, these three do seem, from the palaeography of both the Lycian and Greek versions, to come from the early Hellenistic period; monolingual inscriptions in the rounded style also show various 'late' letter forms. As a result, I would argue that this 'rounded' style was deliberately used as a marker of 'Lycian-ness' in the late-fourth and early-third centuries, when Lycian was gradually being replaced in inscriptions by Greek.

1.20 Serifs

While the 'rounded' style is the most distinctive stylistic feature seen in the Lycian epitaphs, a couple of others also appear. A number of the epitaphs, mainly

among the more carefully cut examples, show small serifs on some letter forms. Examples are widely dispersed - found, for example, in TL16 (Pinara), N304 (Sura) and TL121 (Limyra). Was the use of serifs an example of the increasing influence of Greek epigraphy on that of Lycia? Certainly, small serifs are found on a number of fourth-century Greek epitaphs from Limyra (for example, the epitaph of Armapias, Wörrle (2012) H II 49; the Greek version of the epitaph of Armapias, TL152 = Wörrle (2012) H II 4, which may be early third century), and they appear to have been used in Greek from the middle of the fourth century onwards: the recently discovered Iasian monument in honour of Idrieus (351/50 - 344/43) shows clearly defined serifs at the end of every letter-stroke.¹⁹⁶ Most likely the serifs of the Greek inscriptions of Limyra were imitations of the formal style of the Hekatomnid rulers, with Lycian usage an imitation of the Greek. However, it should also be noted that that serifs appear to have originated in Asia Minor, possibly even in Hekatomnid Caria, and it has been suggested that this was at least encouraged by the thickening at the end of the strokes of cuneiform signs.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, some of the serifs in Lycian are very slight, unlike the more blatant examples seen in Greek (although admittedly those used in H II 49 are almost equally subtle): was the technique devised as a useful way to define the end of a letter-stroke?¹⁹⁸ The possibility that the technique developed independently of, but parallel to, the Greek serif – and then, perhaps, encouraged the use of serifs in the Greek inscriptions of Lycia – cannot be entirely rejected.

¹⁹⁶ Nafissi (2013) 304, with fig. 1.

¹⁹⁷ Morison (1972) 7-11.

¹⁹⁸ Morison (1972) 9 suggests that this was the case in Greece.

1.21 Dating of Lycian inscriptions and tombs – other methods

Next, I consider other possible indicators of the date of a monument before looking at the differences in the palaeography of various areas of Lycia and attempting to set out a relative chronology of the undated inscriptions, where palaeographic and other features make this possible.¹⁹⁹ Chief among these are elements of the design of the monument on which the inscription is carved: reliefs, decorative features, design of the tomb chamber. The conclusions obtained using these methods, like those to be gained from the study of palaeography are, as will be seen, almost always extremely tentative, and there is therefore some danger of circularity, with the conclusions reached by one argument used to support another, which is then used in turn to support the first. In what follows, I have attempted to be alive to this danger. However, where the initial hypotheses are derived from the tombs mentioned above, for which at least an approximate date is, in most cases, assured by the mention of a historical figure, correspondence between the results of various different dating methods can reasonably be assumed to give increased confidence in their validity.

1.22 A late formula?

The language of the epitaphs provides few clues to their date, but one possible exception is the use of the phrase *atli ehbi* ‘for himself’ in the clause which states for whom the tomb was built. In most cases this refers explicitly to the tomb builder’s relations, with the unwritten assumption that the builder will be buried

¹⁹⁹ General overview of methods of dating Lycian tombs: Seyer (2006) 719-734.

alongside them.²⁰⁰ The fourth-century Greek epitaphs of Limyra, however, and the Greek versions of bilingual Lycian and Greek inscriptions, tend to include the pronoun ἐαυτῶι (or αὐτῶι).²⁰¹ As a result, it is argued, the explicit statement that the builder had built the tomb *hrppi atli ehbi* or *atli ehbi* arose only due to the influence of Greek epitaphs, and can be seen as an indication that it was produced at a comparatively late date.²⁰² Consideration of the bilingual inscriptions certainly implies that the phenomenon is a Greek one, and that it was used in Lycian texts in imitation of the Greek: in two (TL56 and TL72) the Greek explicitly states ‘for himself’ but the Lycian does not, while in the other two (TL23 and TL117) the Lycian, too, includes *atli ehbi*. Another inscription which uses *hrrpi atli ehbi* is N302, a Lycian epitaph prefaced by the builder’s name in Greek. The epitaph of Esete at Limyra (TL105; see also Chapter 5.11) gives further support to this theory: it not only uses the phrase *atli ehbi*, but also omits *hrppi* (a further possible sign of influence from Greek, where ἐαυτῶι is typically used without a preposition) and gives the name of Esete’s father without following it with the word for ‘son’ (*tideimi*) as is usual in Lycian – but, again, not in Greek. However, it is not clear whether the phrase actually arose as a calque of ἐαυτῶι, or whether it first emerged independently, but later spread as a result of the existence of the parallel phrase in Greek. Similarly – even if it *did* arise as a calque on the Greek – does this prove that it always indicates a late date?

²⁰⁰ Seyer (2006) 726-727.

²⁰¹ Greek inscriptions: e.g. Wörrle (2012a) H II 1, H II 4, H II 6; bilingual inscriptions: TL 23, TL56, TL72, TL117.

²⁰² This suggestion was first made by Heiner Eichner in Borchhardt, Eichner, Kogler, Pesditschek, and Seyer (2004) 28-29 and is expanded upon at Seyer (2006) 726-727.

As a calque of ἑαυτῶι, *atli ehbi* is somewhat surprising, since it literally means ‘for his own self’ – *ehbi* means ‘his’ or ‘their’, and its use here in combination with *atli* is surely influenced by its use in the more usual *hrppi* clause, *hrppi ladi ehbi*. A literal translation of ἑαυτῶι would have given merely *atli*, and this does appear in at least three cases (TL29, TL37, TL63). More problematic is the fact that some of the examples of epitaphs in which the phrase is found appear, from their palaeography and/or from the appearance of the tomb, to be relatively early.

One such case is the bilingual (Greek and Lycian) inscription TL117. The two versions are clearly contemporary and Kalinka believed, from the appearance of the tomb and of the Greek lettering, that they were both carved in the late fifth century.²⁰³ If this is correct, the use of the phrase *atli ehbi* (here spelled slightly differently, as *etli ehbi*), although apparently influenced by the Greek, cannot be considered a late phenomenon. Wörrle, however, (again using the palaeography of the Greek text) now dates both versions to the fourth century.²⁰⁴ Unfortunately, the Lycian contains neither <ã> nor <χ>, the two letters which show the clearest chronological development; nevertheless, the letters are unusually large, and no ‘late’ letter forms are seen. In the Greek, the top and bottom strokes of <σ> diverge noticeably, while in the final line an <ο> is corrected to a form of <ω> which appears to be very ‘open’ at the bottom. None of these points is by itself certain evidence of an early date, but taken as a whole they certainly suggest that the inscription was produced no later than the first part of the fourth century.

²⁰³ Kalinka (1901) 81.

²⁰⁴ Wörrle (2012a) 414. Kuban (2012) 120, too, contends that none of the rock-tombs at Limyra can be dated before the end of the fifth century.

A number of the other inscriptions in which the *atli ehbi* phrase is found contain indications of a comparatively early date. At Sura (in TL84) and at Myra (in TL86) it is found on tombs which have both the earliest form of tomb-chamber (as discussed below) and early palaeographical features (use of early forms of <ã> and <χ>); although these are not conclusive proof of an early date, they certainly cast some doubt on the lateness of *hrppi atli ehbi*.²⁰⁵ At Rhodiapolis, TL150 shows no late letter forms, and may date from the reign of Perikle or earlier. Here, the tomb-builder does not mention his wife or children, and we might wonder whether the use of *atli ehbi* arose simply because he had no family to be buried with him. The same may be true of the tomb-builder in TL147, who again seems (although the inscription is rather fragmentary) not to have mentioned a wife or children. At Xanthos, a certain Mede states (in TL37) that he built his tomb for his *epññēni* (probably 'younger brother'²⁰⁶) and *atli* 'for himself'. The letter forms of this inscription and the design of the tomb chamber both suggest a date in the first half of the fourth century (see below). This may be why Seyer suggests that it was *atli ehbi* and *hrppi atli ehbi*, rather than *atli* alone, which was the result of Greek influence and used only at a later date, but since the Greek equivalent is a single pronoun, with no preposition, we might rather expect *atli* to be the form most encouraged by a familiarity with Greek.²⁰⁷ Here again, however, it seems most likely that the use of *atli* was motivated by the fact that the other recipient of the tomb was Mede's brother, rather than his wife and

²⁰⁵ Seyer (2009) 60, 62 (discussing the early layout of the tomb chambers) points out that the linguistic arguments for the lateness of *hrppi atli ehbi* are purely hypothetical.

²⁰⁶ Melchert (2004) s.v. *epññēne/i-*

²⁰⁷ Seyer (2006) 727. Interestingly, the two other epitaphs in which it appears (TL29 and TL63) come from a much later date, when Greek influence seems far more likely.

children, so that it might not automatically have been assumed that he was also to be buried there himself.

It seems doubtful whether the use of *hrppi atli ehbi* or *atli ehbi* (or simply *atli* alone) can be considered a definite indication of a late date. Nevertheless it does seem to have become slightly more common at a later period, meaning that (somewhat like the use of dates assigned to reliefs) it can in some cases corroborate a late dating arrived at by other methods.

The suggestion that it arose as a result of Greek influence raises some difficult questions about the early use of Greek in Lycia. Since the Greek texts of the bilingual epitaphs seem to be based on the Lycian versions, and the same is true of many of the early Greek epitaphs, why did the composers of four of the five 'true' bilingual epitaphs (TL23, TL56, TL72 and TL117; the exception is TL6) and of many early Greek epitaphs so consistently use the reflexive pronoun in this context? The Lycian versions of TL56 and TL72 do not use the words *atli ehbi*, meaning that there must have been something inherently 'Greek' about the use of the reflexive pronoun – yet epitaphs of this sort are not found in elsewhere in Asia Minor until much later.

This question goes to the heart of the problems with discussion of 'Greek' influences on Lycia highlighted in the Introduction. When the use of the Greek language is so clearly adapted for, and made part of, a purely Lycian practice, where are we to believe that knowledge of the norms of Greek grammar and language use came from? We are forced to fall back on vague ideas about wider

knowledge of the norms of Greek grammar and usage, and life in Greek towns: in the absence of any clear ‘models’, we can only assume that the composers of the Greek versions of the bilingual inscriptions chose to use the reflexive pronoun because they were somehow aware that this was usual in Greek. This implies a high level of fluency in the language, and also (at least in some cases) an acquaintance with the norms of societies in which it would not automatically be assumed that the builder of a tomb intended it for his own use. Should we see the writers of at least some of the bilingual inscriptions as Greek-speaking outsiders attempting to fit into the norms of Lycian society while preserving their original identity?

1.23 Phonological change

Another possible indication of date found within inscriptions themselves is the use of <u> where <ã> would be expected, presumably reflecting a sound-change from original [aⁿ] to [u] (or similar). This alteration occurred primarily where <ã> was in word-final position, and is already seen in one of the inscriptions from the time of Mithrapata (N315, which has *χupu* in place of expected *χupã*), indicating that it had begun by c. 370-360 at latest. This sound change has been discussed in detail by Jenniges and Swiggers, who conclude that ‘[i]n the inscriptions dating from before 360 we find only *ã*. From 340-330 only *u* forms are attested. The period 360-330 is a transitional one, marked by a vacillation between *ã* and *u*...’.²⁰⁸ They argue, probably correctly, that, during the ‘transitional’ period, the sound change would have been seen in some areas but not others, and conservative orthography meant that <ã> was written in some

²⁰⁸ Jenniges and Swiggers (2000) 117.

cases where <u> was pronounced.²⁰⁹ From this, they assign many of the surviving inscriptions to one of three periods: 'before 360', '360-(330)', and '340-330', suggesting that those in which only <ã> is found without any examples of <u> date from before 360 or, at the very latest, around 350, that those which show <ã> in some words and <u> in others come from a transitional period c. 360-340/30, and that those which use exclusively <u> come from after c. 340/30. As mentioned above, their reliance upon the incorrect assumption that 𐤅 was consistently replaced by 𐤆 after 360 is problematic, particularly for the inscriptions of Limyra. In addition, although the appearance of <u> in place of <ã> does indeed seem to show that an inscription is comparatively late, retention of <ã> certainly does not prove that it was earlier than 360. In particular, there is no need to consider inscriptions which use both <ã> and <u> as early as the '360- (330)': TL102 at Limyra, for example, (which appears likely, for both palaeographical and archaeological reasons, to have been cut later than 330) has <ã> in *xupã* but <u> in *ladu*, surely because the word *xupã* appears in practically every epitaph whereas *lada* is only comparatively rarely used in the accusative (the dative, after *hrppi*, is far more common), meaning that the original spelling of *xupã* was more likely to survive, even when its pronunciation had changed. Such conservatism in orthography – which seems to have been especially pronounced at Limyra, where it fits well with the retention of early 𐤅 - would also partially explain the high number of inscriptions at Limyra which contain the form *xupã* alongside letter forms (especially 𐤆 for <ã>) which, I believe, became most common after c. 360 (although it may also be the case that

²⁰⁹ Jenniges and Swiggers (2000) 117-118.

the actual sound change took place more slowly in eastern Lycia than further west).

1.24 Construction and Decoration of tomb

An indication of the date of inscription can also, on occasion, be given by the appearance or location of the tomb. Of the three types of tomb mentioned in the Introduction, the pillar tombs are known to be the earliest. However, so few of these are inscribed that this is of little help here, except to confirm that inscriptions on stone were not being produced in the sixth and early fifth century, when most were built.

By contrast to the pillar tombs, sarcophagi and rock tombs appear to have been vaguely contemporary, and inscriptions are found on both. The façades of the rock-tomb gives no clear indication of its date, since all the common forms appear to be used throughout the fourth century, and into the early third.²¹⁰ One possible exception is the small, single-door type (the 'Limyra-typus') used almost exclusively at Limyra (see fig. 2), which Kuban suggests emerged only towards the end of the first half of the fourth century.

Attempts are often made to establish the approximate date of tombs from their relief decoration.²¹¹ However, such dates are often disputed: for example, the scene carved over grave 9 at Myra (part of the tomb-complex of Hurttuweti) is

²¹⁰ Demargne and Laroche (1974) 44 (who point out: 'l'architecture des tombes à elle seule ne peut fournir une date, car il est possible que ces types traditionnels aient été reproduits siècle après siècle.');

²¹¹ Most notably by Zahle (1979) and Bruns-Ozgan (1987); the reliefs of single tombs or groups of tombs are discussed by Borchhardt in a number of articles.

variously dated '385-360', '380-360', '340-330' and even 'c. 320'.²¹² Nevertheless, the dates suggested by grave reliefs can in some cases give increased assurance to those arrived at by other methods.

A more reliable method of dating a tomb appears to be offered by consideration of the organisation of the burial chamber. Seyer, after extensive investigation of tomb at a number of sites, concludes that the following developments can be seen:²¹³

- The narrow runnel seen in the burial chamber of the tomb at Çindam (with TL77) is the very earliest form.
- This developed into the earliest widely-used form, a bench (or *klinê*) running around all four sides of the burial chamber at ground level, created by the excavation of a shallow pit in the centre of the floor.
- The most common layout, with raised benches around three sides of the burial chamber, developed, Seyer suggests, to enable further bodies to be added with less disturbance of those already buried. He suggests that the height of the benches (which ranges from c. 50cm to more than 80cm) tended to increase over time, for the same reason.
- At a somewhat later date the desire for additional burials to be possible without disturbance of the tomb led to the creation of niches in the burial chambers: many earlier tombs show the addition of one or more of these niches, but others were initially built in this way.

²¹² Seyer (2008) 359; a similar example is given at Seyer (2009) 61 (the reliefs on Tomb 55 at Myra, dated by Borchhardt and Bruns-Özgan to the second half of the fourth century, but by Zahle to c. 380-370). Seyer (2006) 720-721 emphasises the general difficulty of dating reliefs in Lycia, pointing out that this is due at least in part to Lycia's distance from the main artistic centres of the time.

²¹³ Seyer (2006) 51-77.

1.25 Palaeography of Greek inscriptions

Certain inscriptions (in addition to the Xanthian inscriptions mentioned above) have a contemporary Greek version of either the builder's name or the entire epitaph, and the letter forms seen here can in some cases give a clue as to the date of the inscription, although since there are so few Greek inscriptions from the fourth century it is hard to be certain about the development of the palaeography; in some cases, however, stylistic features such as the use of serifs, Σ and Μ with parallel hastae, or Ω with only a narrow opening at the bottom of the letter can hint at a date towards the end of the fourth century.

1.26 The Palaeographical Charts

Using my observations about the relative ages of various letter forms, I have tentatively apportioned the Lycian inscriptions of a number of sites to 'early' or 'late' phases. Where one person had an obvious effect on the epigraphy either at the site or nearby, I have used their dates as a guide: so, for example, at Limyra, inscriptions are said to be 'pre-Perikle', 'time of Perikle' or 'after Perikle'. In other cases, I have used the broad time periods 'first half of fourth century' and 'second half of fourth century' – not intending to imply a definite 'break' c. 350, but simply as a rough guide.

Chapter 2.

UNDER XANTHIAN DOMINANCE: The Earliest Lycian Inscriptions

Although it apparently took some time for the possibilities presented by writing on stone to be appreciated in Lycia, these were soon being exploited to the full. The traditional rock-cut tomb architecture of Lycia meant that inscriptions were often, unusually, cut directly into the living rock; the earliest epitaphs took this form. It was not long before the most eminent members of Lycian society began to exploit the new technology in more striking ways, starting with the production of that most famous of all Lycian monuments, the Inscribed pillar of Xanthos (with TL44). However, it is not at Xanthos that the first shorter, conventional epitaphs are found, but in the smaller mountain-top sites of central Lycia.

2.1 Phellos and Central Lycia: the Earliest Lycian Epitaphs

Perched on a steep and inaccessible hill-top half a day's trek from the modern sea-side resort of Kaş (ancient Antiphellos), and directly above the village of Çukurbağ, is the site of Phellos, the Lycian name of which was probably *Wehñte*.²¹⁴ Little of the ancient city is now visible, but at the west end of the acropolis is an agora with two free-standing house-tombs. Next to one of these is what appears to have been a sacrificial area of some sort, with a life-size relief of

²¹⁴ The location of Phellos was debated throughout the nineteenth century: Spratt and Forbes, in 1842, already thought that it was at 'Tchookooby' [Çukurbağ] (Spratt and Forbes (1847) 73), but Benndorf (quoted in Bean) suggested that the site at Bayındır Limanı was in fact Phellos. Bean (1978) 96-97 gives a number of points in favour of Spratt and Forbes' identification, which is now universally accepted, e.g. by Marksteiner (2010) 111-115. Lycian name: Melchert (2004) 79 s.v. *Wehñte/i*; Kolb and Tietz (2001) 358.

a bull carved into the side wall and a niche in the back wall, over which a Lycian inscription just remains visible; it is not clear exactly when this area was built, but an inscription over the niche (TL54) has letter forms which suggest an early date, perhaps even in the fifth century. Although the site continued to be occupied into the Roman period, it seems to have particularly flourished during the early part of the classical period.²¹⁵ The historian Hekataios mentioned the town by the name Phellos in around 500, showing that its Greek name was in use by that point at the latest, and that it was in contact with the wider Aegean world – which accords with the idea that it was a place of some importance at this time.²¹⁶

This impression is further reinforced by the presence of one of the earliest datable Lycian inscriptions, which is on a large rock-cut tomb (see fig. 3) slightly downhill and to the south east of the main ‘agora’ area. The inscription, N310 (see fig. 4), states that it was set up *ēnē Arppaxuhe χñtawata* ‘when Arppaxu ruled’. We know, from the Inscribed pillar at Xanthos and statue bases dedicated at the Letöon, that Arppaxu was the father of Xeriga, who was also the *χahba* (probably ‘grandson’) of Kuprlli, ruler of Xanthos in the mid-fifth century,

²¹⁵ Coinage: Kolb and Tietz (2001) 357-358. Bean (1978) 98; Marksteiner (2010) 111 states that ‘ein Großteil der erhaltenen Ruinen’ stem from the classical period.

²¹⁶ Bean (1978) 96; Stephanos Byzantios s.v. Φελλός (Meineke (1849) 661); Jacoby, *FGrH* I 1 F 258. However, according to Stephanos, Hekataios calls Phellos a Pamphylian town: Keen (1998) 79-80 (followed by Pownall, in her commentary on *BNJ* 1 F 258) argues that ‘this can only mean that as far as Hecataeus was concerned, the western frontier of Pamphylia came as far as Phellos’ and that he considered ‘Lycia’ synonymous with the territory of Xanthos. However, as Keen himself points out, typically Lycian pillar tombs are found as far east as Trebendi and Trysa. Linguistically speaking, the early use of Lycian in inscriptions in the area of Phellos (discussed below), and of Lycian B at Antiphellos (see p. 276), suggests that Phellos would always have been considered ‘Lycian’ rather than ‘Pamphylian’, and that Hekataios simply made an error (or, perhaps, that the city he mentions was a different Phellos). Kolb and Tietz (2001) 358 n. 52 mention a recently published coin of c. 500-480 with the legend ΦΕ, perhaps referring to Phellos and, if so, giving an interesting indication of the early use both of the town’s Greek name and of the Greek alphabet.

making Arppaxu either Kuprili's son or his son-in-law; numismatic evidence (discussed further below) shows that his rule ended before 440.

One other inscription contains the same *ēnē Arppaxuhe xñtawata* phrase, and so should also date to the mid fifth century: this is TL 77, from Çindam, a site just to the north-east of Isinda.²¹⁷ Isinda, a mountain-top site to the east of Kaş, also flourished in the fifth and early-fourth centuries, and although it is separated from Phellos by a deep valley (along which the main Kaş-Demre road now runs) it is not surprising to find the two towns being ruled by the same man: the harbour for Phellos was at Antiphellos (modern Kaş), while Isinda was probably well-connected to the harbour at Sebeda (now Bayındır Limanı/ Limanağzi) on the southern side of the gulf. Since one of the relevant inscriptions is found at Phellos, which also seems to have been the largest site in the area, Arppaxu was presumably based there, with the smaller settlements within his territory, such as Isinda, governed by those bound to him through various ties of allegiance, most probably familial. The references to Arppaxu in these epitaphs make them the earliest of the datable Lycian inscriptions.

Links between the hill-top towns of central Lycia seem to have been close from at least the early fifth century: the coinage of that period shows particularly close links between the towns of Apollonia, Zagaba and Phellos.²¹⁸ Kolb and Tietz describe the chronological and visual links between the coins of Tha, who minted

²¹⁷ Seyer (2004) 221-236 describes and discusses the site, the tomb and the inscription in detail. As discussed in Chapter 1 Bryce is reluctant to accept that inscriptions were being produced this early, but since the appearance of the tomb and palaeography of the inscription both suggest an early date, his concerns appear unfounded.

²¹⁸ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 365-369.

in Phellos, Zagaba and Apollonia; Thibānuma, who minted at Zagaba and Apollonia; and Ite, who minted at Apollonia. They conclude that this shows a ‘*dynasteia*-System’, with a single family and their followers wielding power in the area in the period c. 480/70 to c. 450/40. Since, of these coin-issuers, only Tha minted coins at Phellos, they argue that the dynasty was based at Apollonia, the larger of the other two sites.

How Arppaxu related to this earlier dynasty is uncertain. The *ēnē ... χñtawata* ‘ruler formula’ (discussed in more detail below) provides apparently irrefutable evidence that he ruled a substantial area around Phellos and Isinda. He himself seems not to have struck any coinage (although it is of course possible that he simply did not place his own name on the coins he struck – there are enough anepigraphic coins and coins bearing only place-names to make this a distinct possibility), with the result that the extent of his power and the relationship between him and the previous rulers of Phellos remain much debated.²¹⁹ Did he fail to mint coins because he held power only under the auspices of a more powerful man?

Almost certainly. That man was his father, Kuprlli, who struck coins between c. 485 and c. 440.²²⁰ Most of Kuprlli’s coins do not carry a place name, but the majority are struck on the light weight standard of western Lycia and this, in combination with the use of the *Arñ* legend (for *Arñna* ‘Xanthos’), certainly

²¹⁹ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 387, for example, argue that the ‘Münzrecht’ was ‘ein begrenztes Privileg selbst innerhalb der Dynastenfamilien.’

²²⁰ Mørkholm and Zahle (1972) 75-77: it should be noted that both the start and end date are highly conjectural - the start date, in particular, relies on four coins from the Asyut hoard (from the Nile Delta) dated c. 475, and Kraay (1977) 194 suggests that they could have been added to the hoard some time later).

implies that he was based at Xanthos. However, he also issued a substantial number of coins on the heavy standard, which was used further east, and there are a few examples labelled *Zemuri* 'Limyra', apparently indicating that he was, at least at one point, in overall control of all of Lycia.²²¹ The likely explanation for Kuprlli's use of the heavy weight-standard is that some of these coins were minted at Phellos, and that he had overall control of central Lycia at this point through Arppaxu. Furthermore, a hemiobol of Zagaba has an obverse type of a lion lying down, facing right and looking back over its shoulder, which is almost identical to the obverse type of a tetrobol emission of Kuprlli, with the reverse types of the two coins also very similar, suggesting that the coin of Zagaba was minted either by Kuprlli or by someone connected to him – possibly Arppaxu.²²²

The question then arises of how Arppaxu and Kuprlli gained control of Phellos and the surrounding area and apparently, at some point, of Zagaba and Limyra. Did they wrest control from the dynasty of Tha, Thibānuwa and Ite, or did they somehow inherit it legitimately?

There are no known die-links between Kuprlli and the coins of Tha, Thibānuwa and Ite, but Kolb and Tietz note that the triskeles on the reverse type of one coin of Kuprlli has a leg ending in a griffin's head, which links it to coins of Thibānuwa showing a triskeles with legs ending in a goose's head, a chicken's head and a

²²¹ Mørkholm and Zahle (1976) 75; Vismara (1989b) 177 (no. 104); Keen (1998) 113.

²²² Mørkholm and Zahle (1972) 59-70 and 75 (identifying Xanthos and Limyra as the only towns where he *definitely* produced coinage); Kolb and Tietz (2001) 369-370. The hemiobol of Zagaba was first published by Kolb and Tietz (2001) 401-402 and Abb. 61.

griffin's head.²²³ They suggest dates of 480/70 to 450/40 for the coins of the rulers Tha, Thibānuwa, and Ite and hence for their control over Apollonia, Zagaba and (at least for some of that time) Phellos.²²⁴ Since, as already mentioned, Kuprlli's coins appear to have been struck c. 485 – c. 440, all four would have been minting simultaneously at some point. However, this need not prove that Kuprlli ever minted coins at the same place and time as one of the other rulers, since none of his coins of Phellos or Zagaba can be dated accurately enough to prove whether they were anterior to, contemporary with, or later than those of the other men who issued coins there.

One explanation of the numismatic evidence suggests that Arppaxu was Kuprlli's son-in-law rather than his son, an argument deriving from the fact that he ruled at Phellos rather than at Xanthos and that the former was also his son Xeriga's main power base for at least part of his reign. This scenario envisages Arppaxu inheriting control of Phellos legitimately from the previous ruler, with the town then coming into Kuprlli's sphere of influence when Arppaxu married his daughter; it would account for a situation in which the dynasts of central Lycia and the dynasts of Xanthos apparently minted coins in the same area at the same time.²²⁵ However, the fact that Arppaxu, although described in the inscriptions as the ruler of the Phellos area, did not issue coins himself suggests some disruption of the political *status quo* at the time. Furthermore, why would a member of a previous ruling dynasty have allowed his father-in-law to take over

²²³ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 362, 370 (although it should be noted that the coins of Tha, Thibānuwa and Ite also show no die-links, suggesting that the mints at the various sites operated independently; see Kolb and Tietz (2001) 365).

²²⁴ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 368.

²²⁵ Mørkholm and Zahle (1972) 87.

all responsibility for minting coins in his ancestral seat at a time when other members of his family were still minting coins themselves?

Since the dating of the coinage is necessarily approximate, a more plausible scenario can be suggested in which Kuprlli and his family (with Arppaxu leading the expedition) seized control of Phellos and the surrounding area, including – at a minimum – Isinda and the bay of Antiphellos, from the previous rulers. Arppaxu would then have ruled it on his father's behalf, with coins minted in the name of his father, who was by that point the overlord of most of Lycia. The fact that Xeriga began to mint coins at Phellos around 440 need not show that Arppaxu was for some reason not qualified to succeed Kuprlli: equally – or more – likely is that he predeceased his father, meaning that Xeriga inherited control of Phellos from his father Arppaxu before gaining overall control of the territory of Xanthos on the death of his grandfather, Kuprlli.²²⁶

Meanwhile, it is possible that Thibanuwa's family was still clinging to control of Apollonia (perhaps after making a treaty with the Xanthians) and minting coins there. Kuprlli's minting of coins at Zagaba implies that he also took control of that town at some point, adopting the coin types used by earlier rulers in order to reinforce the authority of his coinage and his rule; whether this happened at the same time as, or some time after, the conquest of Phellos is impossible to know.²²⁷

²²⁶ Mørkholm and Zahle (1976) 59-60.

²²⁷ The likelihood of Zagaba being annexed at the same time as, or prior to, Phellos is of course much higher if Schürr is correct in his suggestion that the town was at Seyret/Gökçeören (between Xanthos and Phellos) rather than at Avşar Tepesi.

Shortly afterwards, during the reigns of Xeriga (c. 440-410) and Xerēi, individual rulers based in central Lycia, but under the overall control of Xanthos, certainly did mint coins in their own names, and possibly also in the names of their Xanthian overlords.²²⁸ By contrast, Arppaxu's appearance in the 'ruler formula' despite the absence of coins issued in *his* name suggests that at this early point the rulers of Zagaba and Apollonia, even if they retained control of their territory as subjects of Kuprlli, would also have ceased to mint their own coinage (since this privilege seems, at that point, to have been denied even to Kuprlli's own son).

On the other hand, there is no concrete evidence for a violent takeover of central Lycia by Kuprlli's family, and it is also possible that Arppaxu married a woman from the ruling family, with Phellos and Zagaba given as a dowry and Apollonia never directly under his control.²²⁹ One final indication that Arppaxu was indeed part of the Xanthian ruling family rather than that of central Lycia is his name, which is the Lycian version of Harpagos – the name of the Persian general who had conquered Xanthos in the sixth century – and therefore especially appropriate for a scion of the ruling house of Xanthos.²³⁰

²²⁸ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 372. For example, Sppñtaza and Teththiweibi minted coins at Apollonia; some of these carry the symbol √ and √, also seen on the coins of Xerēi and Xeriga, which Kolb and Tietz suggest, very plausibly, may indicate the coin issuers' allegiance to Xanthos (although note that Vismara (1996) 222 suggests that it stands for *χñtawata* 'king', which is also possible).

²²⁹ If Herodotus (1.173.4–5) is correct to see Lycia as a matrilineal society this perhaps makes it easier to understand a scenario in which the marriage of Arppaxu to one of Kuprlli's daughters would have meant that overall control of the area passed from his family to hers. However, there is no further evidence to substantiate Herodotus' claim (see Marksteiner (2010) 19; Asheri (2007) 195 ad loc., with further references), and it is still hard to understand why Arppaxu would not have minted *any* coins showing his own name (assuming that he really did not) when the central Lycian dynasty apparently allowed so many members of their family to do this.

²³⁰ Neumann (2007) 23 (s.v. *arppaxu*-). The ruling family of Xanthos from Arppaxu onwards are often referred to as the 'Harpagids'. Bryce (1982) 332 suggests that they might have been 'the products of a marriage alliance between a native Lycian family and the family of Harpagos'; cf.

Phellos would have been an important territorial acquisition for the rulers of the Xanthos valley: it overlooks the valley leading west from Myra to Antiphellos; controls Antiphellos and its bay, the first good harbour east of the Xanthos valley; and, to the north, commands the valley which connects the Kasaba valley (formed by the rivers Tokluca and Boğluca before they join to flow down to Myra) to the Xanthos valley by way of Gökçeören/Seyret and Üzümlü (near where, at least in the Roman period, the aquaduct bringing water to Xanthos began). Gaining control of the town and the harbour would have been a great fillip for the Xanthians in their struggle to dominate Lycia and, maybe, as discussed below, to become independent of Athenian control.

If Arppaxu's family had indeed taken Phellos and Isinda by force this provides an interesting context for the two inscriptions which name him. These texts contain a number of the features which became standard in Lycian epitaphs, and I therefore quote them both in full before discussing them in some detail.²³¹

also Asheri (2007) 197, who records (pp. 68 and 197) that they are supposed to have been Herodotus' source of information on the Persian conquest of Asia Minor.

²³¹ Texts are based on Melchert (2001); the text of TL 77 is also given in Seyer (2004) 225 (with photograph, Abb. 11, p. 232). I have been able to check the reading of N310 on the original monument (it is now slightly less legible than when first published, but those letters which can still be seen are as stated by M.), but not that of TL 77.

2.2 Epitaphs from the time of Arppaxu

Epitaph of Xlastini at Phellos (N310; figs. 3 and 4)

ebēñnē: χup[ã: m]ēne: prñnawatē

χlastini: magabatah: tideimi

χali: qehñnite ti: ebēñnē:

ē[nē]: arppaxuhe: χñt[aw]ata

‘This tomb, Xlastini son of Magabata built it, who

(?)bought this (?)precinct. Under the rule of Arppaxu.’

This inscription is carved on a large rock-cut tomb (two storeys, with three ‘doors’).

Epitaph of Ñturugaxã at Çindam, near Isinda (TL 77)

ebēñnē: prñnawã meti prñnaw-

atē: ñturigaχã: θãi tideimi ēnē: arpppaxuhe:

hrppi: ladi: ehbi: se tideime: ehbi je χñtawata:²³²

²³² Seyer’s text differs from Kalinka’s and Melchert’s in giving the name of the grave-builder as *ñθurigaχã* rather than *ñturigaχã*; unfortunately the letter in question is not visible on the photograph given in his article, although the sketch in Kalinka clearly shows a <t> (the accuracy of these sketches differ, but they do in some cases show the monuments in a slightly better state of preservation, suggesting that the original reading might have been correct). More importantly, he gives the verb as *prñnawē/te* rather than the usual form *prñnaw/atē* as read by Kalinka. Again, Kalinka’s sketch shows <a> at the start of line 2, and while the photograph in Seyer’s article is not

‘This house-tomb, [it was] *Ñturigaχa* son of *Θa*
who built it, for his wife and his children. Under
the rule of *Arppaχu*.’²³³

This inscription is on a sarcophagus of a very unusual design. The bottom chamber is carved directly out of the rock, and had a two-door façade like that of a rock-tomb, with a ‘beam-ends’ imitating a wooden door-frame and a ‘pole-roof’ over the entrance. The lid of the tomb is ogive, like that of a standard sarcophagus, with ‘beam-ends’ extruding from the roof, and a plain ‘door-frame’ end, with a small entrance. It seems likely that, as was usual for tombs with two chambers, the upper chamber would have been reserved for the tomb-builder and his wife, with the lower chamber used by his children.

The second of these two epitaphs, TL77, is of particular interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, it shows that, as early as the mid-fifth century, literacy was not limited to major centres such as Phellos. Although Isinda, too, was a comparatively important site, Çindam itself was a small and comparatively isolated place. Nevertheless, one of its inhabitants was willing to go to the trouble and expense of placing on his tomb an inscription which, we might imagine, would have been seen by few, and comprehended by even fewer (since,

easily legible, it seems to me that there is more space for a vowel at the start of the second line than at the end of the first. At the end of the second line, <i> is directly below the <w> of *prñawate*, just before a crack in the stone which separates the two halves of the inscription, which suggests that the antepenultimate letter of *prñawate* was indeed in that position and was presumably, as Kalinka states, an <a>.

²³³ Based on the German translation (by Heiner Eichner) given at Seyer (2004) 225.

as discussed in the Introduction, it is likely that literacy in Lycia was low at this point, although we have no direct evidence for this).

What might have inspired his decision? Possible answers to this question rely heavily on the assumption that the tomb-builder would have been a man of particular importance in the area.²³⁴ As such, we may assume that he would have travelled comparatively widely throughout Lycia, and have seen the funerary monuments of the larger Lycian towns; as will be seen, he was certainly in contact with the élites of such places. His use of a carved epitaph must be put into the wider context of the creation of the rock-cut tomb, which would have involved far more expense and effort to create than the inscription. In view of the absence of other tombs at Çindam, we may assume that a craftsman must have been employed from elsewhere to create the tomb – perhaps from Isinda or Phellos, but possibly from further afield. Assuming that the same man was responsible for cutting the inscription, it might simply have been another form of decoration which he was able to add, with little effort on the part of the man who commissioned the tomb. However, since the majority of tombs were not inscribed, it seems unlikely that this would have been the case. In addition, as far as its poor state of preservation allows us to judge, the carving of the letters is rather irregular; this, together with the three <p>s in Arppaxu, suggests that the stonemason was not an especially skilled letter-cutter. Rather, Ñturigaḫã, having decided to build a grand tomb (probably the first example of such a thing in the immediate vicinity) presumably asked specifically for a epitaph to be added, having seen examples of such texts elsewhere.

²³⁴ Seyer (2004) 227.

As will be discussed shortly, the formulaic wording employed here seems to have arisen from a desire to emphasise the prestige conferred by the ability to build a tomb, as well as to record the ownership not only of the original builder, but also of his children. In this example, certainly, the inscription is closely tied to the design of the tomb as a whole: it is placed between the entrances to the two chambers, indicating that both were reserved for those it mentioned.²³⁵

However, the advertisement of wealth and of ownership of the tomb may not have been the only reason for the use of this inscription: if Ñturigaḫa, whether because his household was the only one in the area or because he was the leader of a small community, had long been the most powerful man in the vicinity, his tomb would have been sufficient in itself as a display of his wealth, and his ownership of it would not have been in question. Instead, I would suggest, the key to the appearance of an isolated inscription in this apparently out-of-the-way place is the use of the ‘ruler formula’.

The importance of this element is indicated by the unusual layout of the inscription: rather than running straight across façade of the tomb, the text is divided in two, with the opening lines to the left, and the ‘ruler formula’ inscribed separately on the right. A break in the stone divides the two sections, and the fact that the main part of the inscription stops on the left-hand edge of this indicates that the break was there before the inscription was carved, and was deliberately used to separate the two parts. Far from acting simply as an indication of the

²³⁵ Seyer (2007) 133.

date at which a tomb was built, the ‘ruler formula’ indicated Ñturigaḫa’s allegiance to Arppaḫu and also, perhaps, the fact that the tomb-builder was able to rely on Arppaḫu’s protection.²³⁶ It was not, then, intended primarily for those subordinate to Ñturigaḫa, but for any who, in the instability resulting from the Xanthian overthrow of the earlier rulers of central Lycia, might have attempted to seize control of his tomb, and the land in which it stood. Having chosen to support Arppaḫu, Ñturigaḫa decided to advertise this fact in order to take advantage of the protection it might afford him. Indeed, we might even wonder (as with the tomb of Merehi, discussed further on in this chapter), whether Ñturigaḫa had received the land around Çindam as a reward for his support of the new ruler, and had built his tomb on it as an indication of ownership, with the aim of impressing the established inhabitants; the epitaph would have been an extra way to achieve this if any of them were literate, but would have been mainly intended for outsiders.

A similar emphasis on the idea of ownership seems to be visible in Xlastini’s epitaph (N310). The meaning of the third line remains obscure, but it appears to record Xlastini’s acquisition of the land on which the tomb was built: the noun *ḫali* can be connected with the Hittite word *hali-* meaning ‘animal pen’ and therefore seems likely to refer to an enclosed piece of land.²³⁷ The *ḫali* here presumably lay around the tomb, although we cannot now tell how large an area it comprised. Possibly it was surrounded by a wall, making a space (similar to the

²³⁶ Seyer (2004) 226-7 discusses this formula, concluding that until we know the precise meaning of *ēnē* it is impossible to know whether it was intended as a dating formula or a ‘feudal formula’.

²³⁷ Neumann (2007) s.v. *ḫali*. Kloekhorst (2008b) s.v. *ḫāli-*. Melchert (2004) s.v. *xale/i-* suggests ‘precinct, sphere of control’.

flattened areas carved out of the rock in front of many tombs at Limyra) to be used for some form of funerary cult.²³⁸

The verb *qehñnite* is also found only here; from the context it appears to mean 'buy' or 'obtain' (although the usual Lycian word for 'buy' is *ije-*, as seen in TL48). As Neumann points out, its use implies a 'Rechtsakt' of some type, whether buying or renting, and was presumably intended to combat any later doubt about Xlastini's legal claim to the land.²³⁹ Although the precise words are not found elsewhere, emphasis on the legality of the construction of the tomb is also found in, for example, the inscriptions on the Pajawa sarcophagus (see Chapter 3.3). Here, as with Ñturigaḫa's epitaph at Çindam, it is possible that not merely the inclusion of the 'ruler formula' but rather the entire act of inscribing an epitaph resulted from some particular connection between Xlastini and Arppaḫu, and was intended to show that the former's claim to the piece of land on which the tomb was built was sanctioned and guaranteed by the latter. The name of Xlastini's father, Megabata, may support this argument, since it is clearly a Lycian version of the Persian name Megabates - suggesting that his family, like that of Arppaḫu, had some link, either real or imagined, to the Achaemenid administration.

Diether Schürr has recently argued that the use of the formulaic Lycian epitaphs was part of a tradition of tomb-building seen across all of Lycia, and that this was largely uninfluenced by the rulers of various towns, who often used the alphabet

²³⁸ Seyer (2004) 234-236.

²³⁹ Neumann (2007) s.v. *qehñni-*.

on coin legends, but seldom in order to commemorate deceased members of their family.²⁴⁰ To some extent, this appears to be true, but the two inscriptions discussed here suggest that there often was some connection between the rulers of the town and the production of epigraphy by others; the same phenomenon is perhaps seen at Xanthos, with the epitaph of Merehi (see Chapter 2.10). The opening lines of the inscriptions, though, shows that other factors were also at play.

2.3 Excursus: the Lycian 'Building formula'

Both inscriptions – as well as the slightly later epitaph of Merehi – begin in a way which continued to be used across Lycia throughout the period during which the Lycian language was inscribed:

N310: *ebēñnē: χup[ā: m]ēne: prñnawatē χlastini* 'This tomb, Xlastini built it...'

TL77: *ebēñnē: prñnawā meti prñnawatē: ñturigaχā*: 'This tomb, [it was] Ñturigaχā who built [it]...'

This form of words, to which I refer for convenience as the 'building formula', appears to have become entirely conventional (although never obligatory) in Lycian epitaphs, and I shall therefore discuss it in some detail here.²⁴¹ Around two thirds of all known Lycian tomb inscriptions begin with a sentence of this

²⁴⁰ Schürr (2013) 32-34.

²⁴¹ Borchhardt, Eichner, Pesditschek and Ruggendorfer (1997-1999) 60-63 describe it as a 'Graberbauungsformel'; Kloekhorst (2011), in his discussion, calls it the 'opening formula'. There is widespread scholarly consensus about its general meaning, which is confirmed by a number of bilingual inscriptions (e.g. Laroche in Demargne (1974) 128-129; Neumann in Borchhardt (ed.) (1975) 150; Bryce (1986) 73-88).

type.²⁴² As Table 3 shows, the proportion of inscriptions in which it was used varied from site to site, but it is found to some extent right across Lycia; it is most frequent at Pinara, Myra and Limyra, the first in the Xanthos valley, and the other two on the opposite side of the peninsula. While inscriptions at Myra and Limyra give far more additional information than those at Pinara, the initial sentences are remarkably uniform. However, the picture is distorted by the fact that there are far more tombs and tomb inscriptions at Limyra than at any other single site in Lycia. It is therefore inevitable that the ‘building formula’ appears in many inscriptions there; in fact these make up a smaller proportion of the total number of inscriptions than at many other sites.

Site (Lycian name)	Epitaphs	Epitaphs with ‘building formula’	
		Number	% of total
Telmessos	5	3	60%
Pinara	13	11	85%
Tlos	8	1	12.5%
Kadyanda	4	0	0%
Xanthos	13	10	77%
Phellos	4	3	75%
Antiphellos	7	5	71%
Isinda	3	1	33%
Central Lycia ²⁴³	14	8	57%
Myra	15	11	73%
Limyra	55	27	49%

Table 3: Epitaphs and the ‘building formula’ at key Lycian sites.

The chief components of the ‘building formula’ are: a word for the tomb, preceded by a deictic pronoun, usually *ēbēññē*; a sequence *mene/mēne* or *mēti*, probably consisting of a conjunction *me* and pronouns *n* and *e/ti*; a past tense

²⁴² Between 159 and 165 of the known Lycian inscriptions were inscribed on funerary monuments, and approximately 95 of these begin with the ‘funerary formula’.

²⁴³ Central Lycia = Kyaneai, Korba, Tüse, Tyberissos, Timiussa, and Simena.

verb in the third person singular, usually *prñnawatē* 'he built'; and the name of the builder, usually with the patronymic.²⁴⁴

Some parts of the formula could be expressed by a number of alternative words. The two inscriptions from the time of Arppaxu use *prñnawa* (TL77) and *χupa* (N310) to refer to the tomb; these are the two words most frequently found. Of the two, *χupa* is most common (appearing in around 40% of epitaphs), and seems to specifically designate a rock-cut tomb.²⁴⁵ By contrast, *prñnawa* is used of both sarcophagi (as in TL77) and rock-cut tombs; it (and the related verb *prñnawate*) comes from the root **parn-*, cognate with Hittite *per-/ parn-* 'house, household', Luw. *parna-* 'house', Lyd *bira-* 'house'.²⁴⁶ This suggests that the Lycians, at least originally, envisaged their tombs as 'houses' for the dead; the representation of beams and doors on the facades of many tombs (generally supposed to be modelled on Lycian houses of the period) reinforces this impression.²⁴⁷ Other terms found in this position in the building formula include *tezi* (used only of sarcophagi), *ñtata* (also used to refer to individual burial chambers) and *erawazija*.²⁴⁸

Word order

One noticeable feature of the building formula is that the name of the builder does not appear until the middle of the sentence, and it is the word designating

²⁴⁴ For other discussions of this formula see, *inter alia*, Bryce (1986) 115ff, Demargne, P and Laroche, E (ed) (1974).

²⁴⁵ Neumann (2007) s.v. *χupa* 'Felsgrab'.

²⁴⁶ Melchert (2004) 51; Neumann (2007) s.v. *prñnawa-*; Kloekhorst (2008b) s.v. *per/parn-*.

²⁴⁷ Kuban (2012) 24-29.

²⁴⁸ For a full discussion of the vocabulary used to describe various types of Lycian tombs, see Benda-Weber (2005) 85-86.

the tomb, often accompanied by a demonstrative pronoun, which stands at the beginning of the inscription. This emphasises the tomb itself, rather than the identity of the builder: Borchhardt *et al.*, for example, describe how ‘der Akkusativausdruck *ebēñnē χupā* erscheint in topikalisierender Satzperspektive in die Satzpitzstellung gerückt, während die nominativische Subjektsbezeichnung ... erst hinter der eingeschoben nasalierten Verbalform aufscheint’.²⁴⁹

Particle sequence

The most puzzling feature of the building inscriptions is the string of particles which follows the object. There are two main variants, *mēne* and *mēti*: both were clearly in use by the mid fourth century, since Xlastini’s epitaph (N310) has *mēne* but Ñturigaχã’s (TL77) has *meti* (which might be either a forerunner or a variant of the commoner *mēti*). Kloekhorst has suggested convincingly that these two sequences should be analysed as *me-n-e* and *me-n-ti*. The meaning of *me* remains obscure: it often seems to mark the start of a new sentence, but clearly cannot have that function here. Kloekhorst translates it as ‘well’; other scholars often omit it in translations, although it is on occasion translated into German as ‘nun’.²⁵⁰ The two other elements, according to Kloekhorst’s analysis, are both pronouns, with *n* an accusative enclitic pronoun referring back to the tomb, and either *e* (a nominative singular pronoun) or *ti* (a nominative singular relative pronoun) used to refer forward to the subject of the sentence, which is

²⁴⁹ Borchhardt, Eichner, Pesditschek and Ruggendorfer (1997-1999) 61.

²⁵⁰ Omitted in e.g. Borchhardt, Eichner, Pesditschek and Ruggendorfer (1997-1999); Kogler (2007) 118 uses ‘nun’ (as a particle with a sense similar to English ‘well’). Both Melchert (2004) s.v. *me* and Neumann (2007) s.v. *me* describe it as a conjunction rather than a particle, but if so it seems to have a very weak meaning, since it is clear that the usual Lycian word for ‘and’ is *se*, while ‘but’ would not fit the various contexts in which it appears.

‘dislocated’ to the right.²⁵¹ He suggests that the word for the tomb is emphasised by its dislocation to the left, which he sees as ‘logical’ because the inscription is placed on it, and that this in turn causes the dislocation of the builder’s name to the right.

If the builder wished to emphasise his own name, he could then do so using *ti* ‘who’; this is a very common alternative, particularly at Limyra (where *mene* is seen only once, in TL103).²⁵² A further refinement placed the builder’s name at the start of the inscription, followed by the enclitic pronoun *n* (which here, combined with *-a*, > *-ã*) and then the reflexive pronoun *ti*, as in e.g. TL126 (from Limyra):

Prddewã ti: prñnawa[te]:... ‘[It is] Prddewa who built it...’

This variation, which emphasises the builder’s name yet more strongly, is seen in around eight inscriptions – the majority of which, again, are from Limyra.²⁵³

The stylised nature of the building formula raises interesting questions about how it might have emerged, and how widespread we should understand it to have been as early as the middle of the fifth century. How deliberate was the ‘dislocation’ of the object and subject from their usual positions at this time? Did Ñturigaxã (or the person who composed the epitaph on his behalf) consciously decide to use the relative pronoun, *ti*, rather than the personal pronoun *e*, or was this simply the form of words with which he was familiar? Did he intentionally omit the accusative pronoun *n* or had its inclusion not yet become standard?

²⁵¹ Kloekhorst (2011) 13-23.

²⁵² Kloekhorst (2011) 18.

²⁵³ Kloekhorst (2011) 17-18.

Such questions will be touched on again below, but the appearance of such an apparently complex construction even in the earliest inscriptions may lead us to suspect that we are, here, seeing only one element of a more highly developed funerary culture.

Lycian usage differs noticeably from that of many other epigraphic traditions, particularly in the rarity of any omission of either the object or the verb – funerary inscriptions elsewhere are often extremely elliptical. Nevertheless, there are many inscriptions, both funerary and non-funerary and from a variety of times and places, which provide illuminating contrasts to, or comparisons with, to the Lycian inscriptions.

2.4 Parallels for – and contrasts with – the Lycian building formula

Parallels for inscriptions which begin by mentioning the inscribed object and describe its erection or dedication using a third person verb are found in many diverse epigraphic traditions, from a wide range of locations and periods, not only on funerary inscriptions but also on dedications and building inscriptions. The most obvious comparanda for the Lycian epitaphs are inscriptions in other local languages of Anatolia, Lydian, Carian and paleo-Phrygian - although funerary inscriptions form a far smaller proportion of inscriptions in these languages than in Lycian.

Most known Lydian funerary inscriptions come from the necropolis at Sardis.²⁵⁴

Many share very similar wording (although this is not quite as formulaic as the Lycian epitaphs). The example given here is inscribed on a marble stele. It reads:

eśś vānaś sivāmlis armā-

vlis akit qis....

‘This grave [is] of Sivāms [son] of Armāvs, and whoever....’ (followed by a curse on anyone who damages the tomb).

The words *eśś vānaś* (demonstrative pronoun + word for tomb) appear in all the Lydian funerary inscriptions, always in initial position, suggesting a preoccupation with the physical presence of the tomb similar to that shown by the Lycian inscriptions. One key difference is that in the Lycian inscriptions the word *xupa* or *prñnawa* is actually inscribed on the tomb to which it refers, whereas *vānaś* seems to refer to the tomb in front of which the inscribed stele was placed, rather than to the stele itself.²⁵⁵ The other crucial difference is the absence of a verb of building (or, in this case, of any verb at all); even though Sivāms would presumably have prepared his tomb before his death, he apparently did not feel the need to emphasise the act of building in the same way that Lycian tomb-builders did.

²⁵⁴ Gusmani (1964) 251-257, funerary inscriptions from Sardis: nos. 3, 5, 6, 8-15 are on marble stelai; no. 4 on a limestone slab closing a chamber tomb, shaped in imitation of a panelled door; no.7 on a limestone pillar which was found standing upright around 4.3 metres from the doorway of a tomb with a single chamber, presumably still in its original position.

²⁵⁵ Gusmani (1964) 222 gives the definition ‘Grabkammer’, suggested by the use of Aramaic *m’rt* ‘cave’. However, he also points out the link to Luv. *wanni-* and Hitt. *wanai-* both meaning ‘stele’; despite his note that the comparison is clear ‘in spite of the divergent meanings’, this also seems to allow for the possibility that *vānaś* does in fact refer to the stele.

Certain similarities to these Lydian inscriptions can be seen in the Carian epitaphs both of Caria itself and of Egypt. Our limited knowledge of the vocabulary of Carian, and the fact that all but one of the inscriptions appear on fragments of stone blocks or stelai, makes it very hard to identify funerary inscriptions; at present only seven are thought to have been found in Caria itself.²⁵⁶ The other noticeable feature of Carian epigraphy is the fact that many of the inscriptions in fact come from Egypt, where they were placed on the graves of Carian mercenaries in the necropolis at Memphis; around 170 such inscriptions are known, mostly epitaphs. Of the inscriptions from mainland Caria, five appear to contain a word referring to the tomb. For example, two inscriptions from Tralleis read:

<i>sδi amτ[</i>	and	<i>an siδi a-</i>
<i>pauś</i>		<i>rtmi pauś</i>
<i>art{ }mon</i>		<i>parηaq[?] 257</i>

sδi (and *siδi*, a variant of the same word) seems to be a noun referring to the tomb or stele; all the other words are thought to be personal names.²⁵⁸

The inscriptions from Memphis show a similar simplicity, although the word used to describe the tomb is *upe* or *ue*, each of which may mean either 'stele' (or

²⁵⁶ Adiego (2007a) 287.

²⁵⁷ Adiego (2007) 130-131: C. Tr 1 (on a stele) and C. Tr 2 (on a block of stone).

²⁵⁸ There is, however, a problem with the identification of Carian funerary inscriptions; the word *sδi* is only thought to mean 'tomb' (or similar) because it appears in funerary inscriptions, but there is a danger of circularity here since funerary inscriptions (which are mainly on mere blocks of stone) can only be identified through the appearance of words such as *sδi*...

‘tomb’ more generally).²⁵⁹ Many inscriptions omit the word for the tomb altogether, but it does appear in 17 of the 56 epitaphs. Only *E. Me* 26, however, uses the demonstrative pronoun as well:

[...]uś | upe sa | trielś mrsiś ‘this (is)the stele [or tomb] ofu, (son?) of Triel, mrsiś [perhaps an ethnic]’.

As far as we can tell, none of the Carian inscriptions contain a verb - they are a statement of the identity of the deceased, rather than a record of the erection of the monument *per se*.

Of all the inscriptions in Anatolian languages, it is the paleo-Phrygian inscriptions with which the Lycian inscriptions have most in common. The relevant texts are dedications rather than epitaphs. One good example comes from the rock-shrine at Midas City (Midas şehri or Yazılıkaya, in Eskişehir province; second quarter of the sixth century).²⁶⁰ The main inscription, carved over the ‘false door’ of the shrine, reads:

*ates : arkiaevais: akenanogavos: midai: lavagtaei: vanaktei: edaes*²⁶¹

The inscription is not entirely understood, but seems to read:

²⁵⁹ Adiego (2007) 426; 429-430. The connection between the two words is obscure; Adiego suggests (p. 426) that *ue* might derive from *upe* through loss of the intervocalic p, but also points out that there might in fact be no connection between the two. He suggests that the word *upe* (and its variants *upa* and *wpe*) may be connected to Lycian *χupa* ‘tomb’. If this is correct, it suggests that *upe*, at least in origin, was a designation for the tomb rather than the stele *per se*.

²⁶⁰ Berndt-Ersöz (2006) 232-234.

²⁶¹ Brixhe and Lejeune (1984) 8: M-01a.

‘Ates [son of?] Arkiaeva dedicated the *akenanogavos* [or ‘Ates [son of] Arkiaeva, the *akenanogavos* dedicated (this)] to/ for Midas *lavakte* and *vanakte*’.²⁶²

The general visual effect is quite similar to a Lycian rock-tomb, although more chaotic – and far more elaborate – than most of these; the idea of ‘petrification’ of domestic or religious architecture seems to indicate a shared Anatolian interest in the permanence of rock architecture. To the best of our knowledge this inscription is a dedication which, like the Lycian building formula, contains a main verb in the third person, and possibly a direct object.

Another, very similar, inscription on the right hand side of the facade reads:

*baba: memevais: proitavos: kϕiyanaveyos: sikeneman: edaes*²⁶³

‘Baba [son of] Memeva *proitavos kϕiyanaveyos* dedicated the *sikeneman*’.

Berndt-Ersöz suggests that *proitavos* is a title, and *kϕiyanaveyos* an ethnic, with *sikeneman* referring to the object dedicated, maybe an image placed inside the niche. She argues: ‘the fact that the dedication was not put on the object itself may also explain why it was necessary to specifically mention the object by name’ but it is not clear to me that such an explanation is in fact needed: the explicit mention of the object dedicated could well be intended simply to draw attention to it in the same way that Lycian inscriptions draw attention to the

²⁶² Brixhe and Lejeune (1984) 8; Berndt-Ersöz (2006) 72.

²⁶³ Brixhe and Lejeune (1984) 10: W-01a.

tombs.²⁶⁴ The fact that the Lycian funerary formula has more in common with dedicatory inscriptions on shrines than with inscriptions on funerary stelai may support the argument that it developed from a desire to draw attention to the builder and his building of the tomb, rather than to its role as a grave or a monument.

Turning towards the Aegean world – the ‘source’ of the alphabet, and, therefore, in the most basic sense at least, of Lycian epigraphic culture – it is striking that few of the Greek speaking areas in the vicinity of Lycia have a strong epigraphic habit in the fifth or fourth centuries: there are a few examples of decrees, dedications and epitaphs in Greek from the Knidos peninsula, but little epigraphy of any sort in Pamphylia or Pisidia until the third or second centuries, and certainly no funerary inscriptions comparable to those of Lycia.²⁶⁵ There are many fourth century epitaphs from Rhodes and Samos, but most of these consist merely of names and patronymics, at first in the nominative or genitive, later in the genitive or dative.²⁶⁶ Similarly, at Athens – with which, as will be seen below, Lycia came into extensive, although not always friendly, contact – the majority of fifth and fourth century funerary monuments consisted of stelai, bearing only the name of the deceased in the nominative, their patronym in the genitive, and in some cases an ethnic.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ Berndt-Ersöz (2006) 72-73.

²⁶⁵ Cnidos peninsula: *IRhodianPeraia*; Pisidia: *ICentralPisidia*, *IBurdur*; Pamphylia: Brixhe (1976), with supplements.

²⁶⁶ Rhodes: Fraser (1977); IG XII 1 gives few examples of fifth and fourth century inscriptions other than gravestones. Samos: IG XII VI pt II.

²⁶⁷ See Hildebrandt (2006), esp. the catalogue at pp. 215-387.

The difference between the Lycian epigraphic habit and the various epigraphic habits of Greece is in one sense unsurprising. If the alphabet was first seen on ceramics and coins, the earliest Lycian literates might easily have learnt the letters of the alphabet and, for example, how to write a name, without ever seeing an inscription in Greek. While coinage and pottery travel easily, stone inscriptions – and therefore epigraphic practices on stone - do not.

2.5 Other key elements

Two other key formulaic elements must be mentioned briefly here. The first is the '*hrppi*-clause', which states who the tomb has been built for: most commonly, this is the builder's *ladi se tideime* 'wife and children' (as in TL77), but it can also be a *tuhes* 'nephew/niece' or some other relation. Under the 'building formula', the *hrppi*-clause is often omitted - but the frequency with which it is seen shows the importance of the passing of tombs through families.²⁶⁸

The importance of family relationships in Lycian funerary culture is also shown by the filiation formula which often follows the name of the tomb builder: this consists of the name of the father in the genitive, and the word *tideimi* 'child'. As will be seen below, *tideimi* is hardly ever omitted when a patronymic is given – meaning that when it is, this can be seen as a sign of influence from Greek usage.

2.6 Significance of the 'Building Formula'

As noted above, ellipsis of any sort is very rare in the Lycian building formula. The verb *prñawatē* is never omitted, and the noun, too, is almost always

²⁶⁸ This aspect of Lycian funerary culture is discussed in detail by Schweyer (2002).

written. This might indicate simply the use of a standardised set of phrases which could be used when inspiration was lacking, as many think was true of Latin epitaph formulae.²⁶⁹

Latin formulae, however, were frequently abbreviated, and the fact that the Lycian 'building formula' was not implies that it was considered particularly significant. Its development and use must be explained to some extent by the fact that the inscriptions were composed – or commissioned – by those who were to be buried in the tombs they adorned. In particular, it seems to reflect the importance for the Lycians of the act of building tombs: both its contents and its grammatical construction focus attention on the word for the tomb, the verb of construction, and the name of the builder, implying that the ability to construct a tomb was a key way for Lycians to demonstrate their social status, both in life and death. The formula, it seems, developed from a desire to both advertise the identity of the 'builder' of the monument and draw attention the act of building and to the tomb itself, thus functioning both as a demonstration of power during the lifetime of the builder, and as a memorial after their death.

One of the most puzzling aspects of the 'building formula' is the way in which it appears to have come into existence fully formed in the time of Harpagos – in spite of the grammatical complexity of the epitaph formula, with its dislocation of various words from their expected positions, there is no evidence of earlier versions using a more usual word order. The difficulty of dating the majority of epitaphs means that we cannot know exactly how many were inscribed during

²⁶⁹ Lattimore (1962) 17-19.

the fifth century, but there seem to have been very few. Might the building formula have developed in painted epitaphs before being inscribed on stone?

The painting of inscriptions - especially when tombs were also decorated with painted reliefs - would have been an obvious way to add information; they might well have been more common than carved epitaphs, since they would have been far easier to create. We know from the fact that TL21, at Pinara, is only half inscribed (with a blank area where the first lines would have been) that such painted epitaphs did exist; in addition, many inscriptions were painted (with traces of colour often still visible). The *inscribing* of an epitaph on a rock tomb is perhaps an extension of the Lycian 'petrification' of houses for the dead; the record of who built them and for whom is made permanent in a similar way. The importance of existing conditions in an area in determining the way that writing is used, especially when literacy first appears, has been emphasised by, for example, Stoddart, Whitley, and Thomas.²⁷⁰ Stoddart and Whitley demonstrate that in Etruria, where the early use of writing was restricted to funerary contexts, it was employed to reinforce the power of the élite, already demonstrated in their funerary culture, and was 'adopted in a way suited to the structure of Etruscan society'.²⁷¹ This seems analogous to the earliest use of epigraphy (although not of writing, which had already appeared on coinage) in Lycia; the attention drawn by the epitaphs to the tomb-builder's ability to construct a tomb surely reflects the importance already accorded to the preparation of a tomb, while other aspects of the formula, such as the '*hrppi-*

²⁷⁰ Stoddart and Whitley (1988) 761-772; Thomas (1992) 62-63.

²⁷¹ Stoddart and Whitley (1988) 769.

clause', derive from the use of the tombs by entire families. Similarly, the stipulation of payments for burial and the recording of imprecations against those who damage the tomb derive from a desire for the corpse to be left undisturbed, which surely existed long before epitaphs began to be added to tombs.

2.7 Early Epigraphy of Xanthos

The elements just discussed can also be seen in the only epitaph other than those from Arppaxu's reign which can be securely dated to the fifth century, which is found on the sarcophagus of Merehi at Xanthos. Xanthos was, as already mentioned, the most important town in fifth century Lycia, and sits on an outcrop above the river Xanthos (the modern Eşen Çay), now about seven kilometres from the sea (although somewhat nearer in antiquity²⁷²), with the Sanctuary of Leto on the plain below it, about five kilometres to the south.

Crucial to our understanding of Xanthian epigraphic culture is that this first example of the common, formulaic epitaphs at the site appears at a very similar time to – but, importantly, slightly earlier than – the first of the 'exceptional' inscriptions set up by rulers. Merehi's epitaph appears to be one of earliest surviving inscriptions at Xanthos – certainly its palaeography looks earlier than that of any other epitaphs from the site (see Chart 3). Like the tombs at Phellos and Çindam, it contains a 'ruler formula', this one stating that it was erected *ēnē: χñtawata: χer[i]xehe* 'under the rule of Xeriχα' - that is, during the time of Xeriga (=Xeriχα), son of Arppaxu, and father of Erbbina, who minted coins in the last

²⁷² Des Courtils and Cavalier (2001) 149.

decades of the fifth century. At a similar time, either Xeriga or his brother Xerēi set up the huge Inscribed pillar, which still dominates the agora of Xanthos (see fig. 7), and appears to have recorded the family's building projects and military successes.

It is of course possible that Lycian inscriptions were produced at Xanthos prior to these surviving examples and, as discussed above, painted epitaphs might already have been in existence. Nonetheless, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that some change took place around the time of Xerēi's accession at Xanthos which encouraged the use of inscriptions, both by rulers and by their subjects. A clear candidate can be found: Lycia's exit from the Delian league, which, indeed, looms large in the inscription on the Inscribed pillar and in which Xeriga appears to have played a leading role. For this reason, I shall briefly sketch what we know of the history of Xanthos during the sixth and fifth centuries. Since the Inscribed pillar is one of the main sources for this, it inevitably leads to two-fold discussion of the monument, firstly as a historical source and secondly as an object in its own right.

Herodotus describes the capture of Xanthos in his account of the Persian conquest of Lycia, c. 540; it is the only settlement he mentions by name, implying that he considered it the chief town of Lycia, apparently seeing the 'Lycians' as almost synonymous with the 'Xanthians'.²⁷³ After the Persian conquest, the history of Xanthos once again passes into obscurity, with archaeological and numismatic evidence our only sources of information

²⁷³ Hdt 1.176.1-3; see Asheri (2007) 196-197 ad loc.

2.8 Xanthos in – and out of – the Delian League

Contact with the Greek world must soon have become even more frequent, since for at least some of the mid-fifth century Lycia belonged to the Delian league.²⁷⁴ The little evidence we have for the history of the peninsula at this time suggests that the political organisation of the peninsula remained unchanged, with power in the hands of a few individuals; as mentioned above, Kuprlli seems to have been in control of much of Lycia at this point, but we have no further solid evidence about affairs at Xanthos until Lycia's departure from the Delian league in the last third of the fifth century.

At this point the figure of Xeriga comes to the fore. Unlike his father, he did mint coins at Phellos, starting c. 440 (the basis for the assumption that Arppaxu had died by this point). A high proportion of his coins are explicitly labelled as having been struck there, while a few others were struck at Kandyba and Tuminehi (settlements in the valley behind Phellos) and at Xanthos.²⁷⁵ It therefore seems reasonable to assume that those of his coins struck on the heavy standard but without a place-name were from Phellos, and that this town was his main power base.

²⁷⁴ Bryce (1986) 105-107 discusses the appearance of the Lycians in the Athenian Tribute Lists for 452/1, 451/0 and 446/5, and the meaning of Λύκιοι καὶ συν[τελ] in the lists for 446/5. Childs (1981) 55-61 also discusses the *synteleis*, connecting them to the *perioikoi* mentioned in the Letōon trilingual (N320; see Chapter 4.4): the trilingual inscription however, is more than 100 years later than the Tribute Lists, and, as Bryce points out (p. 107), the distinction made there between the Xanthians and the *perioikoi* 'was almost certainly a purely internal matter'. More likely is the suggestion (also made by Childs (1981) 57-60, and followed by Bryce (1986) 105-106) that the *synteleis* were inhabitants of parts of Lycia not politically united with the Xanthos valley; if, as Herodotus' account implies, outsiders saw the Xanthians as the archetypal 'Lycians', this might explain the designation of the other Lycians as *synteleis*.

²⁷⁵ Morkholm and Zahle (1976) 59-60 record twenty-seven coins of Xeriga, fifteen of which were minted at Phellos and six at Xanthos.

Since Xanthos had been the largest town in west and central Lycia since the archaic period, one might expect it to have been the base of the leading ruler in the area, as seems to have been the case for most of Kuprlli's reign. However, although Xeriga apparently had overall control of central and western Lycia at the end of the century (as shown by the ruler formula on Merehi's sarcophagus and the assertion in the Greek epigram of the Inscribed pillar that he *συνγενέσιν δῶκε μέρος βασιλέας* (TL44c27) 'gave his relations a share in his rule') he apparently ruled from Phellos.²⁷⁶ Why did Xeriga ultimately choose to oversee his family's rule of central and western Lycia from his father's base rather than moving to the more prestigious city of Xanthos?

The answer may lie in the circumstances of Lycia's departure from the Delian league. The three men honoured in the 'royal inscriptions' of Xanthos, Xeriga and Xerēi in the inscription on the Inscribed pillar and Erbbina in the dedication in his honour at the Letöon, are said to have been involved in great military deeds, sacking various cities. Xeriga [πο]λλὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλεις σὺν Ἀθηναίαι πτολιπόρθωι 'besieged many acropoleis with [the help of] Athena', although exactly which 'acropoleis' these were is not specified; Xerēi is said to have *qastte terñ: tlahñ* 'struck down the army of Tlos'; and Erbbina sacked Χάνθον τε ἡδε Πίναρα καὶ εὐλίμενον Τελ[εμησόν] 'Xanthos, Pinara and well-harboured Telmessos'.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ See Thonemann (2009a) 169-170, who states that 'Xeriga seems to have been the senior figure in a triumvirate, for which Xanthos played the role of 'dynastic capital', although, as I explain below, it seems that the 'capital' moved temporarily to Phellos at the end of the fifth century.

²⁷⁷ Xeriga: TL44c26; Xerēi 44a47; Erbbina: CEG 888i5-6.

The simplest reconstruction places all these victories around 430, when Melesandros sailed from Athens to Lycia in order to 'collect tribute' and was killed (as TL44a44 tells us) by Trbbēnimi at Kyaneai.²⁷⁸ It seems likely that there was already some form of unrest in the area. The simplest hypothesis would be a refusal on the part of the rulers of Lycia to pay the tribute demanded, with the rulers withdrawing to Phellos when they received news of Melesandros' approach; another possibility is a more protracted struggle between the ruling family and a pro-Athenian 'democratic' party at Xanthos, which resulted in the rulers moving their base to Phellos and refusing to pay the tribute, while the 'democrats' at Xanthos were presumably unable to do so.²⁷⁹ Just as it had been an important territorial acquisition for Kuprlli and Arppaxu in the preceding generation, Phellos would have been an ideal stronghold for Xeriga and his family in any attempt to regain control of the Xanthos valley. From there, Xerēi could easily have taken Tlos (using, for example, a back route round the north side of present-day Ak Dağ) and Erbbina would have passed Xanthos, Pinara and Telmessos in the order in which they are mentioned, presumably the order in which they were captured.

The dating of the numismatic evidence is not precise enough to prove or disprove a break in Kuprlli's rule in the Xanthos valley, or to enable us to guess how long it might have lasted, but such a scenario would explain certain oddities in the coinage record. For example, Kuprlli seems to have minted a series of coins on the light (western) weight standard (with his name, but no place of

²⁷⁸ Keen (1998) 131.

²⁷⁹ Keen (1998) 125-128.

issue) using a die which had previously been used by his grandson Xeriga to mint on the heavy (eastern) standard.²⁸⁰ Perhaps, after leaving Xanthos for some reason and taking refuge with Xeriga at Phellos (some time between Xeriga's accession c. 440 and Melesandros' expedition c. 430) Kuprlli needed coinage in order to pay his supporters or for similar purposes and so 'borrowed' a die from Xeriga's mint – but used the weight standard of his own rightful seat. Although, as mentioned above, Kuprlli had probably minted coins at Phellos during the reign of Arppaxu, there seems little other reason for him to have continued to mint there once Xeriga had begun to produce his own coins (with, we might assume, Kuprlli's consent). Was it at a similar time that Xerēi struck the coins *he* minted at Phellos?²⁸¹

The lack of any mention of Kuprlli's actions on the Inscribed pillar, together with the cessation of his coinage around 440, implies either that he died before the defeat of Melesandros or that he was too old and infirm by that point to take an active part in affairs; Xeriga, who appears to have succeeded him as 'overlord' of the Xanthos valley, was surely the driving force behind the effort to regain it.

In this case Xeriga's coins from Xanthos may come from the point when he and his family had first re-taken control of Xanthos, and before he decided to make Phellos his permanent capital. If Phellos had indeed been the centre of Lycian resistance to the Athenians, Xeriga could well have chosen, in the end, to remain there rather than move to Xanthos, bearing in mind its superiority as a defensive

²⁸⁰ Mørkholm and Zahle (1972) 62 (no. 38), 76; (1976) 54, 88: the die in question had a crack on it when used by Kuprlli which was not yet there when Xeriga used it, showing that the older man in fact used it at a later date than the younger.

²⁸¹ e.g. Vismara (1989b) 234 (no. 167) (on the heavy weight standard).

position; additionally, since it was the town in which his father had ruled, he might have had stronger support there. Since Xerēi had defeated the Tloan army and Erbbina had ‘sacked’ Telmessos as well as Xanthos it would have been natural for the former to be entrusted with the Xanthos valley (especially as he was also the elder), while the latter ruled Telmessos.

2.9 Xanthos and Persia

The information discussed above, describing the defeat of Melesandros, is given on the south side of the Inscribed pillar. The next section (TL44b26-28) mentions Lycian involvement in the Persian satrap Tissaphernes’ defeat, with Spartan help, of the rebel Amorges and his Athenian supporters in 412/411.²⁸² A close link between Persia and the rulers of Xanthos at this point is proven by the existence of coins minted by Tissaphernes in Xanthos, presumably to pay Lycian soldiers who were fighting for him.²⁸³ Further evidence of active Persian support for the rulers of the Xanthos valley may be suggested by the motif of a head wearing a tiara on coins of Xerēi and later of Arttuñpara and Ddēnewele (see Chapter 3.1); this seems intended to signal a particularly close relationship between these rulers and Persia, perhaps even indicating that silver was being provided by the Persians in return for Lycian military help.²⁸⁴ Coins of Xeriga continue until c. 410, and those of Xerēi until c. 390/80;²⁸⁵ the absence of the ‘tiara’-motif from Xeriga’s coinage suggests that he was dead by the time of Tissaphernes’ presence at Xanthos around 412. As discussed below, this has

²⁸² Thonemann (2009a) 174, 177-178. On the defeat of Amorges more generally: Thuc. VIII.28ff; Briant (2002) 592-593.

²⁸³ Zahle (1989) 172 and 176; Kolb and Tietz (2001) 379.

²⁸⁴ Coins showing tiara-wearing heads: Zahle (1989) 175-176; Kolb and Tietz (2001) 379; Persian supply of silver: Zahle (1989) 177.

²⁸⁵ Mørkholm and Zahle (1976) 59.

important implications for our understanding of the identity of the man responsible for the setting up of the Xanthos stele.

The last member of Kuprlli's family about whom we have secure information is Erbbina (known in Greek as Arbinas). He was, as shown by the statue bases set up in his honour at the Letöon, the son of Xeriga, and it is generally thought that he ruled first at Telmessos, where he minted coins, and then succeeded his uncle Xerēi as ruler of Xanthos.²⁸⁶ However, there is little concrete evidence for his sole rule there; the Tissaphernes hoard, deposited c. 400-380, shows that a number of other individuals were minting on the western Lycian weight standard around that time, implying that Erbbina's area of influence did not include even the whole Xanthos valley – or that, if it did, this state of affairs lasted only a few years.²⁸⁷ Indeed, as discussed below, I think it possible that he in fact pre-deceased his uncle, with uncle and nephew both dead by c. 385.

2.10 The Sarcophagus of Merehi

A date of c. 410 for Xeriga's death would mean that Merehi's epitaph must have been produced some time in the 420s or 410s. The palaeography of the inscription fits an early date, but our only chance of locating the tomb more precisely within Xeriga and Xerēi's reign relies on the opinions of different scholars as to the date indicated by the style of the tomb and its relief decorations. These are necessarily highly subjective, and have led to some wildly divergent conclusions, with the sarcophagus dated by some c. 430, by others as

²⁸⁶ Mørkholm and Zahle (1976) 60; Keen (1998) 145-147; Konuk (2009a) 193-199. The only coins of Erbbina to name the location at which they were minted are those of Telmessos.

²⁸⁷ Tissaphernes' hoard: CH III.14, CH V.16; Hurter (1979) 99-108; Keen (1998) 147; Vismara (1999) 100-101; Kolb and Tietz (2001) 377.

late as 370; nevertheless, there are a number of reasons to prefer a date in the earlier part of this period.²⁸⁸

The tomb, which lies at the bottom of the north-east slope of the acropolis, consists of two main parts: a large cistern, where the corpse was placed, and an arched lid.²⁸⁹ The cistern section imitates the beams and doors of a wooden building in the same way as the facades of the rock-cut tombs; the same style can be seen in the free-standing house tomb in the agora area, and is compatible with a date in the fifth century – although it continues to appear during the fourth century, in, for example, the Pajawa sarcophagus.²⁹⁰ Martin Seyer has recently suggested that the typical design of fourth-century Lycian sarcophagi began with the addition of an arched lid to free-standing house tombs, with a second storey added later; Merehi's tomb, with the lid placed directly onto a single cistern in the style of a wooden house, can then be seen as a early step in the development of such tombs, adding further weight to an earlier dating.²⁹¹

The arched lid of the sarcophagus is decorated on each side with relief scenes of a chariot drawn by four horses. Along the 'crest' of the lid are carved figures in a

²⁸⁸ E.g.: Thönges-Stringaris (1965) 38, 93: c. 420; Childs (1976) 307: 410-390; Bruns-Özgan (1987) 112: 'in die Zeit um die Jahrhundertwende' (c.400); Zahle (1979) 314: 'spätestens um 390/385 v. Chr.'; Demargne (1974) 96: suggests a date around 370; Borchhardt (2000) 112 n. 274, c. 430.

²⁸⁹ For a full description of the situation and appearance of the sarcophagus, see Demargne (1974) 87-96; plates 46-53. The lid is now in the British Museum.

²⁹⁰ Fig. 17. The house-tomb in the agora (see Demargne (1974) 21-24, with plates II-IV, 1-2 (the main part of the tomb is 2.05m x 3.05m; the 'cistern' of Merehi's sarcophagus is somewhat smaller, at 1.72m x 2.08m) seems likely to have been built in the fifth century (although there is no definitive proof of this) since it is in the 'Lycian acropolis' area, which seems to have been in use as a cemetery primarily at that time (Demargne (1974) 24, Hüllden (2006) vol I 49). Tomb of Pajawa: Demargne (1974) 61-87, plates XXVI-XXX, 27-45.

²⁹¹ Seyer (2004) 232 argues that the tomb of Ñθurigaxā at Çindam, a mid-fifth century tomb consisting of a free-standing grave-house cut from the living rock, with a second, arched cistern placed on top, represents a very early – perhaps the earliest – stage in the development of the arch-lidded sarcophagi.

continuous scene, shown at war on one side and, on the other, during peace. Szemethy argues convincingly that the chariot scene (which appears on a number of other Lycian sarcophagus lids) was inspired by Athenian depictions of the *apobates* competition, particularly those on the Parthenon, and was brought to Lycia by itinerant craftsmen, with Merehi's sarcophagus the earliest surviving example.²⁹² This provides a good analogy for the way in which the Greek alphabet might have arrived at Xanthos a hundred years earlier.

He suggests that these craftsmen arrived in Lycia after the end of the Peloponnesian War, but there seems no reason that they could not have come earlier; although Lycia left the Delian league c. 440-30, and was apparently active against the Athenians in 412/411, it seems unlikely that this would have made it impossible for Athenian craftsmen – or those familiar with Athenian sculpture – to arrive. Borchhardt also now supports an earlier date of c. 430-420, which he believes to be suggested by the style of the tomb and its reliefs.²⁹³ By contrast, Bruns-Özgan emphasises the similarity between the same reliefs on the crest and the frieze on the Nereid monument, suggesting that the two were produced in the same 'workshop'; since she dates the Nereid monument to c. 400, she concludes that Merehi's sarcophagus must have been produced at a similar point. However, although the crest of Merehi's sarcophagus and the relevant block of the Nereid monument are certainly very similar, the style of carving seems rather different (with the tiny figures on the crest of the tomb lid inevitably in lower relief than the figures on the larger block) and the

²⁹² Szemethy (1996) 123-135. Similarity to the Parthenon sculpture in the sculpture on the crest is also detected by Thönges-Stringaris (1965) 38 who proposes a date of c. 420 for the sarcophagus, saying that its style shows 'die Nähe der Parthenonzeit'.

²⁹³ Borchhardt (2000) 112 n. 274.

composition, although similar (with figures interacting in pairs), surely need not imply that they were produced at the same point or even in the same place: if Merehi's tomb were some decades older, the carver of the Nereid monument would surely have seen it at some point, whether or not it had been produced in his 'workshop'. A *terminus ante quem* of 410 (that is, the date of Xeriga's latest coin issues) for this inscription therefore seems realistic – although it might have been produced twenty years earlier.

Merehi's epitaph, like those of Ñturigaḫā and Xlastini, opens with the 'building formula' discussed above; it also contains a standard 'filiation formula'. Again, we cannot tell how conventional these would have been by this point, but the fact that such similar – although not identical – examples are seen at three different sites suggests that the formula was comparatively widespread by this point.

A further point of comparison with the earlier epitaphs from central Lycia is suggested by the use of the 'ruler formula'. There is a danger of overstating the importance of its appearance in these three early inscriptions, since only those which have the formula can be definitively identified as early – but, as discussed in Chapter 1, these three epitaphs do contain some of the earliest letter forms of all surviving inscriptions.

Although the hillside above the sarcophagus is now covered in fourth-century rock-cut tombs, at the time that Merehi placed his sarcophagus there, it would have been a significant distance from the main area of city on the 'Lycian acropolis'. At this point, it appears, there was no designated 'necropolis' area; the

rulers of the city erected their tombs beside their palaces, and so it seems likely that Merehi's tomb was situated on land that he owned or controlled. In this case the use of the building formula – reflecting the importance of a man's ability to construct a tomb - would be especially apt, asserting Merehi's position as a man of importance in the area and showing not only his economic ability to build such a monument but also his right to do so in this particular place. Could it in fact have been part of Merehi's intention, in building his tomb, to record his ownership of the land in a visible and permanent fashion? The size of the tomb, and its ornate appearance, surely shows that it was intended to be a prominent feature, and the inscription an effective and permanent record of Merehi's presence in the area. Was the addition of the ruler formula again intended to show that his claim had been supported by the ruler of the city at the time, and give proof of its legality if this was ever called into question?

The idea that Merehi's epitaph was intended, at least to some extent, to record and assert his right to the land on which his tomb was built might also explain two puzzling parts of the inscription. After Merehi's name comes the filiation formula describing him as ... *Kudalah: χñtlah tideimi* 'son of Kudala χñtla': the word χñtla is either an honorific title, or an office held, and its use here might emphasise Kudala's links to the ruling family. The second line begins with the mysterious words *trijatrbbahi: pñnutahi: uhahi:*, which have been interpreted in a number of ways. They are usually thought to be names – either of Merehi and Kudala's ancestors, or of members of the *prñnezi* (household) for whom the

tomb was built.²⁹⁴ Since all three are genitive adjectives, the first suggestion seems more likely, with the adjectives agreeing with the name ‘Merehi’ and giving the names of his ancestors. However, it is also possible that the words designate Merehi’s office or duties in some way: *uhahi* is found in TL40c as the genitive singular of *uhe/i* ‘year’, apparently meaning either ‘for x years’ or ‘annual’, and appears to refer to an office held by the deceased.²⁹⁵ Other suggestions for *pñnutahi* and *trijatrbbahi* include ‘of five, fifth’ for the former, and some meaning linked to Greek τρία- for the latter.²⁹⁶ The root *trbb-* may mean ‘oppose’ or similar (although this is very uncertain) so *trijatrbbahi pñnutahi uhahi* could be a military title, meaning something like ‘[officer/leader] of the *trijatrbbahi* for five years’; in this case, the identical ending of the three words might simply have been used for the sake of euphony.²⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the most likely explanation for the three genitive adjectives seems to be that they are indeed names of Merehi’s ancestors.

Either interpretation suggests an emphasis on Merehi’s identity and position in society, which, together with the mention of Xeriga and the splendid decoration of the sarcophagus, implies that although the tomb builders seem not to have been members of the ruling family, they *were* among the most prosperous

²⁹⁴ Names of Merehi’s ancestors: Laroche (1974) 135, who points out that points out that *pñnutahi* is the genitive adjective of the name *Pñnuta*, found in TL12, and that *uhahi* could be the genitive of the Anatolian name transliterated into Greek as Ουα; names of those recipients of sarcophagus: Borchhardt (2000) 111 n. 273.

²⁹⁵ Melchert (2004) 76. Laroche (1974) 138 translates it as ‘annual’ in TL40c, despite considering it to be a personal name in TL43: Schürr (2012) 28 suggests ‘-jähriger’.

²⁹⁶ Neumann (2007) 277. Neumann himself thinks *pñnutahi* a gen. adj. to the PN *Pñnute/i*, but also records Ševoroškin’s suggestion that it means ‘fifth’. On *trijatrbbahi*-, Neumann (2007) 373 says simply that it is a gen. adj. Deecke thought it was related to Greek *tria* ‘three’; Ševoroškin says ‘of the third day’.

²⁹⁷ *trbb-*: Melchert (2004) 69-70; the root is also found in a number of names: *ibid.* 105.

members of the community.²⁹⁸ This is hardly surprising, since carving an inscription would presumably have been an expensive task, requiring a skilled craftsman.

2.11 'Ruler Inscriptions': The Inscribed Pillar (TL44)

The Inscribed pillar on the Lycian acropolis of Xanthos would have been a unique and imposing monument at the time of its construction and, indeed, remains so today (see fig. 7). All four sides of the pillar are covered with writing, arranged in an almost stoichedon fashion.²⁹⁹ The letters are deeply and very clearly carved; their height (35-40 mm) makes even those at the top of the pillar perfectly legible. The pillar, which originally stood more than 5 metres high, would have been topped by a tomb-chamber decorated with panels of relief sculpture; the remains of a pedestal found next to the pillar suggest that a large statue was placed on top of this, the only known example of a statue on top of a pillar tomb.³⁰⁰

The size and splendour of the pillar would have underlined the wealth and authority both of the man who erected it and of the man, or men, it commemorated, and this would have been reinforced by the sight of the dense but well-ordered inscription, which must have made a great impression on those seeing it for the first time. The inscription falls into four distinct parts: a long Lycian prose inscription, a shorter Greek poem, and what appear to be two poems in Lycian B, a rarely-seen dialect which seems likely to have originated in

²⁹⁸ Schürr (2013) 33-34.

²⁹⁹ Kalinka (1901) 38-48, TL44.

³⁰⁰ Demargne (1958) 79-105; Borchhardt and Eichner (1997-1999) 17-20; Domingo Gyax and Tietz (2005) 89-91.

central Lycia, and later to have remain in use only as a literary dialect.³⁰¹ The Lycian prose inscription consists of two distinct parts: the first covers the south side of the pillar (TL44a), while the second stretches over the whole of the east side (TL44b), continuing on to the north side (TL44c1-19).³⁰² After this, still on the north side of the pillar, comes the Greek poem (TL44c20-31), with the rest of that side, and the west side, taken up by the two Lycian poems (TL44c32-end). The letter height varies between 44 and 60mm, and the letters are neatly inscribed – almost in a *stoichedon* pattern.³⁰³ It is noticeable that the Lycian text contains word-dividers as expected, while the Greek – also as expected - does not. The use of multiple languages on the pillar raises a number of important questions about the nature of Xanthian society at the time it was set up and, in particular, about the cultural ambitions of the ruling family. Closely tied to, and complicating, this question, is the puzzle of the identity of the erector of the monument.

The Inscribed pillar is our key source for the information, discussed above, about the family relationships of the various rulers of Xanthos. Unfortunately, the actual name is missing from the crucial points in both the Greek and the Lycian text. The Greek text of the Inscribed pillar honours a man called ...]ις ... Ἀρπάγου υἱὸς '[...]is son of Harpagos' (TL44c24), the Arppaxu discussed above. Inscriptions on a statue base dedicated to Artemis at the Letöon (CEG 889.i, and N311) show that the Greek form of Xeriga was Γέργις, and this fits into the *lacuna* in the Greek text on the Inscribed pillar better than any of the other

³⁰¹ Eichner

³⁰² Schürr (2009) 157.

³⁰³ Borchhardt and Eichner (1997-1999) 21.

suggested possibilities, giving Γέργ]ις ... Ἀρπάγου υἱός.³⁰⁴ The man primarily responsible for the setting up of the Inscribed pillar is also described, in the first lines of the Lycian text (TL44a1-3), as the son of Arppaxu and the grandson of Kuprlli, a description which may refer to one of three men: Xeriga himself, the coin-issuer Xerēi, or another son of Arppaxu whose name ends .../hi.

Since Γέργ]ις (= Xeriga) is mentioned in the Greek poem, the name of the man who set up the whole pillar (given in the first lines of the Lycian A inscription, but lost except for the letters .../er[...], is often reconstructed as *X]er[iga*.³⁰⁵ However, a suggestion by Frei that the Lycian text and the Greek text were inscribed by two different people has come to be widely accepted, with the name missing from the Lycian text reconstructed by Eichner as Merehi.³⁰⁶ A further refinement of this suggestion reconstructs the name Xeriga in the first line but Merehi at TL44a29-31, and suggests that the latter, who was an official of some sort under either Erbbina or Xerēi, completed the monument after his brother's death.³⁰⁷ This Merehi – if that was indeed his name – was the son of Arppaxu, and cannot have been the same man as the owner of the sarcophagus (who is described as the son of Kudala); the Merehi mentioned at TL44a17 and in N324 then also seems more likely to be the son of Arppaxu than the son of Kudala.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁴ This reconstruction was worked out by Bousquet (1975) 139-143 and is accepted by, *inter alia*, Borchhardt et al. (1997-1999) 24).

³⁰⁵ e.g. Bousquet (1992) 54; Domingo-Gygax (2005) 91.

³⁰⁶ Eichner (1993) 139-140, n. 117; accepted by, *inter alia* Borchhardt (2000) 111; Domingo Gygax and Tietz (2005) 92-93.

³⁰⁷ Bousquet (1992) 169-173.

³⁰⁸ Bousquet (1992) 172, 184; Borchhardt et al. (1997-1999) 35 n. 87; Borchhardt (2000) 111.

A far better interpretation of the evidence is, in my opinion, provided by Mørkholm and Zahle's unfairly neglected suggestion that the erector of the pillar was Xerēi, with his elder brother Xeriga, dead by the time the pillar was set up, honoured in the Greek poem and perhaps the Lycian B section.³⁰⁹ This solves many points about the inscription which might otherwise be mysterious: why was it set up at Xanthos when Xeriga ruled at Phellos? Why are Xerēi's exploits apparently treated in more detail than Xeriga's own?³¹⁰ The omission of any mention of Erbbina is also more understandable if the main section of the statue was commissioned by his uncle rather than his father; it is even possible that the setting up of the dedications in the Letöon (discussed below) was a reaction to this perceived slight.

2.12 *The Letöon Dedications*

The other inscriptions from this period relating to Xeriga's family are on two statue bases found at the Letöon.³¹¹ The smaller of the statue bases has a Greek inscription of eight verses (CEG 889i) followed after a *vacat* of one line by a Greek couplet (CEG 889ii). At the top of the face adjacent to the left of this inscription is a two line Lycian inscription (N311). Neither inscription gives us any idea about what the statue itself represented, but the Lycian version states that it was set up by Erbbina, and that he was the son of Xeriga. There is little evidence within the inscriptions for the date at which they were set up, but their

³⁰⁹ Mørkholm and Zahle (1972) 111 n. 435. Schürr (2009) 171, 176 reverts to the idea that both the Lycian and the Greek poems were set up by Xerēi, also on the grounds that Xerēi is the dynast who features most noticeably in the Lycian section.

³¹⁰ Mørkholm and Zahle (1976) 87, with n. 129.

³¹¹ Ed. pr. Bousquet (1975) 138-148. The Lycian inscriptions are N311, N324, N325; the Greek inscriptions are also published as CEG 888i & ii and 889i, ii & iii. Description of bases in Bourgarel and Metzger (1992) 150-154. The historical content is discussed in detail by Robert (1978) 3-48.

description of the feats performed by Erbbina as a young man implies that they might have been set up around the time that he started to mint coins, c. 400.³¹²

The larger statue base, which was a metre high, is inscribed on all four sides: on it stood a statue of Erbbina which he set up himself as a dedication to Leto (CEG 888 i.9-10). One of the wide faces of the block carries a Greek inscription, CEG 888ii, which consists of 17 hexameters; again, there is an elegiac couplet at the bottom of this face (CEG 888 ii), after a *vacat* of four lines, naming the author of the verses. On one of the narrow faces of the block is another Greek inscription (CEG 888 iii). The other narrow face has a Lycian inscription (N324), as does the other wide face (N325), although the latter is barely legible.

2.13 Building as a demonstration of power

The opening lines of TL44 (as reconstructed by Laroche) follow the conventional 'building formula' seen in Merehi's epitaph:³¹³

ebēñni[: stta]l[ã: me]n ad[ē: χ]er[ēi: ar]ppa

χuh: tid[eimi:] χe[zi]gah: [tuhes(?): k]u[pr]lle[h]

χahba...

'This stele, Xerēi made it, the son of Arppaxu, ?nephew of Xeziga, grandson of Kuprlli...' (TL44a1-3)

³¹² On the date of Erbbina's earliest coinage: Mørkholm and Zahle (1976) 59-60 suggest that Erbbina was minting 'between 400 and 360': die-links show him to have been minting at Telmessos after Ddeneweale but before Aruwâtijesi (coins of the latter are found in the Podalia hoard (IGCH 1262), suggesting that he was minting around 380-370), while 360 is, according to Mørkholm and Zahle, the approximate date at least the minting of coinage in Lycia ceased; they do not rule out the possibility that Erbbina had ceased to mint coins before this date. Keen (1998) 142-147 and Konuk (2009) 193 give dates of c. 400-380. On the date of the inscriptions: Bousquet (1975) 145-146; Keen (1998) 141-142.

³¹³ Laroche (1974) 142ff; Schürr (2009) 157.

Even the use of the filiation formula is as expected, and while the listing of so many relations is unparalleled, a number of other epitaphs give the name of the tomb-builder's grandfather or uncle alongside that of his father.³¹⁴ Again, as for Merehi's sarcophagus, we cannot be sure how familiar the 'building formula' would have been at this time. However, the employment of the conventional opening sentence, alongside the unusually consistent use of word-dividers, does imply that the composer of the inscription intended this section, at least, to be as comprehensible as possible: the use of a familiar pattern would have enabled even those of limited literacy to pick out the names of those involved in the setting up of the stele, showing that the inscription was considered important as a source of information as well as for the visual impression it created.

The Lycian inscription on the smaller of the Letöon dedications consists entirely of the 'building formula' and 'filiation formula':

[erb]bina(j) ēne ubete³¹⁵ xruwata³¹⁶ ertēmi

[xer]igah tideimi sej upēneh (N311).

Erbina, he dedicated it, [as] votive offering to Artemis;

the son of Xeriga and Upenis.

³¹⁴ Grandfather named in TL83 (from Arneai); uncle named at TL29 (Tlos), TL36 (Xanthos), TL59 (Antiphellos), TL70 (Kyaneai), TL82 (Kandyba), TL84 (Sura), TL95 (Myra), TL113 (Limyra).

³¹⁵ Melchert (2004) 85 s.v. *ube-* suggests 'dedicate, offer'.

³¹⁶ Melchert (2004) 85 s.v. *xruwete-* suggests 'votive offerings' (or similar).

Here, though, the usual word order is disrupted: Erbbina's name appears in first place, as appropriate for a monument which focuses almost exclusively on one man.

This use of the 'building formula' places the inscription within the cultural milieu which produced Merehi's sarcophagus and inscriptions from other parts of Lycia, one in which the ability to build one's own tomb was crucial. Indeed, the ability to build looms large throughout the inscriptions, emphasising the importance for rulers of being able to create monuments. However, it is also possible that, in this case, the main point of the Lycian inscription was to provide a 'gloss' on the Greek poem for those who could not read Greek: the lettering, in contrast to that of the Greek, is hurriedly and somewhat scrappily cut.

The first thirty or so lines of TL44 are too fragmentary to understand fully, but they relate to the building of tombs and monuments: we find the words *prñnawā ñmeit*[... 'they build/built (?) a house-tomb' (perhaps simply 'house') (TL44a14), *tukedri tuwete* 'he set up a statue' (TL44a20), and *[ara]wazija prñnawate* 'he built monuments', surely recording building works either of Xerēi or members of his family.³¹⁷ At TL44a25-27 the word *ñtewē* 'opposite' appears three times, and Schürr suggests plausibly that this section describes the geographical position of the pillar vis-à-vis other monuments of Xanthos: 'opposite the sarcophagus of Erbbina, his grandfather, and opposite his father's grave and opposite the gods of

³¹⁷ Melchert (2004) 42 s.v. *ñm(e)i-* ; 51 s.v. *prñnawa*. The mention of Merehi at TL44a17 and of the *arawazije ... kuprl[leh]* 'monuments of Kuprlli' seems to suggest that the work of more than one member of the family is being described (although, as previously discussed, it is not clear whether the Merehi mentioned here was Xerēi's brother, or merely one of the family's followers).

the agora'.³¹⁸ This explanation of the position of the pillar – which, after all, would have been self-evident to anyone reading the inscription – would have drawn attention to its unusual grandeur.

This emphasis on building projects continues throughout the rest of the inscription. Lines TL44b35-64 concern the worship of the storm-god Trqqas (TL44b34,37,52), but the importance of buildings seems to remain a key element: *arawazija* 'monuments' (TL44b38) are mentioned again, as is a *tezi* 'sarcophagus' (TL44b41) and *tukedri* 'statues' (TL44b42,43). Later we hear of an important building project by one of Xerēi's ancestors: Teθθiweiβi, who minted coins in the mid-fifth century, is said to have *ade mē: leθθi: qlā* 'made it, the sanctuary of Leto' (TL44b60-61). Here, the ability to build demonstrates not merely the family's power and influence, but also their piety.

2.14 Military success and physical prowess

A second key aspect of the inscriptions on the pillar is the emphasis on military successes and physical prowess. At the bottom of the south side of the pillar (TL44a41-55) is the account of the defeat of Melesandros discussed above. There also appears to be a reference to the defeat of a second Athenian expedition in Caria, c. 428.³¹⁹ Further warfare, linked to the military affairs of Tissaphernes, is described in TL44b, between approximately lines 13 and 30; the mention of a *trijerē xerēhe* 'trireme of Xerēi' (at TL44b23) may be linked to this, drawing

³¹⁸ Schürr (2009) 172. The mention of a 'sarcophagus of Erbbina' here is problematic, since Xeriga's son Erbbina minted coins until c. 360, long after the generally accepted time of this inscription. Schürr's solution, that Erbbina was also the name of the builder's other grandfather, perhaps Harpagos' father, is supported by the appearance of the letters *xu*[...] after *tezi*, since these allow the reconstruction of *xugahi* 'of his grandfather', agreeing with Erbbina.

³¹⁹ Schürr (2009) 168-170; Thonemann (2009a) 176-178.

attention to the link between Xerēi and the Persian satrap. The passage may also describe warfare taking place between the cities of central Lycia (TL44b14-17) in which, it would seem, Xerēi's family were ultimately victorious.³²⁰ The segue from the description of building monuments to the description of warfare seems rather abrupt, but may be explained by Eichner's suggestion that the mention of the various military feats in fact comes in the context of explaining what is shown on the reliefs.³²¹

The Lycian text appears primarily to record the collective achievements of the Lycians and their allies. By contrast, both the Greek inscription on the pillar and the dedications at the Letöon focus on the actions of individuals: Xeriga is said to have ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα [χερ]σὶ πάλιν Λυκίων τῶν τότε ἐν ἡλικίαι... (TL44c24-25) and to have sacked [πο]λλὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλεις (TL44c26; see above). Erbbina, meanwhile, boasts that πολλοῖσιν Λυκίοισι φόβον παρέχων ἐτυράννει (CEG 888.i7), and

πάντα ἐμ πᾶσι πρέπων ὅσαπερ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες ἴ[σασιν],
τοξοσύνηι τε ἀρετῇι τε, ἵππων τε διώγματα εἰδ[ώς]. (CEG 888.i14-15)
'... was entirely outstanding in all things which wise men know,
in archery and in arête, and knowing the chasing of horses.'

At the simplest level, the emphasis on military and physical strength is clearly motivated by the rulers' desire to demonstrate their power – the same motive

³²⁰ Schürr (2007) 112-117 identifies various place names in this section, and suggests that the warfare concerned the raising of tribute.

³²¹ Heiner Eichner, personal communication.

which led to the creation of the monuments themselves, and the emphasis on building within the inscriptions. It is noticeable that Erbbina's inscriptions concentrate more on his personal attributes, with little mention of his family, and I wonder whether this could be linked to the lack of any mention of him on the Inscribed pillar? If he had been involved in the fight against Melesandros and the Athenians in 430 he might have had some reason to feel slighted by the omission and to wonder whether his position as Xerēi's successor was secure. Putting up inscriptions which were almost as impressive as Xerēi's, in the neutral ground of the Letöon, might have been his attempt to redress the balance.

There has been endless debate about whether the inscriptions show primarily 'Persian' or 'Greek' influence. This has often involved identifying 'Persian' elements in the inscriptions: Jacobs, for example, sees both the claim that Xeriga killed seven hoplites in one day (TL44c29), and that Erbbina sacked three cities in one month (CEG 888i.5) as similar to Darius I's boast, in his Bisitun inscription, that he defeated nine enemy kings in a single year.³²² Likewise, Schürr, who interprets TL44a35 as a boast that Xerēi had beaten all the other Lycians at wrestling, argues that both there and in the Greek inscription the assertion of superiority is modelled on Darius' words.³²³

However, it is not clear that any of these elements can be traced back to the Bisitun inscription, or even to specifically 'Persian' influence. Such boasts are found, for example, in inscriptions of rulers as early as the Sumerian texts of the

³²² Jacobs (1987) 60-61; Herrenschildt (1985) 125-135.

³²³ Schürr (2009) 157-161, 173.

third millennium, and in the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of early first millennium Karkamiš (where a particular focus on building is seen).³²⁴ They are of course a obvious element for any ruler to include in an inscription, but are perhaps, like the more general emphasis on building in Lycia, best understood as arising out of a shared cultural heritage stretching across Anatolia and Mesopotamia, which had developed from millennia of trade links and other interactions. The crucial part of the inscription as far as the Xanthian relationship with Persia is concerned was surely the factual account of their defeat of Melesandros (without Persian help) and, later, of their support for Tissaphernes.

2.15 Lycian involvement with the 'Greek world'.

Conversely, we can be sure that the Greek text on the Inscribed pillar was influenced by one specific Greek text: the monument commemorating the Athenian victory over the Persians in 449.³²⁵ The first line is quoted in full, and the emphasis in the Athenian poem on accomplishing deeds that no one ἐπιχθονίων... ἀνδρῶν 'of earth-dwelling men' has done before is altered to the claim that no one Λυκίων 'of the Lycians' has set up such a stele.

The effect of membership of the Delian League on Xanthos remains unclear. As already mentioned, it has been argued that it had very little effect on the internal politics of the Lycian towns, but although this seems true in most cases, the likelihood that Xeriga and Xerēi actively opposed Athenian control at Xanthos

³²⁴ Sumerian: e.g. Suter (1998) 67-75; Luwian: e.g. Hawkins (2000) 102-108 (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c).

³²⁵ Thonemann (2009a) 181; Dio. Sic. XI.62.3.

implies that there, at least, it was felt to be onerous.³²⁶ Certainly, there is little evidence for the construction of any monumental sculpture – or, indeed, monumental tombs or buildings – in the city during this period.³²⁷ As Thonemann has pointed out, the emphasis on the defeat of Athenian troops on the Inscribed pillar must show that ‘for the Lycians, beating Athens mattered’.³²⁸ Nevertheless, the Lycian attitude to Athens appears rather contradictory: the defeat of Athens was clearly a matter of some pride, but the setting up of a stele to the δώδεκα θεοῖς ἀγορᾶς, ‘the twelve gods of the agora’, recalls not only the twelve Anatolian gods at Yazilkaya, but also the twelve gods of the Greek dodekatheon worshiped at Athens, Chalcedon, and elsewhere.³²⁹ Ian Rutherford has suggested that the twelve gods were already considered to be symbols of Greek-ness. He argues that the founding of altars to the twelve gods was associated with Greeks crossing into Asia, so that he ‘the Lycian dynast appropriates that practice for his own ends’.³³⁰ Certainly, the description of the gods as being ‘of the agora’ implies that they are seen in this case primarily as Greek deities, habitually worshipped at the centre of the city, than as the Anatolian gods, who often appeared in a chthonic context – although the existence of twelve indigenous gods might have encouraged the dedication to the Greek deities.³³¹

Similarly, the assertion that Xeriga’s victories were won ‘with the help of Athena’ suggests that an element of emulation was present. Was this a deliberate attempt

³²⁶ Relative unimportance of Delian league: Zahle (1991) 153.

³²⁷ Borchhardt (2000) 75.

³²⁸ Thonemann (2009a) 181.

³²⁹ Rutherford (2010) 45-46, 52.

³³⁰ Rutherford (2010) 55.

³³¹ Rutherford (2010) 52.

to usurp – or subvert – Athens’ tutelary goddess, the result of a less sophisticated attempt to emulate Athenian ideas and religion, or the result of a more general belief on the part of the poet that Athena was the appropriate goddess to help in warfare (does her appearance in this particular type of warfare - the sacking of cities - show a misunderstanding of Athena’s customary role as the well-armed protector of cities, or a deliberate attempt to subvert it)? One indication that the mention of Athena here does not indicate mere emulation of Athenian culture is the spelling of the goddess’ name, which is in the Doric form Ἀθηναίαι, rather than Attic Ἀθηνᾶ or Ionic Ἀθηναίη.³³² The attributes of Maliya, the Lycian goddess to whom Athena is equated on the inscribed silver vase from Egypt, N307 might also have played a role in the way that Athena was perceived, although the scarcity of evidence for Maliya makes it impossible to be certain.

If Athenian domination *was* particularly unpleasant to the Xanthians, it is hard to determine exactly why. Keen points out that the contribution of ten talents recorded in the Athenian tribute lists ‘should not have been a major burden upon the Lycians’, considering that Phaselis alone paid at least three talents, and that Lycia’s share of the tribute owed to Darius by the ‘coastal satrapy’ must have been higher than ten talents.³³³ One possibility is that Xanthos was in some way responsible for organising the payment of the whole Lycian tribute and therefore ended up paying a large proportion of the sum owed, which might well have become a serious drain on resources.

³³² Burkert (2011) 218.

³³³ Keen (1998) 123-124.

Lycian appears to have been the only language which played a significant role in Xanthian culture at this time and, although we cannot tell who was speaking which language where, the absence of any monolingual Greek inscriptions certainly implies that Greek was used only on a limited scale within Lycia. Here, I suggest, Xerēi was deliberately demonstrating his ability to use Greek language and engage with Greek culture, which would enable him to interact on an equal footing with the Greek *poleis* of the eastern Mediterranean. Thonemann argues that, by quoting this Athenian inscription, the composer was deliberately subverting it and turning it into an ‘expression of Asiatic national identity’.³³⁴ However, although Xeriga’s family was clearly hostile to Athens, there seems to be little evidence of antipathy to other Greek-speakers; indeed, if Zahle’s suggestion that Lycians helped Tissaphernes against Amorges is correct, they would have been fighting alongside Spartans.

Certainly, the Greek poem is altered to reflect Lycian interests – rather than surpassing all others in war, Xeriga surpasses them in the setting up of a στήλη and τροπαῖα, showing a typically Lycian emphasis on the setting up of monuments; the statement that he shared his rule with his relations is also an element only relevant to Lycia. Nevertheless, the overall effect remains that of a victory monument – in Greek. Key to the understanding of this phenomenon are lines TL44b63-c19. Unfortunately, they remain obscure, but seem to refer to the treaty between Sparta and Tissaphernes, and to the setting up of stelai in the sanctuaries of various gods. Melchert’s suggestion that Xerēi was involved in the brokering of the treaty, and that the stelai referred to are records of the

³³⁴ Thonemann (2009a) 181.

agreement, is attractive.³³⁵ At any rate, the lines certainly show the Lycian rulers to be deeply involved in the wider politics of Ionia and the Eastern Mediterranean, and it is likely that the ability to hold their own in this milieu was a crucial element of their claim to power within the peninsula: due to its geographical position, Lycia was often the focus of outside interest.³³⁶ For a ruler to be able to speak Greek might have been crucial to his survival.

A further possibility arises from this idea. The Greek inscription on the pillar is clearly a victory monument in a way that the Lycian A text, in spite of its interest in military successes, is not. Might Xeriga have intended it to be inscribed on a personal victory monument, perhaps more similar in appearance to a Greek stele, or to the statue bases of Erbbina? In this case, Xerēi could have decided, after Xeriga's death, to use it on the pillar tomb in order to honour his brother, to emphasise his link with him, and also to demonstrate his family's knowledge of Greek and ability to function in the Greek-dominated politics of their immediate surroundings (primarily to other Xanthians, but also to any Greek visitors).

Erbbina's use of Greek at Letöon might have had a similar aim: there is a more obvious emphasis on Greek education (one inscription is said to have been composed by the παιδοτρίβας 'the trainer' (CEG 889ii.1) and one by Σύμμαχος, who described himself in epic language as a μάντις ἀμύμων 'blameless seer'), and Erbbina himself is also described in epic terms: his ἀρετή is praised (CEG 888 i.15), and κλέος (CEG 888 i.12) results from it. It is possible that such words

³³⁵ Melchert (1993) 31-34.

³³⁶ E.g. Keen (1996) 110-118; Meadows (2006) 463.

are intended merely to emphasise his high level of education, and familiarity with 'prestigious' (if it was indeed prestigious) Greek culture. If, however, Erbbina's dedications were intended to strengthen either his rule or his position as Xerēi's successor, emphasising his ability to hold his own among Greek politicians and soldiers might have been an astute move.

2.16 The Epigraphic Culture of Xanthos: the late fifth century

By the end of the first decade of the fourth century, then, inscriptions set up both by private individuals and by the rulers of the city would have been a familiar sight at Xanthos – yet still sufficiently uncommon to make a powerful impression on any viewer.

Why was it that both 'private' inscriptions and 'ruler' inscriptions emerged at a similar time? Firstly, the end of Athenian domination meant that the restraints, (whether political or financial) which had been preventing monumental building in the city ended, and stone tombs and monuments reappeared. This alone need not, of course, have led to the appearance of inscriptions: after all, earlier monuments in the city had not been inscribed. Yet both 'private' epitaphs and ruler inscriptions seem to have been linked in some way to events surrounding Lycia's exit from the Delian league, and resultant uncertainty about land ownership and political power in the area.

By adding an epitaph to his tomb (TL43), Merehi emphasised the wealth and influence which enabled him to build it, as well as his family's continued ownership of it; it is also possible that he intended the tomb and inscription to

assert his ownership of the land on which it was built, especially if this had been given to him by Xeriga. In a similar way, Xerēi used the Inscribed pillar to legitimise his control over Xanthos by describing his family's military successes and (renewed) ability to beautify the city through building works. At the same time, he emphasised his role in the wider politics of the area and his ability to hold their own *vis-à-vis* the cities of Ionia and mainland Greece. This final aspect led to the inclusion of the Greek poem on the pillar, emphasising the family's familiarity with the language (in both a literal and metaphorical sense) of international politics; the intended audience was surely primarily the inhabitants of Xanthos, but it would also have impressed Greek visitors to the city. The Letöon dedications seem to have served a similar purpose, although in that case Erbbina's desire to glorify himself seems to have played a greater role. It is also interesting that the narrative of the pillar focuses on events involving Greek cities, while Persian power is accepted without protest: was Xerēi's loyalty to the Achaemenid Great King an element of his legitimacy - perhaps in the face of a 'democratic' party at Xanthos which wished the city to be entirely independent, or even to be run in the fashion of an Ionian 'polis' ?

2.17 Early Epigraphy of Lycia

It is very hard to assign inscriptions which contain no overt indication of their date to the turn of the century rather than the early fourth century more generally. One example which does seem likely to be roughly contemporary with the Inscribed pillar and Erbbina's dedications is TL32, from Kadyanda, at the top of the Xanthos valley, north east of Telmessos. The tomb is decorated with reliefs

showing a number of figures, dated by Zahle to c. 400-390.³³⁷ The inscription, rather than giving the name of the tomb-builder, merely labels the figures in both the Lycian and the Greek alphabet; the palaeography of both supports an early date (see Chart 10). The near life-size figure on front of the tomb, presumably representing the deceased, is labelled *zzalahe ladā* 'the wife of Zzala', in the accusative – the exact sense of this is not clear, but it is possible that we are seeing ellipsis of a type very rare in Lycian, with the meaning of the accusative something like '[they will place here] the wife of Zzala'. Other figures are labelled in the nominative.

The use of simple names here might imply that the use of the building formula had yet to reach Kadyanda, but it might also have been a matter of personal preference. An inscription on a pillar tomb (TL34), which must also be comparatively early, is unfortunately too fragmentary to allow us to see whether the usual formula was used there. The use of Greek alongside Lycian simply to write names shows that the two alphabets were clearly differentiated; why both should have been used is unclear. It certainly seems to show that at least some Lycian literates were bilingual even in the early fourth century, but it may be that the proximity of Caria, with its Greek-speaking towns, encouraged the use of Greek at the site. Carian influence certainly seems to be visible in the names of those depicted, which include a man called Ἑκατομνᾶς.

³³⁷ Zahle (1979) 320.

A second early inscription is the long text on a sarcophagus (TL55) at Antiphellos, dated by Zahle c. 390.³³⁸ This, again, is highly unusual: it is written in Lycian B, the dialect of the Lycian poems on the Inscribed pillar. These are the only two surviving examples of Lycian B, which seems likely to have originated in central Lycia, and to have been in use there at an early period.³³⁹ Again, the epigraphy of the town at this early period seems to have been more idiosyncratic than it was in the later fourth century, when formulaic epitaphs are found, even though the use of the 'building formula' at nearby Phellos and Çindam suggests that this would already have been known at Antiphellos, too.

2.18 Myra and Limyra in the early fourth century

Away on the opposite side of the Lycian peninsula from Xanthos lie what were to become the next largest towns of Lycia: Myra and Limyra.³⁴⁰ Xanthos and Limyra are, as the crow flies, only around 70 km apart, but the mountainous terrain which lies between means that even today a journey by land between the two (along the modern coast road) is a nauseating and long-winded experience. In the fifth and fourth centuries sea-travel would surely have been the natural way to move between the two sides of the peninsula, but the rocky coast would have meant that this too had its dangers - as demonstrated by the fate of the Bronze Age ship famously wrecked at Ulu Burun, between Antiphellos and Aperlai.

³³⁸ Zahle (1979) 320; Marksteiner (2010) 107-108.

³³⁹ Heiner Eichner, personal communication.

³⁴⁰ Marksteiner (2010) 149-180.

Myra and Limyra, too, are separated by a mountainous headland; again, the easiest way to travel between them must have been by boat.³⁴¹ Both sites lie at the bottom of the final ridge of mountains before the sea, with tombs built into the rocks – it is highly likely that significant amounts of the ancient sites now lie under the silt of the coastal plain. The differences between the *necropoleis* of the two sites (the best preserved areas) are striking: at Myra, the majority of tombs are notably grand, often decorated with relief sculptures, while at Limyra many more are to be found, but the majority are very modest. The picture given by the epigraphy seems to complicate matters further: fifteen Lycian inscriptions are known from Myra (making it the third richest source of fourth-century epigraphic material in Lycia) but fifty-four, more than twice as many as at Xanthos, from Limyra.

The differences in the funerary culture of the two sites seems to have resulted from the change in their respective fortunes between the late-fifth and mid-fourth centuries, with Myra initially more important, but Limyra overtaking it in prosperity by the middle of the fourth century. This picture fits my tentative attempts to date the inscriptions of the two sites using the palaeography of the inscriptions and any other available evidence (see Charts 4 and 5): at Myra, six of the inscriptions appear to come from an early period (probably before c. 360) and between six and nine from a later period, whereas at Limyra there are around four which appear to be early, seventeen from around the time of Perikle, and twenty-five from a later period. As a result, it is tempting to suggest that

³⁴¹ In the nineteenth century, Spratt, Forbes and Daniell took eleven hours to travel from Demre to Finike on horseback – they record that, unsurprisingly, ‘we had some difficulty in finding a guide to accompany us’ (Spratt and Forbes (1847) i.139-140).

Myra was flourishing during the late-fifth century, and that Limyra became the more important town around the time of Perikle.

This provides one possible explanation for the existence at Myra of a number of large tombs, decorated with almost life-size relief scenes, which do not carry an inscription: these include the famous ‘painted tomb’ in the necropolis to the east of the theatre.³⁴² Of course, it was perfectly possible, at any time in the fourth century, for a tomb-builder to commission a tomb decorated with reliefs and see no need to label it with an epitaph (or to add a painted epitaph which is now lost). However, it is certainly tempting to believe that many such tombs were created before the practice of inscribing epitaphs in stone had become widespread.

When inscriptions do appear at Myra, they follow the same ‘building formula’ seen in eastern Lycia, underlining the high level of contact and communication across the area: we have no way of telling where this first arose, but it is striking that it so soon became stereotyped and consistently used. Two of the apparently early inscriptions, TL85 and TL86, are simple two-line inscriptions, with the building formula and a *hrppi* clause. They are on small rock tombs, both of which have the early form of burial chamber, as described by Seyer, with benches at floor level.³⁴³ TL86 states that the builder has built the tomb *hrppi atli ehbi* ‘for he himself’ which, as discussed in Chapter 1.22, might indicate a later date – however, this is need not necessarily be the case, and it is noticeable here that

³⁴² Marksteiner (2010) 155-156.

³⁴³ Seyer (2009) 56.

the tomb is not for the builder's wife and children but for his mother, which may explain the explicit statement that he, too, should be buried there.

Four other epitaphs which seem to be early are more complex, containing more detailed instructions about the positioning of the corpses in the tomb, and ending with threats against those who damage the tomb. Imprecations of this sort are typical of the inscriptions of western Lycia (see below), and it is therefore interesting to find that they were already in use at this comparatively early date. Two of these early inscriptions, TL89 and TL90, record the name of the same tomb-builder, Hriḫṛmma, and appear to be in very similar, if not the same, hands. TL 90 records that Hriḫṛmma built the tomb, and states that he and the *ēni lusātrah* should be placed in it; the epitaph for the tomb above (TL89) states that it was built for his brother, and, interestingly, does *not* open with the standard building formula: instead, it reads: *χupā ebēñnē mēn' adē Hriḫṛmma nēni ehbije* 'this tomb, Hriḫṛmma made it for his brother', with the first two words of the formulaic opening line inverted, and *adē* instead of *prñnawatē*. Hriḫṛmma (or whoever actually composed the inscriptions) might have made a conscious decision to avoid repetition of *prñnawatē*; or perhaps *adē* was for some reason more suited than *prñnawatē* to the building of a tomb for another person.

At Limyra, meanwhile, only four of more than fifty surviving inscriptions seem to have been inscribed before the reign of Perikle (prior, that is, to c. 380 or 370): these are the two inscriptions which describe the tomb-builder as the *tideri* of Perikle (TL128 and TL135), and two others, TL106 and TL107. Interestingly,

neither of the latter shows the standard building formula, although TL106 does contain a curse.

2.19 Imprecations in Lycian Epitaphs

One of the most idiosyncratic features of the epitaphs of eastern Lycia is the addition of imprecations and curses against those who damage the tomb or, in particular, make any unauthorised burials: the focus appears to be on ensuring that the deceased will rest undisturbed, while allowing for re-use of the tomb by family members. These imprecations, which appear to be in the Anatolian tradition of Hittite and Luwian curses (and are also seen in Lydian and Phrygian), have been discussed at much length.³⁴⁴ For reasons of space, I shall not attempt further discussion here, but will quote a single, representative example from an early inscription of Myra.

tike: xttbã: tisñke: mēne: i[t]lehi: qãti: trm̃mili:

se i pñ: pablãti: tijãi (TL 89.3-4)

‘whoever [does] any harm [to this tomb], may

the Lycian *itlehi* strike him, and punishment

follow him’.³⁴⁵

The meaning of *itlehi* has been much debated: it remains unclear whether it is a divine power of some sort, or a civic institution, but since the verb *qãti* is commonly used of gods, the former seems more likely.³⁴⁶ These imprecations were, as will be seen below, transferred into the Greek epitaphs which emerged

³⁴⁴ E.g. Schürr (1997) 59-73; Schweyer (2002) 61-89; Christiansen (2009) 44-54; Schürr (2010) 149-158.

³⁴⁵ Based on the German translation at Christiansen (2009) 47 (where *i pñ* is transcribed as *i pñ*; Kalinka’s sketch (Kalinka (1901) 70) clearly shows *m̃*).

³⁴⁶ Neumann (2007) s.v. *itlehi*; Christiansen (2009) 45-46.

at the end of the fourth century, and became a typical element of both epitaphs and, more surprisingly, civic decrees.

As this brief survey demonstrates, while the use of inscribed epitaphs across Lycia had begun by the start of the fourth century, it was still far rarer – and less formulaic – than it would later become. The contrast with the use of epigraphy by the rulers of Xanthos – whose Inscribed pillar was the most ambitious Lycian inscription seen at any time – is stark.

Chapter 3

THE EARLY FOURTH CENTURY: A time of uncertainty

3.1 The historical background

After the reign of Xerēi, which ended c. 390-380, the mists descend even further over the history of Xanthos, and of Lycia in general, with only occasional individuals emerging with more clarity – in particular, Perikle, ruler of Limyra. Once again, our understanding of the events of this period is based primarily on the, often confusing, numismatic record. A few inscriptions do, however, seem to mention men also known from the coinage record or from historical sources: Mizrapata at Seyret (Gökçeören) and Isinda, Autophradates at Bayındır Limanı and Xanthos, Arttuṃpara at Pinara, Perikle and Trbbēnimi at Limyra and various other sites. How these various individuals and their actions fit into the history of Lycia at this time remains the subject of much debate.³⁴⁷

As discussed above, our lack of understanding of the mechanisms of coin-minting in Lycia make it impossible to be sure how closely western and central Lycia were connected in the early fourth century. However, the fact that so many coin issuers seem to have minted coins in both areas, and in a number of different places, suggests that from c. 430 we should think in terms of a ‘ruling family’ based at Xanthos but led by Xeriga (perhaps from Phellos), whose officials – men such as Sppñtaza, Wexssere and Teθθiweiβi – circulated around various towns,

³⁴⁷ The numismatic evidence is dealt with in detail by Kolb and Tietz (2001) 376-401. Schürr (2012) 18-44 gives a detailed discussion of the role of Arttuṃpara.

and had the authority to mint coins in various places.³⁴⁸ How long this situation continued after the death of Xerēi is unclear. Firstly, we cannot be certain whether Erbbina did indeed – as is often assumed – succeed Xerēi at Xanthos and, if so, for how long.³⁴⁹ The dates given for his latest coins vary; most suggestions place them slightly later than Xerēi's final issues, meaning that he could briefly have moved his centre of operations to Xanthos after Xerēi's death.³⁵⁰

Keen assumes that Erbbina did succeed Xerēi as ruler of Xanthos and was the issuer of a series of coins showing helmeted heads of Athena and inscribed with a wide-range of place-names (including Xanthos, Pinara, Patara, Tlos and Telmessos).³⁵¹ However, Erbbina is not the only man to have minted coins in western Lycia during the 380s and 370s, nor the only one who could plausibly have produced coins carrying a head of Athena. Ddēnewele, for example, also produced coins on the light (western) weight standard, some of which also carry a head of Athena; his coins, like those of Erbbina, appear in the Tissaphernes hoard, showing that they were minted prior to c. 380.³⁵² Exactly when Ddenewele minted coins is unclear, since he could have been doing so under Xeriga, Xerēi, or Erbbina, or on his own account; the use of a single letter <χ> may indicate that he belonged to the same family as Xeriga and Xerēi, or was one

³⁴⁸ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 376-383.

³⁴⁹ Suggestions about how Erbbina's conquests and succession might have played out after Xerēi's death are given by, *inter alia*, Bousquet (1975) Bousquet 138-148 and Robert (1978) 10-34 (who suggests that Erbbina's original base was at Tlos, and that he carried out his conquests from there).

³⁵⁰ Mørkholm and Zahle (1976) 59-60; Keen (1998) 142-147; Konuk (2009) 193; see above, fn. 312.

³⁵¹ Keen (1998) 146-147 (M240-247).

³⁵² CH III.14, CH V.16; Vismara (1999) 100-101. Kolb and Tietz (2001) 377 n. 157 note the possibility that Ddēnewele was in fact a place-name rather than the name of a man.

of their followers.³⁵³ Aruwâtijesi's coins, too, appear in the Tissaphernes hoard, as well as in the Podalia hoard (*IGCH* 1262; c. 375-70); some appear similar in type and style to those of Erbbina, leading Kolb and Tietz to suggest that these, too, were minted at Telmessos.³⁵⁴ He is also known to have re-cut a die of Erbbina, showing that, at one site at least, he minted later than Erbbina.³⁵⁵ The majority of his coins, however, are minted on the heavy standard of central Lycia, making it somewhat hard to understand exactly how he fits into the wider picture of the time: one plausible explanation is that at this point, as under Xeriga, officials were sent out to various towns of western Lycia and were able to mint their own coins in the town they were administering.

Further east, meanwhile, a man called Mithrapata was minting coins on the heavy weight standard of central and eastern Lycia, which suggests that, at some point, he controlled a section of central Lycia comprising, at least, the mountainous area around Phellos and Antiphellos.³⁵⁶ He may also be mentioned in the 'ruler formulae' of two epitaphs, at Seyret (N315) and Isinda (TL64), although, as discussed below, I think it equally likely that these refer to a second, slightly later ruler. Arttuṃpara also minted coins on the light standard of western Lycia at Tuminehi (possibly modern Köybaşı³⁵⁷): since these appear to follow on directly from the reign of Xeriga, Kolb and Tietz make the plausible suggestion that he took control of Tuminehi immediately after Xeriga's death, later expanding his area of influence across central Lycia (where he seems to

³⁵³ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 383.

³⁵⁴ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 384; Vismara (1999) 102.

³⁵⁵ *IGCH* 1262; Mørkholm and Zahle (1976) 57, 59 (obverse die A21, used on Erbbina's coins no. 72-75 and on Aruwâtijesi's coin S, as shown on Pl. III); Keen (1998) 143 with n. 54.

³⁵⁶ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 384, 387.

³⁵⁷ Zimmermann (1992) 31, n. 71; the suggestion was originally made by Zahle.

have been Aruwātijesi's contemporary and perhaps his overlord). If this is correct, he could have been a member or follower of the Xanthian ruling family, initially ruling Tuminehi under the auspices of Xerēi.³⁵⁸ The fact that Mithrapata, unlike Aruwātijesi, is mentioned in the 'ruler formula' of inscriptions implies that the former was the main ruler of the area, as does the fact that his coins depict a head – presumably his own – wearing a tiara, suggesting close links with the Persian satrap.³⁵⁹

A key difficulty in the interpretation of the numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the first half of the fourth century is the appearance of various men who seem to have been active in issuing coins and involved in military campaigns, for what might appear an unlikely length of time. Wexssere, for example, appears to have minted coins from c. 450 to c. 400, which has led to the suggestion that there were in fact two different men with this name.³⁶⁰ However, as Kolb and Tietz rightly point out, it is perfectly possible that one man could have been politically active for a period of fifty years.³⁶¹ More problematic is that fact that so *many* of the Lycian coin issuers appear to have been unusually long-lived. The names of Aruwātijesi, Mithrapata and Trbbēnimi appear on the Inscribed pillar at Xanthos, all three on the east side (TL44b), which deals with events of 412-411, and Trbbēnimi also on the south side (at TL44a44), where he appears to have been the main player in the defeat of Melesandros' expedition to Lycia in 430 (see

³⁵⁸ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 385-387.

³⁵⁹ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 379-380, 387.

³⁶⁰ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 377, 381: stylistic similarities to coins of Xeriga suggests that his earliest coins must date from the middle of the fifth century, while the end-date appears to be based on the style of the devices, and the appearance of one of his coins in the Tissaphernes Hoard (CH III.14, CH V.16). Vismara (1989a) 19 gives a more precise dating of 460 to 435, based on the devices used, the style of the coins, and links with the coinage of other rulers, especially Kuprlli.

³⁶¹ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 380-381.

Chapter 2.8). At the same time, we have coins of all three from well into the first decades of the fourth century; most notably, Trbbēnimi minted coins at the same time as Perikle, whose main period of activity appears to have been around the 370s.

The identity of Trbbēnimi is something of a puzzle. The Xanthos stele records that *Trbbēnimi tebete terñ se Milasāñtra* ‘Trbbēnimi defeated the *terñ* and Melesander’, surely referring to the Lycian defeat of Melesandros’ expedition in 430. He next appears, however, in inscriptions of Limyra (TL128 and TL135), where two people describe themselves as his *tideri*, and is found, then together with Perikle, minting coins at Zagaba and Limyra.³⁶² The inscriptions from Limyra, unfortunately, do not shed very much light on his identity. The meaning of *tideri* is uncertain (see Chapter 1.16), but its use at least implies that Trbbēnimi was sufficiently important that people wanted to associate themselves with him. Borchhardt argues, from the connection between their coins as well as the implication of these inscriptions, that the Trbbēnimi mentioned on the Inscribed pillar was Perikle’s father, and ruled at Limyra before him – eventually sharing power with him in his old age, at the time of the invasion of central Lycia.³⁶³ However, there is no definitive proof of a relationship between them. As a result, the lack of any inscriptions explicitly describing Trbbēnimi as a ruler, together with the fact that he seems only to have begun to mint coins at the same time as Perikle has led to the suggestion that

³⁶² Kolb and Tietz (2001) 389.

³⁶³ Borchhardt (1996-1997) 1-23.

there were two different men called Trbbēnīmi, one connected to the earlier rulers of Xanthos and the other connected to Perikle.³⁶⁴

Kolb and Tietz combat this suggestion by arguing that Mithrapata (with Aruwātiseji as his deputy) controlled central Lycia until around 380 (giving Mithrapata a reign of a reasonable length, around twenty years), when they were ousted by Perikle, together with Trbbēnīmi (who by this point must have been seventy or older, if he was around twenty when he defeated Melesandros).³⁶⁵ The apparent lack of earlier coins of Trbbēnīmi need not be problematic, since no other ruler seems to have been minting there at this time; we can therefore assume either that he did not feel any need to mint coins until he began to set his sights on expanding into central Lycia, or that he minted only anepigraphic coins at the start of his reign.

The inscriptions from Limyra which mention Trbbēnīmi support the suggestion that he was older than Perikle, since their lettering appears noticeably earlier than that of inscriptions from the time of Perikle (although this can only give a tentative indication of their date). One problem with Kolb and Tietz's suggestion is that assessments of the numismatic evidence suggest that Mithrapata minted until c. 370/360, in which case it becomes difficult to imagine how the same Trbbēnīmi, who was at the height of his military powers in 430, could have

³⁶⁴ E.g. Childs (1981) 65; Bryce (1986) 47; Thonemann (2009a) 175.

³⁶⁵ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 388-9. It should be noted that it is not entirely certain that Trbbēnīmi minted coins in Zagaba: Kolb and Tietz note the similarity between the motifs of coins of Zagaba and those of Trbbēnīmi, and point out that some of Trbbēnīmi's coins bear the letter $\perp$, which they believe stands for Zagaba – it would also be possible, however, for it to stand for *Zēmuri*, the Lycian name of Limyra.

minted coins after him.³⁶⁶ This later dating is at least partly based, however, on the appearance of 92 coins of Mithrapata in the Podalia hoard (*IGCH* 1262, buried c. 375/370); yet since the hoard contains far more coins of Trbbēnimi (244) and Perikle (117) than of Mithrapata, it seems entirely possible that it was buried some time after he had ceased minting, but while some of his coins were still in circulation.³⁶⁷

Another suggestion similar to the idea of an older and younger Trbbēnimi (although not impinging directly on it) is that there were two men called Mithrapata: one mentioned in the Inscribed pillar, and issuing coins at Tuminehi; the other (a different individual, perhaps a descendant) mentioned in the ruler formula at Isinda and Seyret – and issuing coins further east.³⁶⁸ Kolb and Tietz's reconstruction of Mithrapata's reign, as given above, seems to render the existence of two separate coin issuers unnecessary, but the inscriptions with the 'ruler formula' are a different matter. Most worryingly, N315, at Seyret, shows the form *xupu* for *xupā*, a sound change which is otherwise not seen until the mid-fourth century; in addition, it is noticeable that N315 has the later form of <χ>, and an unusual form of <ē>, both of which would suggest that it is unlikely to have been very much earlier than the inscriptions from the time of Perikle (in which the same, later <χ> is seen). Schürr suggests that the Mizrppata of these inscriptions may have ruled this area *after* Perikle and this solution seems attractive to me: there is no need to believe that he minted coinage, so that no alteration of Kolb and Tietz's hypothesis about the fate of the coin issuer is

³⁶⁶ See Seyer (2009) 59 n. 34, with references.

³⁶⁷ Vismara (1999) 102.

³⁶⁸ Keen (1998) 143.

necessary.³⁶⁹ We might ask whether there was a connection between the two: was Mizrppata a son of the older Mithrapata? Although there is no way to prove this, it is possible to imagine the son of the deposed ruler of the area being reinstated (or partly reinstated) with Persian support, even while Perikle continued to control the eastern part of the peninsula.

The picture is complicated further by the appearance of coins of Arttuṃpara, minted on the western weight standard, which follow the iconographic model of Mithrapata's coinage (showing a head wearing a tiara).³⁷⁰ This may show that he succeeded Erbbina as ruler of western Lycia around the same time that Trbbēnimi and Perikle deposed Mithrapata and began to mint coins at Zagaba.³⁷¹ Conflict between Arttuṃpara and Perikle is shown by an inscription of Limyra (TL104) which records Arttuṃpara's defeat. By c. 372/370, Arttuṃpara was minting coins at Side, at that point under Persian control, presumably in exile from Lycia.³⁷²

More evidence for Perikle's conquest of the Xanthos valley is provided by a passage of Photius' summary of Theopompus (FrGrH 115 F103) which states that the 'Lycians', under their βασιλεύς Perikle, besieged Telmessos and forced its inhabitants to negotiate with them; the 'Lycians' must refer here simply to Perikle's forces, since Telmessos was already under Lycian control by this

³⁶⁹ Schürr (2012) 34.

³⁷⁰ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 377 state that these coins are found in the Tissaphernes Hoard (CH III.14, CH V.16), alongside those of Xerēi, Erbbina, Ddeneweale; however, if this is the case, they are not mentioned in the original publication of the hoard (Hurter (1979) 99-108) or in Vismara's catalogue of coin hoards (Vismara (1999) 100).

³⁷¹ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 388 (Trbbēnimi and Perikle); 400 (Arttuṃpara, and his conflict with Perikle); Zimmermann (1992) 28, 34-35.

³⁷² Bryce (1986) 112; Kolb and Tietz (2001) 400.

time.³⁷³ We have no way of knowing when this episode took place, but might assume that it was at some point in the late 370s, when Perikle had control of the Xanthos valley. Another possibility is that he attacked Telmessos from the sea, using this as a way to approach the Xanthos valley. Perikle's invasion of western Lycia has often been linked to the so-called Satraps' Revolt, but it is not clear what, if any, the connection in fact was.³⁷⁴ Diodorus' account (XV.19) of the 'Satraps' revolt states that the Lycians were involved, but the date that he gives, 361, seems to be significantly later than the start of Perikle's attempts at expansion.³⁷⁵ The whole existence of the revolt as a co-ordinated affair has recently been called into question, and it seems that, at least for Lycia, this doubt is well-founded: Perikle's initial defeat of Mithrapata was probably a purely internal affair, in the context of ongoing rivalry and expansionism on the part of various Lycian rulers, and the same may be true of his attempt to expand into the Xanthos valley.³⁷⁶ His apparent cultural orientation towards the Greek world, as discussed below, might suggest that he wished to make Lycia independent of Persia, but it seems equally likely that he simply wanted to expand his reach within the peninsula. Perhaps, however, Arttuṃpara was able to exploit the wider unrest of the early 360s, such as the revolt of Datames, in order to obtain Persian help against Perikle.³⁷⁷

³⁷³ Briant (2002) 670.

³⁷⁴ E.g. by Bryce (1986) 111-113.

³⁷⁵ Briant (2002) 656; Hornblower (2011) 262 does, however, point out that the Satraps' revolt appear to have started earlier than Diodorus believed, since Datames had already revolted from the King in the early 360s.

³⁷⁶ Weiskopf (1989) 10-15, in particular, suggests that the revolt was a series of unlinked instances of local unrest rather than a co-ordinated affair; for the connection (or lack thereof) between Perikle and any wider revolt, see Briant (2002) 270-273. Kuban (2012) 16 also points out that Perikle's military action against Arttuṃpara was not necessarily connected to the Satraps' revolt in any way.

³⁷⁷ Revolt of Datames: Briant (2002) 660-662; Hornblower (2011) 262.

This help appeared in the shape of Autophradates, satrap of Lydia in the first part of the fourth century.³⁷⁸ He is mentioned in two Lycian inscriptions: once in a 'ruler formula' from an epitaph at Bayındır Limanı (TL61) and once on a large sarcophagus at Xanthos, the 'Pajawa sarcophagus' (with TL40). If Kolb and Tietz are correct in their interpretation of the numismatic evidence, there seems to have been no point between the reign of Mithrapata and Perikles' arrival in central Lycia during which he could have controlled the area, suggesting that he and Mizrppata must have been named as 'rulers' in the area around Antiphellos at a very similar time.

The 'Pajawa sarcophagus' seems likely to have been produced at some point after Autophradates had worsted Perikle: the dates given for its reliefs vary between 370 and 350, but most commentators tend towards the latter.³⁷⁹ Unusual forms of <ē> (𐌪𐌪 and 𐌪) are used, extremely similar to those seen in some inscriptions from Limyra during the time of Perikle (see Chart 2). The fact that Autophradates and Mizrppata appear to have been mentioned in 'ruler formulae' in central Lycia at a similar time need not be especially problematic: we can either assume that Autophradates was mentioned in a ruler formula during the reign of Mizrppata in order to emphasise the area's overall allegiance to him, or that he controlled the area directly after he first ousted Perikle, with Mizrppata appointed only later on. Whether Arttuñpara was returned to power in western Lycia at the same point remains uncertain, but, as discussed below, it

³⁷⁸ Autophradates was satrap of Lydia in the middle of the fourth century and, among other escapades, defeated the rebellious Euagoras, king of Cyprus. The exact dates of his satrapy are unknown, but he was active in the Persian army in the 390s, and fighting the rebels Datames and Ariobarzanes in the early 360s (Briant (2002) 468, 660-662).

³⁷⁹ Zahle (1979) 281 and Demargne (1974) 61-74 suggest dates in the 360s; Briant (2002) 672; Bryce (1986) 47 give a wider range of 370-350.

seems likely that he, as well as Autophradates, is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Pajawa sarcophagus. We cannot be sure whether Perikle lost his whole territory after Autophradates gained control of central and western Lycia, or whether he retained power in Limyra, but the latter is certainly possible: this would allow the epitaph at Bayındır Limanı (TL61) to be contemporary with, or earlier than, some of those which mention Perikle, as the palaeography seems to require.³⁸⁰

In order to be able to discuss the inscriptions of this period (that is, c. 380-c. 350) in some meaningful way, I have accepted the following hypothetical version of events, based largely on Kolb and Tietz's analysis of the numismatic evidence and Schürr's suggested reading of the 'Pajawa sarcophagus': Arttuṃpara, whether he was a member of the Xanthian dynasty or deputy of the Persian satrap, succeeded Xerēi or Erbbina in the Xanthos valley some time in the 380s. At around the same time or shortly afterwards, Perikle defeated Mithrapata, who had been ruler of Phellos, Zagaba and central Lycia, and seized control of his territory. He then turned his attention to Arttuṃpara who, less easily worsted, retained control of the Xanthos valley for around ten years, attempting to compete with Perikle for control of central Lycia until, c. 375, he was defeated and fled to Side, where he minted coins in order to pay his supporters. Some time in the early- or mid-360s he returned to the Xanthos valley with the help of the satrap Autophradates, (although, as mentioned above, it is also possible that Autophradates acted alone) and either pushed Perikle back to the area east of

³⁸⁰ Bryce (1986) states that Perikle's career came to an 'abrupt end' after the Satraps' revolt, but this seems to be disproved by SEG 41:1380, an inscription which talks of law help at Limyra 'from the time of Perikle'; Wörle (1991) 226 (as pointed out in Briant (2002) 673).

Timiussa, or defeated him entirely; Autophradates, as a result, retained more direct rule than before over Lycia, with Arttuṃpara (or Pajawa) acting as his deputy in the Xanthos valley and in central Lycia, perhaps, the younger Mizrppata.

Although necessarily hypothetical, this reconstruction enables us to make some sense of the various, apparently almost contemporary inscriptions in which the rulers are mentioned, and to consider a possible context for other inscriptions which seem likely to have been produced against this political backdrop.

3.2 Private Epigraphy, c. 390- c. 350

Almost all the epigraphy known to date from the time of Arttuṃpara, Mizrapata, Autophradates and Perikle is 'private epigraphy', consisting of those epitaphs already mentioned, which contain references to these rulers. In addition to these, a number of inscriptions can, on the basis of their letter forms, reasonably be believed to have been produced at around this time – again, almost all of these are of a personal nature, with the exception of one, possibly two, inscriptions from Limyra, relating to Perikle. The impossibility of assigning an accurate date to the inscriptions means that many of those which I mention in this chapter may in fact have been produced in the late fifth century – conversely, others might have been produced somewhat later than the middle of the century.

The use of inscribed private epitaphs was widespread across Lycia by the middle of the fourth century, if not earlier. In most areas it continued, however to be the exception rather than the norm: at Pinara, for example, where a number of very

conventional inscriptions were later produced, only a few inscribed monuments seem likely to date from this period, while even at Xanthos, only five inscriptions are found. Similarly, at Myra (as discussed in Chapter 2.18) the use of epigraphy appears to have begun in earnest at the beginning of the century, if not before. A number of one-off epitaphs from this period are found in various places in central and eastern Lycia, a surprisingly high number of which display the *ēñē... χñtawata* building formula; at least some of this spread of epigraphy appears to have resulted from the political instability described above, which saw a number of rulers vying for control of the seaboard from Antiphellos to Cape Gelidonya, on the far side of the coastal plain of Limyra. The extent to which Perikle's expansionism was responsible for the spread of epigraphy remains, however, a subject of some debate. At Limyra, Perikle himself might be considered to have produced surprisingly little epigraphy, but a high number of inscriptions appear to have been made some time during, or just after his reign; there is also a notable shift in their content towards the use of more conventional wording. In what follows, I discuss the epigraphy of the Xanthos valley and Central Lycia during the time of conflict described above, pointing out some of the elements of the epitaphs which first appear at this time, before turning to discussion of the 'ruler formula' and of Perikle's Limyra.

3.3 Xanthos – the Pajawa Sarcophagus

As explained above, it is very unclear who ruled Xanthos after the death (or possibly the deposition) of Erbbina, but whatever their identity, they appear to have had little interest in producing long, detailed inscriptions of the sort commissioned by Xeriga and Erbbina. Indeed, it is not even clear that there *was* a

‘ruler’ based in Xanthos – the mention of Arttuṃpara at Pinara certainly implies that he was in control of the Xanthos valley, but does not tell us where he was based. If he himself produced any inscribed monuments, these have not survived.³⁸¹

One particularly impressive monument, already mentioned above, was produced at Xanthos during this time: the Pajawa sarcophagus, originally from the acropolis of Xanthos, which now stands, eight metres high, in the British Museum (see Chapter 1.16, and fig. 17).³⁸² The physical presence of the monument cannot be overstated – it is enormous (significantly larger than, for example, the sarcophagus of Merehi). It is inscribed in four separate places: along each of the long sides of the *hyposorion* (TL40a and d), on one of its ends (TL40c), and on the crest of the lid (TL40b). The tomb is richly decorated with relief sculpture: on the lid are chariots like those on Merehi’s tomb, while the *hyposorion* shows a battle scene on one side, and what appears to be an audience scene on the other.

Two of the inscriptions (TL40a and d) say simply *pajawa manaxine prñawate prñawa ebēñnē* ‘Pajawa the *manaxine* built this house-tomb’: it is interesting that Pajawa, although he eschews the standard ‘building formula’ (already seen at Xanthos on the tomb of Merehi, if nowhere else) nevertheless displays the common Lycian concern with the actual building of the tomb – in TL40c he even, very unusually, used the first person form *prñawaχã* ‘I built’.³⁸³ His use of the verb *prñawa-* in these non-formulaic ways suggests that being the builder of the

³⁸¹ Schürr (2012) 29.

³⁸² Schürr (2012) 26.

³⁸³ Melchert (2004) s.v. *prñawa-*² has this as the only known occurrence of the first person form of the verb.

tomb was still, at this point, a matter of actual importance, not simply a form of words.

The word *manaχine* is not otherwise known, and seems most likely to be a title or position: Pajawa uses it in preference to his patronymic in the two shorter texts. Briant argues that he was ‘probably the dynast of Xanthos’ at the time when his epitaph was made, but we should probably not be thinking in terms of ‘dynasts’ by this point, since, as TL 61 shows, Autophradates appears to have held tight control of the area.³⁸⁴ Schürr also suggests that the longest of the inscriptions (TL40c) shows Pajawa holding office at Xanthos as a direct subordinate of Arttuñpara, reconstructing the first six lines as follows:

pajawa: ed[. . h]

tideimi: a[rtuñpa]

rah: telēzi[jehi]

qla: trñmis[:?]z[

uwetę: teri: sē[n

ijetē].³⁸⁵

He translates this as ‘Pajawa, des E. Sohn, (in) des A[rtumba]ra, [des] *telēzi[je-]* *qla*, als Lykien z[...] *uwe* -te, *sē[n ..]* erwarb’ and interprets it to mean that the Pajawa built his tomb in the *qla* of Arttuñpara.³⁸⁶ The next section, he suggests, records that Pajawa built the tomb, having acted as some sort of high official at

³⁸⁴ Briant (2002) 672.

³⁸⁵ Schürr (2012) 27.

³⁸⁶ Schürr (2012) 28.

Xanthos for ten years; if Arttuṃpara and Autophradates are assumed, as suggested above, to have finally ejected Perikle from western Lycia in the early- or mid-360s, this would put the building of the Pajawa sarcophagus in the early 350s, which would not conflict too harshly with Zahle and Demargne's dating of the reliefs in the 360s.³⁸⁷ A *qla* appears to be a sanctuary or cult area (the word is almost always found in a religious context), and Schürr suggests that the 'Acropolis pillar' at Xanthos was Arttuṃpara's tomb, and *telēzije* his title, so that Pajawa is recording how he obtained (or 'bought', the more usual interpretation of *ijetē*) the land for his tomb. Unfortunately we have no way of telling whether the pillar in fact was the tomb of Arttuṃpara, or of proving that the name Arttuṃpara stood in the lacuna at the end of the second line. The reconstruction of *telēzije* as a title is also problematic: it seems to make sense here, but at TL 104 it is better understood to mean 'camp' or 'allies'. Nevertheless, whether or not Schürr's interpretation is accepted, the key point of the text – to explain how Pajawa obtained the right to build where he did – seems clear.

On the Pajawa sarcophagus, the short inscribed texts explain the reliefs but appear to be subordinate to them: a contemporary viewer, aware of Pajawa's relationship to the satrap and to Arttuṃpara, would have been able to understand the reliefs without reading the inscriptions. The content of the longest of the inscriptions seems to show a change of emphasis away from the overt self-advertisement of the Inscribed pillar and the Letöon dedications: if Schürr's translation is accepted, then Pajawa, far from enumerating his triumphs

³⁸⁷ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 401; Zahle (1979) 281; Demargne (1974) 61-74.

as Xeriga and Erbbina did, is emphasising his loyalty and close connection to Arttuñpara; if not, it seems likely that he is meticulously recording his purchase of the land, in stark contrast to the military prowess emphasised by Errbina. This emphasis on loyalty to the Persian court – and the ‘Persian’ themes of some of the reliefs – is easily understood in the context of conflict with (or of triumph over) Perikle, who seems (as discussed below) to have positioned himself more towards the Aegean, Greek-speaking world than towards Persia.

3.4 Epitaphs of Xanthos

In contrast to Pajawa’s sarcophagus, most other inscriptions of Xanthos which seem likely to have been inscribed around this time follow the conventional pattern already seen in Merehi’s epitaph: the epitaphs of Ahqqadi (TL36), on a sarcophagus, and of Mede (TL37; see figs. 24 and 25), Tuwada (TL42³⁸⁸) and Padrāma (TL48; see fig. 26), on rock tombs, all begin with the standard ‘building formula’. The epitaphs of both Mede and Padrāma are placed on a smoothed area to the side of the door of the tomb, a position which continued to be common at Xanthos, although almost all epitaphs on rock tombs elsewhere were either on the lintel of the tomb or (for a two-storey tomb) on the cross-beam over the door – the position in which N310, at Phellos, was placed.

Nonetheless, as is so often the case, when the tombs and epitaphs are considered in more detail they emerge as less identical than they at first appear. The tomb of Padrāma is of particular interest because it contains the only known example of a Lycian inscription inscribed *inside* a tomb. The burial couch at the back of the

³⁸⁸ This epitaph is now lost (Kalinka (1901) 36 states ‘nemo hoc sepulcrum post Fellowsium vidit’) and is known only from a sketch by Fellows, reproduced by Kalinka.

tomb is cut into the back wall and could be closed off from the rest of the burial by two stone slabs or planks of wood.³⁸⁹ Above it is inscribed:

ebehi: isbazi: mi ije sijēni: Padrñma: kumaza: me ije ne pematī tike:

kbi hrppi ttāne:

‘On this couch the priest *Padrñma* lies, and he forbids anyone to put another on him.’³⁹⁰

Seyer has shown that a number of tombs had couches which could be shut off from the rest of the tomb, and that there are hints in a number of these that the occupant was to be a priest, implying that the corpse of such a man had to be kept separate from those of others.³⁹¹ Whether or not this was the case, it is clear that *Padrñma* wanted to ensure that no one else would be buried on the same couch as him, and therefore ‘labelled’ it as his. He also added a prohibition, explicitly forbidding anyone to interfere with his corpse, a phenomenon common in eastern Lycia but rarely found in western Lycia. Might he have had some particular connection to the eastern part of the peninsula which meant that he was familiar with the habit?

The potential ‘audience’ of TL49 would have been very small, limited to those who were likely to enter the tomb (presumably *Padrñma*’s relatives, or anyone else responsible for the laying-out of bodies), and so the inscription should be

³⁸⁹ Seyer (2006b) 168-169.

³⁹⁰ The word *pematī* (possibly *nepematī*) is otherwise unknown, but Neumann (2007) s.v. *pematī* quotes various suggestions, including ‘verbieten’.

³⁹¹ Seyer (2006b) 167-172.

understood as primarily functional, intended to inform those deciding where to place other bodies that the rear couch was to be left undisturbed.

Other elements of the various early tomb inscriptions are not as unusual as Padrāma's, but are still of some interest. Mede's epitaph (TL37) omits the preposition *hrppi*, simply giving the name of the intended users of the tomb in the dative (*epññēni ehbi Hm̃prāma sej atli* 'for his younger brother Hm̃prāma and himself'³⁹²). As discussed in Chapter 1, the use of the *atli* in this context is very unusual, and in this case may be motivated by the fact that Mede is building the tomb for someone other than his wife and children. Indeed, we might question whether the '*hrppi*-formula' was yet as frequently used as it later became. Tuwada (TL42) uses it in the most common way (already seen in TL77), to state that the tomb was for his *ladi se tideime* 'wife and children'. Padrāma (TL48), however, the other tomb-builder to use it, built his tomb for his *nere se tuhe* 'sister(?) and nephew', and therefore had a particular reason to record who he intended to be buried there.³⁹³

Ahqqadi's epitaph (TL36), meanwhile, did not have a *hrppi*-clause nor, initially, did it explain who might be buried in the sarcophagus. At a later date this must have been felt to be a deficiency, since a different hand has added the explanation that *se pijetē: hrzzi: ñtatā: ladi: ehbi: se mñnereidehe esedēñnewi) se pijetē: ētri: ñtatā: prñnezi: atlahi:* 'and he gave the upper burial-chamber to his

³⁹² Melchert (2004) s.v. *epññēni*.

³⁹³ Neumann (2007) s.v. *neri*.

wife and the relations³⁹⁴ of Mñneteide, and he gave the lower burial-chamber to his own household'. It is not clear here who Mñneteide is, but it is possible that it was his wife (which would explain why the *esedēñnewi* are to be placed in the same burial-chamber as her) or one of his parents.

The fact that this information was inscribed only as an afterthought is particularly interesting in view of the fact that the original epitaph already referred to these two parts of the tomb, but without specifying who was to be buried in them. Instead, it stipulates payments to be made for further burials, with different prices for the main (upper) burial chamber (10 and a half *ada*) and for the lower (three and a half *ada*) (see further below). Originally, it must have been obvious to those concerned with the tomb – presumably members of Ahqqadi's family – who was to be buried where, but as the decades passed and those who claimed the right to be buried there had increasingly tenuous links to Ahqqadi, it must have been felt necessary to specify more exactly who was entitled to a space in the sarcophagus. Perhaps Ahqqadi omitted to state that the inscription was for his wife and children because it seemed entirely obvious to him that this was the case, just as tomb-builders did not usually think it necessary to state explicitly that they were themselves to be buried in their tombs?

This addition of extra information to a tomb is unusual, but not unparalleled. In fact, it also happened to Padrāma's epitaph, TL48. An additional four lines, added

³⁹⁴ The word *esedēñnewe* appears in a number of epitaphs. It is a collective noun, translated by Melchert (20004) s.v. *esedēñnewe*- as 'consanguineal descendant(s)' and by Neumann (2007) s.v. *esedēñnewe/i*- as 'Blutsverwandtschaft'.

in a later and slightly larger hand (see Chapter 1.17.i), record the sale of the tomb to Qarñnaxa, son of Pssure, and state that Padrāma's son Xudiwazade was the seller. Exactly when this sale took place is not clear, but the fact that the seller was Padrāma's son, and the slightly later letter forms seen in the second inscription, imply a lapse of some years between the building of the tomb and its sale, which might, therefore, have taken place around the middle of the fourth century. Might the sale have taken place during a down-turn in the fortunes of Xanthos and its inhabitants, perhaps at the beginning of the period of Hekatomnid domination, meaning that it was useful both for Padrāma's family to sell their tomb and for Qarñnaxa to buy a tomb rather than to build his own? This suggestion is supported by the possibility that the workings on the roof of the tomb show that a sarcophagus was placed there by Qarñnaxa, and that, rather than purchasing the right to use the original tomb-chamber, he had simply purchased the monument, enabling him to obtain a grand-looking funerary complex with significantly less expense and effort than would have been required to build a new one.³⁹⁵

The meticulous recording of the sale, and in particular the role of Padrāma's son, is interesting, since it suggests that, in this case, the inscription was intended as a formal record of the transaction, in case of any later dispute. It is rather puzzling that Padrāma's own son is not mentioned on the tomb: does this mean that he had his own tomb elsewhere, and, if so, how did he have the right to sell off a tomb apparently given by his father to somebody else? Perhaps this confirms

³⁹⁵ Suggested by Seyer (2007) 138-140. (Seyer is not entirely correct, however, to say that this is an unique example of the sale of a tomb, since a sale also seems to be recorded in TL 78 from Tüse, in the second half of the fourth century; there, however, the building and sale of the tomb are recorded in the same hand.)

that *hrppi*- clauses were only used selectively – did Padrāma’s son, as well as his sister and nephew, have rights over the tomb which were, in his case, so obvious that they did not need to be recorded?

3.5 Excursus: Payments for burial in the Xanthos valley.

Ahqqadi’s epitaph (TL36), as noted above, stipulates payments to be made, apparently relating to further burials in some way. Such payments are common at Xanthos, and elsewhere in the Xanthos valley, both at this point and later: I therefore discuss the phenomenon as a whole here. Early fourth century examples are the epitaph of Ahqqadi (TL36), the fragmentary epitaph TL46 (which preserves just enough letters to show that it, too, stipulated a payment of some sort), the epitaph of Tuwada (TL42), and TL 50, on the Theatre pillar. The payment clauses of all three are almost identical:

TL36: ... *se ije ñta tadē: miñti/ aladehali: ada: O-: sej ētri: ñtata:/ ada: ||/-*

‘And with them (the tomb-owner) the *miñti* has made (a sworn agreement): for opening, 10½ ada, and [for opening] the lower chamber 3½ ada’.

TL50: *ñte (e) ije tātē: tesī: miñti/ aladehali: ada: O.*

‘And with them (the tomb-owner) the *miñti* has made a sworn agreement: for opening, 10 ada.’

TL42: ... *se ije ñtadē: (= ñta tadē): tesī: miñti: aladaheli: ada: ||*

‘And with them (the tomb-owner) the *miñti* has made a sworn agreement:

for opening, 2 ada’.

A similar formula is seen in an inscription from Pinara although this uses a finite verb (and has, as a result, been crucial to the interpretation of the more common phrase):

TL 11: ... *sēt alahhāti: miñti: adai: O-*

‘And the *miñti* will open it (for burials) for (?) 10 ada’.

There has been much discussion of the precise meaning of the term *aladehali* (more usually *aladahali*) and of the nature of the *miñti*.³⁹⁶ Bryce, in a detailed study of statements of this kind, concluded that they are payments to be made to the *miñti* for burial.³⁹⁷ Using the variant form seen in TL11 (which he translates as ‘and the *minti* *will-arrange/ prepare* (??) (the corpse??) there (?) (for) 10½ *ada*’), he interprets the more usual formula to mean ‘the *miñti* has made a sworn agreement [*tesi*] with them (i.e. the prospective tomb occupants)...for the *arranging/preparing* (??) (of the corpse??), (a fee of) *x ada*’.³⁹⁸ The omission of *tesi* in TL36 might lead us to question whether the words *ñta tadē* do in fact refer to these oaths or whether (as in, for example, TL102, at Limyra) it means ‘place inside’, and refers to act of burial, but the use of the past tense suggests that this cannot be the case, and that it must indeed refer to an arrangement made with the tomb builder.

³⁹⁶ TL36 and TL50 are the only examples of *aladehali* for *aladahali*: *aladehali* may be an earlier form, confirming the comparatively early date of these epitaphs, since the assimilation of [e] > [a] is a recognised phenomenon in Lycian (Eichner, in Seyer (2009)).

³⁹⁷ Bryce (1976b) 175-190.

³⁹⁸ Bryce (1976b) 188-189.

Exactly what the *miñti* was (or who they were) remains unclear: Bryce suggests that it ‘was an institution or council closely connected with the supervision of various tombs’³⁹⁹, while Schürr states more emphatically that it was ‘nicht mehr und nicht weniger als eine Nekropolenverwaltung’.⁴⁰⁰ However, in reality we know very little about it, except that it seems to have been a council or authority of some sort (a group of people is heavily implied by the use of the singular verb (*tadē*) in TL36 but the plural (*tātē*) in TL50).

We do not know whether there was one *miñti* for the whole of Lycia or whether each town had its own *miñti*, and, if so, under what circumstances a *miñti* would be set up. It is also not clear whether the *miñti*’s sole responsibility was the care of tombs, or whether it had other civic or religious roles unknown to us as a result of the vagaries of the epigraphic record.

Similarly, the meaning of the verb *alaha-* and the noun *aladahali* is still debated. The appearance of the infinitive *aladahhāna* in one example of the formula has confirmed Bryce’s suggestion that the noun describes an action rather than a person, but exactly what action is still debated.⁴⁰¹ Bryce suggested ‘for laying out’, but Melchert points out that *alaha-* is never used in burial instructions such as those used at Myra (see Chapter 2); it is seen only in prohibitions – sometimes also alongside the word for bury, *ñte ... hrppi tadi* (see Chapter 4). He therefore argues that it cannot mean ‘arrange’ or ‘prepare’ (which might also have been used in instructions), but must be some term that fits a negative sense more

³⁹⁹ Bryce (1976b) 183.

⁴⁰⁰ ‘...no more and no less than the necropolis administration (authority)’: Schürr (2008) 170.

⁴⁰¹ Melchert [in press] 10.

easily. He suggests ‘transfer’, used in two entirely different senses: to forbid the transferring of another body into a tomb and (in the phrase under discussion here) to transfer the care of the tomb to the *miñti*, but such a severe shift in meanings within the funerary context seems awkward. One possibility is that it refers to the ‘opening’ of the tomb to enable another burial – clearly something which would be undesirable unless specifically authorized. This meaning appears in the only two Greek inscriptions to mention the *miñti*:⁴⁰²

TAM II 1 40, an early Hellenistic inscription, from Telmessos: ...ταγήν δὲ ἔταξεν οἱ μενδῖται τοῖς ἀνοίγουσιν τὸ μνήμα Ἀλεξανδρείου δραχ(μ)ῶν ἕξ... ‘the members of the *miñti* have prescribed a fee for those opening the tomb of six drachms of Alexander...’

Reisen II, 22 Nr. 27, early Hellenistic inscription at Kyaneai: ...μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ ἀνοίγειν μηθεὶς ἄνευ τῆς μινδίου... ‘and let no one open the tomb without the permission of the *miñti*...’

Similarity between the sense of the first of these inscriptions and the Lycian payment clauses is strongly suggested by the comparable values mentioned: Frei suggested that 1 *ada* = 1.25 *drachmai*, making 6 *drachmai* worth just under 5 *ada*; this would be slightly more than the usual cost of opening a Lycian rock tomb, but less than the cost of opening a sarcophagus.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰² Quoted in Schürr (2008) 159-160.

⁴⁰³ Frei quoted in Zahle (1989) 177 and Neumann (2007) s.v. *ada*.

Melchert's derivation of *alaha-* from *ha-* 'release, let go' could also be a potential origin for a word meaning 'open', especially in the sense of 'releasing' a door.⁴⁰⁴ However, once again it is not clear exactly how this would fit into the grammatical structure of the prohibitions: N306, (from Çagman, in central Lycia) states, for example, *me ñte ne: hri(j) alahadi: tike: atlahi: tibe kbijehi:*. This appears to mean 'let no one *ñte ... hri(j) alahadi* (perhaps 'lay out on top inside') any (relation) of himself or of another', but could be interpreted 'let no (one) open up inside for anyone (*tike* in dat. sg., meaning a relation) of himself or of another'.⁴⁰⁵

Both the Greek and – whatever its precise meaning – the Lycian versions seem to involve repeated payments for future burials. As Eichner points out, this also explains the difference in the value of the fees: opening a sarcophagus (such as TL36) would have required more effort than opening a rock-tomb, hence the higher fee (which might also reflect the higher status of sarcophagi).⁴⁰⁶

At Xanthos, this same phrase appears in epitaphs throughout the fourth century (in TL38, TL39 and TL41); it is also used at Telmessos (in TL4) and at Kadyanda (TL31). However, two different abbreviated versions of the formula are also seen, one used at Telmessos and one at Pinara (as well as Karmylessos and Tlos):⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁴ Melchert [in press] 19.

⁴⁰⁵ Neumann (2007) s.v. *hri* records Starke's suggestion that *hri* can mean 'für' or 'wegen'.

⁴⁰⁶ Heiner Eichner, personal communication.

⁴⁰⁷ A list of all occurrences of the formula is given in by Schürr (2008) 167.

Telmessos:

TL2: *miñti: ada: ||-*

TL3: *miñti: adaijẽ: |||-*

Pinara and nearby:

TL6 (Karmylessos): *aladahali: ada <*

TL16: *...aladahali: awasi: ada ||-*

TL17: *...aladahali: awahai: [χupa ebehi a]da /*

TL20: *...aladahali: [xu]pa eb[eh]i: ada: ||*

N334 (Tlos): *[s]e(j) aitẽ aw[a]hãi aladahali ada //*

Bryce suggests that these shorter statements are abbreviated versions of the same formula, recording a similar agreement, and this seems likely.⁴⁰⁸ Another possible interpretation of the shorter formula is raised by Schürr's suggestion that the *awahãi* of N334 are, as the nasalisation of <ã> implies, the nominative plural subject of the verb *ai[t]ẽ* 'do'; that is, they have 'done' the *aladahali*.⁴⁰⁹ The more common formula *aladahali awahi/awasi ada x* would then have to be interpreted as 'to the *awahai* for the laying out (of the tomb): x *ada*'. Schürr suggests that these *awahãi* were functionaries of the *minti*,⁴¹⁰ Bryce and others had understood it as a noun meaning 'burial', designating the service for which the *aladahali* were to be paid⁴¹¹. If Schürr is correct, the *awahai* could have been

⁴⁰⁸ Bryce (1976) 176.

⁴⁰⁹ Schürr (2008) 150.

⁴¹⁰ Schürr (2008) 150, 170.

⁴¹¹ Bryce (1976) 183, following Houwink ten Cate (1961) 89; Melchert (2004) s.v. *awah(a)i*- 'laying down, burial'.

some sort of ‘travelling representatives’ of the *miñti*.⁴¹² This might explain why the *minti* is seldom mentioned at Pinara. It does, however, appear in TL11, and it seems unlikely it would have existed there at the start of the century but disappeared at the very moment that the production of rock-tombs at the site, and recording of the payments, became popular. N334 should perhaps be understood as merely a slightly different form of abbreviation: ‘and they (the *miñti*) made (a sworn agreement) for opening the tomb, 2 ada’.

These payments provide a clear example of the legal aspect of the inscriptions, and well as the importance of the family aspect of the tomb and of undisturbed rest for the tomb-builder: they function as a record of agreements made to ensure that further burials can take place, and perhaps also to ensure that these will be done in the correct way, with no unauthorized burials. It is therefore interesting that they appear only on approximately half the tombs of western Lycia, and none further east. Further east, as discussed briefly in Chapter 2, other arrangements were made to ensure that the tomb was not disturbed. How, though, are we to understand those tombs in the Xanthos valley which have no ‘payment clause’? Did the builders of the tombs omit to make any arrangements with the *minti*, or were these recorded elsewhere, in archives of town or the *miñti*, as seems likely?⁴¹³

The fact that the payment clauses were abbreviated in a way that the ‘building formula’ seldom is (see Chapter 2) may suggest the latter: if a record of the

⁴¹² Schürr (2008) 163 suggests that the *awahai* ‘acted for the *minti*’ at Tlos, Pinara and Limyra.

⁴¹³ Bryce (1986) 50-51.

agreement was retained elsewhere, a certain amount of ellipsis in the record placed on the tomb would be acceptable. In this case, the carving of the agreed payment into the tomb might have been intended less as a record of the agreement than as a demonstration that such an agreement had been made. One final inscription which may have a bearing on this is the epitaph on a rock-tomb at Kirme, on the coast south of Fethiye and directly west of Pinara, TL9 (see fig. 27), which consists only of the building formula and a single word, *aladahali*. We might expect some words to be missing here, but when I inspected the stone myself (April 2015) I was unable to detect any sign of an amount of *ada* or any other additional words or numbers. The inscription is so poorly preserved that it is impossible to be certain that these have not simply been lost, but it also seems possible that, even at the isolated settlement at Kirme, the single word *aladahali* was sufficient to signal that the tomb was under the protection of the *miñti*.⁴¹⁴

3.6 *The Xanthos Valley continued – Pinara*

Pinara – one of the most impressive sites of Lycia – perches on the edges of the Xanthos valley, above the modern village of Minara, approximately 20 kilometres north of Xanthos. The enormous peak which looms over the sites was the earliest part to be settled, but by the fourth century the main area of settlement appears to have been the lower hill in front of the crag (known as the ‘lower acropolis’), the hill to the east, where a Hellenistic theatre still stands, and the gentle dip in between (see fig. 28).⁴¹⁵ A small stream flows from west to east on the southern side of the town, and the earliest of the two main necropoleis appears to have

⁴¹⁴ It has been suggested that Kirme was the harbour for Pinara, but, it is hard to imagine that this would have been the case: the route between the two is extremely steep (the pass above Kirme is c. 1500 m high) and, on foot, takes several hours.

⁴¹⁵ Bean (1978) 74; Marksteiner (2010) 48-55.

been cut into the cliff on the north of the stream bed (the 'stream necropolis'). The later 'south necropolis' is cut into another cliff face, some 200 metres south of the stream.⁴¹⁶

A comparatively high number of Lycian inscriptions survive from Pinara (fourteen are currently recorded) but the majority appear not to have been produced until the middle of the fourth century (although only evidence for the dates of the majority of the tombs is the palaeographic evidence); only four inscriptions appear to be earlier, two on rock tombs in the stream necropolis, one further up the stream, and one on an ogive-lidded sarcophagus which lies in the area between the lower acropolis and the theatre.

The latter, the epitaph of Ddapssm̃ma son of Padr̃mma (TL11; fig. 8) is the only inscription from the site which gives any indication of its date, stating (as mentioned above) that it was erected during the reign of Arttũmpara. Ddapssm̃ma is not otherwise known, but appears to have been a man of some importance: the tomb is one of the few free-standing sarcophagi to survive at Pinara, and, despite not being adorned with reliefs in the manner of the sarcophagi of Xanthos, indicates the high social standing of the occupant, at least within his own community.

The epitaph on the tomb reinforces this impression in various ways: it is neatly cut, in large and well-formed lettering, and is carefully divided into three, widely-spaced lines. The first line is unexceptional, consisting of the conventional

⁴¹⁶ On the relative ages of the two necropoleis: Seyer (2005) 154, (2006) 74.

building formula, and the second begins with a *hrppi* phrase; this, however, states that the tomb for built for his *prñnezi* ‘household’, rather than merely his wife and children. This is similar to the early inscriptions of Xanthos (such as the tomb of Merehi, TL 43), but is in stark contrast to the later inscriptions of Pinara, discussed in the next chapter, which invariably state that they are *hrppi ladi se tideime*. Ddappssmma – like Merehi – was a person of enough consequence to be responsible for the well-being not only of his immediate family but also of his wider connections. Indeed, since TL11 and TL43 share, too, the mention of a dynast and the use of the same variant of the building formula (*ebēñnē prñnawā mēti prñnawatē*, which, although not generally uncommon, is only found on one other epitaph of Pinara) it is tempting to suggest that the pattern seen in TL 11 originated in Xanthian inscriptions such as TL 43 (or a similar, now lost, text).

At the same time, it must be noted that the two inscriptions differ significantly in other ways. As already mentioned, the ‘burial payment’ in TL 11 is phrased in a manner otherwise unknown, and the same is true of the sentence which states that the inscription was erected during Arttuṃpara’s reign: rather than using the common *ēñē...χñtawata* formula it reads *trñmisñ χñtewete ter[i] arttuṃpara* ‘when Arttuṃpara ruled Lycia’, or possibly *trñmisñ χñtewete ter[ñ] arttuṃpara* ‘Arttuṃpara ruled the Lycian land’. Neither form of words is known elsewhere, although it is similar to the opening line of the Lycian version of the later trilingual decree from the Letöon (*ēke: trñmisñ: χssārapazate: pigesere:*). This assertion of control over ‘Lycia’ must, like the similar claims made by Erbbina and Perikle, be taken with a pinch of salt, since Arttuṃpara’s reach never extended beyond the Xanthos valley.

It is impossible to know whether Ddapssm̃ma was making a deliberate attempt to depart from the stereotyped phrases found in so many epitaphs, or whether the unusual elements of the inscription simply resulted from the fact that epitaphs were, at this point, not commonly inscribed in Pinara, so that formulaic phrases were not in use. In the Pinaran inscription, *pr̃nezi ehbi* is followed by an otherwise unknown word, *urebillaha*. This has often been interpreted as a name placed in apposition to *pr̃nezi ehbi*, but Schürr's recent suggestion that it was in fact a title seems more convincing: he translates the final section of the inscription as 'ein/der *urebillaha*, als Lykien regierte Arttumbara'.⁴¹⁷ The precise meaning of the title remains unclear, but *-billaha* appears to contain an element *-pille-*, as seen in *pilleñne/i* 'of Pinara', suggesting that this was a title specific to the town. A final notable point about this inscription is the high value of the payment stipulated for burial: 'ten and a half' *ada* (as for the sarcophagus of Ahqqadi at Xanthos) rather than the more usual price of two and a half or three *ada* (although, as discussed, this may refer primarily to the difficulty of opening the tomb rather than the importance of the tomb builder). All these points reinforce the impression that Ddapssm̃ma was a person of some importance at Pinara, implying that, at this point, only a comparatively small segment of society were producing inscribed epitaphs. Certainly, looking at the letter forms of other

⁴¹⁷ Melchert (2004) s.v. *urebillaha*; Schürr (2012) 22. Schürr's interpretation has the advantage of allowing *pr̃nezi* to retain its usual meaning of household, rather than having to be understood (e.g. in Melchert (2004) s.v. *pr̃nezi(je)-*) as 'household member' (that is, having the same meaning as the *pr̃nezijehi*, a word formed as an adjectival genitive from *pr̃nezi* and used as a substantive meaning '[member] of the household of'). This positioning of the tomb builder's title directly in front of a temporal clause also appears in TL 104 (which, as discussed above, states that Tebursseli was '*gasabala* when Perikle besieged Arttumpara').

surviving inscriptions from the site suggests that the majority were produced at a later date (see Chart 6).

3.7 Tlos – a religious text.

There seems, therefore, to have been a noticeable absence of any non-funerary epigraphy in the Xanthos valley in the second - and third – quarter of the fourth century: even the rulers of Xanthos, whether Lycians or Persians, did not imitate their predecessors' use of lengthy inscriptions to underline their achievements and importance. One possible exception to this is, however, seen at Tlos. It is of particular interest because only three of the twelve Lycian inscriptions currently known from the site seem likely to have been produced earlier than the Hekatomnid period. These are a monument decorated with reliefs (TL24), one unusually short epitaph (TL22) (consisting only of the name of the deceased), and one longer inscription (TL26).

TL26 (see fig. 23) is a limestone block which carries a 24 line inscription, apparently recording sacrifices to be made to various gods, including Maliija and Trqqas, possibly at different points throughout the year. The exact meaning of the text is unclear, and many questions remain about its content and the function of the base on which it was inscribed (which also carries a later Greek inscription). The face bearing the Lycian inscription was given a smooth finish before the inscription was cut, with a border of unfinished stone left around the edges of the face, but no signs of any other shaping of the stone until the later

Greek inscription was added. The letter forms indicate a date some time in the first half of the fourth century, before the start of Hekatomnid rule.⁴¹⁸

The first words, *ebeija erublija me*, refer to the monument, echoing the conventional 'building formula' in their use of the demonstrative pronoun and a word for the monument, but the main body of the text refers to sacrifices to Trqqas, who appears to have had an important sanctuary in the town: here, the use of epigraphy has apparently been encouraged by the need to record religious practices.⁴¹⁹ Raimond points to mentions of other towns to suggest that the rules set out here were of importance to a number of places, not just to Tlos.⁴²⁰ In this case, was the inscription intended as a point of reference for visitors from these sites? Or should we think in terms of the inscribing of laws which were already in existence, perhaps in a context of increasing political instability?

3.8 The 'ruler formula' and the spread of epigraphy

As seen in the first part of this chapter, a number of inscriptions from this time have the 'ruler formula' first seen in the time of Arppaxu, which usually takes the form *ēne χñtawata*; the name of the ruler in the genitive comes either between (in the case of Arppaxu and Perikle) or after the two words. The phrase can be translated as 'under the rule of...', with *χñtawata* meaning literally 'kingship' – it is linked to the noun *χñtawati*, which is translated on the Letöon trilingual (see

⁴¹⁸ Gander (2014) 394-395 states that the monument mentions the name Izraza, the same name which appears on the funerary monument TL24: the reliefs on that monument are usually dated c. 370-360, with the result that a similar date seems likely for the longer inscription.

⁴¹⁹ Raimond (2002) 125.

⁴²⁰ Raimond (2002) 125.

Chapter 4) as βασιλεύς. Those mentioned in the *ēnē...χñtawata* formula would presumably have been considered by their followers to be a *χñtawati* 'king'.

The general meaning of the phrase is uncontroversial, but debate as to the significance of its use continues.⁴²¹ It has usually been considered a 'dating formula', similar to those found in Aramaic or Greek inscriptions which begin by stating the name of the king (in Aramaic) or the town officials (in Greek), and its use certainly, as seen in Chapter 1, has the effect of enabling us to date inscriptions more precisely than is otherwise possible.⁴²² However, Borchhardt believes that it was in fact a 'Feudalformel', signalling a particularly close relationship to a ruler, and I think this an attractive suggestion.⁴²³ It is noticeable that the formula never includes a more precise statement of, for example, which year of the ruler's reign the inscription was set up in, which contrasts with, for example, the first sentence of TL35, a later inscription from Kadyanda which states that it was set up in the fourth year of a Ptolemy. It is certainly true that on the trilingual decree from the time of Pixodarus, too, only the Aramaic version gives the precise year of the King's reign, but it is also significant that the Lycian version of the statement 'when Pixodarus was satrap' bears no relation to the earlier form of words; there, *ēke* means 'when', in contrast to *ēnē*, which appears to mean 'under' or 'during'.⁴²⁴ There is one exception to the usual form of the

⁴²¹ Neumann (2007) s.v. *ēnē* translates the phrase as 'unter dem Königtum/der Regierung des X.'

⁴²² e.g. Seyer (2006) 720; Neumann (2007) s.v. *ēnē*.

⁴²³ Borchhardt (2000) 108; Seyer (2004) 225, 227. Bryce (1980) 379 gives a similar interpretation, suggesting that it means 'under the supreme command of ...'.

⁴²⁴ Melchert (2004) s.v. *ēnē*; Neumann (2007) s.v. *ēnē*.

formula: in Kızılcı, near Elmalı, an inscription appears which reads instead *ēti χñtawata Periklehe: ēti*, too, however, can mean ‘under’ or ‘in’.⁴²⁵

More important than the precise meaning of the words, however, is the general impulse behind the use of the formula. Borchhardt’s argument that it is a ‘feudal formula’ sees those who use it as followers closely linked to the ruler named, but precisely how close a link might be indicated is impossible to tell.⁴²⁶ As suggested in Chapter 2, I believe it might signal that the tomb-builder received the land on which the tomb is built – and perhaps land and privileges more generally – from the specific ruler mentioned, and that it advertises both a link to the ruler and the ruler’s guarantee of the safety of the tomb, as well as proving the validity of the builder’s claim to the area for future generations. Such a ‘legal’ aspect would tie in with the wider use of the ‘building formula’ and the ‘*hrppi*-clause’ as proof of the rights of the tomb-builder and his family over the tomb, as well as with the recording of payments to be made for future burials.

Consideration of the distribution of these ‘ruler formulae’ seem to confirm this hypothesis, as well as suggesting that they might have been encouraged by territorial conflict. The relevant inscriptions are spread widely across Lycia, and are as frequently found in apparently out-of-the-way sites as in major settlements, possibly because they were thought particularly useful in areas where the ruler’s authority was newly or less firmly established. This impression is reinforced by the fact that those mentioned in the formulae appear to have lost

⁴²⁵ Melchert (2004) s.v. *ēti*.

⁴²⁶ Discussed in Seyer (2004) 227; Borchhardt’s interpretation is linked to his view of Lycia in the early fourth century as an essentially feudal society (Borchhardt (2000) 81.

and regained territory at various points during the first part of the fourth century; the building of tombs and the inscribing of formulae by their followers might have been a way to demonstrate – and reinforce – the control of a particular ruler as well as signalling the tomb-builder’s allegiance. Thus the mention of Autophradates on the tomb of Sbikhezijēi at Bayındir Limanı might have signalled Sbikhezijēi’s change in allegiance away from Perikle, or that he had arrived at the place as an official appointed by Autophradates. The tomb itself, which is cut in the cliff above the main anchorage, would have been an impressive statement of his power and wealth during his lifetime as well as after his death. In this case, the ‘ruler formula’ is separated from the rest of the epitaph, and is placed on a new line (see fig. 15 and 16); while it is in the same hand as the rest of the inscription and was clearly cut at the same time, this positioning implies that it was considered an additional statement, added to the more usual building formula for a specific purpose. The harbour would have been a useful stronghold – perhaps even base – for anyone trying to gain or keep control of Central Lycia: indeed, according to Bean, ‘Bayındir Limanı is in fact a better harbour than Kaş’.⁴²⁷

The tombs with ruler formulae mentioning Perikle are of particular interest in this respect, since three examples appear on what seem likely to have been the edges of his territory. These are the epitaph of Xluwānīmi (TL67; fig. 10) at Timiussa (modern Uçağiz, on the coast between Myra and Antiphellos), the epitaph of an unknown man (TL83; fig. 11) at Arneai, on the northern edge of the Kasaba valley (behind Myra) and the epitaph of Masauwēti (N314; figs. 12 and

⁴²⁷ Bean (1978) 97.

13) at Kızılca, on the western edge of the Elmalı plain. The latter is the furthest inland of all inscriptions in Lycian, although six uninscribed tombs have been found even further north, in the Kibyratıs (around Soğut).⁴²⁸

The position of all three sites is significant: Timiussa would have given control of the whole coast east of Aperlai, while Arneai and Kızılca are both set on high slopes which allow oversight of the Kasaba valley and the Elmalı plain respectively. At Kızılca, in particular, the view from the tomb itself is impressive (fig. 14), although whether this displays simply the preference of the tomb-builder or some more significant link to the layout of the site is hard to judge. The inscription at Kızılca is of particular interest because while the tomb is of the standard 'two-door' design, the inscription itself is cut not on its lintel, but directly onto the unfinished cliff below it.

We have little information about the settlement at Kızılca, but the presence of Masauwēti's tomb and another rock-cut tomb (although this is much plainer in design, and potentially somewhat later) suggests that it was a permanent one. However, it is also possible that the population of the area could have been swelled during Perikle's reign by an extensive military presence in the area: the Podalia hoard (*IGCH* 1262) mentioned above, buried near Elmalı around 375-370, contains mainly coinage of Trbbēnimi and Perikle (244 and 117 coins, respectively), as well as 92 of their enemy Mithrapata.⁴²⁹ Zahle suggests that these coins must have been gathered for some 'official purpose'; the payment of

⁴²⁸ Gay and Corsten (2006) 47-60.

⁴²⁹ Vismara (1999) 102. See above, p.000

Perikle's army – using a combination of coins minted by him and his father and those seized after his conquest of central Lycia – seems a good occasion.⁴³⁰ In this case, could Masauwēti have been a commander of a military garrison stationed in the area? Gay and Corsten give a similar explanation for the Lycian tombs they have discovered in the Kibyrtis, suggesting that they 'could have belonged to members of the Lycian élite who settled or were settled there in the wake of Perikle's conquests'.⁴³¹

The presence of a large Limyran contingent might also explain the unusual nature of the epitaph: the letter-cutter might have been a man who was literate, but had little experience in the carving of epitaphs, and for whom this was a 'one-off' job, leading to the unusually graffiti-like appearance of the inscription – which also has two stick figures carved beneath it. This might also be implied by the use of comparatively 'late' letter-forms (see Chapter 1.17.i). It is also telling that the epitaph threatens anyone who harms the tomb, but does not contain either a '*hrppi*-clause' or any other information which suggests that its continued use by his descendants was envisaged.

If Masauwēti was sent to Kızılca by Perikle, might Xluwānimi at Timiussa and the tomb-builder at Arneai also have originated in Limyra? Or were they important members of local communities who wished to signal their allegiance to Perikle? As mentioned above, both sites appear likely to have been of strategic importance, making it not unlikely that Perikle would have appointed his own

⁴³⁰ Zahle (1989) 176.

⁴³¹ Gay and Corsten (2006) 58.

followers to oversee them. It is impossible to know whether this is the case – but we can see that, in contrast to Masauwēti, they *did* intend their descendants to have use of the tomb: Xluwānimi states that simply that he has built the tomb *hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime: ehbije:* while the inscription at Arneai, which is unusually long and detailed, seems to refer to the placement within the tomb of a number of other individuals. This, especially when compared with the comparative simplicity of the tombs of Perikle’s retainers Tebursseli and Xñtlapa at Limyra itself, might suggest that it was the work of a member of the local élite who had decided to ally himself with Perikle.

At Bayındır Limanı, Sbikhezijēi built an almost equally impressive tomb (see figs. 15 and 16); once again, he states that the tomb is built ‘(for) his wife and children’ (with *hrppi*, unusually, omitted). As with the epitaphs of Ñturigaḡa (TL77), Xlastini (N310) and Merehi (TL43), it is tempting to suggest that there was also a legal aspect to the use of the formula here, demonstrating the right of new arrivals in an area to the land on which their tombs were built. This suggestion, however, must remain hypothetical: it might be argued that advertisement of allegiance to any particular ruler would be dangerous in an environment where they were liable to be replaced by a rival, although this could also be true even if the formula *was* intended purely as a record of a date at which the inscription was set up.

3.9 Perikle and the spread of epigraphic culture?

At Arneai and Kızılca there is no sign of any other Lycian inscriptions, but at Timiusa another epitaph (TL66) is found, on a slightly smaller tomb but very

similar in wording and appearance to that of Xluwānīmi (TL67). While it is of course possible that this inscription was the earlier of the two, it is tempting to see it as an imitation of Xluwānīmi's use of epigraphy.

Borchhardt's suggestion that many of the 'one-off' inscribed tombs in central and eastern Lycia were built by Limyrans who were sent by Perikle to administer various areas of his territory, implies that the use of epigraphy was first introduced to various sites by Limyrans.⁴³² Stamaha, son of Apnñχuxa, who erected an inscribed tomb at Beykonak (with N351) on the eastern edge of the coastal plain around Limyra, has been considered one example of this, since he had previously erected a tomb in Limyra (TL 127).⁴³³ However, the relative proximity of the two sites, and the fact that the recipients of the tomb at Limyra are said to be his *tuhe se muneite se χahbe* 'nephews/nieces and *muneite* (a term of relationship, or a proper name?) and his grandchildren', while those mentioned at Beykonak are his *ladi: se tideime: se χ{b}ahba* 'wife and children and grandchild(ren)', may suggest instead that the tombs always had been intended for use by different groups of people. In this case, his epitaphs should be seen not as an example of the spread of epigraphy occasioned by Perikle's territorial ambitions, but as an example of Schürr's 'Vaterfamilien', the head of a family spread across the plain of Limyra who was providing for a number of his relations at different places.⁴³⁴

⁴³² Borchhardt (1996-1997) 2; Seyer and Tekoğlu (2009) 223.

⁴³³ Seyer and Tekoğlu (2009) 223-224.

⁴³⁴ Schürr (2013) 32-35.

This need not, however, mean that none of the more isolated tombs were linked to the expansion of Perikle: in particular, it is tempting to suggest that the appearance of inscribed tombs at Asartaş (N335), on the slopes of Mount Olympos, and at Çağman (N306), on the eastern edge of the Kasaba valley (and on the modern road between Demre and Arneai), was linked to Perikle's territorial expansion.⁴³⁵ The letter forms used in both inscriptions would allow a date of production during this time, but the suggestion must remain tentative; it could well be that one or both is simply another instance of the use of epigraphy by leading families in isolated spots, as discussed above. This may be especially true of the inscription at Çağman; it contains the earliest form of ↓, which although still in use during Perikle's rule (in, for example, TL104) seems to have been becoming rarer.

3.10 Perikle and Limyra.

It is unclear when Perikle in fact became ruler of Limyra: suggestions range from c. 390 to c. 370, but, as discussed above, it seems most likely that his takeover of central Lycia, apparently together with Trbbēnimi, began around 380, and he presumably became sole ruler of Limyra some time after this.⁴³⁶ There is even less evidence for the date his reign ended, although it is generally thought that this would have been around 350, if not before.

This seems a suitable point at which to give a brief description of the necropoleis of Limyra. These have been the subject of extensive study over the last forty

⁴³⁵ On the tomb at Asartaş: Tekoğlu (2002-2003) 107-108; Seyer and Tekoğlu (2009) 223-4.

⁴³⁶ Keen (1998) 148-170; Kuban (2012) 120 with n. 457.

years, led by a team from the OAI, which has resulted in a number of detailed publications.⁴³⁷ Kuban, in *Die Nekropolen von Limyra*, identifies eleven distinct necropoleis in the area: II and III are on the slope below the ancient acropolis, and V somewhat further to the east on the side of the same hill, while the others are further removed from the main site.⁴³⁸ II, III and V all appear to have been in use by the time of Perikle, although II and V were the largest.

3.11 Perikle in private epigraphy

As discussed in chapter 2, only a few inscribed epitaphs can be securely dated before the time of Perikle, and these are unusual in various ways. During the time of Perikle, however, various shifts in the nature of the Limyran epitaphs seem to take place. Most obvious is the fact that Perikle was mentioned in a number of inscriptions, in a way that his predecessors were not. This gives us important information about his reign, as already discussed, but is also of interest in itself, as an example of the effect of a single powerful man upon the epigraphic habits of his followers. General information about the epitaphs at Limyra which refer to Perikle has already been given in Chapter 1, but I set out again here the specific sections in which he is mentioned:

TL103, tomb of Tebursseli: standard 'ruler formula', *ēnē: periklehe: xñtawata*

⁴³⁷ The most extensive of these are Kuban (2012), which contains a detailed catalogue of all the extant tombs, together with a set of maps showing the position of each tomb within the acropolis and a number of tables (showing, *inter alia*, the builders of every inscribed tomb), and Borchhardt – Pekridou-Gorecki (2012).

⁴³⁸ Some potential for confusion is created by the fact that Kuban (2012) and Borchhardt – Pekridou-Gorecki (2012) number the various necropoleis slightly differently, with Kuban retaining the earlier system devised by Klaus Schuktz (see Kuban (2012) 11). N. (= *necropolis*) II, III and V in Kuban therefore correspond to NP II, NP III and NCh V in Borchhardt – Pekridou-Gorecki. Kalinka (1901) also used different designations, with Kuban N. II corresponding to Kalinka's 'locus V' and 'locus VI' (Kuban (2012) 143), Kuban N. III to Kalinka's 'locus III' and 'locus IV' (Kuban (2012) 267-8) and Kuban N. V to Kalinka's 'locus I' (Kuban (2012) 307).

As previously discussed, I believe that the use of the ‘ruler formula’ was primarily intended to demonstrate allegiance to a particular ruler, rather than simply to give the date of an inscription. If this is correct, the motive for its use is less obvious at Limyra than at, for example, Kızılca. We have no further information about Xudrehila (there is no reason to assume that he is the same man as the tomb-builder mentioned in TL73, at Kyaneai), and cannot therefore know why he might have been particularly keen to advertise a link to the ruler. Tebursseli, however, seems very likely to have held office under Perikle. His tomb is decorated with a small relief plaque, and inscriptions underneath it (TL104a-c) appear to explain their significance. TL104b states that Tebursseli built [it] *gasabala: ēke: ese: perikle:/ tebete: Arttuṃparā: se <Arttu>ṃparahe:/ telēzijē*.⁴³⁹ The most widely accepted interpretation takes this sentence to mean that Tebursseli was ‘*gasabala* when Perikle defeated [or similar] Arttuṃpara and Arttuṃpara’s allies’.⁴⁴⁰ The meaning of *gasabala* is uncertain. One suggestion is that it derived from the Persian word **ganzabara-* ‘treasurer’ and had a similar meaning; perhaps, in view of its apparent connection with Attuṃpara’s defeat and the military nature of the relief scene, we should understand it as a ‘military treasurer’ or ‘quartermaster’.⁴⁴¹ A title of some sort, whether ‘treasurer’ or a more explicitly military role, seems to me the most convincing interpretation,

⁴³⁹ The second apparent occurrence of the name Arttuṃpara in TL104b in fact reads *ṃparahe*. According to Eichner, this is due simply to the letter-cutter’s omission of the first part of the name (Borchhardt, Eichner, Pesditschek, and Ruggendorfer (1997-1999) 81, Borchhardt, Eichner, Kogler, Pesditschek, and Seyer (2004) 39).

⁴⁴⁰ Borchhardt, Eichner, Pesditschek, and Ruggendorfer (1997-1999) 84. Schürr (2012) 21 believes, as mentioned above, that *telēzijē* was Arttuṃpara’s title.

⁴⁴¹ Borchhardt, Eichner, Pesditschek, and Ruggendorfer (1997-1999) 83; Neumann (2007) s.v. *gasabala*.

but various alternative suggestions have been made, including a place name (the later Καστάβαρα, north-east of Tlos) or a word designating the tomb.⁴⁴²

The combination of the relief and the two inscriptions makes Tebursseli's link to Perikle clear, but it is nonetheless noticeable that the tomb itself is comparatively modest, a simply 'two-door' tomb, in no way comparable to the large, free-standing tomb at Arneai. The same is true of the tomb of Xñtlapa, who described himself (in TL133) as the *mahinaza* of Perikle. Again, the meaning of the word is unknown, but a link to *maha*- 'god' seems very likely, suggesting that Xñtlapa was a priest or some sort of religious official for Perikle. He, too, had only a comparatively small 'two-door' tomb, although with a separate area cut into the rock in front of it.

3.12 Time of Perikle: difficulties of palaeographic dating

Indeed, consideration of other epitaphs from Perikle's reign seems to show a tendency towards the production of comparatively short inscriptions on rather modest tombs. In spite of the high number of tombs from Limyra, establishing any information about the development of the letter forms has proven extremely difficult, since the various inscriptions from the time of Perikle show a large number of variant letters forms (see Chapter 1); the next (possible) fixed point (TL99) comes from a significantly later period, making it impossible to know, for

⁴⁴² Zgusta (1984) 458; Schürr (2012) 20-2 equates *gasabala* with Κασταβαρα (a town which lay to the north-east of Tlos and was mentioned in the *Stadiasmus Patarensis*) suggesting that this was where the battle between Perikle and Arttuṃpara (which he believes the relief to depict) took place. Certainly this fits well into a pattern seen in TL 44, which prefaces the use of the verb *ese...tebete* with a place-name, but this example does not also use *ēke* which, in the two other inscriptions in which it is found, comes at the start of the temporal clause (whereas, if *gasabala* were a town, it would be seen in second position here). Also problematic for Schürr's suggestion is the presence of the initial *g*-, which is not found in any other Lycian word: since the later, Greek name begins with *k*-, we would expect this, rather than *g*-, in the Lycian.

many tombs, whether they date from the time of Perikle or from somewhat later. Nonetheless, it is possible to divide the mass of epitaphs into those which show a mixture of 'early', 'intermediate' and 'late' letter forms, and appear likely to have been produced during the time of Perikle or shortly after, and those which seem to use the late letter forms more consistently, and were perhaps produced at a later date. One difficulty with this hypothesis is that a high number of the inscriptions (e.g. TL101, TL111, TL113, TL120 and TL113) which appear to show 'intermediate' letter forms seem to have been rather carelessly cut, with for example, letter-strokes not meeting neatly at the apices of letters; such carelessness on the part of the letter-cutter might suggest that they were more likely to have used irregular letter forms, even at a later date.

Furthermore, groups of inscriptions which are similar in appearance often lie close to each other in the necropoleis – this is true of a number of the 'untidy' inscriptions (for example, TL111, TL113, TL120 and TL113 all lie in the south-west corner of necropolis 2) but also of some of those which appear to show neater lettering and more consistent use of 'late' letter forms (e.g. TL109, TL110 and TL105). The proximity of inscriptions with similar letter forms may indeed be another indication that they were produced at similar times, but it is also possible that they were produced over a longer period of time and that the appearance of later inscriptions – and perhaps of later tombs – was influenced by those which were already there. My attempt to divide the epitaphs into those which appear to have come from the time of Perikle (that is, appear contemporary with those inscription in which he is named) and those which seem later produces 18 from the former period, and 23 from the latter. If Perikle

is assumed to have ruled c. 380-350, and Lycian is believed to have been used at Limyra at least until 300, this would mean that Lycian inscriptions were produced there slightly more frequently (although still at a rate of less than one per year) during Perikle's reign than later on; we may consider this suspicious in view of the general increase in the use of epitaphs under the Hekatomnids at sites such as Pinara and Tlos. On the other hand, at least 14 Greek epitaphs were also inscribed at Limyra in the last part of the fourth century, which would make the overall production of inscriptions during that period slightly more frequent.

In spite of these uncertainties about the dating of the inscriptions, I would argue that the majority of my attributions of a 'later' or 'earlier' date for the inscriptions of Limyra are correct. It is therefore interesting to compare the use of some common elements in the epitaphs during the two periods:

	Building formula	Filiation	<i>Hrppi</i> - clause	Imprecation
'Time of Perikle'	11/18 = 61%	9/18 = 50%	4/18 = 22%	4/18 = 22%
'After Perikle'	16/23 = 69%	5/23 = 22%	14/23 = 61%	9/23 = 39%

Table 3: Limyra – content of epitaphs.

In the time of Perikle, many inscriptions used the 'building formula', and often the 'filiation formula', but use of the '*hrppi*-clause' and of imprecations remained comparatively rare: '*hrppi*-clauses', in particular, appear far more commonly in the later inscriptions. In addition, the use of imprecations appears to be unusual: they appear to have emerged at an early date, since they are seen in all four of

the earliest inscriptions (and are common at Myra at an early point), yet seem not to have been especially popular during Perikle's reign.

It is tempting to see a link here between the nature of the inscriptions and the style of the tomb. Although the larger two-door tombs remained more common at this point than the 'Limyra-typus', the latter begins to appear: approximately four inscriptions of this period (including the epitaph of Stahama (TL127) discussed above) are on tombs of that sort. The contrast with the 'heröon' of Perikle must have been startling, and we might ask whether there was some form of understanding – whether explicit or implicit – that no one was to attempt to erect a tomb which might rival that of Perikle.⁴⁴³

3.13 Perikle's self-representation and use of epigraphy

The 'heröon' at Limyra was positioned approximately two-thirds of the way up the acropolis, above the necropoleis, and also above the main residential area of the classical period, in such a way as to be widely visible.⁴⁴⁴ Although there is no definitive proof that it was the heröon of Perikle, this seems extremely likely; it is also possible, however, that he built it for his father, Trbbēnimi. Its porch was decorated with Caryatids, which Borchhardt, and Bryce, link to those on the porch of the Erechtheion at Athens; as Kuban demonstrates, however, the heröon, in spite of its 'Greek' architectural plan, is an excellent example of the mixing of Lycian, Greek and Persian elements which is already seen in the Inscribed pillar, and is found in so many of the monuments of Lycia.⁴⁴⁵ Most

⁴⁴³ Bryce (1980) 379; Borchhardt, AA 85, 1970: 353-390.

⁴⁴⁴ Map in Seyer *et al.* (2012); Martin Seyer, personal communication.

⁴⁴⁵ Bryce (1980) 379; Kuban (2012) 101.

obviously, the basic idea – that of a grave in the form of a temple – was one not found in mainland Greece: the fore-runner of Perikle's 'heröon' must, in this respect, have been monuments such as the Nereid monument, which he perhaps wished to emulate or rival.⁴⁴⁶

The architecture of the heröon would not, by itself, imply that Perikle had any particular interest in the Greek-speaking world, either political or cultural. However, a Greek inscription discovered in the city and published by Wörrle seems to show him orientating himself towards the Greek world. The inscription is on a fragment of a marble altar, and records in two hexameter verses that it was set up to honour Θεων ὑπατον Δία by Περικλῆς Λυκίας β[...; Wörrle reconstructs the final word as β[ασιλεύων, and there is no reason to doubt this.⁴⁴⁷ He points to the use of Greek poetry on the Xanthos stele and Erbbina's dedication, suggesting that Perikle was perhaps demonstrating his learning and culture in the same way. This seems convincing – and indeed, his attitude towards the Greek language is far less ambivalent than that seen on the Inscribed pillar: rather than using Greek on a monument which is in all other essentials Lycian, he uses it to dedicate an altar of Greek design to a Greek god, Zeus..⁴⁴⁸

There are a number of indications that Perikle had close and amicable political connections with some Greek states. One of the most obvious of these is his

⁴⁴⁶ Published in detail in Childs and Demargne (1989); Robinson (1999) 361-377 discusses the reason for the creation of the Nereid Monument, emphasizing the creativity (rather than passive acceptance of outside 'influences') displayed by its builder.

⁴⁴⁷ Ed. pr. Wörrle (1991) 203-217; SEG 41:1382.

⁴⁴⁸ Whether Zeus was, in this case, an *interpretatio Graeca* of a Lycian god is not clear. One possible Lycian equivalent would be Trqqas, the storm-god (Hittite Tarḫunt) (Melchert (2004) s.v. *Trqqas*). Trqqas appears the imprecation in TL83, the epitaph at Arneai with the ruler formula of Perikle (although he is not found in this capacity at Limyra) (Christiansen (2009) 47-49).

Greek name, Perikle (showing the loss of word-final [s] as expected in Lycian). If Trbbēnimi was indeed Perikle's father, it might seem odd that he, Melesandros' conqueror, should have named his son after an Athenian leader. Perhaps, however, by the time of Perikle's birth, the episode was far in the past – or he simply cherished an admiration for the old enemy.

Possibly, when Perikle's expansion across Lycia and defeat of Arttuñpara eventually brought him into conflict with the Achaemenid authorities represented by Autophradates, he looked towards the Aegean world for support. The appearance of fourth century bronze coins of Rhodes at Limyra seems to support this, especially since Perikle was the first Lycian ruler to produce bronze coinage.⁴⁴⁹ As Kolb and Tietz point out, the value of bronze coinage relies on the authority of the coin-issuer rather than the inherent value of the metal, which might imply that Perikle was using it primarily to pay his own troops – or that his prestige was high enough outside Lycia for his coinage to hold its value.⁴⁵⁰ It is certainly not surprising to see a high level of contact between Perikle and Rhodes at this time, especially if, as his attack on Telmessos suggests, he was (at least for a short period) in control of the entire Lycian coastline, including the section opposite the island.

How far his use of bronze coinage really indicates that he was especially 'Hellenised' is, however, unclear. If Zahle is correct in his suggestion that the majority of silver for use in Lycian coinage was provided by the Achaemenids,

⁴⁴⁹ Zahle (1989) 174; Kolb and Tietz (2001) 399.

⁴⁵⁰ Kolb and Tietz (2001) 399.

Perikle's use of bronze may have been forced upon him by the cutting off of the supply from Persia when he fought against Arttuṃpara (whether or not that episode was in the wider context of the Satraps' revolt). His use of Greek, although it does indicate interest in, and contact with, at least some part of the Greek - speaking world, also seems to show a typical adaptation to his own environment. In particular, the use of the word βασιλεύων 'being βασιλεύς' would surely have emphasized his *non*-Greekness to most Greek-speaking viewers of his dedication, since, especially in the context of Asia Minor, the 'βασιλεύς' was the Persian king: the prospectus of the second Athenian League (378/7), for example (RO 22) states that any of the βαρβάροι who are [μὴ βασιλ]έως 'not of the King' may become allies of the Athenians. Whether Perikle himself realised the grandiose implication of the word is unclear. It is tempting to suggest that, by describing *himself* as βασιλεύων, he was showing that the Lycians were μὴ βασιλέως (and perhaps positioning himself to take Lycia into the Athenian league, although it appears that this never took place). On the other hand, it may simply have been the case that βασιλεύς was known to be the Greek equivalent of *χṇtawati*, so that βασιλεύων was used for the action of being *χṇtawati*. We might also question his statement that he was the βασιλεύς of all the Lycians.⁴⁵¹ Just as Arttuṃpara's similar claim in TL11 to rule 'Lycia' can be called into question, it is not clear how long Perikle actually controlled the whole of Lycia; as discussed above, it seems likely that for some time he controlled only the eastern part, while Autophradates held the west.

⁴⁵¹ Kuban (2012) 16, accepts this, together with Theopompus' description of him as 'king', as showing that his power stretched as far as the Xanthos valley.

Whether Perikle's Greek dedication was intended primarily to highlight his cultural attainment and Greek learning, or was linked in some way to his political dealings with Greek states (perhaps especially Rhodes) remains unclear, but the discovery of the inscription, with its claim to kingship, certainly negates Bryce's suggestion that Perikle 'saw himself as a latter-day Pericles, inspired with the vision of a free, independent Lycia united against Persian despotism'; it seems more likely that he wished to become 'despot' of Lycia himself.⁴⁵²

Perikle's altar dedication is the only firm evidence we have of an inscription erected by him in his lifetime. If the heröon carried any inscription it is lost. One other interesting inscription from Limyra may, however, have been produced during this time: this is N337, an inscribed block of stone (see fig. 29) which records, in small lettering, a long and not fully understood text.⁴⁵³ Christiansen, the first editor, suggested that the letter forms indicated a date before around 360, and this certainly appears realistic (see Chart 5).⁴⁵⁴ In this case, it might well have been produced during the time of Perikle.

The inscription appears to be a rare example of an official text: Christiansen suggests that it was a treaty between another town, Xuḫrĩme, and Limyra, in which case it would fit well into the context of Perikle's territorial expansion.⁴⁵⁵ However, the name Zēmuri (Limyra) does not appear in the text, and, since Xuḫrĩme is otherwise unknown, it is possible that it was a small settlement in the proximity of Limyra, and that this inscription recorded a decree of some sort,

⁴⁵² Bryce (1980) 379.

⁴⁵³ Ed. pr. Christiansen (2012) 141-153.

⁴⁵⁴ Christiansen (2012) 143.

⁴⁵⁵ Christiansen (2012) 147.

possibly dealing with religious matters.⁴⁵⁶ Whichever interpretation is correct, it is tempting to suggest that the inscribing of a decree or treaty on stone shows Perikle adopting ideas from the Greek world about the appropriate use of inscriptions; both the Greek dedication and the Lycian decree would then show him using epigraphy to establish his power over Limyra and, perhaps, over his wider territory. However, since there is no concrete evidence that N337 was connected to Perikle in any way – the palaeography would certainly, for instance, allow an earlier date – it is fruitless to pursue the hypothesis any further.

⁴⁵⁶ Eichner in Christiansen (2012) 150.

Chapter 4

THE 'HELLENISATION' OF LYCIA? Hekatomnids, Alexander, and the late fourth century

4.1 *The Hekatomnids*

Throughout the fourth century, a dynasty more powerful than any of those seen in Lycia lurked on the northern edge of the peninsula: the Hekatomnids, rulers of Caria, and, unlike the Lycian rulers, official Persian satraps of the area. Until 395, Caria was part of the satrapy of Lydia, ruled by Tissaphernes. In that year, however, Tissaphernes was executed; after this we have no direct record of events in Caria until 391, by which point Hekatomnos was satrap of Caria; Diodorus Siculus describes him as ὁ Καρίας δυνάστης, recording (14.98.3) that he was sent by the Persian King, Artaxerxes III, to fight the Cypriot Euagoras.⁴⁵⁷ Koray Konuk has recently shown that a number of coins from Mylasa bear the initial of Hekatomnos' father, Hyssaldomos, showing that this man, too, held power in the area; he nonetheless accepts the usual view that Caria was first made an official satrapy, under the control of Hekatomnos, only in 392/1.⁴⁵⁸

His rationale for this is that Ionia was also made a separate satrapy in this year, which raises the interesting question of why Lycia was not granted the same autonomy.⁴⁵⁹ Did the splintering of Xerēi's territory into different areas ruled by, perhaps, Mithrapata and Ddēnewele (see Chapter 3.1) mean that no single individual had the power necessary to act as satrap? The Hekatomnids, like

⁴⁵⁷ Konuk (2009b) 357; Hornblower (1982) 391; Briant (2002) 638, 646.

⁴⁵⁸ Konuk (2009b) 357-361.

⁴⁵⁹ Konuk (2009b) 357, n. 6.

Kuprlli and his descendants, appear to have begun as a local dynasty;⁴⁶⁰ unlike the Xanthian family, though, their star was still rising at the time of Tissaphernes' demise, leaving Hekatomnos well placed to be appointed satrap in a way that no single Lycian ruler was.

By the time Maussollus, the most famous of the Hekatomnids, succeeded his father in 377/6, the satrapy of Caria was entirely independent of Lydia, with the satrap answering directly to the Great King.⁴⁶¹ Maussollus was deeply involved in the international affairs of the Mediterranean, supporting Athens' allies in their revolt of 357.⁴⁶² He also employed Greek craftsmen, moved his capital to the Greek city of Halicarnassos, and built temples in Greek styles – with Greek dedicatory inscriptions – at the local Carian sanctuary of Labraunda.⁴⁶³ However, this use of Greek culture was not simply a passive acceptance of ideas already in existence: as Poul Pedersen has recently demonstrated, the Hekatomnid building programme led to a resurgence in the use of East Greek building techniques, used in new and experimental ways.⁴⁶⁴ Furthermore, as mentioned in the Introduction, new evaluations of the Hekatomnids' cultural programme have emphasised the combination of Greek and Anatolian elements to create a new, distinctively Carian culture: Carstens points out, for example, that the Maussoleion contained a number of specifically Anatolian elements, such as the lions and the seated statue of Maussollos, which 'are all confined within the

⁴⁶⁰ Carstens (2013) 210. Herodotus (5.118.2) talks of an leading Carian called Pixodarus son of Maussollos who married a daughter of the Cilician king, in 499; as Hornblower (2011) 76 points out, the combination of these two names suggests some connection with the later Hekatomnid dynasty, showing the family's importance at an earlier point.

⁴⁶¹ Hornblower (1982) 38, (2011) 76.

⁴⁶² Hornblower (2001) 270.

⁴⁶³ Carstens (2013) 212; Pedersen (2013) 35-42.

⁴⁶⁴ Pedersen (2011) 365-368; (2013) 44-45.

frame of something Anatolian', and suggests that one of the key motivations for Maussollos' employment of Greek craftsmen was simply the fact that they were those known to be the best at that time.⁴⁶⁵ On a linguistic level, however, Maussollus' use of Greek remains striking, and continued during the reigns of his successors, his brothers Idreius and Pixodarus, with the production, for example, of dedications in Greek, such as a newly-discovered inscription from Iasos, in honour of Idreius.⁴⁶⁶

4.2 The Hekatomnids in Lycia

The impact of Hekatomnid rule on Lycian culture is a matter of some dispute. Some commentators have argued that this, rather than the coming of Alexander, was the point at which Lycian society changed from one which, though highly influenced by Ionian art and technology, was essentially Anatolian to one which was in all important respects Greek.⁴⁶⁷ Epigraphic evidence of the time certainly supports this picture: it is during the Hekatomnid period – especially during the reign of Pixodarus – that the first inscribed decrees of Lycia appear. In addition, the use of epigraphy in religious contexts appears to have become increasingly common in the Hekatomnid period, especially in the Xanthos valley. Both these uses of epigraphy were common in the Greek world, and – alongside the increased use of the Greek language which is seen at this time – seems to indicate not merely the 'cultural transfer', seen in the early fourth century (as, for example, with the Greek epigram in TL44) but, rather, an active 'Hellenisation'. However, the extent to which this reflects a wider 'Hellenisation' of Lycian

⁴⁶⁵ Carstens (2013) 214.

⁴⁶⁶ Nafissi (2013) 303-315.

⁴⁶⁷ E.g. Domingo-Gygax (2001) 92-122.

politics and society is less clear. Lycian 'private' epigraphy, meanwhile, in the shape of epitaphs on rock tombs, continued to a great extent unchanged – indeed, at Limyra, it flourished. Alongside it, however, is an increasing use of Greek, matching the acculturation seen in the architecture and administration of the Lycian towns during this period.

4.3 Lycia under the Hekatomnids

Exactly when Lycia came under the control of the Hekatomnids is unclear. As discussed above, it seems likely that Autophradates' establishment of more direct control of the peninsula took place in the 360s. At some point after this, Maussollos appears to have added Lycia to his satrapy: one suggestion is that, having been involved in the satrap's revolt, he pulled out earlier than other rulers, and was given control of Lycia as a reward for his ultimate loyalty.⁴⁶⁸ This seems plausible, but cannot be considered certain: our only evidence that Maussollos ever ruled over Lycia is the remark in the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Oekonomikos* that Kondalos, one of Maussollos' officials, extorted money from the Lycians by claiming that the King had ordered Maussollos that they should cut their long hair to provide forelocks for his horses, but that he, Kondalos, would obtain the hair elsewhere in return for payment.⁴⁶⁹

As with Maussollos, there is no surviving evidence of what effect, if any, his brother and successor Idreius (351/0-344/3) had on the epigraphy – or wider

⁴⁶⁸ Treuber, cited in Houwink ten Cate (1961) 12-13.

⁴⁶⁹ Ps-Aristotle *Oikonomikos* 2.1348a. This is taken as evidence of Maussollos' control over Lycia by, *inter alia*, Fried (2004) 150-151.

culture – of Lycia.⁴⁷⁰ Only during the reign of Pixodarus do the Carians become epigraphically visible in Lycia. Nevertheless, the presence of Greek-speaking, Hekatomnid officials, and, perhaps, the arrival of other Greek-speakers more loosely connected to Carian rule, seems to have had the more general effect of encouraging the use of Greek in Lycia. The puzzle here is that Greek continued to be used only rarely in western Lycia, where we have most evidence of Hekatomnid rule; it is only from Limyra that we have substantial evidence of the use of Greek in the fourth century. Nevertheless, the appearance of a number of bilingual statue bases and epitaphs does suggest a slightly increased familiarity with, and interest in, the language.

Evidence for Hekatomnid control of eastern Lycia is slimmer, but the discovery of a stele with a relief of a Carian double-headed axe on all four sides seems to indicate some Carian presence in the area.⁴⁷¹

4.4 Hekatomnid decrees at Xanthos

Whatever the explanation for the epigraphic silence from the time of Maussollos and Idreius' rule, it is only in the reign of Pixodarus (340/39-336/5) that we finally receive concrete information about the influence of the Hekatomnids on the culture of the Lycian peninsula, in the shape of two inscribed decrees produced in Xanthos (N320 and TL45), one of which is trilingual (with Lycian, Greek and Aramaic texts) and the other bilingual (with a Lycian and a Greek version), perhaps also originally trilingual.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷⁰ Dates of Idreius' reign: Hornblower (1982) 38.

⁴⁷¹ Mellink (1975) 212; Kuban (2012) 17.

⁴⁷² As suggested by Bousquet (1986a) 101.

The trilingual inscription from the Letöon (N320; see fig. 20) is often – and fairly – considered one of the most important surviving documents from Achaemenid Asia Minor.⁴⁷³ A marble stele, 135 cm high, bears long inscriptions in Lycian and Greek on its two wide faces, and a shorter Aramaic inscription on its narrow face. All three record the setting up at Xanthos of an altar for the deities *χῆtawati* *Xbidēñni* and *ArKKazuma χῆtawati* (in Greek, βασιλεὺς Καυνίος and Ἀρκεσιμας), ‘the Kaunian King and Arkkazuma’, and the appointment of a certain Simias, and his descendants, as priests of these gods. All three versions state that the decree was passed during the reign of Pixodarus, but the Aramaic version states more precisely that Pixodarus’ ratification of the decision took place in the first year of King Artaxerxes. To fit the dates of Pixodarus’ reign, the Artaxerxes referred to here must be Artaxerxes IV, more usually known as Arses, meaning that the decree was passed in 337.⁴⁷⁴

This inscription raises three key questions about the administration of Xanthos at this time, and, specifically, the motivation for the establishment of the altar

⁴⁷³ The full text of all three versions is given in Metzger (ed.) (1979), with translations in French between pp. 162 and 163, and in Neumann (1979) 44-47; Melchert’s *Corpus* gives the English and Greek versions (note that the stone has ἐπιτρέψειν, not ἐπιτρέφειν, in l. 31-32). Fried (2004) 140-155 gives all three texts and English translations, discussing the implications of the stele for our understanding of Persian religious policy.

⁴⁷⁴ The decree was initially dated to the first year of Artaxerxes III Ochus, 358, leading to various suggestions about Pixodarus’ rule, and whether he could, for example, have had control of Lycia as a subordinate of Maussollos. Badian (1977) 40-50 was first to suggest that Ochus’ son Arses might also have taken the throne name Artaxerxes, allowing the inscription to be dated within the period of Pixodarus’ satrapy in Caria; this explanation is now generally accepted: Wörle (1978) 234 n. 174; Hornblower (1982) 47-49; Eichner (1983) 52. Badian’s suggestion seems, as Heiner Eichner has pointed out, to be proven by a cuneiform tablet in the British Museum (BM 36613) which refers to ‘Arses, son of [Artaxerxes III] Ochus, who is called Artaxerxes’ (Heiner Eichner, personal communication), although since the final letter of Artaxerxes is missing it is perhaps still conceivable that the name refers to Ochus (that is, ‘Ochus who is called Artaxerxes’) rather than to Arses.

and the inscribing of the decree: who decided to set it up, why did they wish to do so, and how did they present their decision?

The official nature of the monument would have been clear even to an illiterate observer. The stele is carefully finished in the style commonly used for Greek decrees, with moulding around its top edge and the Lycian and Greek texts are carefully arranged in a *stoichedon* pattern; both are laid out in an identical way, with 26 letters to each line, perhaps showing a desire to emphasise the equal importance of each language. Brixhe points out the symbolic value of the presence of the Aramaic text, which would have shown even those who could not read it that the decree had the official sanction of the Persian empire.⁴⁷⁵ He argues that its position on the narrow edge of the stele, between the Lycian and Greek version, shows that it was the main text, and the others were, if only in terms of symbolism, secondary to it.

However, this seems very debatable – on a monolingual text the inscription would naturally be placed on the wide edge of the stele, and any viewer would surely look here for the most important version. Indeed, the primacy of the Lycian text, at least for the stone cutter, is suggested by the fact that it divides perfectly into 41 lines of 26 letters each; the Greek, by contrast, does not, with the result that its final line ends two letters short of the right hand edge – presumably the line length was modelled on the Lycian version in spite of the fact that the Greek version was a different length.⁴⁷⁶ The Lycian text shows the

⁴⁷⁵ Brixhe (2007b) 926.

⁴⁷⁶ Admittedly, it is hard to see what length line would have suited the Greek, which consists of 908 characters and does not, therefore, divide perfectly into lines of any suitable length:

early form of <ē> 𐌵 and the early form of <χ> 𐌶, as well as the original ‘square’ version of <p> 𐌱. While the use of the early 𐌵 remained common throughout the fourth century, meaning that its appearance here is unremarkable, the use of 𐌶 and 𐌱 was more unusual by this time (see Chart 2). Also of interest is the change from the 𐌶 form of <ā> to the (apparently earlier) 𐌵 form, which perhaps shows the stone-cutter suddenly remembering that he was supposed to use the older, more ‘formal’ letter forms (although it does seem odd to change forms half-way through in this way). On the other hand, the distinctively late 𐌶 form of <s> is used, and <u> is found instead of <ā> in the accusative singular form *kumazu* ‘priest’ (l. 9). Even in such an apparently formal text errors, made by the stone-cutter creep in: for example, l. 17 <ā> rather than <χ> is written as the first letter of *χñtawatehi*.

The Greek script, too, appears archaic: the widely diverging horizontal hastae of Σ, and the small Ω with a wide opening at the bottom are in contrast to the more elegant script seen in Carian inscriptions of this time.⁴⁷⁷ Was this also deliberately ‘archaising’, perhaps indicating reverence for the sacredness of the subject, or was the script simply cut by a Lycian stone-cutter who had yet to see the latest developments in Greek letter-cutting? This is certainly suggested by the fact that the overall appearance of the text is less regular than the Lycian, and there are, again, a few slips in the cutter’s work: <θ> for <ο> in ὄρκους (l. 27), <ξ> rather than <ε> in ἔστω (l. 33) and Πιξώταρος for Πιξώδαρος (l. 35).

however, it would presumably have been possible for the writer of the Greek text to alter it to enable the production of a perfectly stoichedon text if this had been considered essential.

⁴⁷⁷ Such as, for example, the monument to Idreius already mentioned: Nafissi (2013) 203 fig. 1.

The second decree, TL45, is poorly preserved and only partly legible, but it is clear from the Greek version that it recorded a grant or concession of a ‘tenth’ of something – possibly customs dues – from Pixodarus to the Xanthians, Tloans, Pinarans and Kadyandans.⁴⁷⁸ Again, the stele was originally finished with moulding along its top edge; the Lycian text is written on one side and the Greek on the other. The script of the Lycian is perhaps less formal than that used in N320: √ is the usual form of <χ> (although the early form appears once). However, ✕ and □ are used as expected. From what can still be seen of the Lycian text, it appears to have been *stoichedon*, but this is less clear than for N320. The Greek text was less neatly laid out, although it too is so poorly preserved that certainty about its original appearance is impossible.

A cult for Carians?

There has been much scholarly debate about whether the altar and priesthood recorded in N320 was established on the initiative of the Xanthians or by order of Pixodarus, and, if the former was the case, who among the Xanthians would have been responsible for such a decision. The three texts in fact agree that the decision was a local initiative although, as discussed below, the mechanism by which it arose remains unclear. The picture is complicated, however, by the non-Lycian nature of the gods honoured.

The identity of deities is obscure, as are the details of their previous presence at Xanthos, although the ‘Kaunian King’ is mentioned on the Inscribed pillar

⁴⁷⁸ The reconstruction given by Melchert in his *Corpus* suggests δεκάτην τῆς ἐ[μ]π[ορίας] οὐ[σ]ῆς [ἐ]ν τῇ [πόλ]ει, ‘a tenth of all the merchandise in the town’ (presumably a tenth of the value of anything traded through their towns?), but exactly what this would have meant in practice remains unclear.

(TL44c8-9) alongside the goddesses Maliya (equated to Greek Athena) and Ertemi (= Greek Artemis). He is also attested in a late fourth-century inscription of Kos, and (as simply the βασιλεὺς) at Kaunos, in two later inscriptions.⁴⁷⁹ It is unclear whether the appearance of the ‘Kaunian King’ in TL44 in fact indicates that his cult was already established at Xanthos by the start of the fourth century: the relevant phrase, *se xbide sttati mē: sttala: ēti: qlahi (e)bijehi: se mal[i]jahi: se[(j)] ertemehi: se xñtawatehi: xbidēñhi* (TL44c6-9), could be translated ‘and at Kaunos a stele is placed in this(?) sanctuary of Maliya and Ertemi and the Kaunian King’. If this is correct, it may record a dedication made by a Xanthian ruler (or one of his deputies) in the sanctuary at Kaunos, rather than indicate the presence of the cult at Xanthos itself. Nevertheless, the existence of close links between Xanthos and Kaunos, and Xanthian respect for the ‘Kaunian King’, seems clear.

Arkkazuma, too, seems likely to have been a Carian deity, although a Greek origin is also possible: the name appears in a later Greek inscription from Syria, but refers there to a man rather than a god, while another suggestion is that the word was an adjective meaning ‘helper’, used as the epithet of a deity.⁴⁸⁰ A non-Lycian origin is indicated by the use of the unusual letter /^w but whether this was indeed a way to depict a Carian phoneme remains uncertain.

The extent to which the inscription is evidence of a ‘Carianisation’ of Lycia is debated: Fried, arguing against Briant’s view that the foundation of the cult (if

⁴⁷⁹ Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 387.

⁴⁸⁰ Neumann (2007) s.v. *arKKazuma*, *erKKazuma*.

this is indeed what the inscription shows) was primarily a decision of the Xanthians, suggests that both it and the cult of Zeus Labraundios at Limyra were established 'for the new landowners of the Carian bureaucracy and for the members of the Carian garrison and their family', and for their benefit.⁴⁸¹ Her argument is supported not only by the Carian nature of the deities honoured, but also by the names of the individuals mentioned in the decree: the ἐπιμελητής (governor) of Xanthos is called *Erttimeli* (Ἀρτεμηλῖς in Greek), which she identifies as a Carian name, while the name of at least one of the land-owners whose land is to be given over to the cult has a name attested as Carian, Pigres.⁴⁸² The Greek names of the archons of Xanthos (Ἱερὼν and Ἀπολλόδοτος) and the future priest of the cult (Σιμίας) may also indicate that they were Carians – or Greeks from Caria – rather than Lycians.

The Power of Pixodarus

It is clear from the other surviving decree from Hekatomnid Xanthos that Pixodarus was perfectly happy to exert direct influence on Xanthos if he so desired. The Greek version of the TL45 opens with the bald statement that ἔδωκεν Πιξώδαρος... 'Pixodarus gave...'; this appears to be paralleled in the Lycian, *[pijet]e ññẽ Piçe[s]ere...*, although the verb in question is naturally only reconstructed from the Greek. If Pixodarus had simply established the cult of the Kaunian King, surely he would have been able to say so?

⁴⁸¹ Fried (2004) 151-154.

⁴⁸² Fried (2004) 154.

Instead, even the Aramaic version states that the decision was taken by the Xanthians, although it emphasises the role of Pixodarus in reporting this, stating: ‘... Pixodarus, son of Katomno(s), the satrap (who rules) in Caria and Lycia, said: “the citizens of Orna have decided to set up a sanctuary (?) to the King (KNDWŠ), the god of Kaunos, and his companion...”’.⁴⁸³ This text follows the pattern seen in Aramaic papyri of the reporting of decisions or news by quoting the words of the person responsible for them.⁴⁸⁴ Laroche, following Dupont-Sommer, states that this version ‘a été rédigé par un scribe de la chancellerie perse, qui n’a retenue que l’essentiel, ou ce qui paraissait tel aux yeux des autorités d’occupation.’⁴⁸⁵ However, the local representatives of the ‘autorités d’occupation’ were speakers of Greek and Carian – and would have had no need of an Aramaic version. Indeed, it is somewhat hard to understand who the intended audience of this version was: unless visits to Xanthos by Persian officials were envisaged, it seems that Brixhe must be right to insist on its essentially symbolic value – with its position on the narrow side of the stele suggesting, to me, that the symbolism lay more in paying lip service to the existence of Persian authority than to emphasising it.⁴⁸⁶

A slightly different problem is raised by the idea that it was composed by ‘un scribe de la chancellerie perse’. Are we to envisage a message sent to Artaxerxes’ court – approval granted – an official Aramaic version composed and returned to Xanthos? This is certainly possible, since the use of Aramaic in letters appears to

⁴⁸³ My English version of the French translation by Dupont-Sommer (1979) 137, who transliterates and translates the text.

⁴⁸⁴ Lewis (1994) 18.

⁴⁸⁵ Laroche (1979) 77.

⁴⁸⁶ Brixhe (2007b) 926.

have been widespread, although we have little actual evidence of contact between Xanthos and the King's capital.⁴⁸⁷ The *inscribing* of Aramaic, however, was comparatively unusual – there are no known examples of Aramaic inscriptions from Caria – and there is no evidence of Achaemenid encouragement of the practice, implying that the decision to cut this version onto the stone would have been taken at a local level.⁴⁸⁸ It therefore seems likely that the text was composed in Xanthos, perhaps originally as a letter to be sent to the King, and that the composer was a Xanthian. This is certainly suggested by the fact that the name of the god ('the King') as given in the Aramaic version is KNDWŠ, derived from the god's Lycian title *χñtawati* 'the King': presumably the god had a name in Carian (even if this was only the Carian word for 'king') but whoever wrote the Aramaic version was aware only of the Lycian name (unless the Carian was very similar).⁴⁸⁹ On the other hand, they were *au fait* with the correct way to date an official document.⁴⁹⁰ We need not think in terms of significant numbers of Aramaic speakers – Brixhe's suggestion that the value of this version was primarily symbolic holds good – but may believe that there were a few Persian families settled in Lycia who retained a sense of a separate identity, along with some ability to write Aramaic, and were therefore able to act as scribes for the Carian administration. We might think, for example, of Artimas' Aramaic epitaph at Limyra (TL152); other indications of Persian settlement are

⁴⁸⁷ Lewis (1994) 18-19.

⁴⁸⁸ Other examples from Anatolia are given by Dupont-Sommer (1979) 164 (including a stele from Daskyleion and a Lydian-Aramaic bilingual, as well as the epitaph from Limyra (TL152); Aramaic texts from Anatolia are also published online by Lemaire at <http://www.achemenet.com>. Gzella (2015) 195-196 states that there are 'ten mostly brief inscriptions' from Asia Minor, pointing out that they were mainly set up by private individuals, and suggesting that they were 'a token of loyalty to Achaemenid government, among the elite of this formerly non-Aramaic speaking region'.

⁴⁸⁹ Dupont-Sommer (1979) 159 calls it an 'emprunt anatolien'.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf, for example, the date given in a very similar format in the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual at Sardis, Lemaire (2000) III.1.

more circumstantial (a man called Megabates at fifth century Phellos, a certain Arsames dedicating a statue at the Letöon at about this time) but are certainly suggestive. Three further fragments of Aramaic have been found at the Letöon – one of which (N319) is a Lycian-Aramaic bilingual and another an Aramaic-Greek bilingual: in the context of the comparative scarcity of ‘official’ inscriptions from this period, these numbers are significant.⁴⁹¹ If Hekatomnid control of Xanthos was indeed a result of an abortive Lycian attempt to rebel from the empire, it would be understandable for the next generation of Xanthians to demonstrate their allegiance to the King by recording important events in Aramaic as well as Lycian and Greek; the inscribing of Aramaic should perhaps be seen as a distinctively Lycian trait, not closely linked to Carian rule.

The Aramaic version of the text gives little indication of whether the foundation of the cult was instigated by Pixodarus or at Xanthos, although it strongly implies the latter. The question therefore remains of whether the Lycian and Greek texts are accurate in recording that the decision was taken by the Xanthians, or whether they are simply ‘window-dressing’, concealing what was in fact imposed by Pixodarus. It seems impossible to reach a conclusive answer without further evidence; the inscription, if intended to cloak autocratic behaviour on the part of the Carians, does its job well. It is perhaps interesting, however, that the Carian Pigres, who Fried appears to consider one of the beneficiaries of the cult, in fact seems to be having to give *up* land, although there may of course have been some benefit for him in this arrangement which we cannot now recover.

⁴⁹¹ N319 (‘Fragment araméen B’) and a second fragment of Aramaic (‘Fragment araméen A’): Dupont-Sommer (1979) 170-175. Aramaic-Greek bilingual: Lemaire (1992) 201-203. Domingo-Gygax (2001) 101 suggests that these would originally have been trilingual texts. As mentioned above, it is also possible that there was an Aramaic version of TL45.

We might ask *why* the Xanthians would have instituted a cult of a Carian god of their own volition. The obvious answer is desire on the part of the city, or certain individuals within the city, to show themselves well-disposed towards their overlords. The fact that the god in question was a god local to *Kaunos* may be significant here: Kaunos lies on the easternmost edge of Caria, in the next good anchorage north-west of the gulf of Telmessos, and seems to have shared a number of cultural features with Lycia, most noticeably the use of rock-cut tombs, which, in the Hellenistic period, grew in both Telmessos and Kaunos to resemble temple façades. As already mentioned, close links between Xanthos and Kaunos, and Xanthian reverence towards the gods of Kaunos, seems already to be visible in TL44. Such physical proximity and cultural links might well have encouraged the Xanthians, if they felt under pressure for some reason to adopt a Carian cult, to honour the local god of Kaunos rather than, for example, Zeus of Labraunda. Furthermore, as Peter Thonemann has emphasised, Kaunos appears to have been a site of great importance in the late-fifth and fourth centuries, as a garrison and naval base, meaning that any special relationship with the town that might be emphasised or manufactured could have been distinctly advantageous.⁴⁹² This would also explain the appointment of Simias as priest – although, again, it must be pointed out that his Greek name does not necessarily reveal a Carian origin. Such a situation would explain the absence of a Carian version of the text. Carian remained widely used at the end of the fourth century and if the cult were instigated by, and primarily intended for, Carians as opposed to Lycians, we might expect to find the details recorded in their language; the

⁴⁹² Thonemann (2009a) 179.

Carian language is found inscribed outside Caria, in Egypt and in Athens, in a way that Lycian is not, meaning that its appearance would not be entirely unparalleled. The use of Greek as the apparently 'Carian' element of the inscription implies to me that this was indeed a foundation which, for some reason, originated in Lycia – although we may imagine it resulting from hints and suggestions by Carian officials.

Whether or not the institution of the cult was a Xanthian decision, this is certainly the impression that the inscriptions are intended to give. This leads to the question of how far the impression given by the Greek version of a decree of a *polis* operating along democratic lines reflects either the meaning of the Lycian inscriptions or the reality of the political organisation of Lycia at the time. The situation is complicated by difficulties in interpretation of the Lycian text, and uncertainty about the relationship between the two. The Greek version is often assumed to be a direct translation of the Lycian and, as a result, our understanding of the Lycian text is heavily influenced by the meaning of the Greek. In some cases, this is unproblematic: the theonym βασιλεὺς Καυνίος has, for example, been crucial in assuring the meaning of Lycian *χñtawati* as king, both here and elsewhere – and since the βασιλεὺς Καυνίος is not a Greek deity there is no reason to challenge the assumption that it was a direct translation of the Lycian.⁴⁹³ More problematic, however, are the opening lines of the two versions (N320 and N320G, lines 1-7):⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ Brixhe (2007b) 932.

⁴⁹⁴ Texts from Melchert Corpus with my alterations.

ẽke: trĩmisĩ: xssaθrapazate: pig-	ἐπεὶ Λυκίας ξαδράπης ἐγένετο Π-
esere: katamlah: tideimi: sēñneñ-	ιξώδαρος Ἑκατόμνω ὕος, κατέστη-
tepddēhadē: trĩmile: pddēnehĩm-	σε ἄρχοντας Λυκίας Ἰέρωνα καὶ Ἀ-
is: ijeru: se natrbbijēmi: sej arñ-	πολλόδοτον καὶ Ξάντθου ἐπιμελη-
na: asaxlazu: erttimeli: me hñtit-	τὴν Ἀρτεμηλιν, ἔδοξε δὴ Ξανθίοι-
ubedē: arus: sej epewētlĩmēi: arñ-	ς καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις ἰδρύσασθ-
nāi: mĩmaitē:kumezijē: θθē:...	αι βωμὸν...

At first glance, the similarities between the two, and the influence exerted on the Greek by the Lycian version, seem clear: the use of ὕος in the Greek version, for example, where the genitive of Hekatomnos' name would be perfectly sufficient, surely results from a desire to imitate the Lycian version (*pigesere: katamlah: tideimi*) as closely as possible; later on, the man appointed as the priest is described as Σιμίας Κονδαρασσιος ὕον (ll. 8-9), matching the Lycian *Eseimiju Qñturahahñ tideimi* (ll. 10-11). The desire for parallelism seems to run the other way as well: the Lycian name *Natrbbijēmi* is a direct translation of Ἀπολλόδοτος, formed from *Natri*, the Lycian name for Apollo, and *pije-*, the root of the verb 'to give'. It is impossible to know whether Ἀπολλόδοτος would ever have been called *Natrbbijēmi* in everyday life or whether the name was 'translated' specifically for the purposes of the inscriptions, but the second option seems highly likely.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁵ Neumann (2007) s.v. *Natrbbijēmi*. A similar situation is seen in TL25, where the Lycian name *Xssbezē* seems to be translated into Greek Πόρπαξ 'shield'.

Even in the first line of the inscription, however, a divergence is seen: Brixhe points out that the contrast between the single verb *χσσαθραπαζατε* ‘he was satrap’ in Lycian and the noun + verb combination in Greek (ξασδράπης ἐγένετο) must result simply from ‘the disposition of the translator’, since the equivalent verb, σατραπεύω, is also found in Greek.⁴⁹⁶ The significance of this divergence is, however, unclear. One earlier occurrence of the use of the verb is in the heading of a Mylasan decree from the time of Maussollos (367/6), which begins:

ἔτει πριγκοστῶι καὶ ἐνάτῳι Ἀρταξέρξευς βασιλεύ-
οντος, Μαυσσώλλου ἐξαιθραπεύοντος...⁴⁹⁷

This use of the genitive absolute, giving the names of those ruling a town, is standard in Greek.⁴⁹⁸ If, then, the Greek version were the primary version, produced by order of the Carian authorities, we might well have expected a similar heading, or at least the use of the verb σατραπεύω (or ξαιθραπεύω); instead, the Greek is clearly intended to be parallel to the Lycian – might we even suspect that the composer was unaware of the existence of the Greek verb?

More serious difficulties, however, begin with interpretation of the clause recording the decision taken. The Greek version states that ἔδοξε δὴ Ξανθίοις καὶ τοῖς περιοίοις ἰδρύσασθαι βωμὸν... ‘it seemed good to the Xanthians and their neighbours to found an altar...’. This impersonal use of ἔδοξε followed by the name of the decision-making body in the dative and the infinitive of the action decided upon was the standard phrasing of a Greek decree, known from the fifth

⁴⁹⁶ Neumann (2007) s.v. *χσσαθραπαζατε* ‘als Satrap regieren’; LSJ s.v. σατραπεύω.

⁴⁹⁷ Syll³ 167.1-2, 17-18, 33-34; the heading is quoted by Crampa (1969) 68.

⁴⁹⁸ Crampa (1969) 69 states that it ‘agrees with the normal headings of decrees issued by other Greek or hellenized cities of the time’.

century onwards across the Greek speaking world.⁴⁹⁹ This is often seen as evidence for the Hellenisation of Lycian society under the Hekatomnids, and as proof that Xanthos had by this time, whether deliberately or unconsciously, become a ‘Greek’ polis, with certain members recognised as full citizens (the Ξανθίοι) and others (the περιοίκοι) holding a lesser status.⁵⁰⁰ Marc Domingo-Gygax makes a similar argument about the significance of the decree, but concludes that the περιοίκοι/*epewētlm̃mēi* were independent of, although linked to, Xanthos.⁵⁰¹ The Ξανθίοι and περιοίκοι are then envisaged meeting together in an assembly or similar congress to ‘pass’ the decree.

In reality, however, it seems very unlikely that this was the case. Even in the Greek, it seems telling that the Ξανθίοι are not described as the δῆμος or, as in later inscriptions, the πόλις of the Xanthians, yet further on in the inscription (lines 12 and 18) the πόλις is said to have given land to the cult, and to be intending to give sacrificial animals each year. This suggests that the Xanthians and neighbours who took the decision to establish the cult were only a small subsection of the population of the πόλις, perhaps the leading men of the town and of smaller settlements in the surrounding area.

The Lycian version perhaps gives some help here. The equivalent of the Ξανθίοι and περιοίκοι are the *arus: se(j) epewētlm̃mēi arñnāi*. The word *epewētlm̃mēi* is

⁴⁹⁹ Rhodes (1997) 4-5.

⁵⁰⁰ E.g. Demargne (1974) 590: ‘La modèle qu’offre la cité grecque suscite des imitations: l’inscription trilingue de Xanthos ... s’inspire de la rédaction grecque des décrets’. The various arguments are discussed in detail by Domingo-Gygax (2001) 22-40.

⁵⁰¹ Domingo-Gygax (2001) 39-40 on the position of the περιοίκοι/*epewētlm̃mēi*; 100-101 for the significance of the Letöon trilingual (‘der wichtigste Beleg für die Existenz von Polisinstitution’ at Xanthos).

not found elsewhere and is therefore presumed to designate those living around the town; it gives no information about their 'legal status'.⁵⁰² Unlike the *περιοίκοι* of the Greek version, however, they are described as *arñnāi* 'Xanthian'. The word *arus* is more complex. It cannot have the same literal meaning as *Ξανθίοι*, because this would be *arñnāi* – a word in fact used to describe both the *arus* and the *epewētlm̃mēi*. It is usually taken to refer to those who are full members of the town, and translated 'citizenry' or similar.⁵⁰³ However, Schürr has recently made the attractive proposition that *arus*, rather than being linked to the Lycian root *arawa-* 'free', is connected to Hittite *aru-* 'high', like Lycian *aruwāti* 'high'.⁵⁰⁴ He suggests that *arus* was the official title of an individual, perhaps the 'Bürgermeister' – an interpretation which also fits its occurrence in TL44c.16.⁵⁰⁵ A key part of Schürr's argument is the observation that *teteri* is used elsewhere in the inscription as the equivalent of the *Ξανθίοι*. When line 12 of the Greek text simply states that the πόλις gave land to the cult, lines 13-14 of the Lycian talk of the *teteri: se(j) epewētlm̃mēi*, while in lines 27-28 the Greek talks again of the *Ξανθίοι καὶ οἱ περιοίκοι*, the Lycian equivalent of which (lines 31-32) is *teteri: arñnas: se(j) epewētlm̃mē: arñnāi*. The obvious interpretation would be that *teteri* designates the *Ξανθίοι* as a group, perhaps with the meaning 'citizenry' which is more usually assigned to *arus*; however, the more common interpretation is

⁵⁰² Neumann (2007) s.v. *epewētlm̃mēi*.

⁵⁰³ Laroche (1979) 103; Eichner (1983) 61 'das freie Stadtvolk'; Melchert (2004) s.v. *arus*- 'citizenry'; Neumann (2007) s.v. *arus* 'Stadtbewohnerschaft, Bürgerschaft, δῆμος' (the latter seems most unlikely, since δῆμος would surely have been used in the Greek version if the meanings were so close).

⁵⁰⁴ Schürr (2014) 18; Neumann (2007) s.v. *aruwāti*.

⁵⁰⁵ Schürr (2014) 17.

‘town’, designating the physical entity, as opposed to the political entity denoted by πόλις.⁵⁰⁶

There are some difficulties, however, with Schürr’s suggestion that the *arus* is an individual: we might, for example, expect such a high-ranking official to have been named alongside the *archons* and *epimeletes* (in the Lycian versions, if not in the Greek), and, perhaps even more worrying, would surely expect his name to be given. Perhaps we should instead think of the *arus* as a council of some sort, the ‘high people’, who took important decisions on behalf of the town; this, too, is problematic though, since we would, in that case, perhaps expect to see a Greek equivalent such as βουλῇ.

One thing which does seem certain, however, is that there was no single Lycian word which could really be equated to the Greek word πόλις. The significance of this is not easy to determine. If the Greek version is indeed a translation of the Lycian, we might see the use of πόλις as simply a useful way to designate the wider Xanthian area, used by a Lycian writer of Greek without any deeper meaning. However, it is also possible that the word is deliberately being used in an attempt to advertise the ‘Greekness’ of Xanthos. The same point can be made more generally of the structure of the decree: the use of the formal sequence ἔδοξε + dative + infinitive may simply show a local speaker of Greek composing (or translating) a decree in the way he knew to be correct, turning the Lycian text into the formal Greek equivalent rather than translating it literally. However, it is also possible that it was a deliberate desire on the part of the

⁵⁰⁶ Neumann (2007) s.v. *teteri*; the meaning ‘city’ ties in well with *teri*, ‘land’.

Xanthians to advertise to any Greek-speaking visitors, and, perhaps more importantly, to their Carian overlords, that they were a sophisticated town which, like the Greek towns of Caria, were able to arrange their own affairs satisfactorily and to record them in the approved manner. I believe that there was at least some element of this in the use of the Greek decree formula –the writer slips after the first vowel into the use of finite verbs (as in the Lycian) rather than the infinitives which ought to follow ἔδοξε, which implies the use of the ‘correct’ Greek formula was not simply automatic.⁵⁰⁷ It seems more doubtful, though, whether the word πόλις was intended as anything more than a useful designation of Xanthos and its territory. In general, the Greek text gives the impression of having been composed by a Lycian, using the Lycian text as a model but departing from a literal translation. This implies a good command of the Greek language on the part of the composer (as discussed above, the letter-cutter was perhaps less secure), but can tell us little about Lycian political life at the time, or the wider ‘Hellenisation’ of Xanthian society.

If Aramaic was used to indicate allegiance to the Empire, and Greek as the chancellery language of the Carians and also, perhaps, as an indication of civic responsibility, the role of Lycian must not be understated. The Lycian text, as described above, is the most neatly set out, and also seems likely to have been the original version of the text. The use of two-point word-dividers here (but not in the Greek text) seems to show a confidence in the traditional styles of Lycian epigraphy and little interest, despite the ‘Greek’ form of the stele, in imitating

⁵⁰⁷ Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 386 point out the ways in which the writer follows and (later) diverges from the expected wording of a Greek decree.

Greek epigraphic norms; word-dividers fell out of use in most Greek cities during the fourth century, but continue to be seen in most Lycian inscriptions. The imprecation at the end of the text against anyone who interferes with the stele or fails to carry out the instructions set out on it is particularly interesting here. The record of the making of oaths is common in Greek inscriptions, but the direct final threat, that the *ēni qlahi* (in the Greek, Leto) will punish anyone who moves the stele, is of a type not often seen elsewhere. Imprecations and threats of this sort of are typical of Lycian epitaphs; is their appearance here a reflection of this? It must also be noted that inscriptions at Mylasa describing the punishment of those who had plotted against Maussollos end with very similar curses, stating that those who contravene the decree will be ἐξώλης ‘utterly destroyed’.

The trilingual inscription uses a similar word, ἀμαρτωλὸς ‘accursed’.⁵⁰⁸ This is perhaps its first occurrence in Lycia: it is also seen in the Greek version of a bilingual inscription at Kaya Köy (TL6), and in many later Greek inscriptions. It is particularly notable that its use is restricted to Lycia, where it continues to be common as late as the Roman period. It is possible that we should think here, as for the use of multiple languages, more in terms of Anatolian usage – as with the Luwian precedents for the Lycian imprecations – than of a specifically Lycian tradition. Nevertheless, the Xanthian imprecation shows a preoccupation with the physical monument which seems likely to originate in funerary inscriptions.

The poor state of preservation of the decree of Pixodarus (TL 45) makes it very difficult to compare the Greek and Lycian versions; it is however noticeable that

⁵⁰⁸ Schweyer (2002) 68 for the word’s unusual meaning within Lycia.

in this case the Greek filiation is as expected (Πιξώδαρος Ἐκατό[μνου]) and is imitated in the Lycian version, where *tideimi* is omitted. Such an omission is very rare in Lycian, and in this case there is no reason to doubt that it resulted from the presence of the Greek version. Either the Greek version must have been the original document (perhaps composed at Pixodarus' court and sent to Xanthos, where the Lycian version was made) or the two versions were deliberately made to appear as close to the Greek as possible with, in this case, the Greek phraseology preferred. The fact that this was a decree issued directly by Pixodarus rather than a decision of Xanthos was reflected, whether intentionally or unintentionally, in the more obviously 'Greek' phrasing of both the Lycian and Greek versions. Does the contrast between the two inscriptions support the argument that the decision recorded in N320 did indeed originate in Xanthos?

The decrees from the reign of Pixodarus undoubtedly show an increased interest in, and awareness, of Greek epigraphic culture at Xanthos by the end of the fourth century. Whether this was either encouraged by, or encouraged, any actual emulation of Greek political forms remains an open question, although I am inclined to believe that the political structure of Xanthos remained essentially oligarchic at this point, and that any desire to appear 'Greek' which can be detected was limited to the epigraphic presentation of decisions taken in the traditional fashion. Furthermore, the Lycian language, which is often said to have been in decline by this point, was clearly flourishing: it seems clear to me that, in this monument, the Lycian text is the most important, with the use of Greek primarily motivated by its role as the official language of the Carian occupiers.

4.5 A dedication by Alexander, SEG 30:1533

Hot on the heels of Pixodarus came the arrival of Alexander the Great in 334. Arrian (*Anabasis* 1.24.3-6) reports that, having subdued Caria and given it to Ada, (sister of Mausolus, Idreius and Pixodarus, and the last of the Hekatomnids to rule Caria), he took Telmessos, Xanthos, Pinara, Patara and ‘thirty lesser cities’ with little resistance, attacked ‘the land called Milyas’ and paused at Termessos, before heading back to the coast at Phaselis.

The importance of the Letöon as a locus for the display of power by would-be rulers of Lycia – already implied by the Letöon trilingual – is confirmed by his dedication there of an inscribed base, which states:

Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλεὺς ἀ[νέθηκε]⁵⁰⁹ (SEG 30 1533)

The base is a single large block of stone, broken on the right, with molding around the top. The top of the block is flat but unworked, perhaps suggesting that another block would have been placed on top of it to hold the dedication; what this dedication would have been is, however, uncertain.⁵¹⁰

Very few surviving inscriptions from any area mention dedications by Alexander. The building inscription on the temple at Priene, which records that Alexander dedicated it to Athena Polias, is the only other known record of a dedication by Alexander. Similarly, there are no known surviving bases for statues in his honour.⁵¹¹ A dedication by Alexander at Xanthos therefore suggests that he was

⁵⁰⁹ Le Roy (1980) 56, pl. XI. An alternative reconstruction of the final word is the name of a divinity, perhaps Ἀ[πόλλωνι].

⁵¹⁰ Le Roy (1980). The most obvious suggestion would be a dedication of a divinity, but a portrait statue of Alexander is also a possibility.

⁵¹¹ Ma (2013) 22.

unusually interested in the town for some reason. The most convincing explanation of this apparent interest in Xanthos comes from Keen's suggestion about Alexander's route and the naval importance of Lycia: if Xanthos and its harbour at Patara (and the other cities of Lycia) were strongly in support of Alexander, this would deny any Persian fleet attempting to sail into the Aegean a useful source of shelter and provisions.⁵¹²

4.6 The Letöon in the late fourth century

The setting up of the altar for the 'Caunian king' and, only five years later, of Alexander's dedication must be seen in the wider context of epigraphy of the Letöon at the period. Examples are rare, but those which survive seem significant: three statue bases, one carrying a two line Lycian inscription (N326), one a longer Lycian inscription (N318), and the other a Greek-Lycian bilingual inscription (N312).

N326 states simply that a certain Nixede *ñte ... ñmijeti* 'set up an installation' connected to the *χθθanaḥi*: it is unclear what the *χθθanaḥi* are, although it must, as Melchert says, have been a votive offering of some sort.⁵¹³ However, the inscription contains no theonym, implying that the recipient of the votive was felt to be clear from the location of the monument; the name of the god is

⁵¹² As mentioned below, Patara seems to have been used by the Antigonids in their campaign against Rhodes; later, Ptolemy II Philadelphos recognized its importance, renaming it as 'Arsinoe' (Strabo 14.3.6). Ironically, as Keen (1996) 117 points out, Arrian 2.2.1 records that Pharnabazus landed Persian troops in Lycia and marched them inland to meet Darius, which simultaneously implies that Lycia was important in naval terms – and that Alexander had failed in his attempt to secure the Lycian coast. Also interesting in this respect is Candace Rice's observation that Patara and Andriake, the two largest ports of Roman Lycia, are both situated on the mouth of large rivers and are therefore liable to silting and not especially good harbours – instead, she suggests, the key reason for their success was the access they offered to routes heading inland to central Anatolia (Rice (2012) 201-202).

⁵¹³ Melchert (2004) s.v. *ñmeije*-2, s.v. *χθθāna*.

similarly absent from the other Lycian dedication (N318) and from the Lycian version of a bilingual statue base at Tlos, suggesting that this was standard Lycian usage. In this case, we might argue that the statement in Erbbina's inscription (N311) that the statue is an offering to *Ertemi* (Artemis) was encouraged by the presence of the Greek poem. Nixede's dedication (if such it was) ends with a further verb, *puhṭti*, the meaning of which remains elusive. The block on which the inscription was carved was reused as a statue base in the Roman period, so that its original appearance is unknown. However, the placement of the two-line inscription at the bottom of an otherwise blank face recalls Erbbina's earlier dedication to Artemis, which has two lines written along the top edge of the base on which it was placed, and also the possible lay-out of the other earlier dedication, N327, which similarly appears to have consisted of two lines at the bottom of the stone.⁵¹⁴

The other monolingual Lycian inscription from the Letöon (N318) is a statue base of a man called Arssāma; his name is clearly Persian, and it may be that his family was of Persian origin.⁵¹⁵ This base has two inscriptions in two different hands, and is carefully finished along both the top and bottom edge, with moulding of a type seen on statue bases throughout the Greek world. The lettering of both inscriptions appears late, although it is impossible to tell which was inscribed first: the first shows √ for <ā> and √ for <χ>, but the second contains no chronologically significant letter forms. Both inscriptions use wording found on other statue bases, the first stating that Arssama *tuwete* 'set

⁵¹⁴ Laroche (1979) Pl. 81.

⁵¹⁵ Keen (1998) 64 suggests that his family might have settled in Lycia during the Achaemenid period.

up' the base – a word also seen on a fourth-century statue base from Xanthos itself (TL51) – while the second uses the same phrasing seen on Nixede's monument; unfortunately, there is a lacuna where we would expect to find the name of the person who set up the monument, with the result that we cannot know whether it, too, refers to Arssama, or to some other man. Although we have no other source of information about Arssama, it is interesting that the word *tr̥m̥mili* ('Lycian') follows the filiation formula, since it suggests that the next word, now lost, might have been a title, describing him as the 'Lycian x'. Was he, perhaps, an official of the Hekatomnid regime, commemorating his service in the sanctuary? In this case, was the sanctuary of wider importance across Lycia?

The third of the statue-bases discovered there (N312) supports this suggestion. It is a plain block of stone (see fig. 30), with two impressions on the top surface where a statue would have stood, and was dedicated by Δημοκλείδης (transliterated into Lycian as *Ñtemuxlida*), a Limyran. Among the fully bilingual texts of Lycia (as opposed to those Lycian inscriptions which are prefaced by a name in Greek), it is unique in having a Greek text followed by a Lycian. The impression that this was the primary text is underlined by Demokleides's Greek name and the fact that he came from Limyra, where (as discussed below) the use of Greek was becoming increasingly common. However, the appearance of the monument implies that the two versions were of nearly equal importance. In contrast to a similar statue base at Tlos (TL25, discussed below), the Greek and Lycian scripts are very similar in style: both are cut with deep, bold strokes, and show small serifs at the ends of the letter-strokes, as well as a half-size <o>. Letter forms which are the same in both alphabets, such as Greek E and Lycian

<i>, are, in this case, identical. The heights of the letters are the same, and there is no attempt to separate the Greek and Lycian versions.

The wording of the two texts, however, differs somewhat: the Greek version uses the common imprecation ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, which has no equivalent in the Lycian; more surprisingly, the Lycian also omits the verb, while the Greek uses the standard dedicatory verb ἀνεθηκεν. Unlike the monolingual Lycian statue bases – but like that of Erbbina – Demokleides states even in the Lycian version of his dedication that it is *Ertemi*, to Artemis; the fact that he, like Erbbina, describes the base as *χruwata* may suggest that he was emulating the earlier monument in some way. However, the Lycian text of Demokleides' inscription is much shorter, and the omission of the verb implies – in spite of the fact that the Greek version of this particular inscription does include a verb – that Demokleides was inspired by the more laconic wording of many Greek dedications. Was Demokleides a Limyran living at Xanthos, or did he visit with the specific aim of making a dedication there, at the most important sanctuary of the area? The number of statue bases discovered here, in contrast with their apparent absence elsewhere, may lead us to conclude that the latter was the case.

The epigraphy of the Letöon, both in the Hekatomnid period and earlier, is noticeably distinct from that of the city of Xanthos and of other sites. To some extent, this must be simply the result of the sacred nature of the site, and the fact that it was primarily a religious site, rather than a settlement. However, the presence of these free-standing statue bases is also in contrast to, for example, the placement of statues in niches at Phellos at the start of the century, and may

suggest that, under the influence of the Hekatomnids, the site was becoming increasingly similar in character to a Greek sanctuary.

4.7 Second half of the fourth century: epitaphs at Xanthos and Pinara

During the Hekatomnid period, a comparatively small number of ‘private’ inscriptions seem to have been produced at Xanthos: with the exception of a single statue base (TL51), all of these are tomb epitaphs. There is no equivalent, though, of the overwhelming monuments of the early fourth-century ruler, nor even of the grand tomb of Pajawa, with its emphatic scattering of inscriptions. Three of the epitaphs, TL38 (see fig. 31), TL39 (fig. 32 and 33) and TL41) are set on smooth areas of stone to the side of the door, as already seen in the earlier inscriptions. Records of payments continue to be seen, as well as explanations, of varying complexity, about who might be buried in the tomb: thus Ijetruxle (in TL38) states simply that he built his tomb *hrppi ladi se tideime* ‘for his wife and children’, while Mēmruwi (in TL39) and the anonymous builder of the tomb with TL41 state that the tombs are for the *esedeñnewi: χñnahi* ‘the relations of their grandmothers’.⁵¹⁶

The lettering of Mēmruwi’s tomb appears particularly late, showing ‘late’ forms of <ã> (↘), <χ> (↙), <p> (↗) <n> (↖) and, most unusually, (b) (see Chart 3); in addition, final <ã> has altered to <u> in prñnawu. The form of the tomb-chamber is also late, with six niches carved into the walls, to enable the addition of later burials without disturbance of those already there.⁵¹⁷ This may reflect

⁵¹⁶ Melchert (2004) s.v. *χñna*; Bryce (1979) 297.

⁵¹⁷ Seyer (2009) 73-74.

the increasing number of people who were given the right to be placed in a tomb: as Bryce points out, the later Greek epitaphs of Lycia ‘indicate a far larger range of tomb inhabitants’, and we appear to be seeing the beginnings of this trend here – although even in the earlier inscriptions, whole ‘households’ sometimes seem to be mentioned (as in TL36).

Although new epitaphs at Xanthos seem to have been no more common at this point than earlier in the century, it must be remembered that those which were already present on tombs would in many cases have been of continuing importance in showing who had the right to be buried in a certain tomb: this is particularly clear in the case of Padrāma’s tomb (with TL48) which, as discussed in Chapter 3, was sold at some point to Qarñnaḫa, but would presumably also have been true of epitaphs on other tombs. The epigraphic culture of Xanthos at this time, in spite of the appearance of Pixodarus’ decree, remained very similar to that seen in the early fourth century, both in the almost exclusive use of the Lycian language and in the almost purely funerary purposes to which it was put.

At Pinara, a similar situation prevailed, with the difference that the production of Lycian epitaphs appears not merely to have continued but even flourished. As shown on Chart 6, eight or nine of the fourteen surviving inscriptions from the city appear from their letter forms to have been produced at a comparatively late date, certainly after the time of Arttuṃpara, and probably, in most cases, in the second half of the fourth century. Only epitaphs are found, and, in contrast to the situation at Xanthos, these are very conventional: with the exception of TL20, in which the otherwise unknown verb *sernitē* appears, all begin with the ‘building

formula', all but one (TL18) show a standard 'filiation formula', and all those which contain a *hrppi*-clause (five out of the eight) mention only their *ladi se tideime*. The abbreviated payment clauses mentioned in Chapter 3 appear in four cases (TL16, TL17, TL20 and N322) specifying only small amounts of money, in contrast to the 10½ *ada* stipulated on Ddappssĩmma's sarcophagus: TL16 stipulates a fee of 2½ *ada*, as does N322, while TL20 states 2 *ada*, and TL17 only 1.⁵¹⁸

This regularity in the wording of the epitaphs is mirrored in the appearance of the tombs on which they are placed, all of which are comparatively small rock-tombs, mostly in the 'south necropolis'. There are a number of grander tombs at Pinara, (including the one decorated with relief scenes of a city) but none of these carry a surviving epitaph.⁵¹⁹ They are situated in the 'stream necropolis', which is generally thought to have been the earlier of the two, although the fact that TL12, one of the apparently late epitaphs, is on a rock-tomb there shows that this was not always the case. The lack of excavation at the site and the absence of any record in historical sources means that we cannot be sure how the town was administered at this point, or what social conditions prevailed, but the small rock-tombs and accompanying epitaphs perhaps suggest a society in which there was a comparatively prosperous élite, with the economic resources to build tombs, and with no one person or family in a position of particular dominance. Would the administration of the town have been overseen by a Carian official, such as the *epimeletes* of Xanthos mentioned in the trilingual

⁵¹⁸ Neumann (1979) 49 states that N322 gives a fee of 2 *ada*, but a squeeze in the ÖAI clearly shows II- (2½).

⁵¹⁹ The site is described in detail by Wurster and Wörrle (1978) 74-101.

inscription, with the Lycian inhabitants concentrating more on their own affairs and immediate families?

4.8 Second half of the fourth century: epitaphs at Tlos

The epigraphic culture of Tlos at this period appears noticeably different from that of Xanthos and Pinara, with far more variation in the nature and wording of the surviving inscriptions. As shown in Chart 8, only two inscriptions from Tlos show ‘earlier’ letter forms: all the others appear to come from the mid fourth century or later. Of these, only one is a epitaph similar to the sort seen so often at Pinara: this is the newly discovered inscription N334.⁵²⁰

It is inscribed to the right-hand side of a tomb at the bottom of the acropolis, and shows a number of interesting features. The building formula does not appear: instead, the text starts with the name *Ipresida*, and continues *ajēta[.]d[.]h armanazah tideimi*. Tekoğlu, the first editor of the text, suggests that *armanaza* was the title of *Ipresida*’s father, and the *-aza* ending, which usually refers to an office of some sort (as in *kumaza* ‘priest’) makes this plausible; in this case *ajēta[.]d[.]h* would presumably be the father’s name, although it does not correspond to any known Lycian name. This would mean, however, that the verb is entirely omitted which, as discussed above, would be extremely unusual. It may be that some form of the verb *a(i)-* ‘to make’ should be seen here (perhaps a first person form ending in *-a*), but if so, it does not correspond to any verb-form found elsewhere.⁵²¹ If this were the case, *Armanaza* might be the name of

⁵²⁰ Ed. pr. Tekoğlu (2002-2003) 106-107.

⁵²¹ Melchert (2004) s.v. *a(i)-*; Neumann (2007) s.v. *a(i)-*.

Ipresida's father (since personal names in *-aza* are also found), or the name might have been a particularly short one, ending *-dah*. Perhaps more likely, however, is that the verb was simply omitted.

Interestingly, Ipresida also describes himself as *Ikuweh tedi se prñnezijeh<i>* 'father and (?)member of the household of Ikuwe'. Ikuwe is also the name of the builder of an enormous monument now lying beside the road which leads up to Tlos from the valley below, which is inscribed with a nineteen line inscription (TL29; see fig. 21) recording his various deeds, including connections with the Carian satrap Idreius (line 5) and with Alexander the Great (*Alaxssañtra*, line 9), as well as with Arttuñpara (line 7).⁵²² He is described as the *Ipresidah: tedeimi* 'son of Ipresida', so it seems very likely that he was the son of the builder of N334; it is very rare for a tomb-builder to describe themselves as 'father of ...', but if Ikuwe was as important as his large tomb and the accompanying inscription implies this would explain why his father wished to highlight the connection.⁵²³ Ikuwe's career seems to span the middle of the fourth century, from the time of Arttuñpara, c. 360 at the latest, to the time of Alexander, showing that he was still active in 334; he might well have been successful enough by around 350 for Ipresida to have been keen to point out their relationship, and a date around this time would fit the 'intermediate' forms of <ē> (𐌺 and 𐌻) which contrast with – and appear to be stages in the development of – the later form, 𐌽, seen in TL 29.

⁵²² The surviving structure is similar in appearance to the shaft of a pillar tomb, but is so much later than any other surviving 'pillar tomb' that it is questionable whether it can really be considered as such: however, the fact that it was a tomb of some sort is clearly shown by the appearance of the word *ñtatu* 'burial chamber' (Melchert (2004) s.v. *ñtata-*) in the second line.

⁵²³ Tekoğlu (2002-2003) 107 (this in fact states that the name is known as that of the 'father of Ipresida', but this rest of the comment makes it clear that 'son' is meant).

After these exceptional features, Ipresidah's epitaph continues conventionally: he states that the tomb is built *hrppi ladi ehbi se tideime* and specifies a payment of 2 *ada* for the carrying out of burials (using the abbreviated formula also seen at Tlos). No other such payment is seen, and no other inscribed epitaph has been found on a rock tomb. To some extent this may be simply the result of accidents of survival: since Ipresida's tomb was buried until recently, there may well be other inscriptions waiting to be discovered – it is also possible that the standard epitaphs were painted rather than incised.

Nevertheless, it is very noticeable that there are a high number of unusual inscriptions from the city: the other surviving funerary monuments include a stele (TL27) with its top edge shaped into a gable like a stele from Athens or elsewhere, and two sarcophagi, one with a bilingual inscription (TL23) and one with simply the name of the builder (TL30). As already mentioned, Ikuwe's inscription is particularly unusual, due to both its length and the form of the monument on which it is inscribed.

Evidence for the use of Greek at a similar time is given by the bilingual epitaph on the sarcophagus of Elpuweti (TL 23). The Lycian version precedes the Greek, and begins with the standard Lycian 'building formula', reading *ebēñnē ñtatu [m]ē ti prñn[aw]atē el[puw]eti*. It continues by stating that the tomb was built *atli ehbi*, which seems to be a good example of the occurrence of this phrase being motivated by Greek usage, since the Greek version of the inscription includes the reflexive pronoun *ἐαυτῷ* 'for himself'. The Greek version does not give a word

for the tomb – beginning instead with the builder’s name – but does include a verb, κατεσκευάσατο, translating *prñnawatē*. The tomb-builder shows a desire to use the ‘correct’ forms of words in each language, but an effort appears to have been made to ensure that the two versions were comparatively similar.

One of the most interesting monuments of fourth-century Tlos is a bilingual statue base dedicated to Apollo by Xssbezē (TL25; fig. 34). In contrast to Demokleides’ dedication at the Letöon (N312), this begins with the Lycian text, and is followed by the Greek. Also in contrast to N312 is the clear effort that has been made to distinguish the two scripts: the Lycian script is boldly cut, in the ‘curved’ style which is common both here and at Pinara, with plain, square ends to the letter-strokes, while the Greek script has large, stylised serifs, and letter-stroke which, when not straight, curve inwards, in contrast to the convex curve of the Lycian. Furthermore, Xssbezē’s name is not transliterated into Greek; the Greek gives his names as Πόρπαξ, a word meaning ‘shield-handle’, and Xssbezē probably has a similar meaning; Hajnal suggests that it is an agent noun based on *saH2i- ‘tie’.⁵²⁴ Houwink ten Cate suggests that it ‘is probably a Lycian loan-translation of the Greek name’⁵²⁵; however, neither word seems to be found as a name elsewhere, so it is impossible to be sure which was the original. Certainly the name of Xssbezē’s father, Krupsse, is a Lycian name, perhaps making it unlikely – although not impossible – that his son would have been given such an unusual Greek name if he were to be named in Greek.

⁵²⁴ Hajnal (1995) 35–36. For the hypothetical Lycian root *saH2(i)- cf. Hittite išḫij a-

⁵²⁵ Houwink ten Cate (1961) 105.

There are a number of other ways in which this monument demonstrates a high level of awareness of the difference between Lycian and Greek usage: the Greek inscription begins with Porpax's name, and continues with the accusative pronoun ἑαυτον 'himself' and the name of his wife in the accusative; it ends with the statement Ἀπόλλωνι 'to Apollo', showing that the statues of himself and his wife are intended as a dedication to the god. No verb is given; presumably the verb of dedication, ἀνεθηκεν, is to be understood.

The Lycian text, by contrast, begins in the usual way with the word describing the monument on which the inscription is placed, in this case *ebeis tukedris*, 'these statues'. It contains a verb, as expected (*tuwetē*), followed by Xssbezē's name, and a standard filiation formula using *tideimi* (whereas υἱός is not in the Greek). Finally, and most interestingly, there is no mention of the god Apollo, in spite of the fact that we know Apollo to have had a Lycian equivalent, Natri.⁵²⁶ This might imply that the statues, when understood through the Lycian text, were to be considered memorials to Xssbezē and his wife, rather than offerings to a god. However, the fact that statue bases dedicated in the Letöon show a similar lack of a theonym implies that it was not a requirement of dedications in Lycian: perhaps identity of the god for whom an offering was intended was felt to be self-evident from the position of the statue-bases. Since we do not know where these statue bases, which were found in the Roman theatre, were originally erected, we have no way to tell whether this was the case.

Xssbezē - or whoever composed the two versions on his behalf – shows a high

⁵²⁶ Neumann (2007) s.v. *natri*. The theonym appears in the Lycian B text of the inscribed pillar, as well as in the Lycian version of the name Ἀπολλόδοτος in N320.

level of awareness of the different norms of epigraphy in Greek and Lycian, and a wish to distinguish the inscriptions in the two different languages. Which, if either, of the languages is privileged is not obvious. The Lycian text shows no attempt to look 'Greek' – if anything, its 'Lycian-ness' is emphasised, with the curved letter forms and the distinctive $\wedge$ form of <n> distinguishing it visually from the Greek. On the other hand, there is no evidence that Greek was Xssbezē's mother-tongue: he must have made a conscious decision to add a Greek version of the inscription, showing his interest in Greek culture and Greek dedicatory practices. This impression is reinforced by the fact that an inscription (TL25b) on a second statue base, in the same hand, records that it was made by an Athenian named Theodoros, presumably a itinerant craftsman, who had perhaps been invited to Tlos for the express purpose of carving statues of Xssbezē and his wife. The statue bases seem to show Xssbezē as a man who was both conscious of, and proud of, his Lycian identity, but also interested in Greek language and culture, which, as a result of Carian political domination, was becoming more widespread across Lycia.

4.9 Bilingual Epitaphs – the democratisation of Greek?

Two other inscriptions known from this period have Lycian and Greek versions set alongside each other: these are TL6 (see fig. 35), from the acropolis of Karmylessos, modern Kaya Köy, and TL56 (see figs. 36 and 37), from Antiphellos.⁵²⁷ Kaya Köy, which was, until the 1920s, the Greek town of Levissi, lies in a valley on the promontory south of Telmessos; the large Greek town which covered the ancient acropolis is now deserted, and the tomb inscribed

⁵²⁷ Both show letter forms typical of the second part of the fourth century.

with TL6 is concealed in a rocky corner behind a small chapel (Heberdey's Μοναστήριον ἁγίου Ἀθερινού).⁵²⁸

At both sites, the inscribing of epitaphs only appears to have become popular at the end of the fourth century: only two other Lycian inscriptions are known from the area of Karmylessos, and these (TL7 and TL8, on the opposite side of the valley from the acropolis) both show the latest letter forms (see Chart 9) and record the building of a tomb by the same man; at Antiphellos, only the Lycian B inscription on a large sarcophagus (TL55) and possibly one epitaph (TL59) appear likely to have been cut significantly earlier than the Hekatomnid period.

These inscriptions are often said to show the increased presence of Greeks in the peninsula during the fourth century.⁵²⁹ However, although their existence is noteworthy, they remained a rarity. True bilingual inscriptions, although commoner than in the surrounding parts of Asia Minor, were comparatively rare: two were produced in the early fourth century (TL72 and TL117), and, in the second part of the century, the two bilingual statue bases just discussed (N312 and TL25), the bilingual epitaph at Tlos (TL23), and the two epitaphs discussed here. Indeed, the use of Greek together with Lycian seems to have been no more common at this point than it was at the start of the fourth century. There was, however, a clear alteration in the context in which it was used: while at early fourth-century Xanthos it appears to have been used only by the rulers of the

⁵²⁸ Kalinka (1901) 17. Spratt and Forbes (1847) describe 'the large Greek village of Leveesy, the principle Greek station in Lycia... Here there are some remarkable rock tombs'. This is a useful corrective to the lonely impression given by the valley in its current state, and makes it clear that much of the ancient town must have been obliterated by the Greek settlement.

⁵²⁹ By, for example, Bryce (1980) 379 n. 22.

town in monuments of particular importance and visibility, by the end of the century it was used in far more banal contexts.

The reason for the use of Greek in the two examples under discussion here is not easily discerned. At Karmylessos, the name of one of the tomb builders, Ἀπολλωνίδης, suggesting the possibility that he was of Greek origin, and might have been a Greek speaker. The names of his father and son, however, are Mullijese and Dapara, both of which are Lycian.⁵³⁰ It is almost impossible to extrapolate ideas about ethnic identity from names, since a Lycian might easily have been given a Greek name, especially if, as seems likely, this inscription was produced during the period of Hekatomnid control over Lycia. However, it is possible, in view of both his name and the use of Greek in his epitaph, to imagine that Apollonides might have a Greek ancestor at some point – perhaps his mother.

Ἀπολλωνίδης is rendered in Lycian as Pulenjda: the fact that it had undergone apheresis suggests that it was not simply transcribed from the Greek, but was used in everyday Lycian speech.⁵³¹ In addition, the fact that the name was not ‘translated’ (in contrast to Xssbezē ~ Πόρπαξ in TL25 and Ἀπολλόδοτος ~ Natrbbijēmi in N320), although it so easily could have been (as the example of Natrbbijēmi shows), suggests that the Lycian version was in everyday use. At Antiphellos, in TL56, there is not even the slight evidence of a Greek name to suggest that the tomb-builder was primarily Greek rather than Lycian: he is *lytta*

⁵³⁰ Houwink ten Cate (1961) 102- 3, 154. Zgusta (1964) 325- 6 (Mullijese), 143 (Dapara).

⁵³¹ Hajnal (1995) 189.

Hlah tideimi, Ἰκτας Λα in the Greek.

In both inscriptions, the Lycian text is placed first, and begins, as expected, with the 'building formula'. Differences can be seen, however, in the way that the Greek and Lycian versions interact. In Apollonides' epitaph, some effort appears to have been made to ensure that the two versions are parallel, a phenomenon described by Rutherford as 'aesthetic symmetry'.⁵³² For example, the Lycian omits *tideimi*, mirroring the Greek filiation, while the Greek text begins: τοῦτο τὸ μνημα ἔργασαντο Ἀπολλωνίδης..., a direct translation of the Lycian, *ebēñnē ñtatā mene prñnawātē pulenjda...*, both meaning 'Apollonides built this tomb'. Both the Lycian and Greek versions end with an imprecation of the sort common in eastern Lycia, but otherwise unknown in western Lycia, except in the Letöon trilingual. The only difference between the two versions is in the absence from the Greek of the stipulation of a payment, which the Lycian version gives in the form *aladahali: ada <*.

Rutherford points out that the similarity in the word order of the Greek and Lycian versions cannot prove that the Greek word order imitates the Lycian, since 'the tomb, being the topic, is naturally placed at the start of the sentence'.⁵³³ Nevertheless, it seems very likely that that was the case: in the epitaph from Antiphellos (TL56), by contrast, the Greek version begins with the name of the builder, as on the statue bases TL25 and N312. Indeed, the Lycian and Greek versions of TL 56 diverge in other ways too: while the Lycian version includes

⁵³² Rutherford (2002) 216.

⁵³³ Rutherford (2002) 213-214.

tideimi in the filiation formula, the Greek simply uses the genitive of the father's name.⁵³⁴ Conversely, the Greek form gives the ethnic Ἀντιφελλίτης, which does not appear in the Lycian. Ethnics appear only rarely in Lycian epigraphy, and a high proportion of those which do are from bilingual inscriptions: Arñna- 'Xanthian' is seen only in N320 and (non-bilingual) TL 40; Tlahñ and Tlãñna 'Tloan' from TL 25 and TL 44; Pilleñni- 'Pinaran' from TL 25, and Zemuris 'of Limyra' from N312. Further divergence is seen in the imprecation at the end of the epitaph: while the Greek hopes that Leto (the standard *interpretatio Graeca* of the *ēni qlahi ebijehi* of the Lycian) will punish anyone who damages the tomb, the Lycian version adds a reference to the *wedri wehñtezi* 'the nymphs(?) of Phellos'.⁵³⁵

The key question raised by these inscriptions is who the Greek versions were written *for*: were they intended to be read by other Lycians, or by those who were unable to read Lycian?

The appearance of the two inscriptions may provide some clue here: in TL6, the two scripts are clearly distinguished, with the Lycian in the 'curved' style and the Greek with small serifs, whereas in TL56 the two scripts are far more similar in appearance. Conversely, as discussed, the language of the two inscriptions is closer in TL6 than in TL56. Does this suggest that the builders of TL6 were keen to emphasise the 'Greekness' of the text, as a mark of learning and culture, for the

⁵³⁴ Rutherford (2002) 216.

⁵³⁵ Melchert (2004) s.v. *wedri(je)*- "watery" hence 'naiad'. Neumann (2007) s.v. *wedri*, however, gives the meaning of the word as 'Stadt (mit Umland), πόλις, δῆμος, ἄστυ', which would alter the interpretation of the imprecation significantly, by combining divine sanctions with punishment by a civic power, the 'city of Phellos' – an odd combination which, I believe, makes Melchert's interpretation preferable.

benefit of their fellow Lycian-speakers, while the builder of TL56 was concerned only to produce a text which would be comprehensible to those who could read only Greek?

4.10 The Epitaphs of Limyra – Greek and Lycian in the fourth century

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the number of Lycian inscriptions produced at Limyra in the years after Perikle appears to have remained comparatively static. The nature of the inscriptions altered slightly, with an increase in the number containing a *hrppi*-clause, and a slight increase in the number to contain a dedication but a decrease in the use of the filiation formula, but the essential points included remained the same. These alterations are hard to interpret, since the numbers of inscriptions involved, even at this most prolific of sites, remain relatively low (a total of 23 epitaphs). The increasing complexity of the imprecations which appear, however, is, however, noticeable, although the significance of this remains obscure. In addition, the stipulation of fines to be paid for violation of a tomb – which became so common in the epitaphs of the Roman period – seems to be increasingly popular: of the five Limyran examples of this phenomenon identified by Christiansen, only one (TL111) seems likely to have been earlier than the middle of the fourth century.⁵³⁶ This suggests that the use of fines as well as curses was a tendency which increased during the years after Perikle, perhaps as a result of an increasing civic consciousness at Limyra, similar to that seen at Xanthos with the production of the Letöon trilingual.

⁵³⁶ Christiansen (2009) 48-49.

The most noticeable feature of the epigraphy of Limyra at this point, however, is the appearance of monolingual Greek epitaphs, of which Wörrle has identified 14 from the fourth century.⁵³⁷ Of these, three (H II 12, H II 24 and H II 33) give only the name in the genitive: a way of labelling a tomb which was common on Rhodes and Samos. It is interesting that there are three Lycian inscriptions (TL130, TL141, TL129) at Limyra which also give only the name in the genitive: this is a phenomenon not found elsewhere, and it is tempting to argue that it was influenced by the Greek usage, although the scarcity of letters in the inscriptions makes it impossible to suggest a date for them.⁵³⁸

If this is unclear, the effect of the Lycian epitaphs on certain Greek epitaphs is undeniable. The opening lines of H II 32, for example, are just as much a direct translation of the Lycian ‘building formula’ as is the Greek of the bilingual inscription TL6:

τοῦτον τ[ὸ]ν τάφον κατασκεύασεν Ριμαπας Οασυμμου
 ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Αρινδαματι καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς ἑαυτῶν...⁵³⁹

These lines are then followed by an imprecation, less clearly obviously similar to the imprecations seen in Lycian epitaphs of the time, but still clearly modelled on the indigenous practice. Wrongdoers will be ἀμαρτωλὸς toward the gods – the

⁵³⁷ Wörrle (2012a) 411-457. He numbers the inscriptions with the preface ‘H II...’, and I refer to the inscriptions by these number here (and in Chapter 5).

⁵³⁸ The name of the builder of TL130, Ddeppñnewe, does, however, appear in the genitive on a tomb at Myra, which has four connected epitaphs; the name, in the genitive, in perhaps used as an initial ‘label’, which might suggest that painted names in the genitive were common, but simply have not survived. On the arrangement of N309, see Eichner (1993) 230-240.

⁵³⁹ Wörrle (2012a) 422 (H II 32).

same word seen in the imprecation at the end of N320, which reappears in both later Greek epitaphs, and official decrees of the Ptolemaic period.

Bilingual Commemoration: the monuments of Purihimeti

One good illustration of the flexibility in language-choice seen at Limyra during the late fourth century is given by the figure of Purihimeti. His tomb, which stands in N. III, is an unusual variation on the standard 'Limyra-typus' - a gable has been added over the 'pole-roof'. It carries the Lycian epitaph TL99. Nearby, however, is a Greek decree inscribed on a stele carved in relief into the rock face (SEG 41 1379), usually dated in the last quarter of the fourth century (although the palaeography suggests it could be somewhat later).⁵⁴⁰ This records that the *koinon* of the Pernitai (probably inhabitants of a small settlement near Limyra) have decided to honour Purimatis son of Masas – the same man who built the tomb. The gables of the tomb and the stele have been carved in such a way as to match each other closely, emphasising the connection between them. The text of the inscription combines conventional formulaic elements found in Greek honorific decrees from around the Aegean, but used in an unexpected way, with more specifically 'Lykian' elements.

It opens with a standard invocation: Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Ἔδοξεν Περνιτῶν τῶι κοινῶι. However, the sole honour recorded for Purimatis is the setting up of the stele - and the stele itself is not a free-standing monument but merely a representation of a stele, carved in relief onto the rock-face. This seems to reflect the Lycian preoccupation with recording the building of monuments which is seen in the

⁵⁴⁰ Ed. pr. Ed. pr. Wörrle (1991) 218-234.

‘building formula’ of the epitaphs, as well as on the ‘royal’ inscriptions of Xanthos. At the end of the decree, a typically ‘Lycian’ imprecation is added, cursing anyone who damages the stele.

It is possible that the decree was a translation from a Lycian original, but the various ‘Greek’ elements, and the deliberately ‘official’ phrasing, suggest that this was not the case. Perhaps more likely is that it was a condensed version of a longer decree on a free-standing stele, edited for use as part of a funerary monument. If so, it would still remain striking that the only ‘honour’ to be retained is the setting up of the stele: would this show a misunderstanding of the original Greek, or merely that the stele was prized above any other honours. In view of the widespread use of Greek in Lycia by this point, the latter seems the more plausible.

These two documents are an excellent example of the conscious choice of different languages for different purposes: the honorific decree *should* be, and is, in Greek, while Purihimeti must have considered the traditional ‘building formula’ epitaph appropriate for a funerary context. Particularly striking is the way that this linguistic division is retained when other elements of both monuments show clear evidence of hybridisation, in the ‘Lycian’ elements of the decree and the ‘Greek’ gable on the tomb.

4. 11 Effects of Hekatomnid Rule

From this chapter, it can be seen that the most noticeable effect of Hekatomnid rule on the epigraphy of Lycia was the emergence of what we might term ‘official’ epigraphy: the inscribing of decrees of the city of Xanthos and of the Carian rulers. However, the more subtle increase in the production of inscriptions at the Letöon is also noteworthy, as is the increased – although only slightly increased – number of bilingual inscriptions produced.

Limyra appears unique among the Lycian cities in the number of monolingual fourth-century Greek epitaphs to be found, although this is probably, at least to some extent, an illusion created by the fact that this site has been excavated and studied in more detail than other sites.⁵⁴¹ Nevertheless, it does not seem unreasonable to posit a connection between the appearance of Greek inscriptions at Limyra and Perikle’s apparent interest in Greek culture (and possible political connections with the Greek cities). We might even suggest that the king’s use of Greek in his altar dedication might have encouraged his subject to imitate him, and to use Greek in their own private epigraphy.

⁵⁴¹ The skewing of the evidence by the vagaries of publication is well illustrated by Colvin’s statement, from before Wörrle’s publication of the Limyran material, that fourth-century monolingual Greek inscriptions are found only in central Lycia, with inscriptions in eastern Lycia ‘too few to provide meaningful data’ (Colvin (2004) 44).

Chapter 5

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: Lycian and Greek in the Ptolemaic Period

When Alexander continued east after his passage through Lycia, the region was left under the control of Nearchos, who was satrap until 329.⁵⁴² Antigonos Monophthalmos was given control of the area at the division of Alexander's empire in Babylon in 323, but it is possible that he had actually controlled it from 331 or 330 onwards; his reign seems to have lasted until 309, at least in the Xanthos valley, but with little visible effect on the epigraphy of the peninsula.⁵⁴³

5.1 Ptolemy I in Lycia

In 309, according to Diodoros Siculus, Ptolemy I captured Phaselis, Xanthos and Kaunos from Antigonos; it seems likely that he would thereby have gained some form of control over the intervening coast of Lycia, since sailing along the coast would have necessitated control of harbours such as Limyra, one of the largest and most important of the cities of Lycia, as well as of the roadstead outside Timiussa and Simena.⁵⁴⁴ Even if these were not 'Ptolemaic' in the sense of being administered by Ptolemaic officials, they would have needed to be sympathetic – or at least conciliatory – towards Ptolemy if he were to sail westwards along the coast, struggling into the prevailing wind, to enable him to put in as necessary along that coastline.

⁵⁴² Polyaeus, *Strat.* v. 35; Arrian *Anabasis* 3.6.6; CAH vi. 364. Stark (1958) 107.

⁵⁴³ Wörrle (1991) 232-233. Dio. Sic. 20.27.1 records Ptolemy I taking Xanthos from Antigonos in 309, but does not state who controlled eastern Lycia at this point.

⁵⁴⁴ Dio. Sic. 20.27.1; Wörrle (1977) 51-52. Diodorus says that having captured Phaselis, Ptolemy εἰς δὲ τὴν Λυκίαν παρακομισθεὶς Ξάνθον φρουρουμένην ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου κατὰ κράτος ἔλκεν. παρακομίζω can be used in the passive with the preposition εἰς to mean 'to sail beside, to coast along', which may be how it is to be understood here (LSJ s.v. παρακομίζω).

However, it remains unclear how long Ptolemy's domination of Lycia lasted at this point, whether he later lost control of the area, and, if so, whether he ever managed to regain it. In 307, Demetrios Poliorketes sailed from Caria to Cyprus. Andrew Meadows, in his discussion of Ptolemaic control of Lycia, argues that in order to do this he must have sailed along the Lycian coast, which, therefore, must have come under Antigonid control once again.⁵⁴⁵ This appears to be confirmed by Diodorus' story of the Rhodian commander Menedemos slipping out past Demetrios' blockade (in 304), sailing to Patara, burning a ship whose crew was ashore, and capturing other ships which were taking provisions to the army - clearly implying that Patara (and therefore, at the very least, Xanthos and the rest of the Xanthos valley) were controlled by, or friendly to, Antigonos and Demetrios.⁵⁴⁶ After the Antigonids' defeat at Ipsos in 301, Lysimachos gained control of most of Asia Minor west of the Taurus; what remains unclear, however, is whether Ptolemy retained control of any parts of Lycia.⁵⁴⁷

A much-discussed inscription from Limyra, SEG 27:929, seems to show that the city was again under Ptolemy's control by 288/7. This is the earliest Lycian 'official' inscription which can safely be said to have been produced under the Ptolemies - or, indeed, at any time after the death of Alexander. This is unsurprising: in spite of the publication of the two Hekatomnid decrees at

⁵⁴⁵ Meadows (2006) 463.

⁵⁴⁶ Meadows (2006) 460; Dio. Sic. 20.93.3.

⁵⁴⁷ Will (1979) 80 suggests that Ptolemy gained - or retained - control of some places in Lycia, Pamphylia and perhaps Pisidia at this point; see also Lund (1992) 80-81. Lysimachos' campaign through Asia Minor prior to the Battle of Ipsos is covered by Diodorus Siculus 20.107-113. Plutarch *Demetrios* 46.2 records that Demetrios headed to Asia in the 280s in order to take Caria and Lydia from Lysimachos (who had presumably held them since 302/1).

Xanthos, the epigraphic culture of Lycia in the fourth century appears to have remained essentially individual, primarily involving the production of epitaphs, and this continued to be the case into the start of the Hellenistic period.⁵⁴⁸ Over the course of the third century, however, the epigraphic culture of the peninsula was to alter drastically. Nevertheless, some continuity can be seen: in particular, as I argue below, the Lycian language continued to be used in epigraphy during the first few decades of the third century, even in official or quasi-official inscriptions.

5.2 Honours for Ptolemaic *oikonomoi* at Limyra, SEG 27 929

The crucial Limyran inscription is a decree granting honours to Amyntas son of Euthon and Sosigenes, son of Zopyros, both Kaunians appointed as *oikonomoi* by a king Ptolemy.⁵⁴⁹

The dating formula with which the inscription opens reads:

[Βασιλ]εύοντο[ς Π]τολεμαίου ἔτ[ου]ς ἔκτου καὶ [τριακ]οστ[οῦ]
μηνο[ς] Δυστροῦ...

‘In the 36th year of king Ptolemy, in the month Dystros....’.

It then states that Amyntas and Sosigenes have been:

... κατασταθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλ[έως]

[Π]τολεμαίου οἰκονόμοι τῆς χώρας... (ll. 4-5)

⁵⁴⁸ By contrast, a number of Aegean and Ionian towns produced long series of inscriptions during this time: e.g. letters from the king and laws against tyrants at Eresos, 306-301: Ellis-Evans (2012) 183-212. Honorific decrees at Ephesos: Syll³ 352, 353, 354. Letters from various kings were being inscribed at an earlier stage than the letter to Telmessos discussed below (e.g. at Scepsis in 311 (RC 1); at Teos in 303 (RC 3/4); at Kaunos in 300-296 or 287-285 (I.Kaunos 6.2.1.1)) but these appear sporadically, and not in great numbers.

⁵⁴⁹ SEG 27:929, ed. pr Wörrle (1977).

‘...appointed *oikonomoi* of the land by king Ptolemy’

and that they have been honoured for their helpfulness:

...εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν τὴν Λιμυρέων κα[ι]

τοὺς περιοίκους καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Λυκίους... (ll. 6-7)

...towards the city of the Limyrans and the *perioikoi* and the other Lycians’.

The honours granted are those which *poleis* commonly granted to benefactors who were not members of the community: they are to be *euergetai* and *proxenoi* of the *polis* and are to be given citizenship, the right to hold land, and freedom from taxation, as well as the right to enter and leave the harbour in peace and war, and an equal share with the Limyrans in religious ceremonies (ll. 10-15); note the contrast with the decree of the Pernitai mentioned above (Chapter 4.10).

Wörrle, the first editor of the inscription, believes that the king referred to in the prescript is Ptolemy I, showing that he ruled Lycia during 288/7 and had controlled the area with no real interruption from 309 onwards; as discussed below, this has been seriously challenged by Andrew Meadows, who argues instead that it was produced during the reign of Ptolemy II (that is, in 249).⁵⁵⁰ If Wörrle’s interpretation is correct, it proves not merely that Ptolemy I had overall control of Limyra and the surrounding area, but also that the region was already directly administered as part of his kingdom. The *oikonomoi* seem to have been

⁵⁵⁰ SEG 27 929; ed. pr. Wörrle (1977); Meadows (2006).

responsible for an area larger than simply the town of Limyra and its immediate surroundings: whichever Ptolemy was responsible for the appointment was in control of a substantial part of the peninsula by the time the decree was passed. In addition, the effort made by the Limyrans to honour the *oikonomoi* – and, by extension, Ptolemy himself – with an inscribed decree, which appears to have been very rare in Lycia at this time, implies that his rule was felt to be well-established, even if, as suggested below, it had begun only a short time before. We have no way of telling, however, how large the area inhabited by the ‘other Lycians’ with whom the *oikonomoi* seem to have been involved actually was and whether, for example, it included the Xanthos valley.

Exactly what role Ptolemaic *oikonomoi* would have filled at Limyra during the early third century is unclear. There is no other evidence for the office either in Egypt or elsewhere during Ptolemy I’s reign; evidence from a later date suggests that he ruled his overseas territory primarily through military commanders rather than through a network of officials and that he tended to leave pre-existing forms of civic administration in place when he acquired new territory.⁵⁵¹

What form the pre-existing administration would have taken at Limyra is, however, unclear. Evidence about the government of the town during the Hekatomnid period is sparse. The Letöon trilingual (N320; see Chapter 4.4) shows that Pixodarus had appointed two ἄρχοντες Λυκίας and a Ξάντθου ἐπιμελητῆς in the early 330s, and the contrast here between the archons ‘of Lycia’ and the governor ‘of Xanthos’ seems to indicate that the Hekatomnids

⁵⁵¹ Bagnall (1976) 214-6.

appointed individual governors to the larger towns, perhaps overseen by the two archons.⁵⁵² Wörrle suggests that one of the archons was based at Xanthos and one at Limyra, which seems a reasonable, though not verifiable, suggestion.⁵⁵³

In this case, there would presumably have been various officials based at Limyra during the Hekatomnid period, and it is possible that Antigonos, and later Ptolemy I, simply took over this system and appointed their own supporters to carry out the same roles. Whether there had been financial officials known as *oikonomoi* under the previous regime or whether this was a term introduced by Ptolemy or another of the *diadochi* is unknown, although οἰκονόμος is already found as the title of a financial administrator in Priene at the end of the fourth century, proving that its use was not limited to Ptolemaic areas.⁵⁵⁴ Ptolemaic administration does appear to have been quite firmly established by the time of the decree, however: the grant of *ateleia* is tellingly qualified as relating to πάντων ὧν ἡ πόλις κυρία ἐστίν ‘everything over which the state has power’ (ll. 12-13), tacitly admitting that the state’s control over its own affairs is limited.

One of Meadows’ arguments for dating the document in the reign of Ptolemy II is that *oikonomoi* could not have existed in Lycia before the Ptolemies gained control of Caria, since ‘it was the conquest of Caria that gave Philadelphos the impetus towards the thoroughgoing bureaucratic system we find in place at

⁵⁵² N320.2-5; Bryce (1983) 40.

⁵⁵³ Also suggested by Borchhardt (1978) 184, who claims that the trilingual answers the question of whether the Hekatomnids ruled all or only part of Lycia, and suggests that ‘... Pixodarus sichert die Herrschaft durch die Einsetzung eines Zivilgouverneurs mit Sitz in Xanthos (Ξάνθου ἐπιμελητῆς), aber zweier Archonten (ἄρχοντες Λυκίας), deren einer wahrscheinlich in Xanthos, der andere vermutlich in Limyra residierte’ (I see no reason to believe, however, that Limyra would not also have had an ἐπιμελητῆς). Wörrle (1991) 232 is more circumspect, but notes that there is no plausible alternative to Hekatomnid rule.

⁵⁵⁴ *IPriene* 6; LSJ s.v. οἰκονόμος.

home and abroad in his reign, and the personnel – amongst whom a selection of Kaunians – with whom to apply this system’.⁵⁵⁵ However, since the Hekatomnids had ruled Lycia fifty years earlier, it is possible that existing conditions in the two areas were similar; perhaps it was, in fact, the acquisition of southern Lycia which led to the development of the ‘bureaucratic system’, and Limyra at which the first of Ptolemy’s *oikonomoi* were appointed.

Meadow’s main argument, however, is that Lysimachus, rather than Ptolemy, ruled the south coast of Lycia until 282 (having seized it from Demetrios, who had taken control of it in 307, and held it until 302/301) in which case Ptolemy naturally cannot have been issuing decrees at Limyra in 288/7.⁵⁵⁶ He argues that Lysimachos would have taken control of Lycia when he took control of Caria after the Battle of Ipsos, and that Ptolemy, (with whom he had, by this point, concluded a marriage alliance) would not have taken any of the area from his ally.⁵⁵⁷ Wörrle asserts that all examples of dating formulae referring to Ptolemy II name him as ‘Ptolemy [son] of Ptolemy’, and that therefore the Ptolemy referred to here without any patronymic must be Ptolemy I: Meadows points out the danger of circularity here, since the few other decrees in which Ptolemy I is thought to appear are also assigned to him purely as a result of the absence of the patronymic.⁵⁵⁸ Instead, he suggests that the patronymic could be omitted ‘when it was clear enough to a “writer” to which Ptolemy he was referring’ and that if ‘the local *grammateus*’ were responsible for composing the decree he might well

⁵⁵⁵ Meadows (2006) 468.

⁵⁵⁶ Meadows (2006) 463.

⁵⁵⁷ Lysimachus’ marriage alliance with Ptolemy: Plutarch *Demetrios* 31.3; Justin 15.4.24; Bosworth (2002) 261.

⁵⁵⁸ Wörrle (2012b) 362; Meadows (2006) 464-466

have ignored, or been unaware of, the standard dating formulae used elsewhere.⁵⁵⁹ However, the inclusion of the patronymic for Philadelphos was standard at Telmessos, Lissa and the Xanthos valley, and would surely have reached Limyra by the time that Ptolemy II had ruled for 36 years, suggesting that we are indeed dealing here with Ptolemy I.⁵⁶⁰ The composer of the text was clearly neither unaware of, or uninterested in, the other conventions of honorific decrees; why would he ignore the conventions surrounding the dating formulae which constituted their opening words?

There is, also, no concrete evidence that Lysimachus did in fact gain control of all Lycia in 301; while the Antigonids held Cyprus, they might have been in as good a position to exercise control over the south coast of the peninsula as Lysimachus was from Caria.⁵⁶¹ Meadows argues that a Telmessan decree of 282 records the moment at which Ptolemy II took control of Telmessos from Lysimachus, proving that the latter was in control of the whole of Lycia from 301 up to that point.⁵⁶² However, for reasons discussed below, this seems very unlikely. Furthermore, even if Lysimachos did rule Telmessos until the late 280s this need not mean that he ever ruled Limyra and the south coast: if the Antigonids kept control of it until Ptolemy took it, the alliance between Ptolemy and Lysimachos could have

⁵⁵⁹ Meadows (2006) 464.

⁵⁶⁰ Telmessos: SEG 28:1224; Xanthos: TAM II 262 (fragmentary decree of 256); Lissa: two honorific decrees of the 270s, TAM II 158 and 159.

⁵⁶¹ Buraselis (1982) 32-33 points out that it is not even certain how much of Caria Lysimachos held, and whether he obtained it in 301, or at some later date. It is true that Antigonos, if sailing from Cyprus to Lycia, would have been heading into the prevailing north-westerly wind, while ships sailing from Caria would have had the wind behind them (Prontera (2013) 215). On the other hand, the passage along the coast from Caria would have been far more hazardous. Furthermore, Lysimachos, unlike Antigonos (Buraselis (1982) 59), did not have a powerful navy, and the land route from Caria to the south coast of Lycia is far more arduous than the voyage north from Cyprus.

⁵⁶² Meadows (2006) 464 with n. 28; the inscription in question is SEG 28:1224.

encouraged them to 'divide' Lycia between them instead of competing for control of the whole peninsula.

Meadows admits that it would have been perfectly possible for Ptolemy to gain control of Limyra between 295/4 and 288/9 (although he prefers the idea that control alternated between Demetrios, Ptolemy and Lysimachos).⁵⁶³ Plutarch's *Demetrios* gives two relevant pieces of information about Ptolemy's movements in the mid-290s: firstly we hear that, when Demetrios was besieging Athens for the second time (towards the end of 295) the Athenians were supported by 150 ships sent by Ptolemy; a few chapters later, Demetrios, just after he has finally subdued Athens, hears that he has lost control of a number of places in the eastern Mediterranean - including Cyprus, which has been taken by Ptolemy.⁵⁶⁴

It is very tempting to connect these two events, and then link them to Ptolemy's acquisition of Limyra. In order to reach the Aegean, either from Egypt or from the eastern Mediterranean, his ships would have needed to stop somewhere in the vicinity of Cyprus or Lycia, if not both.⁵⁶⁵ Plutarch's narrative implies, however, that Ptolemy sent his ships to Athens *before* establishing control over Cyprus (which would presumably have taken some time). Is it implausible to suggest that in 295/4, while part of Ptolemy's fleet was establishing control over Cyprus (so that, in contrast to the situation in 302/1, any Antigonid ships based on the

⁵⁶³ Meadows (2006) 464.

⁵⁶⁴ Plutarch *Demetrios* 33 and 35

⁵⁶⁵ The importance of the coast of Lycia for those wanting to sail from Cyprus or the eastern Mediterranean to the Aegean has been pointed out by e.g. Keen (1993) 71-77, Meadows (2006) 463, but it would have been equally important for those coming from Alexandria (who would, after all, have had to tack either west into the open sea or east, to put in at Cyprus, and would in either case have needed to stop in Lycia as well).

island would have been in no position to defend Lycia), another part of the fleet, *en route* to Athens, put in at Limyra and established a garrison there, ensuring that - whatever the outcome of the attack on Cyprus - they would have a stopping point on their return journey from the Aegean? In this scenario, there would have been plenty of time over the next seven years for administrative officials such as *oikonomoi* to be appointed alongside the garrison holding the city, perhaps not long before the decree in their honour was passed.

As far as we can tell, then, it would have been perfectly possible for Ptolemy I to have controlled Limyra from 295/4 onwards and to have appointed the *oikonomoi* honoured in the Limyran decree. As discussed above, the absence of a patronymic in the dating formula, although not conclusive, does at least seem to imply that we are dealing with Ptolemy I. In addition, the lettering of the inscription supports an earlier date: Wörrle points out the similarity between letter forms seen here (SEG 27:929) and those found in the decree of the Pernitai (41:1379), probably produced during the last quarter of the fourth century.⁵⁶⁶ Furthermore, it is noticeable that the lettering of this inscription is far more similar to that of SEG 28:1224, a Telmessan decree of the 280s, than to that of decrees of twenty or thirty years later – although since letter forms can develop at very different rates in different areas, it is not clear whether this can be accorded any particular significance.

If Ptolemaic troops first established control over Limyra in 295, the *oikonomoi* might not have been appointed until some time later. This would provide a very

⁵⁶⁶ Wörrle (2012b) 365

plausible context for the award of an honorific decree: the city might well have honoured the newly appointed officials in order to demonstrate its loyalty to a comparatively new regime, to encourage the *oikonomoi* to behave in future in a beneficial manner, and to demonstrate its position as a 'Greek' *polis*.⁵⁶⁷ The decree implies that Ptolemy was personally responsible for their appointment, giving the impression, at least, that he had taken a personal interest in the administration of the area. This is the only honorific decree known from early third century Limyra; indeed (assuming that the date of 288/7 is correct) it is the earliest known honorific decree from Lycia with the exception of the decree of the Pernitai, and therefore seems to indicate considerable effort on the part of the Limyrans in their efforts to honour the *oikonomoi* and Ptolemy himself. A change of ruler provides a convincing context for such an effort, and for increased instances of civic behaviour typical of Greek *poleis*.

5.3 The rise of 'polis' epigraphy

The decree for the *oikonomoi* of Limyra – whenever it was in fact passed – marks the start (in the epigraphy which survives) of the production by the towns of Lycia of decrees of the type typical of Greek *poleis*. As mentioned in Chapter 4, it is certainly possible that such decrees were already being passed - and even inscribed - during the late fourth century: but if so, none has survived, suggesting

⁵⁶⁷ This also seems to explain, at least in part, the sudden increase in the production of official epigraphy in the Xanthos valley during the reign of Ptolemy II. Ma (1999) 204, in his discussion of the relationship between Hellenistic kings and cities suggests that: 'We might consider the honours as a symbolical fee... demanding requital in some form, according to the rules of exchange; honours when offered as an initiative from below started the euergetical dialogue, in which the appropriate response was (more) benefactions'. In this case, although it is the king's officials rather than the king himself who is being honoured, a similar situation could apply: by honouring the *oikonomoi*, awarding them citizenship and appointing them *euergetai* and *proxenoi*, the Limyrans are not only recognising what they have already done for the city, but are drawing them into a relationship which will encourage them to continue to behave in this way.

that the numbers produced were significantly lower than in the third century. As will be seen, these decrees show the largest towns of Lycia – Limyra, Telmessos and Xanthos – acting like Greek *poleis*, with assemblies and magistrates, awarding civic honours to their benefactors, continue to contain distinctively Lycian elements. At the same time, Lycian continued to be inscribed at least during the first years of the third century. In addition to the possibility that the decree for Purimatis stems from this time, there appears to be at least one example of Lycian being used in a quasi-official context.

5.4 A Ptolemaic dating formula in Lycian? TL 35 (282/1?)

Although it is often stated that Lycian ceased to be inscribed around the year 300, an inscription from Üzümlü (a village on the plain below Kadyanda) proves that this was not the case.⁵⁶⁸ On a block of limestone found built into a mosque is a comparatively long, though very fragmentary, text, the first line of which gives a date in the following form:⁵⁶⁹

*IIII uhi χñtawati pttule*⁵⁷⁰

Uhi, ‘year’, is most easily understood as the dative-locative singular form, giving *IIII uhi* a meaning such as ‘in the fourth year’.⁵⁷¹ The correct interpretation of *χñtawati pttule*, on the other hand, has been much debated. Heberdey, who first

⁵⁶⁸ E.g. Zahle (1983) 24-25; Keen (1998) 49 (‘the Lycian language seems, by and large, not to be used epigraphically after the fourth century’).

⁵⁶⁹ The block was built into the staircase in the mosque, where it was seen by Heberdey in the late nineteenth century. Since then it has not been seen: Martin Seyer tells me that the Viennese team based at Limyra looked for the inscription in 2007 but were unable to find it.

⁵⁷⁰ Text as in Melchert (2000). Kalinka (1901) 32 gave the start of the text as I]IIIO *hi...*, but Laroche (1979) 56, knowing from the Letöon trilingual that *uhi* meant year, was able to reinterpret it correctly as *IIII uhi*.

⁵⁷¹ Melchert s.v. *uhe/i*. Neumann (2007) s.v. *uhi*- suggests that it is acc. sg., but it is less easy to understand how this could be the case.

recorded the inscription (in the late nineteenth century), believed that *pttule* is the Greek name Πτολεμαῖος, and suggested that it might refer to an archon named Ptolemy. His sketch (see fig. 22) is not entirely clear, but appears to show *pttu.ul.* (with the arrow presumably indicating that the <l> was in fact adjacent to the edge of the stone). Heberdey's sketch could conceivably show *Pttulum[e]* - but this then causes difficulty with the interpretation of the same name in TL65 (discussed below), where there is no space for an extra syllable.

Imbert agreed with Heberdey's identification of the name as Πτολεμαῖος, but argued that it in fact referred to one of the Ptolemaic dynasty; this is now accepted by a number of scholars, in particular Laroche, who has pointed out that since the Letöon trilingual allows us to be certain that *uhi* means 'year' and *χñtawati* 'king', 'on est en droit de reprendre l'idée de Heberdey et d'Imbert, qui proposaient <l'an IV (du) roi Ptolé[mée]>'⁵⁷². This view is certainly encouraged by the lettering of the inscription, which, as far as it is possible to tell from Heberdey's sketch (and Reihl's drawing of the squeeze, reproduced in Kalinka), shows 'late' forms of <ẽ>, <χ> and , as well as the 'slanting' <p> and 'Lycian' <n> (see Chart 2). Many eminent scholars of Lycian, however, are so convinced that the language ceased to be used at the start of the Hellenistic period that they cannot accept that TL 35 could possibly refer to a Ptolemy, or, if they do believe it to do so, are reluctant to follow the possible implications of this.⁵⁷³ Further

⁵⁷² Imbert (1900) 249-50 (Heberdey quoted by Imbert); Laroche (1979) 56.

⁵⁷³ Melchert (2004) s.v. *Pttule* does the name as Πτολεμαῖος. Neumann (2007) 289 s.v. *pttule* lists those who have accepted this identification, but ends with the comment: 'Die Inschrift wäre dann ins 3. Jhdt. zu datieren, was nicht sehr wahrscheinlich ist.' (Under *uhi* however, he translates *Pttule* as *Ptolemaios*, a contradiction pointed out by Wörrle (2012b) 363 n. 37). Domingo-Gygax (2001) 88 comments merely that it 'nicht auszuschließen ist' that TL35 (and TL65) should be attributed to the Ptolemaic period. Zahle, as quoted above, also leaves the question open. Bryce

consideration of the precise structure of the putative dating formula is, therefore, essential.

Clearly the phrase has nothing in common with the *ēnē ... xñtawata* ‘ruler formula’ of earlier times: there is no known example of that phrase, the primary purpose of which was in any case probably not to record the date of the inscription (see Chapter 3.8), giving a regnal year. In my opinion, the departure from the traditional wording strongly suggests that Pttule was not a local ruler of the sort mentioned in other inscriptions, while the numbering of the year implies the influence of an alien epigraphic culture.

In the phrase used in TL 35, there are a number of ways that *xñtawati* could function. Melchert identifies it as a nominative singular noun ‘ruler, king’, in apposition to Pttule; following Laroche, he makes a distinction between *xñtawat(i)-* meaning ‘ruler, king’ and *xñtawata-* ‘rule, kingship’.⁵⁷⁴ In this case, the first line should be translated: ‘In the fourth year. King Ptolemy...’. Neumann suggests that it could be an unusual form of the dat.-loc. singular of *xñtawata*, with the meaning of a ‘reign’ or ‘rule’ (as in the *ēnē ... xñtawata* formula) and gives a literal translation of ‘im 21. (??) Jahr in der Herrschaft’, that is ‘im 21. Jahr (seiner) Herrschaft’.⁵⁷⁵ The form *xñtawati* certainly appears as the dat.-loc.

(1986) 49, however, states that ‘in my view the *pttule-Ptole[my]* equation is a highly conjectural one and cannot be maintained with any degree of confidence’; in particular he believes that TL 65, in which the name Pttule also appears, cannot date from the third century, because it seems to mention the late fifth century dynast Kheziga. Bousquet (1987) 125, in his review of Bryce, agrees with this assessment; however, as discussed below, the appearance of Kheziga in TL 65 does not present insurmountable problems. On the other hand,

⁵⁷⁴ Melchert (2004) s.v. *xñtawat(i)-* and *xñtawata-* ‘to rule’; Laroche (1979) 104-105.

⁵⁷⁵ Neumann (2007) s.v. *xñtawata/i-* (with ‘21. Jahr’ presumably from Kalinka’s earlier reading of the start of the text). He allows two meanings from the same stem: ‘1) Regierung, βασιλεία, 2) König’.

singular in N320, lines 7 and 8, although here it means ‘king’. Both interpretations make Ptolemy the subject of the next sentence; in the apparent absence of any comparable Lycian idioms, it is hard to judge which might be more plausible. A third possibility, however, is that Ptolemy’s name is in the genitive, *Pttule[h]* (or *Pttule[he]*): as discussed above, Heberdey’s sketch shows space for one or two additional letters. In this case, the subject of the sentence is to be sought in the second line, as discussed below.

The mention of a specific year in the first line of TL 35 recalls the dating formulae seen in Aramaic inscriptions, on the Letöon trilingual, and in Greek inscriptions of the early Hellenistic period. Admittedly, its grammatical structure seems to have little in common with the dating formula of any of the texts of the Letöon trilingual or the Hellenistic Lycian inscriptions. As discussed above (see Chapter 4.4), the Lycian text of the Letöon trilingual begins: *ēke: trm̃misñ: xssaθrapazate: pigesere* ‘when Pixodarus was satrap of Lykia’. The Aramaic version of the trilingual is somewhat more similar to the Lycian of TL 35, since it gives the specific regnal year of Artaxerxes: *BYRḤ SYWN ŠNT ḤD / ’RṬḤŠŠŠ MLK’* ‘in the month Siwân of year one of king Artaxerxes’.⁵⁷⁶ This might suggest that *χñtawati* does in fact mean ‘king’ (the equivalent of MLK’) rather than ‘reign’, but does not help determine its case (since the Aramaic is in the determinative state, which has no direct Lycian equivalent).⁵⁷⁷

Also potentially significant is the use of a numeral rather than words for the

⁵⁷⁶ Dupont-Sommer (1979) 136-137 gives a transliteration and translation (in French) of the Aramaic text, as does Lemaire (2000) IV.1.

⁵⁷⁷ Dupont-Sommer

number ‘four’. Greek inscriptions of the Hekatomnid and Hellenistic period dated by the regnal year of a king commonly use words rather than numerals in this context.⁵⁷⁸ The exception is I. *Tralleis* 3, a first century AD copy of a decree from the Hekatomnid period, which begins:

ἔτεος ΙΙΙΙΙΙ μηνὸς ἐββδόμῳ,
 βασιλέοντος Ἀρταξέσσε-
 ω...

The numeral ΙΙΙΙΙΙ should not mean ‘seven’, since Idreius, who is named as the satrap at this time, was not satrap until the eighth or ninth year of Artaxerxes; Thonemann therefore suggests that it is a later misunderstanding of the Aramaic numeral III III Λ, meaning ‘sixteen’.⁵⁷⁹ Although Lycian inscriptions use ‘tallies’ to record numbers up to five, this is usually in the context of the payments of *ada* discussed in Chapter 3.⁵⁸⁰ Their use here in recording a date suggests the influence of the Aramaic system, either directly or through the medium of Greek inscriptions such as the Tralleis decree. When the date is placed in the context of the rest of the inscription (as far as this can be determined) and into a possible historical context, the most plausible solution appears to be that *Pttule* ‘Ptolemy’ is nominative singular, referring to Ptolemy II Philadelphos. If the structure of the Lycian was similar to that of the Greek, it seems most likely that *χῆτawati* was also nominative, used as Ptolemy’s title – but the equivalence is not close enough to allow any certainty about this.

Lines 2 and 3 read:

⁵⁷⁸ Thonemann (2009b) 391.

⁵⁷⁹ Thonemann (2009b) 391-393

⁵⁸⁰ eg. TL 16, 17, 20, (all from Pinara), 31 (Kadyanda), 36 (Xanthos).

parttulaj[.]mi mñteteh

pijetē peri tla[...].uteriz

The meaning of the verb *pijetē*, ‘gave’, is unproblematic, but interpretation of line 2 is less simple.⁵⁸¹ Neumann and Melchert both give the whole sequence *Parttulaj[.]mi* as a name: Neumann suggests that the missing letter is an <ē>, giving *Parttulajēmi*.⁵⁸² The ending –*ēmi* is not unknown for a personal name – it is found, for example, in *Natrbbijēmi* (in N320) and *Esedeplēmi* (in TL85), Melchert sees the whole word as dative here (with no additional specific ending, as is often the case), following *pijetē*.⁵⁸³ However, the name *Parttala* appears twice further on in the inscription (35.14 and 16), and it seems most likely that this refers to the same man. In this case, line 2 should be read *Parttulaje Mimñteteh* (or *mi Mñteteh*, with *mi* as, perhaps, a version of *me*), giving *Parttula* the standard dative ending –*je*, and making *Mimñteteh* (or *Mñteteh*) an adjectival genitive, presumably *Parttula*’s patronymic. The overall meaning of the first three lines of the inscription would then be ‘In the fourth year. King Ptolemy (or ‘In the fourth year of his reign, Ptolemy....’) gave *Parttulajēmi* [son] of *Mñtete* (something)...’

This allows a tentative interpretation of the inscription. While *peri*, the thing apparently given to *Parttula*, is unknown, those words which can be identified – including *hrmma* ‘piece of land’ and *tama* ‘house, building’ - in the remainder of the inscription suggest that some land, perhaps near *Tla[wa]* ‘Tlos’, is being given

⁵⁸¹ Melchert (2004) s.v. *pije*- ‘give, allocate, assign’.

⁵⁸² Neumann (2007) s.v. *Parttulaj[.]mi*.

⁵⁸³ Melchert (2004) s.v. *Parttulaj.mi*. Declension of Lycian nouns: Melchert (2004) x.

or divided.⁵⁸⁴ Further on in the inscription Parttala appears twice, in the accusative; *Esitrñmāta* also appears to be a personal name. Uncertain though the meaning of the text must remain, it seems very plausible that it records a grant of land and other privileges by Ptolemy to Parttula, and perhaps others. The question which then remains is, who is this 'Ptolemy'?

As mentioned above, the abandonment of the traditional *ēne χñtawata...* formula in favour of a numbered regnal year implies a context different from that of the fourth-century local rulers. No ruler called Pttule is attested on any coinage of Lycia (from which the names of most other rulers of that period are known), or mentioned in the traditional dating formula or in the same context as any other fourth century ruler, yet it is certain that the name refers to a 'king'. There is a distinct lack of plausible candidates other than Ptolemy I or II.⁵⁸⁵

If Pttule is understood as Ptolemy I, difficulties instantly arise: in all known Greek inscriptions dated by the regnal year of Ptolemy I, years are counted from his assumption of the satrapy on Alexander's death, with the result that 'year 4' of Ptolemy I cannot exist. Wörrle circumvents this objection by arguing that it is a misunderstanding stemming from the fact that all known inscribed decrees of Ptolemy I come from a late period in his reign. He suggests that at an earlier

⁵⁸⁴ Melchert (2004) s.v. *zalahe/i-* notes that 'a sense having to do with division of property seems to fit the context, but the latter is far from clear'.

⁵⁸⁵ This is pointed out by Keen (1998) 48-49 (although he does suggest that the coin legend *Ptt*, usually identified as Pttara, could refer to *Pttule*). He nonetheless remains uncertain about the identification of the name as Ptolemy. Andrew Meadows has also pointed out to be that a third possible candidate is Ptolemy, son of Lysimachus who ruled Telmessos from around 240 (see below, Chapter 5.13), which would indicate continued use of Lycian for an even longer period. Although there is no concrete evidence to either confirm or eliminate this suggestion, the granting of certain lands to private individuals (if this is indeed what the decree shows) would certainly fit well into a mid third-century context.

point, Ptolemy's regnal years were counted from his assumption of the title *basileus* in 305, and that 'year 4' was in fact 302/301.⁵⁸⁶ This system of counting was used in papyrus records, and provides one possible solution to the problem. However, it seems unlikely that the composer of a decree in Lycian, using a dating formula which appears (at least to some extent) to be modelled on Greek usage, would provide our only example of this method on stone and from outside Egypt.

In addition, it is hard to believe that any part of Lycia – and especially one as far inland and as close to Caria as Kadyanda – could have been under Ptolemy's sway as early as the last years of the fourth century. As mentioned above, Patara was controlled by Demetrios in 304, and it is highly likely that the Antigonids continued to rule Caria and Lycia until at least 302/1. At this point – which, under Wörrle's reckoning, was the year that TL 35 was inscribed – Telmessos, and therefore nearby Kadyanda, seem likely to have fallen into Lysimachos' hands. Meanwhile, Ptolemy appears to have been absorbed immediately before the Battle of Ipsos in acquiring parts of Koile Syria, which he then spent the aftermath of the battle attempting to retain, and Demetrios might well have kept hold of southern Lycia for a few years longer.⁵⁸⁷

It has been proposed that Ptolemy was providing naval support for Lysimachos' attempt (between 299 and 297/6) to wrest the cities of Caria from Demetrios, and that, as part of their new alliance, Ptolemy was able to retain control of

⁵⁸⁶ Wörrle (2012b) 363 with n. 31.

⁵⁸⁷ Bosworth (2002) 260.

Kadyanda and presumably of Telmessos, having taken these in 302/1. However, TL 35 itself is the only real evidence for this argument, which is therefore no help in our attempts to establish a possible date.⁵⁸⁸ Wörrle does mention an unpublished monument from Tlos with a *terminus post quem* of 305, which apparently shows this city in Ptolemaic hands at the end of the fourth century and would thus 'remove a Kadyanda which was already Ptolemaic by this point from geographical and historical isolation'; however, he gives no further details about its content.⁵⁸⁹

Our lack of information about the size of Ptolemy's fleet in 302/1 makes it hard assess how likely it is that some of his ships could have been off the coast of Caria and Lycia while others were at the easternmost end of the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, the fact that Cyprus was still in Antigonid hands makes it harder to imagine how Ptolemy could have been active in both areas simultaneously.⁵⁹⁰ Arguments from silence are, of course, of limited value, and Diodoros' history, in particular, is known to contain many omissions as well as potential bias against Ptolemy, but it is, perhaps, significant that when he talks of Ptolemy's involvement in Syria and Lysimachos' activities in Asia Minor, he does not mention any part played by Ptolemy in the latter.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁸ Lund (1992) 88.

⁵⁸⁹ Wörrle (2012b) 363: 'Tlos war ... jedenfalls unter die Herrschaft des Ptolemaios I. gekommen, und das würde ein damals schon ptolemäisches Kadyanda aus der geografischen und historischen Isolation holen'.

⁵⁹⁰ On the other hand, as discussed above, Ptolemy was able, in 295/4, to send 150 ships to help the besieged Athenians despite the fact that he had yet to take Cyprus (Plutarch *Demetrios* 33 and 35); he was not, however, also attempting to assert control in Syria at that point.

⁵⁹¹ Lysimachos before Ipsos: Diodorus 20.107; Ptolemy before Ipsos: Diodorus 20.113. Diodorus Siculus' unreliability: Hornblower (1994) 43.

A far neater solution – and a good context for the inscription as a whole – is available if *Pttule* is allowed to refer to Ptolemy II Philadelphos. We have many examples of inscriptions dated by Ptolemy II's regnal year, and it has been convincingly shown that these always count from 285, the year he assumed joint rule with his father, meaning that 'year 4', 282/1, is in fact the year in which he became sole ruler. We know from a Greek inscription found at Telmessos (SEG 28 1224) that Ptolemy II was actively involved in the government of Lycia at this point, and was considering giving the city of Telmessos as a *dorea* to one of his friends or supporters. In the case of Telmessos he was persuaded not to do this – but perhaps Parttula was the recipient of a smaller, but similar, gift of land and buildings somewhere near Kadyanda, maybe on the plain around Üsümlü, where the inscription was found, or nearer to Tlos (note the mention of *Tla-* in l. 3). Such gifts of land to supporters were made by various Hellenistic kings, to encourage loyalty and to cement their control at a local level. Ptolemy's assumption of sole rule would have been a natural time for him to make such gifts, especially if, as seems likely, the Ptolemies had only gained permanent control of the Xanthus valley a few years earlier.⁵⁹² Ptolemy II's particular interest in the Xanthos valley is also indicated by his renaming of Patara as Arsinoe; such renaming took place in many parts of his empire, but still shows that Patara must have been considered a harbour of some importance⁵⁹³.

⁵⁹² For the granting of estates by Hellenistic kings, see Billows (1995) 111-145, and Thonemann (2009b) 367-9, who quotes and discusses SEG 38 619, which records a grant of land in the Chalkidike by King Lysimachos to Limnaios. The contents of this inscription may shed some light on that of TL 35: for example, the extent of the estate is defined by naming the owners of the properties with which it marches, suggesting that those personal names apparently seen in TL 35 are mentioned for similar reasons.

⁵⁹³ Strabo 14.3.6; Bryce (1986) 49.

The chief argument against the identification of *Pttule* in TL 35 as Ptolemy II is that this would make it so much later than any other known Lycian inscription.⁵⁹⁴ However, this argument is necessarily circular, since so few of the inscriptions can be dated with any certainty at all: the idea that the epitaphs ceased to be produced at the end of the fourth century relies simply on the lack of any inscriptions which can be dated after that point. The overall number of datable inscriptions is very small, and, after all, in a series of dated inscriptions, one will inevitably be the latest: if it could be shown that Lycian continued to be used into the third century, there would be no reason to rule out the possibility that some of the Lycian epitaphs were inscribed in the first decades of the third century, as, indeed, I argue below.

The use of a Lycian inscription in the early years of Ptolemy II's reign – if this is what we have here – is of great importance for our understanding of early Hellenistic Lycia. Are we to assume that Lycian was still the primary language of Kadyanda at this point, and that the use of Lycian rather than Greek in an inscription was a pragmatic choice, designed to ensure that the text was comprehensible to as many people as possible? Or was it a deliberate attempt to emphasise the community's Lycian identity in the face of increasing Ptolemaic interference?

⁵⁹⁴ So, for example, Wörrle (2012b) 363. He cites (n. 32) Bryce (1986) 42-50, as his source for the end-date of the Lycian inscriptions: however Bryce's own objection to a late date for TL 35 and TL 65 relies mainly on the fact that they would be so much later than the other datable inscriptions – ignoring the fact that the majority cannot be dated and could easily be later than previously thought. Bryce is also worried by the appearance of Xeziga in TL 65 which, as discussed below, is problematic, but not decisive. Similarly, Keen (1998) 49 states that if *Pttule* does refer to a Ptolemy, 'he is Ptolemy I rather than Ptolemy II, since the Lycian language seems, by and large, not to be used epigraphically after the fourth century'.

Worthy of note in this respect is the general appearance of the inscription. As far as it is possible to tell from Riehl's drawing of the squeeze, the lettering is irregular in size and carelessly set out. This seems at odds with the impression of an official decision which is given by the use of a dating formula and the mention of the king, and suggests that the inscription itself was produced on the initiative of a private individual (perhaps Parttula, who seems to be the main beneficiary of the decision). The further question then arises of whether the original letter or decree was written in Greek, then translated into Lycian and inscribed on stone so that it could be displayed publicly in the community it concerned. Unfortunately, our limited understanding of the Lycian makes it hard to detect elements which might help resolve this question.

It is impossible to know how widespread knowledge of Greek would have been at this point. If the inscription was a translation of a Greek original this perhaps implies that Lycian was still more widely understood – not inconceivable, in a settlement as isolated as Kadyanda. Furthermore, it might be somewhat surprising for someone who had just gained land or property due to his association with Ptolemy to wish to emphasise that he was *not* Greek. Nevertheless, the use of Lycian might have been an attempt to mitigate any possible alienation from his fellow Kadyandans caused by such an association, meaning that both interpretations must remain open.

5.5 Ptolemy at Isinda? (TL65)

The name Pttule appears in one other inscription, a limestone stele from Isinda bearing two extremely fragmentary texts, Lycian followed by Greek (TL65). Both

texts record religious regulations of some sort, although their actual contents differ. This inscription is thought by many to date from the mid fourth century or earlier; as a result, it is often cited as evidence that Pttule cannot refer to one of the Ptolemies.⁵⁹⁵ The early dating, however, relies on the interpretation of two points: the appearance of the name Xeziḫa in the Lycian version of the inscription, and the style of the Greek lettering.

Xeziḫa appears to be the same name as Xeziga, which appears on the Xanthos Stele (TL 44a.31) as the name of Xeriga's uncle. One possibility is that the two inscriptions refer to the same man, in which case TL 65 must, it is argued, date from the late fifth century.⁵⁹⁶ However, as Domingo Gyax has pointed out, it is entirely possible that the two Xeziḫas are entirely unrelated: after all, if Xeziga was a name used by a prominent family in the area, it would not be surprising for other families to adopt it too; alternatively, it might refer to a much later member of the same family.⁵⁹⁷ A significant period of time between the two inscriptions of the name might also explain the altered spelling.⁵⁹⁸ As Domingo Gyax also notes, even if TL 65 does refer to Xeriga's uncle the text may be referring back to the time of his rule, as seen in a letter found at Limyra which deals with matters which have continued 'from the time of Perikles until the present (SEG 41:1380); this would be particularly plausible in the context of religious regulations such as this inscription appears to record.⁵⁹⁹ Indeed, it seems possible that the Lycian is a

⁵⁹⁵ Bryce (1986) 49-50; Thonemann (2009a) 168

⁵⁹⁶ Zimmermann (1992) 33-34.

⁵⁹⁷ Domingo Gyax (2001) 88-89.

⁵⁹⁸ Zimmermann (1992) 33 n. 79, however, explains this as simply a local variation.

⁵⁹⁹ Domingo Gyax (2001) 89.

‘historical’ narrative of some sort, explaining how the sacrifices have previously been organised, while the Greek is setting out new or additional regulations.

The Lycian contains the personal names Pttule (l. 8) and Xeziḫa (ll. 13, 15 and 17), as well as words such as, *kumezeini*, ‘to sacrifice’ (l. 12), *m̥la* ‘offerings’ (l. 16), *kumezeiti* ‘they sacrifice’ (l. 21) and *teteri* ‘city’ (ll. 12, 18, and 21, identified in l. 21 as *Isñt[a]* ‘Isinda’), which, taken as a whole, suggest that it details offerings to be made either in or on behalf of the city. If Pttule really does refer to one of the Ptolemies, the text must have been inscribed in the late fourth or early third century, and part of it at least must refer to that period; unfortunately not enough remains of the words around the name to enable us to understand the context in which he is mentioned.⁶⁰⁰ The god Trqqas appears further on in the inscription, and there is a mention of *tr̥m̥milije* ‘Lycians’, or ‘Lycians’ (dat-loc. plural). In the final four lines the words *ne we mei: kumaza* ‘if (?) the priest does not’ and *mei ne httemi:...* ‘if not, anger...’ are visible: these usually indicate a curse of some sort, and this could well be the case here, threatening divine retribution against anyone who causes the sacrifices to be neglected.

In the Greek text, there is – as far as we can tell – no mention of either Ptolemy (or any other name which could be the equivalent of Pttule) or Xeziḫa, nor of Isinda. The longest partially coherent section of the inscription seems to relate to the administration of a cult. If Xeziḫa mentioned here is the Xeziḫa of the Xanthos Stele, could the Lycian text realistically have been written in the early Hellenistic

⁶⁰⁰ Domingo Gygas (2001) 89 agrees that the identification of Ptolemy with one of the Ptolemies ‘nicht auszuschließen ist’.

period, referring back to a period up to 150 years earlier? Pttule is mentioned in the eighth line of the inscription, before any reference to Xeziḫa: perhaps the first part of the text refers to contemporary events, involving a Ptolemy, before going on to talk about what used to be the case *uhe Xeziḫahe* 'in the years of Xeziḫa' (line 15). One point which may cast doubt on the identification of Xeziḫa with the man mentioned in TL 44 is the absence of any mention of other members of the Xanthian dynasty, such as Xeriga or Arbinas, whom one might expect to see mentioned. However, it could be that Xeziḫa just happened to be the one to establish the rites being discussed here.

There are therefore three possible interpretations of TL65. The first is that the Lycian version refers back to an earlier period as well as to current events. The other two both assume that it was concerned only with the time in which it is written: this would then have been either in the fifth century, when Xeziḫa, the uncle of Xeriga, was alive, or at a later period – in, I would argue, the third century – when another inhabitant of Isinda bore the traditional Lycian name 'Xeziḫa'. The first possibility would provide a good explanation of the use of Lycian and Greek on the same stele: the text in the traditional language of the area gives some mention of contemporary circumstances and of the current ruler, Pttule, but concentrates on the 'historical' aspect, while new regulations are recorded in Greek, the language of the authorities. Of course, it is possible that the Ptolemy mentioned here was not a ruler, but was, for example, a military commander, perhaps even Ptolemy I himself as one of Alexander's court in the last quarter of the fourth century.

As discussed above, there are good reasons to believe that TL 35 comes from the time of Ptolemy II. The dating of TL 65 appears destined to remain uncertain, especially since the stone is now almost entirely illegible (see fig. 41); however, as there is no other evidence that Isinda and central Lycia were ever under the direct control of Ptolemy I it seems likely to me that TL 65, too, refers to Ptolemy II, and was inscribed in the 280s. There are, though, numerous other possibilities: it could refer, for example, to Ptolemy son of Lagus, or to some other individual of the same name.

If TL 35 does indeed date from 282, this shows that the Lycian language continued to be used in inscriptions for twenty or thirty years longer than is usually considered to be the case – and, indeed, that some of the longest inscriptions were produced in the early third century. It is perhaps significant that other indigenous languages of western Asia Minor continued to be used in inscriptions for at least some time after the arrival of Alexander. This is true of Carian and Sidetic; there is little evidence of Phrygian in inscriptions of the Hellenistic period, but the fact that the language reappeared in the second century AD implies that it continued to be used, at least in speech, during the intervening period.⁶⁰¹ Although it appears counter-intuitive to argue that some of the longest and least formulaic of the Lycian inscriptions were produced so shortly before the language ceased to be used in epigraphy, this would in fact make sense in the context of early Ptolemaic Lycia: the increased use of Greek epigraphy, especially at Limyra and Telmessos, might, for a brief period, have

⁶⁰¹ Carian: Adiego (2005) 154-156 (the bilingual Carian-Greek decree of Kaunos, from 322 or later). Sidetic: Nollé (1993) vol II, 630. Phrygian: Tzitzilis (2007) 752-753.

encouraged the production of a few more varied and ambitious Lycian inscriptions in more isolated areas – such as Kadyanda and Isinda – where Lycian was still the dominant language, before, there too, it was ousted by Greek.

5.6 Ptolemy II and an increase in 'official' epigraphy (285-246)

During the reign of Ptolemy II, official inscriptions began to appear in Lycia with more regularity, with a number of decrees, mainly honorific decrees, being produced by various communities. Even then, however, the inscribing of official documents on stone remained rare in absolute terms: we have only around 20 from the whole period of Ptolemaic domination.⁶⁰² The official inscriptions produced in the time of Ptolemy II (unless the Limyran decree for the *oikonomoi*, discussed above, was produced during his reign) all come from the north-western corner of Lycia, on the border with Caria: from Telmessos, Xanthos, Tlos, and Lissa.

The earliest Ptolemaic inscription after the controversial decree from Limyra is a decree of the Telmessians honouring Ptolemy II (SEG 28:1224), dated to the fourth year of his reign, 283/2.⁶⁰³ It is – or masquerades as – an honorific decree,

⁶⁰² Wörle (2012b) 360; Bagnall (1976) 105-108 collects the Ptolemaic inscriptions known at that point.

⁶⁰³ Ed. pr. Wörle (1978) 201-240, with extensive discussion and commentary. For a date of 283/2 for the 'fourth year' of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (replacing Wörle's original date of 279/8) see Grzybek (1990) 124-134, who points out that there is no surviving document in Greek dating from the first, second or third regnal year of Ptolemy II (in fact, the decree from Telmessos is the earliest surviving Greek inscription dated using his regnal years). This suggests that after Ptolemy I's death in 283/2 his son immediately began, when using the Macedonian calendar in Greek documents, to date his reign from the beginning of his joint rule with his father (in 285/4); in Egyptian documents, by contrast, he began by dating his reign from the start of his sole rule, and did not include the years he had spent as co-regent until some time later. This argument, and the revised dates resulting from it, is accepted by Meadows (Meadows (2006) 467), and by Wörle himself (Wörle (1991) 229).

but is highly unusual in both form and content.⁶⁰⁴ It begins conventionally, with the words ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ; this is followed by a dating formula, and the assertion that ἐκκλησίας κυρίας γενομένης. Next, however, comes a letter from Ptolemy, abridged to give only the two key points of the original. The king assures the Telmessians that he has received the crown and letters from the ambassadors they sent and has listened to their requests; he promises that the town will not be given as a δωρεά and that he has written to Philokles and Aristoteles to this effect.⁶⁰⁵

Despite its position within an honorific decree, the letter is inscribed as though it were copied verbatim from the king's letter, as was usually the case with inscribed versions of royal letters; it is clearly intended to be understood within this category, but also to form part of the honorific decree.⁶⁰⁶ It is introduced in a way which implies that Ptolemy's exact words are being recorded, and the expected, formulaic greeting is retained:

τῆς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστολῆς ἀνα-
γνωσθείσης ἐν ᾗ ἐγγράπτο· βασι-
λεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Τελμησσέων
τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι χαίρειν

⁶⁰⁴ The 'standard' form of a Hellenistic decree in most parts of the Greek world, which originated in the decrees of Athens, is described by Rhodes (1997) 4-5. For discussions of the typical form of Greek honorific decrees: Ma (2013) 56-60.

⁶⁰⁵ Meadows (2012) 121.

⁶⁰⁶ Meadows (2012) 123 discusses how 'the epistolary form was preserved' and even emphasised by the lay-out of the stone (with a gap on either side of the valediction to divide the letter and the remainder of the decree), showing the care taken to balance this first section against the two which follow.

‘when a letter of the king had been read out, in which was written: “King Ptolemy greets the city and archons of the Telmessians....”’.

There has been much discussion of the context of this exchange of letters. As with the dating of the Limyran decree, the debate turns on whether Telmessos is thought to have been under Ptolemaic control prior to 282. Meadows’ latest interpretation argues that it was in fact part of Lysimachos’ empire during the late 280s; he suggests that Lysimachos was intending to grant the city to his wife Arsinoe II, for their son Ptolemy (later Ptolemy of Telmessos) and that this decree shows Telmessos putting itself into the hands of the increasingly powerful Ptolemy II in response to the danger of being given away by Lysimachos.⁶⁰⁷

However, although this seems a plausible reconstruction, it does not fit entirely comfortably with the contents of the decree; nor is it entirely clear that Telmessos was controlled by Lysimachos at this point. Wörrle suggests that by 282, Telmessos was already part of Ptolemy’s kingdom, and was, together with the islands of the Nesiotic league, administered by Philokles, king of Sidon, who seems to have acted as his viceroy in the area.⁶⁰⁸ There are a number of indications in the letter that it was, in fact, Ptolemy who had intended to give away Telmessos as a gift. One of these is the use of the word ἐπεχώρησεν, at the

⁶⁰⁷ Meadows (2012) 125-132. Lysimachus had already given Heraklea Pontica to Arsinoe as a gift, so it is certainly not inconceivable that he might have been intending to give her Telmessos as well.

⁶⁰⁸ Wörrle (1978) 225-229; Wörrle (1980) 66. Meadows (2013) 33 believes that the Nesiotic league was not in fact founded until 282; in this case, it is impossible to know whether or not its foundation preceded the Telmessian decree, but in fact the point is of little importance for Wörrle’s argument, since the general backdrop - of Ptolemaic control of the north-eastern Aegean by this point - remains unchanged.

beginning of the ‘decree’ section; Meadows translates it as ‘has granted’ which makes sense in the context he envisages, but although it can mean simply ‘permit’, its primary, and most common, sense is ‘yield’, ‘give way’ (which fits well with its second meaning of ‘come towards’, and might show a change from a previous, perhaps hostile position).⁶⁰⁹ In this inscription, therefore, it may well imply that Ptolemy has changed his mind about the matter; in this case, the natural conclusion is that he, rather than Lysimachos, had previously been intending to grant the area as a gift.

More generally, the lack of any mention of Lysimachos, or of a change of allegiance on the part of Telmessos, seems surprising – the whole tone of the letter and the inscription suggests that there was no question about the extent and legitimacy of Ptolemy’s control over the city.⁶¹⁰ While it could be the case that the Telmessians were using the production of a permanent memorial of Ptolemy’s protection to imply that the new arrangement was in fact long-standing, it seems more likely to me that Ptolemy had been in control of the area for some time. The declarations with which Ptolemy finishes his letter – that he ἐξωμολογησάμεθα ‘agreed’ with the men sent from Telmessos, and writes to Philokles and Aristoteles – reinforces this impression, implying that this is a matter about which he has been thinking, and communicating with his officials, for some time. Furthermore, the mention of Philokles and Aristoteles suggests that Ptolemy had long-standing officials in the region, of whose identity the Telmessians would have been aware. A final point in favour of Wörrle’s

⁶⁰⁹ LSJ, s.v. ἐπιχωρέω.

⁶¹⁰ If Wörrle is correct to suggest that the giving of Telmessos as a *dorea* was Philokles’ idea, this would perhaps explain the ‘tactful impersonality’ of the phrase – Ptolemy is subtly reminding the Telmessians that it was not his idea to do this, yet without casting opprobrium on his official.

interpretation is the use of curses in the honorific decree for Ptolemy. As I discuss below, the usage seen here is highly unusual, and implies a desire to bind Ptolemy to his words as strongly as possible, again implying that the initial threat to Telmessos' freedom had originated from the Ptolemaic empire.

While the decree departs from the expected form in this way, in many others it is entirely as expected. Inscribing a king's letter on the same stone as a decree resulting from it is a phenomenon well known from the Hellenistic period. However, as Wörrle points out, it is unusual for the letter to be 'introduced' in any way in these cases: *IMilet* 139, one of the best known examples of such inscriptions, records the king's letter with no introductory material, and inscribed the decree below.⁶¹¹ There are, however, two other exceptions. One is a decree from Larisa, in Thessaly, in which a letter of Philip V is quoted in the body of the decree, not unlike the Telmessan inscription.⁶¹²

The other, perhaps significantly, comes from Lycia. An inscription from Xanthos introduces a letter from Ptolemy III to the town with the words:

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολ[ε]-
μαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης Θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν,
ἀποσταλέντες θεωροὶ Νικόλαος Κολιος,
Ἑρμόλυκος Λύσωνος ἐκόμισαν ἐπιστο-
λὴν τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ·

⁶¹¹ Wörrle (1978) 203 with n. 1.

⁶¹² Syll³ 543. This decree (of c. 214) is of particular interest because the letter is quoted in the *koine*, and is then repeated 'translated' into Thessalian dialect, before the main content of the decree is recorded.

Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Ξανθίων τῇ

πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι χαίρειν...

‘When Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the divine siblings, was king, Nikolaos [son] of Kolos and Hermolukos [son of] Luson, having been sent as *theoroi*, brought back the letter written below: ‘King Ptolemy greets the city and archons of the Xanthians....’⁶¹³

Introducing the letter in this fashion also allows the city to point out its own role in its interactions with the monarchy, by preserving the names of those who were sent to the court – and the fact that they were sent by the city. Similarly, the earlier decree of the Telmessians emphasises the role of the civic community in the events recorded, using the formula ἐκκλησίας κυρίας γενομένης to show the role of the democratic assembly in passing the decree before mentioning the king and his letter.⁶¹⁴

Although inscribing a king’s letter on stone was a common practice, the incorporation of such a letter into an honorific decree is entirely unique; Meadows therefore talks of ‘the generic confusion exhibited by this text’⁶¹⁵. However, it seems to me that the idea of ‘confusion’, which implies that the composer or the text was uncertain about Greek epigraphic usage and conventions, should not be over-emphasised. Rather, I suggest that this inscription shows a deliberate adaptation of two well-known epigraphic forms,

⁶¹³ SEG 36:1218; ed. pr. Bousquet (1986b) 22-32. Unfortunately the bottom of the inscription is lost, so we cannot know whether it also recorded a decree in response to the letter.

⁶¹⁴ For discussion of this phrase (found only in Caria and Lycia) see Errington (1995) 19-42, who suggests that it refers to the presence of a quorum in the assembly and shows a step in the development of democracy; discussed at SEG 45:2297.

⁶¹⁵ Meadows (2012) 121

the honorific decree and the inscribed letter of a king, with the addition of a deliberately 'Lycian' curse formula, in an attempt to make a powerful statement of both 'Greekness' and independence at a crucial moment in the city's history.

Honorific decrees typically began by explaining the specific actions through which the honorand had come to deserve his honours, and this is the case here: by writing the letter Ptolemy has acceded to the city's request (whether for a change in his own plans or for protection against Ptolemy's), and therefore to some extent the quotation of the letter fits into the schema of a typical honorific decree. It is, however, true that it breaks the standard format for such decrees, in which an *ἐπειδὴ* clause, explaining the reason for the granting of the honour, is placed at the start of the inscription.⁶¹⁶ Here the *ἐπειδὴ* clause comes in an inconspicuous position after the quoted letter and merely explains, as the letter has already shown, that Ptolemy has:

...ἔπεχωρησεν μὴ γίνεσθαι

ἡμᾶς ἐν δωρεᾷ...

'...conceded that we should not be given as a gift...'

Although motives given in such clauses are often more generic than this, an explanation of the specific deeds for which the honour was awarded is also perfectly normal.⁶¹⁷ In this case, though, the clause adds nothing to the actual

⁶¹⁶ Ma (2013) 56 states that in a 'standard' honorific decree 'the first part is a motivating clause introduced by *ἐπειδὴ* 'whereas', 'since', followed by the honorand's name, and describing the honorand's qualities and actions with conjugated indicative verbs'.

⁶¹⁷ Gerlach (1908) 58

content of the inscription, and has surely been included only to indicate that this is an honorific decree.

After the ἐπειδὴ clause comes δεδόχθαι Τελμησσέων τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις. This use of the perfect infinitive δεδόχθαι, in a 'motion formula' which introduces the substance of the decree, was commonplace in many other parts of the Greek world. In the usual pattern, the main part of the decree begins ἔδοξε + dative (stating who was responsible for the overall ratification of the decree), which is followed by a 'proposal clause', stating who put forward the proposal, and what they suggested. The suggestion is then framed as part of the initial proposal and is expressed by a series of accusatives and infinitives, introduced by δεδόχθαι.

In this Telmessian decree, however, the usual enactment formula is also omitted; the infinitive therefore stands alone, making the sentence grammatically incorrect. The composer could easily have written ἔδοξε... at this point, which would have made perfect sense. Instead, however, he used that form of the verb more commonly found at the central point of a decree. Whether this was an intentional imitation of the conventional form of words, or whether he simply forgot that the unusual content of the beginning of the inscription had forced him to omit the initial ἔδοξε... is impossible to tell, but in view of the highly unconventional nature of the inscription as a whole, the latter is perhaps the more convincing explanation. If so, this shows that the writer was unfamiliar with Greek, or at least with the formal language of official decrees, but, equally, this may not have been the case: the complexity of the structure is such that even

someone familiar with the standard phrasing of decrees might well have omitted the crucial phrase.

Curses in Official Decrees

The next words of the decree are not unexpected: they name the people responsible for enacting it and state that they have decided ἐπαινέσαι King Ptolemy, a very common beginning to a list of honours. Then comes a surprise. As Meadows says: ‘we expect to hear, reiterated, the reason for this praise, and there should follow a list of rights or priveleges or honours or gifts. But no’.⁶¹⁸ What actually follows is a long curse intended to ensure that no one will ask any king, queen or other ruler to give them Telmessos as a gift, with long imprecation against anyone who does this:

...ἀρὰς δὲ ποιήσασθαι
περὶ τούτων, ὅπως μηθεὶς αἰτή-
σεται ἐν δωρεᾷ μήτε τὴν πόλιν
τὴν Τελμεησσέων...
...ὃς δ’ ἂν τούτων τι ποιή-
σῃ παρ ευρέσει ἥιτινι οὖν, μήτε αὐ-
τῷ γῆ καρπὸν φέροι μήτε γυναῖκες
τίκτοιεν κατὰ φύσιν, ἐξώλης δὲ εἴη
καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ πᾶν
καὶ εἴη ἀμαρτωλὸς εἰς τὴν Λητῶ
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ

⁶¹⁸ Meadows (2012) 121

πάσας... (SEG 28:1224, ll. 24-29, 32-39)

Meadows comments that ‘curses... have no place in honorific decrees. They serve more normally in laws and treaties as a form of entrenchment; Rhodes argues that in this case the curses serve as a form of entrenchment for a decision that is not the city’s to make’.⁶¹⁹ The precise meaning of these curses is rather vague: what exactly are the τούτων which are being so strongly guarded against? There is no explicit threat against one who gives away the city as a gift; rather, the curses will be made to prevent anyone *asking* for the city as a δωρεά; as discussed below, this ‘prohibition’ section is framed as part of a ‘motivation clause’, ‘in order that...’. However, the addition of περὶ τούτων before ὅπως implies that the prohibition encompasses other ‘things’ as well; the implication is that one of these was the act of giving away the city. Clearly this was Ptolemy’s prerogative, and it would have been impossible for the city to threaten him openly through either a standard entrenchment clause (threatening civil sanctions such as ἀτιμία) or a curse. This may be the only explanation necessary for the vagueness of the curses: since it was impossible to threaten Ptolemy himself, his role and that of anyone else who gave away the city was concealed under the generic τούτων, whilst the ostensible target of the curses was anyone who tried to persuade him to give away the city, which would help prevent the question arising again. Curses would indeed have been more effective than civil sanctions in this case, since civil sanctions could only have affected citizens of Telmessos (few, if any, of whom would have been in a position to ask the king for such a gift).

⁶¹⁹ Meadows (2012) 121-2; Rhodes (1997) 444-5.

However, this is more than just a half-hearted attempt to control the actions of the king and his entourage through oblique threats. Rather, the addition of curses was surely intended to emphasise Telmessus' Anatolian heritage, in addition to, rather than opposition to, the proof of the city's 'Greekness' offered in the first part of the decree. A similar (though shorter) curse formula is found in a later (240) honorific decree, again from Telmessos, which explains where the stele is to be erected, and then states: ἐὰν / [δὲ] μὴ συντελεῖσι ὁ ἄρχων καὶ οἱ πολῖται τὴν / [θυσίαν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἔστωσαν / [θ]εῶν πάντων... (TAM II.1, ll. 29-32). Here the curses can hardly be seen as a substitute for an entrenchment clause: there is no obvious need of one, and civil penalties for non-compliance would have been perfectly practical if desired.

Curses and oaths are, of course, mentioned in inscriptions of numerous Greek states, while entrenchment clauses are even more common. However, the *arai* of this decree differ from these in a number of ways. Entrenchment clauses were usually aimed at ensuring that magistrates fulfilled the terms of the decrees, and stipulate a secular punishment for those who fail to carry out their appointed task, though they may also include a threat of divine punishment as well. However, curses aimed at an unspecified offender are rare in Greek decrees. Similarly, while inscriptions of Greek cities often mention oaths, these were usually records of oaths which have been, or are to be, pronounced by whole communities, setting parameters for their *own* behavior, and ending with imprecations against the oath-taker if he breaks his oath ('may I be...' etc).

The Telmessan decree states that curses will be made, but does not quote them – instead it continues straight away with imprecations against anyone who asks for the city as a gift. These come where one might expect threats against those who break the oath, but in fact are still directed against those who attempt to obtain the city as a gift. Here, the imprecations are curses in their own right rather than quotations of curses to be made: the use of δε in the phrase ὅς δ' ἄν τούτων τι ποιήσῃ... makes it clear that this is seen as a separate enterprise from the making of *arai*.

The 'Greek' custom of recording the making of oaths on an inscription and then reinforcing the oath with a curse against oneself has mutated into an Anatolian imprecation against a future, unspecified wrongdoer of the type common from Lycian epitaphs (and, as discussed above, also seen in Carian decrees); indeed the phrase εἴη ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰς τὴν Λητώ/ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ/ πάσας in SEG 28:1224 is almost identical to that seen in the Greek section of N320 (see Chapter 4.4). The invocation of Leto (the *interpretatio graeca* of the Lycian mother goddess, the *ēni qlahi*) adds to the 'Lycian' flavour of the curses; in addition, the term ἁμαρτωλός appears to be used here in its typically Lycian sense of 'accursed by' (or similar).

The Lycian and Carian influences on these curses are clear, yet they are fitted to some extent into the expected pattern of a Greek honorific decree. Part of the motivation clause explaining the reasons for the grant of honours is often an assertion that this is to be done ὅπως... 'so that' everyone would see that the

community knew how to award its benefactors (or some similar reason)⁶²⁰. Usually such a clause precedes the list of honours to be granted, but it could also follow them, as in SEG 33 1183, a proxeny decree from Xanthos (260/59):

... δεδóσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ
πολιτείαν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις...
... ἵνα πάν-
τες εἰδῶσι ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἡ Ξανθίων ὑφ' ὧν ἂν τυν-
χάνηι πάσχουσα ἀγαθὸν δύνата[ι] τὰς εὐεργε-
σίας καταμνημονεύειν....

‘... and to give citizenship to him also, to him and his descendants ... so that everyone may know that the *polis* of the Xanthians is able to call to mind the good deeds [done by] anyone from whom they happen to have experienced good...’ In this case, however, the ὅπως part of the ‘motivation clause’ explains the reasons for the making of the curses rather than for the grant of honours, using the standard phrasing in a way which must have appeared startlingly inappropriate.

The addition of such imprecations to Carian decrees and to the Letöon trilingual shows the influence of the Anatolian funerary tradition, and this Anatolian influence can also be seen here. Whether it was felt to be specifically Lycian, recalling the curses on Lycian epitaphs, or whether Lycia received this Anatolian tradition only through earlier Greek decrees of Caria and Lycia is impossible to tell: the use of ἁμαρτωλὸς and ἐξώλης together, and of elements typical of Greek curses more generally, suggest the latter, but if, as I have proposed above, Lycian

⁶²⁰ Rhodes (1997) 4-5

was still understood at this point, Lycian epitaphs too might have exerted some influence.

5.7 Change in third century epigraphic culture

As the Lycian inscription at Kadyanda shows, inscriptions in the Lycian language – possibly of an official or semi-official nature – were still being produced in some areas into the time of the Ptolemies, which makes it highly likely that Lycian epitaphs also continued to be inscribed into the third century. Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify which of the surviving Lycian inscriptions might be as late as this, or at which sites the language might have continued to be used: it is possible that it had fallen out of use (at least in epigraphy) at some sites, but continued to be used at others.

A useful indication of the overall spread of the Greek language across Lycia in the third century is given by Stephen Colvin's study of the use of Greek and Lycian names: he found that during the fourth century the majority of names attested in inscriptions are Lycian, but that in the third and second centuries 84% of names attested in the inscriptions of western Lycia and 51% in central Lycia (in which he includes Limyra) were Greek rather than Lycian. As he points out, some of these people might have been immigrants from Greek speaking areas, but the majority were surely Lycians who had adopted Greek names, probably alongside increased use of the Greek language.⁶²¹

⁶²¹ Colvin (2004) 51-52.

The difficulty of determining which, if any, Lycian inscriptions might have been produced in the Ptolemaic period, and of apportioning apparently early Greek between the fourth and third centuries – or even between the end of the fourth century and the early Ptolemaic period – means that consideration of the epitaphs produced in Lycia at this time is problematic. If, for example, Lycian was still being used in Kadyanda at the start of the reign of Ptolemy II, might it not also have been used at Limyra? And if so, why could the decree of the Pernitai and the epitaph of Purihimeti discussed in the previous chapter not have been produced as late as the first half of the third century? There seems no reason that this could not have been the case, especially in view of the similarities between the lettering of the decree of the Pernitai and the later decrees of Limyra.⁶²² Nonetheless, few, if any, inscriptions in Lycian seem to have been produced after approximately the middle of the third century.

How closely this decline in the inscribing of Lycian tracks a decline in its use in speech is unclear. Lycian was, with very few exceptions, used in inscriptions – primarily epitaphs – set up by private individuals, and the production of such inscriptions, even in Greek, seems to have declined across Lycia during the third century, while those which were produced become more varied in type and content. This alteration seems to coincide, perhaps surprisingly, with the increased use of epigraphy for official purposes, suggesting distinctive alterations in epigraphic culture, especially in western Lycia.

⁶²² Wörrle (1991) 219-220.

The most obvious example of this change is at Xanthos, where no third century epitaphs have yet been discovered, but five decrees from the Ptolemaic period are known, alongside statue bases, and three dedications.⁶²³ Since those tombs which can be dated to the third century are cist tombs to the south of the agora, the lack of epitaphs can perhaps be explained in terms of changes in burial practices: without the rock-cut tombs to write on, the impetus towards the production of inscriptions would have disappeared.⁶²⁴ It is, of course, possible that these later tombs would have been marked with free-standing, inscribed grave-stones, which would have been less likely to survive than an inscription placed directly on a tomb - but none has yet been found. In addition, there *is* at least one possible example of a third century inscription on a rock-tomb: this is TAM II 314, which states simply:

Εὐφροσύνου τὸ μνημῖον.

This was cut on a small rock tomb, and the lettering depicted in the sketch in TAM II suggests that it could have belonged to the third century – but it could have been produced in the second. Similarly, TAM II 313 has lettering which could have been third century, but seems far more likely, since the man commemorated is called Antiochos, to date from after Antiochos III's invasion in 197.

There appears, therefore, to have been an abrupt decline from the apparently vibrant tomb-culture displayed in Mēmruwī's tomb (with TL39; see Chapter 4.7)

⁶²³ Other, as yet unpublished inscriptions from this period are also recorded in the LGPN database: since these are from the Letöon, it seems most likely that they are statue bases, but I have been unable to confirm this.

⁶²⁴ Des Courtils and Cavalier (2001) 4 record that a group of Hellenistic cist tombs has been found around the Harpy pillar, and another one c. 20m to the north.

to the more modest Hellenistic usage, and this may be linked to the apparent decline in the fortunes of Xanthos during the early third century, when no inscriptions, either 'private' or official, seem to have been produced. Later, when the fortunes of the town apparently improved, the break in tradition which had taken place seems to have prevented the Xanthians taking it up with their former enthusiasm. It is hard not to conclude that the Ptolemaic takeover of the town had a significant and, for some time, depressing effect on its life, causing a break in the epigraphic culture. When epigraphy reappears, it deals almost entirely with community rather than personal matters – and is concerned almost exclusively with Xanthos's relations with the outside world.

The earliest surviving third-century inscription is an honorific decree of 260/259 for Pandaros, who is said to have been sent by Ptolemy (II) as *φρούραρχος*, the commander of the garrison at Xanthos.⁶²⁵ He is praised for his *ἀῖρες* towards the Xanthians, and awarded comparatively standard honours: to be a *proxenos* and a *euergetes* and is given the right to sail into and out of the harbour in peace and war. The final line is a publication clause, stating that the decree is to be inscribed, and set up at the Letōon – where it was discovered. The nature of Pandaros' *ἀῖρες* (presumably used here in the sense of 'course of action'⁶²⁶) is unknown, but in view of the date of the decree (260/259), it is tempting to connect it with the defeat of a Galatian attack, also mentioned in an honorific statue base from Tlos (see below).

⁶²⁵ SEG 33:1183; ed. pr. Robert and Robert (1983) 124-127.

⁶²⁶ LSJ s.v. *ἀῖρες*, B. II.

After the inscription for Pandaros, other inscriptions by the community of Xanthos appear (comparatively) thick and fast: a decree (TAM II 262; re-inscribed in the Roman period) of 256, of which only the dating formula remains; the letter sent by Ptolemy III in 243/2 mentioned above (SEG 36:1218), which thanks the Xanthians for honours which they had awarded to him and his queen Berenike at the time of the *Ptolemaia*; a statue base for Ptolemy III, presumably carrying the statue mentioned in the letter (SEG 36:1219). Of these, the last two – like the decree for Pandaros – were found in the Letöon, suggesting that the second-century increase in the importance of the sanctuary detected by the excavators of the site (which contrasts with the apparent decrease in the importance of the town itself at that time) had already begun in the previous century.⁶²⁷

As already discussed above, the framing of the letter from Ptolemy within a decree of the Xanthians emphasises the active role played by the city in its relations with the king. Bousquet, the first editor of the letter, explains convincingly how it, together with other surviving decrees from Xanthos, illustrates the close connection between the city and its Ptolemaic rulers. He links the sending of *theoroi* to the recent accession of Ptolemy III, arguing that this was an occasion which enabled the Xanthians to demonstrate their loyalty to the dynasty, and concludes that ‘l’emprise de l’Egypte sur la Lycie devait être considerable’, as shown by the presence of the garrison, the renaming of Patara as Arsinöe, and the prescripts of various decrees.⁶²⁸ The latter is particularly

⁶²⁷ Des Courtils and Cavalier (2001) 5.

⁶²⁸ Bousquet (1986b) 29-31.

remarkable: Xanthian decrees begin with a prescript which refers not only to the king, but also to the priests of the deified Ptolemies, the only example of these formulae being used outside Egypt. The practical problems this presented are shown by the fact that these priests are never named at Xanthos, presumably because the Xanthians had no way of discovering their names; instead they are simply described as 'those in Alexandria'.⁶²⁹ The original point of the mention of the priests – establishing the exact year in which the decree was passed – is therefore lost: the only point of the prescript can be as a display of loyalty to the dynasty.

The example of this form of prescript quoted by Bousquet comes from a decree of the *polis* and *archontes* of Xanthos granting five brothers citizenship and the right to own land at Xanthos.⁶³⁰ There is no apparent connection between these brothers – whose father was a Chalcidean, but whose mother was from Limyra – and the Ptolemies, yet more than half the decree consists of the prescript mentioning the king and the priests of the royal cult. As Bousquet points out, however, Ptolemaic rule over Asia Minor was shaky by the time this decree was passed (in 202/1, during the reign of Ptolemy V); in fact, the passing of the decree might have been encouraged by the fact that Chalcis, where the brothers' father came from, was under the control of Philip V, who was allied with Antiochus III against the Ptolemies. In spite of this, however, 'le rédacteur du décret était de toute façon tenu d'écrire en tête le formulaire qui symbolise la

⁶²⁹ Bousquet (1986b) 30-31.

⁶³⁰ SEG 36:1220; ed. pr. Bousquet (1986b) 31-32.

domination égyptienne', presumably because this had been the standard formulation in earlier decrees.⁶³¹

It is noticeable that, like the decree of Pandaros, this inscription deals with the town's relations with outsiders, rather than with its own citizens. Again, also as for Pandaros, a publication clause states explicitly that the decree is to be set up in the Letöon; the curses found at the end of the inscriptions from Telmessos and Limyra are absent here. In fact curses, such a typically Lycian feature, do not appear in any decrees of Xanthos after N320. These two points, combined with the emphasis on the Ptolemaic dynasty, perhaps imply that the use of epigraphy of third century Xanthos was motivated primarily by the desire to present a certain impression to the outside world. The setting up of decrees in the Letöon rather than in the city might be a further indication of this tendency, since the sanctuary appears to have been of importance to other Lycians as well as Xanthians, and might have attracted a higher number of visitors, both from Lycia and further afield, than the city itself.

One aspect of this epigraphic culture certainly appears to have been the use of inscriptions in emphasising the town's loyalty to, and close connection with, the Ptolemies. This may be to some extent explained by rivalry with the neighbouring city of Telmessos. As the decree discussed above shows, Telmessos was in close, if not entirely harmonious, contact with the Ptolemaic court during the reign of Ptolemy II. As a harbour the gulf of Fethiye is superior by far to Patara, and if, as I suggest below, access to timber was one of the reasons for

⁶³¹ Bousquet (1986b) 32.

Ptolemaic interest in Lycia, Telmessos would have had particularly good access to the cedar forests of Mt. Kragos (Baba Dağ), which lies to the south east of the city.⁶³² Timber from Kragos (via Pinara) and elsewhere in the Xanthos valley could also, however, have been shipped out of Patara, and the Xanthians might have been able to use this to their advantage in challenging Telmessos' role in commerce, especially if, as implied by the honorific decree for Ptolemy son of Lysimachos (see below), Telmessos suffered in the mid-third century from the imposition of a punishing tax regime.

The Xanthians did not only use epigraphy as a tool in their relations with the Ptolemaic kings, however. Another inscription from the end of the third century records at length their response to a delegation from Kytenion who visited the city to ask for help in rebuilding their city after an earthquake – drawing on various mythical ties of kinship between the Dorians and the Xanthians.⁶³³ As John Ma has shown, this document fits into the wider context of interaction between Hellenistic cities which relied on the recognition of ties of kinship and other obligations between independent city-states.⁶³⁴ The Xanthians provided only 500 drachmas in response to the Kytenians' request - which, as Ma points out, would not have gone far towards the rebuilding.⁶³⁵ They also, however, went to the effort and expense of engraving their decision, and the letters from the Kytenians, as well as a letter and decree of the Aetolians in support of them, on a stele, which was set up in the Letöon. Ma argues that this shows 'the Xanthians'

⁶³² Byfield, Atay and Özhatay (2010) 174-176.

⁶³³ SEG 38:1476; Ed.pr. Bousquet (1988) 12-53, with text and French translation. Discussed, along with other Lycian claims to mythical kinship with Greek cities, in Jones (1999) 61-62, 68-70.

⁶³⁴ Ma (2003) 7-13.

⁶³⁵ Ma (2003) 7, with n. 1.

determination... to keep the affair in the realm of the symbolic'; although this does indeed seem to have been the case, the inscribing of the document suggests that they attached more importance to the affair than might have been expected.⁶³⁶ No inscribed record of the arrival of the Kytenians is known from any of the other cities they visited, and while this may be simply an accident of survival, we might suspect that the Xanthians were particularly keen to inscribe a document which 'proved' their status as members of the network of Greek *poleis*, and their right to be considered part of the 'Greek' world of kinship and mutual aid.

The three surviving inscriptions from third-century Xanthos that were not decrees of the Xanthians as a community all appear to be linked to the presence of the Ptolemaic garrison, which seems to have been well embedded in the town by the middle of the century, if not before. Relations between the garrison and the local community were warm enough for the community to honour Pandaros, and a recently discovered inscription records a dedication by 'the στρατιῶται of Agathokles'; another officer, the ἡγεμὼν Euphrainetos, set up an altar and temple of Artemis.⁶³⁷ The identity of Agathokles is unknown, but as the first editors of the text demonstrate, στρατιῶται almost invariably designates mercenaries.⁶³⁸ The dedication was made 'to Kybernis', a heroised version of the early ruler of Xanthos whose coin-legends give our first attestation of writing in Lycia (see Chapter 1.3). Euphrainetos' dedication was, by contrast, to a Greek goddess, but one with particular connection to Lycia – Artemis, the daughter of Leto. He sets

⁶³⁶ Ma (2003) 10.

⁶³⁷ Agathokles: Baker and Thériault (2013) 293. Euphrainetos: TAM II 263; Baker and Thériault (2013) 297.

⁶³⁸ Robert (1983) 296.

up an altar and a shrine with a statue ὑπὲρ ‘on behalf of’ Ptolemy V Epiphanes (hence the date of 205-197) and of ‘the *polis* of the Xanthians’. This combination of loyalty to the king and a concern for the welfare of Xanthos perhaps resulted from a particular link between Euphrainetos and the town: although he is described as an Aetolian, he is also said to be κατὰ δὲ μητ[...], and Kalinka’s restoration κατὰ δὲ μητ[έρα Ξάνθιος] would certainly provide a specific motivation for his dedication – although, in view of the dedication of the other soldiers to Kybernis, it is not clear that any such motivation is really necessary.⁶³⁹

The final surviving inscription from Xanthos set up by a private individual during this period is a dedication approximately contemporary to that of Euphrainetos (c. 200) by Monis for her husband Tandasis, who, like Euphrainetos, is described as a ἡγεμών, an ‘officer’, presumably, again, of the Ptolemaic garrison.⁶⁴⁰ The names and origins of the various members of the garrison are of interest here. Pandaros is clearly a Greek (he has been sent by Ptolemy, and is described as son of Νικίος, and a Ἡρακλεώτης ‘citizen of Herakleia’), and Agathokles’s name is also Greek although, since he gives no ethnic or patronym, it is conceivably that he was a Lycian with a Greek name. Euphrainetos, as discussed above, was also a Greek, although perhaps with links to Xanthos, but Monis and Tandasis, both of whose parents have non-Greek names, are clearly Lycians. By the end of the third century, it seems, the town was not merely honouring the Ptolemaic garrison but also providing its officers.

⁶³⁹ Baker and Thériault (2013) 297.

⁶⁴⁰ SEG 38:1477.

In its increased use of honorific decrees, Xanthos was displaying behaviour typical of a Greek *polis*: the awarding of honorific decrees, especially to ‘outsiders’ or to citizens who had been involved in military action, was a feature of the late classical and early Hellenistic period in many cities.⁶⁴¹ Similarly, the sending of *theoroi* to the *Ptolemaia* was not unique: Bousquet mentions a similar delegation from Samos on the same occasion, and there must have been many similar parties of which records have not survived.⁶⁴² The individuals honoured were in most cases not Xanthians, but those connected to the Ptolemies, and the inscriptions – and the decrees they represent – can be seen as part of an effort to ensure that relations with the town’s Ptolemaic overlords ran smoothly.⁶⁴³

5.8 Third century epigraphy: Patara

Patara, the harbour at the mouth of the river Xanthos, has so far produced little epigraphy from prior to the Hellenistic period: one Lycian tomb inscription has apparently been found, but this has yet to be published.⁶⁴⁴ Others may well have been lost under the sand which has covered the entire site, and might appear in the course of continuing excavations. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, however, it flourished – and this is reflected in the epigraphy. A large limestone block carries a third-century inventory list, detailing dedications to a temple (the

⁶⁴¹ This behaviour is displayed, for example, by the Greek cities of Caria in awards to Mausolus during the Hekatomnid period – although, tellingly, Xanthos does not seem to have honoured the Hekatomnids in this way: see Ma (2013) 3-7, with n. 18.

⁶⁴² Bousquet (1986b) 30.

⁶⁴³ Another decree from this period (the eighth year of Ptolemy III, that is 239/8) has been discovered in the Letöon; it has yet to be published, but opens with a dating formula naming the priest of Alexander and the holy siblings at Alexandria, before giving the name of the priest *πρὸ πόλεως* at Xanthos – Pokomos, son of Aineos, either a Greek or a Xanthian from a family sufficiently Hellenised to have born Greek names for at least two generations (see Bousquet (1988) 24 n. 10; Wörle (2010) 364 n. 16).

⁶⁴⁴ Melchert [in press] 9-10.

identity of which is unknown).⁶⁴⁵ The items dedicated (mainly metal utensils) are of moderate value, mostly c. 30-40 drachmas but with one bowl worth 540 drachmas, and a skyphos worth 120; the sanctuary must have been of some importance, at least within Lycia.⁶⁴⁶

One other point of interest in this inscription is the fact that one of the men is described as Λύκιος, while none of the others are given this ethnic or any other. Schuler and Zimmermann suggest that the ethnic officially attaches to the object rather than the dedicator, and ask: 'War das Gefäß des Hephaistion mitsamt der Aufschrift ursprünglich für eine andere Verwendung außerhalb Lykiens bestimmt?'⁶⁴⁷ It seems unlikely that Hephaistion was the only 'Lycian' among the dedicators (another bears the name Moschus, particularly common in Lycia) but it is conceivable. Alternatively, were the other men Patarans or Xanthians, with only Hephaistion coming from further afield, and therefore stating that he, as a Lycian, also had a reason (or, perhaps, the right?) to dedicate here?

5.9 Third century epigraphy: Tlos

An increase in the importance of military roles and positions similar to that noted at Xanthos is also seen at Tlos. As described above, the epigraphy of Tlos was already somewhat different from that of neighbouring towns in the fourth century, possibly due to the religious importance of the site. In the third century, however – as at Xanthos – the production of epitaphs and other inscriptions by individuals seems to have ceased. The only surviving piece of epigraphy which

⁶⁴⁵ Schuler and Zimmermann (2012) 568-573.

⁶⁴⁶ Schuler and Zimmermann (2012) 570.

⁶⁴⁷ Schuler and Zimmermann (2012) 572.

definitely dates from the third century is an honorific decree for a certain Neoptolemos.⁶⁴⁸ This is in a very fragmentary state, but preserves the end of a dating formula (giving the name of the eponymous priest), the end of the formula [ἐκκλησίας] κυρίας οὔσης, the start of the enactment formula (ἔδο[ξε...) and, in addition to Neoptolemos' name, the start of his patronym. This allows us to be sure that he is the same man honoured in a verse epigram, originally on a statue base, recorded by Stephanos of Byzantium.⁶⁴⁹ We can therefore be quite sure that one of the honours awarded in the decree would have been the setting up of a statue. The epigram makes the statue itself speak, explaining the Tloans set it up to honour Neoptolemos, after he defended them from attack by Pisidians, Gauls and Thracians some time between the 270s and 250s.⁶⁵⁰ Louis Robert demonstrated the potential importance of Neoptolemos' victory, suggesting that he was the *strategos* of all the Ptolemaic troops in Lycia and was responsible for the defence of the entire Xanthos valley; he points out that the position of Tlos, about half-way up the main part of the valley, means that his defeat of the enemy there would also have saved Arsada, Pinara, Sidyma, Xanthos, the Letöon, and Patara.⁶⁵¹ If the whole valley had been threatened by the Galatians at this point, this might also explain the increase in inscribed decrees at Xanthos from this point onwards, starting with the honours for Pandaros who, perhaps, had been the leader of the section of Neoptolemos' troops based in Xanthos.

The epigram gives us another piece of interesting information about Hellenistic Tlos: it was set up in the sanctuary of the 'three brothers', whom Wilhelm

⁶⁴⁸ SEG 54:1224; Ed. pr. Adak and Şahin (2004) 86-87.

⁶⁴⁹ Robert (1983) 251.

⁶⁵⁰ Robert (1983) 249.

⁶⁵¹ Robert (1983) 251.

identified as Tlōos, Pinalos and Kragos, the eponymous founders of Tlos and Pinara and their brother Kragos, who gave his name to the mountain.⁶⁵² We know from papyrus finds in Egypt that the same Neoptolemos was the priest of Alexander and the divine siblings in 252-251, showing that he was closely connected to the Ptolemaic administration, yet the statue in his honour at Tlos is erected not in the sanctuary of Kronos, a more widely known god, but in that of the three indigenous heroes. As at Xanthos, the fact that a decree is inscribed in honour of an outsider seems to imply that epigraphy was deployed primarily as an element in the city's interaction with the outside world – but its placement in the sanctuary of such 'local' divinities also emphasises the local connection.

If the inscriptions so far recorded at Tlos give anything like a true picture of the number of the inscriptions produced at certain times, Neoptolemos' statue and honorific decree would have been a significant honour when first erected; during the second century, such honours seem to have become slightly more common, but it was not until the Roman period that they began to appear in significant numbers.⁶⁵³ As in Xanthos, no inscribed epitaphs from the third century have yet been found; these begin to re-emerge in the second century, but remain unusual. One of these begins with the name of the builder and ends with ἀντῶι καὶ τ[... - the expected list of datives, listing the recipients of the tomb. The central section of the inscription is lost, but the connection to the earlier, Lycian epitaphs is

⁶⁵² Wilhelm, quoted in Robert (1983) 246-267; Ma (2013) 94 n. 199 points out that it is possible that this sanctuary was a federal sanctuary not in fact located at Tlos, but (even if it *were* a federal sanctuary) there seems little reason that it should not been at Tlos – it certainly seems unlikely to have been at the Letöon, which was sacred to Leto, Apollo and Artemis, nor does any other obvious location present itself.

⁶⁵³ *Tituli Asiae Minoris* gives TAM II 593 and 580 (=SEG 30:1530) as probable second century honorific decrees.

clear.⁶⁵⁴ The second is entirely different, stating only that it is ἐπὶ Ἀττάλῳ ἥρωι
'for the hero Attalos', suggesting a move towards a more explicit cult of the dead
(as shown, too, by the mercenaries' dedication to Kybernis at Xanthos).⁶⁵⁵

5.10 Third century epigraphy: Pinara

Elsewhere in Lycia, in contrast to the situation in Tlos and Xanthos, the occasional production of inscribed rock tombs appears to have continued, with Greek epitaphs used in much the same way that Lycian epitaphs had been used during the fourth century, although in almost all cases less prolifically.

Only one surviving inscription at Pinara, for example, is thought to have been produced in the third century: this is TAM II 520, inscribed on a rock-tomb cut free of the rock on three sides; unusually, it is cut on the wall of the vestibule of the tomb, rather over the door.⁶⁵⁶ The name of the builder is a Greek (?) one, Τελεσίας, but his father bore the Lycian name Tilume (in Greek, Τιλόμας), also found at Limyra (in TL 139). The additional information Διελιτῶν γένους 'of the family of...' may be an equivalent of the Lycian 'so-and-so *prñnezijehi*', an alternative to the use of *oikeioi* seen in some bilingual inscriptions (see Chapter 4). In spite of the unusual physical position of the epitaph, its content is clearly in the Lycian tradition: although it opens with the names of the builder, rather than beginning with the word for the tomb, it contains all the expected elements: the name of the builder, the word for the tomb, a verb of building, a list of the people

⁶⁵⁴ TAM II 643.

⁶⁵⁵ TAM II 635.

⁶⁵⁶ Wurster and Wörle (1978) 95-96

for whom it was built (described as αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις with, typically, neither his wife nor children named). Perhaps significant, however, is the fact that the tomb is described as τὸ ἡρώιον, rather than a τάφος or μνήμα, as is more usual in the fourth-century; this may reflect the same heroisation of the dead seen in the cult of Kybernis and, during the second century, at Tlos.

The next section of the epitaph consists of an imprecation, forbidding anyone to open the tomb or to give it over to anyone else; anyone who does so will be ἀμαρτωλὸς with respect to all the gods and Leto and her children (here in the genitive – as seen in N320 – rather than in the dative, or following εἰς, as is more common at Limyra) – using the same threat as in the Limyran epitaphs and the curses on the Telmessan and Limyran decrees. The use of an imprecation here is of some interest, since they are not found in the Lycian epitaphs of western Lycia, with the exception of TL6 (the bilingual inscription at Kaya Köy; see Chapter 4.9) and N336 (also at Pinara). This raises the suspicion that the word is not linked to the content of the Lycian imprecations, and is instead a specifically Greek usage, yet it too seems more common in eastern Lycia and, as discussed in Chapter 4.4, is used in this sense used almost exclusively in Lycia. After this comes another unexpected element, the stipulation of a fine for anyone who ignores the prohibition. This appears to be a later addition, showing descendants of the original builder retaining an interest in the tomb, and presumably updating the inscription as imprecations began to be abandoned in favour of fines.

5.11 Third century epigraphy: Limyra

The situation at Limyra in the third century seems to present a stark contrast to that at Xanthos and in the Xanthos valley. As discussed in the first part of this chapter, the production of civic inscriptions appears to have begun here at a much earlier date, with the honorific decrees for the two Kaunians; indeed, the existence of the letter mentioning Perikle (SEG 41: 1380; see Chapter 4.11), perhaps from the time of Mausolus or another Hekatomnid, implies that there was no 'break' in the epigraphic habit like that apparently visible at Xanthos, but rather that the orientation of the city towards the Greek world which had begun under Perikle continued and increased under the Hekatomnids and then in the Ptolemaic period. The appointment of *oikonomoi* – rather than simply of a garrison – perhaps hints that Limyra was of particular economic importance to the Ptolemaic empire and therefore was treated with particular care. It is tempting here to think of the cedar of Mt. Olympos (Tahtalı Dağı), and of Thonemann's suggestion that Limyra and Phaselis were the chief points from which it was exported.⁶⁵⁷ The Ptolemies relied entirely on imported timber for ship-building, and although this appears to have come primarily from Cyprus, it could also have been brought from Lycia, especially since the voyage from Limyra to the Nile delta, with the prevailing north-westerly wind in the summer, takes only around three days.⁶⁵⁸ Indeed, if Lycia was under Ptolemaic control at a time when Cyprus was not, this might have been vital. After this, however, no further 'official' epigraphy is found until the ninth year of either Ptolemy II or

⁶⁵⁷ Thonemann (2009) 172; Byfield, Atay and Özhatay (2010) 194-196.

⁶⁵⁸ Sources of timber for the Ptolemaic fleet: Meiggs (1982) 133-135. Voyage from Lycia to Egypt: Casson (1951) 145 gives a time of 2½ - 3½ days for a voyage under sail from Myra to Alexandria. In the summer both the main regional winds, the Meltemi and the Etesians, blow from the north-west over most of the area between Lycia and Egypt, although nearer the Egyptian coast a different wind (the Khamsin) blows north (Prontera (2013) 215; also shown by the 'Main regional winds' chart, *Admiralty Sailing Directions Mediterranean Pilot* Vol. V, 9th edn (2005), p. 31).

Ptolemy III (that is, 277/6 or 239/8 respectively), when a letter discussing punishment of officials who neglect their duties was inscribed on the back of the block of stone which already bore SEG 41: 1380.⁶⁵⁹ This use of an already inscribed block contrasts with the carefully-dressed stelai used by the Xanthians, and perhaps suggests a more utilitarian environment, in which the letter was recorded primarily for pragmatic reasons. It has been suggested that this might have been part of an archive wall, but if this was the case, no more of it has survived.⁶⁶⁰

If the 'official' epigraphy of third century Limyra was scarcer than that of Xanthos, the opposite is true of its private epigraphy. Here, a high degree of continuity between the fourth and third centuries can be seen. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Greek epitaphs of the fourth century show significantly more variation than the Lycian inscriptions, with some so similar to Lycian equivalents that they appear to be almost a literal 'translation' of an indigenous prototype, others giving the same information but in a more idiomatic Greek (beginning, for instance, with the name of the tomb builder rather than the word for the tomb) and others consisting only of the builder's name and patronymic in the genitive. This same pattern is seen in the third century epitaphs, although fewer appear to have been produced (six rather than fourteen).⁶⁶¹ Of these, however, the same number (four) use the 'building formula', with the object of the sentence placed first, and only one gives the name in the genitive: although it is dangerous to

⁶⁵⁹ Ed. pr. Wörrle (2010) 359-394.

⁶⁶⁰ Wörrle (1991) 225.

⁶⁶¹ Two epitaphs are described by Wörrle as potentially either fourth or third century (H II 22 and H II 26), meaning that the difference in the numbers produced could potentially be either more or less significant by two inscriptions.

draw conclusions from such a small body of evidence, it seems that the stereotypical and distinctively 'local' character of the *Greek* epigraphy of Limyra became increasingly pronounced in the third century. This impression is reinforced by the addition of imprecations to three of the six inscriptions – again, the same number as in the fourth century, when the total number of epitaphs produced was almost twice as high. In all three, ἀμαρτωλὸς is used; the gods mentioned, however, become more generic – 'all the gods' (TAM II 30), 'all the Lycian gods' (TAM II 21), and 'all the gods of the Underworld' (TAM II 15) – by contrast with the gods mentioned in the fourth-century epitaphs ('Zeus and all the gods' (TAM II 32) and 'Leto' (TAM II 1), and one occurrence with no mention of a god (TAM II 7)). It is also possible that some of the Lycian inscriptions were produced in the early third century. The epitaph of Purihimeti (TL99; see Chapter 4.10) is one possible candidate; others are TL109, one of the few other tombs to display the late ʸ form of <ẽ>, and TL105. Both of these are simple 'Limyra-typus' tombs, and are situated very close to each other. TL109 specifies a fine – the nature of which is unclear – to be paid (*ttilidi*) for violation of the tomb. Such fines became common in later Greek epitaphs, where a specific sum of money is specified, but are rare in Lycian texts: this inscription might show the beginnings of the later practice.⁶⁶² TL105 is a far simpler text. It shows <u> for <ã> in *xupu*, an indication of a late date, as well as the three features which may show the influence of the Greek epitaphs: the omission of the preposition *hrppi*, combined here with the use of *atli ehbi* (discussed in Chapter 1.22), and the omission of *tideimi* from the filiation formula.

⁶⁶² Christiansen (2009) 48-49 records examples of fines in TL109, TL111 and TL112, and (alongside imprecations) in TL94, TL102, TL134 and TL149. Of these, at least TL109, TL112 and TL102 appears from their letter forms to be among the latest inscriptions; see Chart 5.

The decrease in the number of inscriptions produced, and their apparently increasing conventionality, is hard to explain when we have so few details of the life of Limyra at this point. One possible explanation is that along with the increasing use of Greek epitaphs came an increased use of *stelai* or sarcophagi to carry inscriptions, in preference to placing inscriptions directly on the tomb; these are more easily destroyed than rock-tombs (as shown by the number of rock tombs on which cuttings for sarcophagi, which have now vanished, can be seen⁶⁶³) – with the result that a smaller proportion of such inscriptions would be likely to survive.⁶⁶⁴ Another possibility is that the third century epitaphs which survive were produced only in the first part of the century – when Lycian inscriptions were perhaps also being carved – and that later, as elsewhere, they ceased to be used.

5.12 Epitaphs at smaller sites

The inscribing of tombs in apparently isolated sites which is so distinctive a feature of fourth century Lycia seems to have continued at this period, although recorded examples are rare. One, however, is found on the grave-house of Tlepolemos (see fig. 40), on a hill-top across a small plain from the main acropolis at Hoiran (but closer to it than the ornate tomb with TL74 mentioned

⁶⁶³ E.g. Kuban (2012) II 75 and 73 (with TL124, in this case on the door-post of the rock-tomb); Seyer and Kogler (2007) 123-140 discuss such 'double-graves'; they do not explicitly state that this was a later development in the design of the tombs, but the fact that sarcophagi seem to have been a later addition in a number of cases suggests that this was so.

⁶⁶⁴ See e.g. Isager (2011) 204, who emphasises the vulnerability of *stelai*, which are easily erased, or removed for use in building or to be burnt for lime. Nonetheless, his observation that there are 'only two inscriptions on *stelai* from Labraunda safely dated to the mid-fourth century, and none before that' demonstrates the particular scarcity of *stelai* from Lycia, none of which can be securely dated known earlier than the Letöon trilingual – implying that few were produced, even allowing for accidents of survival.

in Chapter 3.8).⁶⁶⁵ The tomb itself is noticeably plain, and the epitaph on it is equally simple:⁶⁶⁶

Τληπολέμου τοῦ Τληπολέμου

τοῦ Τληπολέμου Μυρέως

Tleplemos is a name which became particularly common in Lycia during the Roman period but this, according to the LGPN database, is its earliest recorded occurrence in the epigraphy of the area. Since Tleplemos' grandfather already bore the name, it is interesting to consider how he came by it: was he from a Lycian family particularly interested in the Homeric epics or was the family a Greek one which at some point (before or after the time of Tleplemos' grandfather) moved to Lycia – in which case the name could have been intended to evoke both the Lycian Tleplemos, son of Damastor, and the Rhodian leader.⁶⁶⁷ Also of interest here is the fact that Tleplemos calls himself a 'citizen of Myra', suggesting that the site at Hoiran was part of the territory of Myra in some way: the unanswerable question arises of whether Tleplemos lived in Hoiran itself, or spent some or all of his time at Myra.

⁶⁶⁵ The dates of the tomb and inscription are not uncontroversial. Hülken (2006) 248-249, with n. 210, argues that the grave was erected before the Hellenistic inscription was added; he also points out that the early Hellenistic date given by the first editors of the inscription is not uncontroversial, since although Zimmermann (1992) agrees with their early date, Schuler has suggested to him that it is late-Hellenistic or early-Imperial.

⁶⁶⁶ Benndorf and Niemann (1889a) 31, no. 8.

⁶⁶⁷ Robert, quoted in Colvin (2004) 62 n. 38 argued that the name was used in Lycia in reference not to the most famous Tleplemos of the Iliad, the son of Herakles and founder of Rhodes (who fought Sarpedon at Il. 5.665-669), but to Tleplemos son of Damastor, who is killed by Patrokles at Il. 16.416 just before Sarpedon's rallying-cry to the Lycians, and who would therefore have been considered a Lycian. Although this solves the problem of Lycians apparently naming their son after a man *defeated* by one of the main Lycian heroes, the fame of Tleplemos son of Herakles perhaps also had a hand in encouraging the use of the name: it is noticeable that none of the other names found in that section (Epaltēs, Euippos etc.) seem to have been popular in Lycia. Another possible reason for the popularity of Tleplemos might be Colvin's suggestion (Colvin (2004) 66) that it was used as a Greek version of Trbbēnīmī, due to similarity in the sound of the two words.

Other isolated epitaphs from a similar time are seen at Trysa, slightly north-east of Hoiran (a similarly short inscription, giving only the names – in the genitive – of two brothers, and their patronymic) and at Istlada, on the coast just east of Uçağız.⁶⁶⁸ Neither of these sites has yet produced any inscriptions in Lycian, and it seems that they were both comparatively unimportant during the fourth century.⁶⁶⁹ The inscription from Istlada, which is inscribed on a sarcophagus, is another example of the longer form of epitaph seen at Pinara and Limyra: the object of the sentence (τὸν τάφον) comes at the very beginning, followed by the names of the three men (Πιγεςαρμας, Κοδρωνας and Δευκυβελις) who set it up (for, unusually their *parents* and children) and an imprecation against burying anyone else there. This threatens that anyone who does so will – unsurprisingly – be ἀμαρτωλὸς to the gods of the underworld. The names of the three brothers are attested only here, and are clearly Lycian in origin, as is the name of their mother, Εροψιδαβη; their father's name, Ἑρμαγόρας, is, as Schuler points out, Greek in appearance, but is similar to the various Lycian names in *Erma-*, the popularity of which appears to have encouraged the use, in Lycia, of 'Greek' names containing a 'Hermes' element.⁶⁷⁰

It is striking, perhaps, that so few surviving third century epitaphs (or inscriptions of any sort) have been recorded from Myra itself. None have been definitely dated to this period, but among the squeezes in the ÖAW, the lettering of two (CIG 4303 Add. = Schwyer (2002) Myra 61 and CIG 4303 e³a = Schwyer

⁶⁶⁸ Trysa: Benndorf and Niemann (1889b) 227; Istlada: Schuler (2006) 400-401, who gives a date of 'Hellenistisch (3./2. Jh. v. Chr.)'; SEG 56:1731.

⁶⁶⁹ Trysa: as mentioned in Chapter 3.1 and 3.10, Kolb (2008) 93 states that Trysa flourished at the start of the fourth century (perhaps as a residence of Trbbēnīmi) but then lapsed into relative obscurity.

⁶⁷⁰ Schuler (2006) 410.

(2002) Myra 63) appear to me to suggest an early date, in the third or perhaps even fourth century. The letters of the former are very similar in size and form to the script of TL152, from Limyra (dated by Wörrle to the fourth or third centuries) as well as that of Wörrle H II 4 (dated to the fourth century) whereas those of the latter resemble Wörrle H II 5 (again approximately fourth century), with smaller letters and occasional small serifs. CIG 4303 e³a is a comparatively short epitaph following the Lycian pattern of 'building formula', recipients and imprecation, but CIG 4303 Add. is longer, and institutes sacrifices to the dead, which might imply a slightly later date. Both, however, clearly show the influence of the earlier, Lycian inscriptions.

It is hard to know how much significance to attach to the apparent lack of epigraphy from third-century Myra, since building in the Byzantine and modern periods – as well as the silting of the plain – might well have destroyed a higher proportion of what was produced than at smaller and more isolated sites. However, it is also possible that there was more impetus for the creation of impressive funerary monuments and the use of inscribed epitaphs in comparatively isolated areas where, perhaps, the records and influence of the authorities responsible for tomb-ownership held less power. The absence of any official epigraphy suggests, at least, that Myra was at this point significantly less important than Limyra, the seat of Ptolemaic administrators in eastern Lycia.

A similar situation appears to be visible slightly further west, in the area around Kyaneai. From Kyaneai itself comes an altar dedicated to Zeus – showing, as at Limyra and Xanthos, the use of epigraphy in religion in a manner seen

throughout the Hellenistic world.⁶⁷¹ In contrast to the use of both Lycian and Greek during the fourth century, no third-century inscriptions are known at the site; the lack of private epigraphy is unsurprising, but apparent absence of official inscriptions seems to complement the archaeological evidence, which suggests that, although the town became especially prosperous in the second century, it had stagnated somewhat in the third, in contrast with the larger coastal towns.⁶⁷² On nearby Büyük Avşar, however, are two tombs with short epitaphs – one (SEG 48:1704) giving the word for the tomb in the nominative followed by the name of the builder in the genitive, the other (SEG 48:1705) only the name and patronymic of the builder, again in the genitive. Again, the correlation between the apparent importance of a town and the production of epigraphy there – especially the production of epigraphy by private individuals – is not obvious.

At Antiphellos, the Hellenistic grave known as the ‘Doric tomb’ is seen, which appears to have been built in the late-fourth or early-third century.⁶⁷³ This is a free-standing house-tomb cut directly out of the rock – as such, it must have been extremely expensive to create. It bore an inscription in Greek, unfortunately now illegible.⁶⁷⁴ At Isinda, a free-standing tomb-house of a similar kind (fig. 39) is seen, again cut directly out of the rock. Although closer in scale to the tomb at Hoiran, it is somewhat more ornate, with architectural moulding around the door. This, however, bears a Lycian inscription (TL63; fig. 38), carved in large, but comparatively shallow, letters across the top of the façade (not on the lintel

⁶⁷¹ SEG 40:1271

⁶⁷² Zimmermann (1992) 70.

⁶⁷³ Marksteiner (2010) 108-110 gives a fourth-century date.

⁶⁷⁴ Diether Schürr, personal communication.

of the door, as might have been expected). It is now poorly preserved, but the lettering is noticeably 'square': here, there is little attempt on the part of the letter-cutter to emphasise the distinctiveness of the Lycian alphabet (with the possible exception of the use of 'Lycian' 𐌶) while the perfectly parallel vertical lines of <m>, for example, might even imply that he was more familiar with the Greek script. In addition, the late letter forms 𐌶 <χ> and 𐌷 <ã> are used. The wording of the epitaph also supports the possibility that this is an example of a Hellenistic text in Lycian: it starts with the name of the builder rather than with the object and omits the relative pronoun *-ti* which is usual in such cases (see Chapter 2.3), and, like TL105, omits *tideimi* from the filiation formula, and *hrppi* from before the list of those to whom the tomb is given.⁶⁷⁵ All these omissions would be entirely expected in a Greek sentence, and therefore seem very likely to reflect the effect of Greek norms on the language of epigraphy; this might also be seen in the addition of *atli* 'for himself' to the list of those for whom the tomb was built. The omission of any imprecation perhaps also suggests that the complexities of Lycian were less well understood by this point – although, as we have seen, the use of such elements was never obligatory in either Lycian or Greek. At Antiphellos, meanwhile, a second tomb bore a simple Greek epitaph:⁶⁷⁶

Ἰκέσιος ἐποίησε αὐτῷ
καὶ Ἑρμογένει καὶ ἐγγόνοις.

Not until later in the Hellenistic period, however, is there any sign of epitaphs of the longer, distinctively 'Lycian' type here or in the surrounding area.⁶⁷⁷ Whether this is simply an accident of survival or whether, having fallen out of fashion here

⁶⁷⁵ The most recent text of this inscription is Schürr (2001) 146-147.

⁶⁷⁶ Diamantaras (1892) 305; .

⁶⁷⁷ Diamantaras (1892) 305.

in the third century, they reappeared in the second is impossible to know, but if there was hiatus in the production of longer inscriptions, it is easy to imagine their resurgence being encouraged by the continuing existence of the Greek version of the bilingual epitaph TL56 (see Chapter 4.9), which is on a tomb just below the 'Doric' tomb.

5.13 Third century epigraphy: Telmessos

Finally, returning to the very west of Lycia, Telmessos appears to show an overall pattern of increasing official epigraphy and decreasing production of inscriptions by individuals, somewhat similar to that seen at Xanthos. Closer inspection, however, suggests that the historical circumstances behind this were somewhat different.

As discussed above, Telmessos seems to have come under Ptolemaic control some time before 282, when Ptolemy's letter guaranteeing that the town would not be given away as a *dorea* was written. At some point after this, however, the town was given away, to Ptolemy son of Lysimachos. Three honorific decrees of the town are known from around the time that he ruled the city (in the middle of the third century): one for Leimon, son of Antipatros, one for Ptolemy son of Lysimachos himself, and one for Aristeas son of Kleandros.⁶⁷⁸

The decree for Leimon was passed some time in the twentieth year of Ptolemy (265/4 – 257/6), perhaps before Ptolemy son of Lysimachus took control of the

⁶⁷⁸ Leimon: Clara Rhodos 9:183. Ptolemy son of Lysimachos: TAM II 1; OGIS 55. Aristeas: Syll³ 568; Clara Rhodos 9: 183 (no. 3); Inscr. di Cos ED 56

town – although, since he seems to be described as [φίλος] Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀ[υσιμάχου, Ptolemy was clearly an important figure in the town by this point. The decree for Leimon states that it was passed by the *polis* and *peroikoi* of Telmessos, but a later inscription (of c. 200), found on Kos, may cause us to question whether it was in fact passed on the *polis*' own initiative. This is a decree for Aristéas, a Macedonian: it too is framed as a decree of Telmessos, but also states that it was passed in response to a letter of Lysimachos (probably the son and successor of Ptolemy) and seems to show that the town was controlled by a non-resident ruler.⁶⁷⁹ Were the honours awarded to Leimon – who is, after all, said to be a φίλος of Ptolemy – also, in reality, passed as the result of a hint or order from above?

In 240, the Telmessians passed a decree in honour of Ptolemy himself, recording that he returned levels of taxation to a fair level: the context of this action remains unclear, but it seems likely that taxes had been raised by an official appointed by Ptolemy rather than by Ptolemy himself, and that the situation had been exacerbated by the effects of the Third Syrian war.⁶⁸⁰ In return, the town honours its ruler by setting up an altar to Zeus in his honour, and sacrificing there each year (unless, they state, hindered by war). Domingo Gygax emphasises that these are honours typically awarded to a king, rather than simply a benefactor – a further indication of the effect which the town's lack of independence had on its civic and epigraphic culture during this period.

⁶⁷⁹ Domingo Gygax (2001) 151.

⁶⁸⁰ Domingo Gygax (2001) 143-167, discussing the context of the decree, the identity and position of Ptolemy son of Lysimachos, and the custom of giving whole towns to certain individuals as their private property.

As in the other main towns of Lycia, surviving private epigraphy from third century Telmessos is rare. Here in particular, we may suspect that even more has been lost than at more isolated sites – the area has been extensively built over, both in ancient times and more recently, with the entire town remodelled following an earthquake in 1957. At least three epitaphs (TAM 30, 40 and 41a; see) appear to have been inscribed during the late fourth century (or perhaps at the very start of the third) but only one can be dated later in the third century: this is TAM II 42 which, most unusually, gives a date: ἔτους ξ μηνὸς Λώου α, and then states that the *polis* has given the grave to Φίλτης. The use of the date here suggests that the inscription would have had some legal force, while the fact that the *polis* gives away the tomb implies that it had taken over the role of the *miñti* (who were mentioned, still, in TAM II 40).

Telmessos' potential prosperity seems to be shown by the produce (fruit and numerous types of cereal) recorded in the decree for Ptolemy son of Lysimachos as having been heavily taxed; as mentioned above, the proximity of the cedar forests of Mt. Kragos might also have enabled the town to export timber to Egypt. Perhaps it was this abundance of resources which led to the town being given to Ptolemy as his private demesne. The relationship between the town and its ruler seems, though, to have been complex, perhaps at times acrimonious – and epigraphy seems to have had a role to play in making it less so.

5.14 The Epigraphic Culture of third century Lycia

Whether or not the Lycian towns already, as Domingo-Gygax argues, had the standard institutions of a *polis* in the second half of the fourth century, it seems

clear that (making all due allowances for the quantity of inscriptions which must have been lost) this was not widely reflected in their epigraphy until the third century.⁶⁸¹ At this point, the larger towns – Xanthos, Limyra, Telmessos – seem to have first realised the power of the performative aspect of epigraphy. By inscribing letters from kings, and honours for their officials, in public places, they could demonstrate their independence and their ability to play a role in the wider life and culture of the Aegean on a par with the cities of Ionia and the Aegean, interacting with the Ptolemaic kings in a similar fashion.⁶⁸² In this sense, the use of Greek to demonstrate their ability to fit into the diplomatic interactions of the Aegean is perhaps an extension – if not a direct continuation – of the use of Greek on the Xanthos stele, a hundred years earlier, to position the family of Xeriga amongst the Greek-speaking Aegean political élite. The letter from the Kytenians seems to show that the Xanthians, at least, succeeded in this, while the decree of Telmessos for Aristéas, erected on Kos, shows that this town, too (whether or not it was acting on the orders of an absentee ruler) was involved in the sending of documents – in particular, honorific decrees – between cities, which was so typical of the Hellenistic period.⁶⁸³

⁶⁸¹ E.g. Domingo-Gygax (2001) 100-109.

⁶⁸² For the distinction made between Greeks and non-Greeks in Egypt, see Vlassopoulos (2013) 285.

⁶⁸³ Ma (2013) 17-18.

Conclusion

The study of the epigraphy of Lycia involved myriad problems of chronology and interpretation: our lack of information about so many aspects of the history of the peninsula means that any conclusions which may be drawn are necessarily speculative.

The study of inscriptions on stone, especially personal inscriptions such as epitaphs, gives us direct evidence about only a small section of society: those sufficiently well-off to be able to erect monuments and then add inscriptions. Nevertheless, the composition of the group within a society which has the means to do this can alter, and such an alteration seems to have taken place in Lycia during the fourth and third centuries. At the start of the fourth century, the overarching impression given by the surviving evidence is that inscriptions (even those which appear comparatively modest) were used only by a few local 'big men' and, most impressively, by their Xanthian overlords. By the end of the fourth century, however – most noticeably at Limyra – a far greater number of people (although still a tiny proportion of the entire population) were evidently in a position to make monumental tombs, and to have inscriptions carved upon them – and the comparative modesty of both tombs and epitaphs suggests that they were no longer being set up solely by the outstandingly wealthy, but by a wider section of the comfortably off. Meanwhile, the decline in the political power of the ruling élite after Lycia became part of the satrapy of Caria seems to be confirmed by the absence of impressive public monuments of the type set up

by the Xanthian rulers at the start of the century. The Letöon trilingual may not show the 'democratisation' of Lycia, but it is clear that the rulers of the cities no longer wielded the power they once had.

During the Hellenistic period, the segment of society which is visible in inscriptions continues to increase. In particular, the inscriptions relating to the garrison at Xanthos, such as SEG 33:1183, in honour of the commander at Xanthos, gives a picture of a town which is doing its best to accommodate a new source of authority – and using the production of epigraphy to do this. At the same time, the role of rulers in the production of epigraphy again becomes key, although this time indirectly, through the productions of inscriptions in honour of various kings and officials.

Nevertheless, in spite of the changes in Lycian society which can be discerned in the inscriptions, the overarching narrative seen in the epigraphic record remains one of remarkable continuity and local idiosyncrasy, even as its alphabet and language altered.

In Chapter 1, therefore, I hope to have shown that the Lycian alphabet was not simply adapted haphazardly from the Rhodian alphabet, but was instead created through a combination of borrowing from various Greek alphabets and the devising of new graphemes. The instability of these new graphemes, and the variant forms to which it led, enables us to trace palaeographic developments through the comparatively short period during which Lycian inscriptions were produced. This has enabled me to produce charts allocating the inscriptions of

various sites to 'early' or 'late' periods, and then to consider how the nature of Lycian epigraphy changed during the epichoric period.

The importance of Lycia's unique culture for the development of its epigraphy can be seen in Chapter 2, which explains how the emphasis on the ability to build a tomb displayed in the Lycian 'building formula' shows the interaction between the existing funerary culture of Lycia and the new technology that was the alphabet. At the same time, the recording of who might or might not be buried in a tomb, and of payments for future opening of the tomb (as discussed in Chapter 3) shows not only the importance of the tomb builder's ability to construct a tomb for his family, but also of the assurance of undisturbed rest of the dead; this fits with the implications of Seyer's work on the development of tomb chambers. This symbiosis between funerary culture and epigraphy continued to be crucial throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

In Chapter 3 I have argued (following Borchhardt) that the 'ruler formula' was primarily intended to demonstrate allegiance to a ruler, rather than to show the date of construction of the tomb. The epitaphs which use it seem to indicate a particularly close link between the tomb builder and the most powerful men of the time, particularly during the internal power-struggles in the second quarter of the fourth century.

As seen in Chapter 4, Hekatomnid rule in Lycia led to a shift in the use of epigraphy, which began to be used for official purposes, both by those seeking to impose control on the area – Pixadaros and Alexander – and by the cities of

Lycia, initially Xanthos. The Hellenised rulers of Caria were perhaps also indirectly responsible for the increased use of epigraphy at the Letöon, with statue bases either inscribed in Lycian or in both Lycian and Greek. Nevertheless, Lycian epigraphy retained a distinctive local flavour.

Chapter 5 illustrates how this increase in official epigraphy expanded rapidly during the Ptolemaic period. Nevertheless, the inscriptions produced, especially at Telmessos and Limyra, retained various local idiosyncracies; Xanthos was perhaps more concerned with the use of epigraphy to interact with the Ptolemaic court and other *poleis*. From the Ptolemaic dating formula seen in TL35 it is clear that the Lycian language – despite the common claim that it ceased to be used in epigraphy after arrival of Alexander – continued to be inscribed, well into the Ptolemaic period. Lycian epitaphs which may date from this period include TL105 (from Limyra) and TL63 (from Isinda).

In addition, the Greek epitaphs which became increasingly common at the end of the fourth century, show a high level of continuity with their Lycian precedents: many display a ‘building formula’ almost identical to that seen in Lycian, while the use of ἀμαρτώλος in the imprecations with which they end is a feature unique to Lycia, which must derive in some way from the imprecations on the Lycian inscriptions. A fruitful source of further study would be the continued influence of Lycian precedents into the Greek epitaphs of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, since this ‘Lycian’ pattern of epitaph proliferated in the second century and later. A project in Vienna is currently considering the sanction

formulae from this angle, but further work on continuity in the 'building formula' would potentially be an interesting extension of this thesis.

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CHART 1: THE LYCIAN ALPHABET

<i>Letter</i>	<i>Transcription</i>
𐌰	<a>
𐌱, 𐌲, 𐌳	<ã>
𐌴, 𐌵, 𐌶	
𐌷	<d>
𐌸	<e>
𐌹, 𐌺, 𐌻	<ẽ>
𐌼	<g>
𐌽	<h>
𐌾, 𐌿, 𐍀, 𐍁	<χ>
𐍂	<i>
𐍃	<j>
𐍄	<k>
𐍅	<l>
𐍆	<m>
𐍇	<ñ>
𐍈, 𐍉, 𐍊	<n>
𐍋	<ñ>
𐍌, 𐍍, 𐍎	<p>
𐍏	<q>
𐍐	<r>
𐍑, 𐍒	<s>
𐍓	<t>
𐍔	<θ>
𐍕	<τ>
𐍖	<u>
𐍗	<w>
𐍘	<z>
𐍙	◊ (not usually transcribed)
𐍚	<K>

CHART 2: LETTER-FORMS OF DATABLE LYCIAN INSCRIPTIONS

Inscription	Ruler	<ā>	<ē>	<χ>	<p>	<n>	<a>	<s>
TL 77	Harpagos							
N310	Harpagos	-						
TL 43	Xeriga							-
TL 44	Xeriga/Xerēi			, occasionally				
N324 & 325	Erbina		, once	, occasionally				
N311	Erbina	-						not clear)
TL 135	Trbbēnimi	⁶⁸⁴		not legible	-			
TL 128	Trbbēnimi							
TL 11	Arttuṃpara							
TL 104	Perikle	b) (not clear)	a) , b)	-	a) , b) , c)	a) , b)	a) , b) , c)	a) , b)
TL 103	Perikle							
TL 132	Perikle	-		(not clear)				-
TL 133	Perikle		-		, possibly			-
TL 67	Perikle				, possibly			(not clear)
TL 83	Perikle	, perhaps		or				
N314	Perikle							
TL 40	Autophradates	c) and	a) , b) , c) , d)	a) , c) , d)	a) , b) , c) , d)			
TL 61	Autophradates							
TL 64	Mizrapata	-	-	-				-
N315	Mizrapata	(not clear)	⁶⁸⁵					-
N320	Pixodarus	(up to 21); (from line 24)		(two e.g.s)		occasionally		
TL 45	Pixodarus			once, once.				
TL 99	(post-Hekatomnid)				(line 1), (line 2)			
TL 29	(post-Alexander)	, once						
TL 35	Ptolemy (II?)	⁶⁸⁶						

⁶⁸⁴ The form of <ā> used in TL 135 is very unclear; here the grey lines represent lines which appear on the squeeze to have existed on the inscription but to have been either eroded or, perhaps, deleted. It seems possible that the letter was originally an odd version of the earliest form, 'corrected' to at some later date.

⁶⁸⁵ It is possible that this was intended to be <ā> rather than <ē> (it appears in *ēnē*, which in some cases is written as *ānā*).

⁶⁸⁶ The sketch of this inscription given by Kalinka also shows a form similar to , but this does not appear on Heberdey's sketch.

INSCRIPTIONS OF LYCIA: PALAEOGRAPHICAL CHARTS

Where $\bigcirc$ <u> is noticeably smaller than the rest of the inscription, this is noted; otherwise it is full size.

Form of is $\mathcal{B}$ (or $\mathcal{B}$) unless otherwise stated.

Where I have given heights for letters, these are measured off squeezes from the ÖAI or ÖAW.

Chart 3: Xanthos

Inscription	Important letter forms	Other indications of date
Approx. first half of fourth century or earlier		
TL43 (epitaph of Merehi).	$\mathcal{V}$ <ē> = $\mathcal{V}$ <χ> = $\downarrow$ <p> = $\sqcap$ <n> = $\mathcal{N}$ <a> = $\mathcal{P}$. Lettering large, c. 35-50 mm.	Fifth century (reign of Xeriga).
TL44 (Inscribed pillar).	<ā> = $\mathcal{V}$ <ē> = $\mathcal{V}$ <χ> = $\mathcal{V}$ occasionally $\mathcal{V}$ <p> = $\sqcap$ $\sqcap$ $\sqcap$ <n> = $\mathcal{N}$ <a> = $\mathcal{P}$ <s> = $\mathcal{S}$. Lettering large, c. 35-40 mm (letters at top of stele slightly larger).	c. 400
N324 & N325 (Letöon; statue base of Erbbina).	<ā> = $\mathcal{V}$, $\mathcal{V}$ <ē> = $\mathcal{V}$, once $\mathcal{V}$ <χ> = $\mathcal{V}$ occasionally $\mathcal{V}$ <p> = $\sqcap$ $\sqcap$ <n> = $\mathcal{N}$ <a> = $\mathcal{P}$ <s> = $\mathcal{S}$.	c. 390
N311 (Letöon; statue base of Erbbina).	<ē> $\mathcal{V}$ <χ> = $\mathcal{V}$ <p> = $\sqcap$ $\sqcap$ <n> = $\mathcal{N}$ <a> = $\mathcal{P}$ <s> = $\mathcal{S}$.	c. 390
N327 (inscription on a statue base).	<ē> = $\mathcal{V}$ <χ> = $\mathcal{V}$, $\mathcal{V}$ <n> = $\mathcal{N}$ <a> = $\mathcal{P}$ (too few letter forms to allow very convincing suggestion of date).	Letters deeply but not very neatly cut. Overall appearance similar to those of N311.
TL50 (inscription on 'Theatre' pillar).	<ā> = $\mathcal{V}$ <ē> = $\mathcal{V}$ <a> = $\mathcal{P}$ <s> = $\mathcal{S}$.	Neatly cut inscription on a pillar tomb.
TL37 (epitaph of Mede).	<ā> = $\mathcal{V}$, $\mathcal{V}$ <ē> = $\mathcal{V}$ <χ> = $\mathcal{V}$ <p> = $\sqcap$ <n> = $\mathcal{N}$ <a> = $\mathcal{P}$ <s> = $\mathcal{S}$.	On a rock tomb, to left of door. Burial chamber has three <i>klinai</i> at ground level.

TL36 (epitaph of Ahqqadi).	<ā> = √ <ē> = √ <p> = ∟, ∟ <n> = √ <a> = ∟ <s> = √. Lettering large, c. 40-60 mm. (Later text:) <ā> = √ <n> = ∟ <s> = √, lettering slightly smaller than first part, c. 30- 40 mm.	On a sarcophagus. Second part of inscription added later (perhaps not much later – but could be second half of fourth century).
TL46 (fragment of epitaph).	<a> = ∟. No other significant letters – letter forms cannot help establish date here.	On sarcophagus with carving in very archaic style. (Although Zahle (1979) 320 dates reliefs to c. 390)
TL42 (epitaph of Tuwada).	<ā> = √ <ē> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∟, ∟ <n> = √ <a> = ∟ <s> = √.	On a rock tomb.
TL40 (epitaph of Pajawa).	<ā> = √ √ <ē> = √ √ √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∟ ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟ ∟ <s> = √.	Reliefs on sarcophagus dated c. 370-360 (see above).
TL48a (epitaph of Padrāma).	<ā> = √ <ē> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∟ <n> = √ <a> = ∟ <s> = √. Lettering small (c. 15-25 mm).	On a rock tomb, to right of door.
TL49 (inside same tomb, above couch reserved for Padrāma (= Padrāma)).	<ā> = √ <ē> = √ <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟ <s> = √. Lettering very small (c. 12-20 mm)	Possible e.g. of ‘chancery script’?
TL48b (later addition to epitaph of Padrāma).	<ā> = √ <ē> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟ <s> = √. Lettering slightly larger than TL48a (c. 20-30 mm).	Records sale of Padrāma’s tomb to Qarānaḫa; seller is Padrāma’s son. (May be second half of century)
Approx. second half of fourth century or later		
TL41 (fragment of epitaph of son of Turlle).	<ē> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟ <s> = √	Part of a built tomb. Now in British Museum.
N344 (unpublished epitaph).	<ē> = √ <χ> = √, √ (?) <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟ <s> = √	<i>xupu</i> for <i>xupā</i> [Squeeze in ŌAI]
TL38 (epitaph of Ijetruxle).	<ē> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟ <s> = √	On a rock tomb, to left of door. <i>prānawu</i> for <i>prānawā</i> .

N326 (Letöon; statue base set up by Niḫede).	$\langle \chi \rangle = \vee \langle p \rangle = \sqcap \langle n \rangle = \sqcap \langle a \rangle = \sqcap$ (too few letter forms to allow very convincing suggestion of date).	
TL51 (statue base set up by Qarñnaḫa).	$\langle \chi \rangle = \vee \langle n \rangle = \sqcap \langle a \rangle = \sqcap \langle s \rangle = \searrow$ (too few letter forms to allow very convincing suggestion of date).	This Qarñnaḫa is <i>not</i> the same man as the purchaser of Padrāma's tomb (different patronym).
TL47 (epitaph of Hura).	$\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \searrow \langle \chi \rangle = \vee \langle p \rangle = \sqcap \langle n \rangle = \sqcap \langle a \rangle = \sqcap \langle s \rangle = \searrow$	On a rock tomb (apparently unfinished). Inscription is over door. <i>xupu</i> for <i>xupā</i> .
N312 (Letöon; Greek-Lycian bilingual statue base set up by Demokleides of Limyra).	$\langle \chi \rangle = \vee \langle a \rangle = \sqcap \langle s \rangle = \searrow$ Both Lycian and Greek letters have clear serifs; Lycian $\langle u \rangle$ and Greek $\langle o \rangle$ both half-size.	Greek precedes Lycian; name Demokleides/ <i>Ñtemuxlida</i> is originally Greek. Hastae Greek Σ diverge only slightly – may suggest a late fourth century date.
N318a and b (Letöon; statue base set up by Arssāma).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \vee \langle \chi \rangle = \vee \langle p \rangle = \sqcap \langle n \rangle = \sqcap \langle a \rangle = \sqcap \langle s \rangle = \searrow$. $\langle u \rangle$ half size. (Second part) $\langle a \rangle = \sqcap \langle n \rangle = \sqcap$	First four lines in different hand to last three; final lines more widely spaced but otherwise not noticeably different.
N320 (Letöon; decree of the Xanthians from reign of Pixodarus).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \vee, \searrow \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \searrow \langle \chi \rangle = \vee \vee \langle p \rangle = \sqcap \langle n \rangle = \sqcap \langle a \rangle = \sqcap \langle s \rangle = \searrow$	337
TL45 (decree of Pixodarus).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \searrow \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \searrow \langle \chi \rangle = \vee, \vee, \vee \langle p \rangle = \sqcap \langle n \rangle = \sqcap \langle a \rangle = \sqcap \langle s \rangle = \searrow$	Between 340 and 336
TL39 (epitaph of Mēmruwi).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \searrow \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \searrow \langle \chi \rangle = \vee \langle p \rangle = \sqcap \langle n \rangle = \sqcap \langle a \rangle = \sqcap \langle s \rangle = \searrow \langle b \rangle = \sqcap$ Lettering very neat and comparatively small.	On a rock tomb, to right of door. Tomb-chamber with six niches; façade of tomb imitates Greek temple. ⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁷ Seyer (2009) 73-74, with Abb. 20.

Chart 4: Myra, Sura and Dereagzi

Letter forms as shown by sketches in Kalinka (1901) unless otherwise stated. Grave numbers as assigned in Borchhardt and in publications connected to the Lycian Inscribed Monuments project at the ÖAI.

Inscription	Important letter forms	Other indications of date
'Pre-Perikle/time of Perikle' (approx. first half of fourth century)		
TL89 (grave 89; epitaph of Hrixm̃ma). ⁶⁸⁸	<ã> = √ <ẽ> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = √ <n> = √ <a> = √ <s> = √.	Large rock cut tomb (two storeys, two 'doors'), above grave 92. Bench at ground level round all four sides of burial chamber ⁶⁸⁹ ; possible link to Perikle.
TL90 (grave 92; epitaph of Hrixm̃ma). ⁶⁹⁰	<ã> = √ √ <ẽ> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = √ <n> = √ <a> = √ <s> = √.	Large rock tomb with vestibule; front of vestibule now broken; inscription is on cross-beam of front of burial chamber, which has a four-sided bench at ground level ⁶⁹¹ ; possible link to Perikle.
N309a-d (grave 76; epitaph on grave of Ddepl̃newe).	<ã> = √ √ <ẽ> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = √ √ <n> = √ <a> = √ <s> = √.	On a two-storey rock-tomb with a vestibule. Inscription is in four sections, on front of burial chamber façade, wall of vestibule, and façade, all on right hand side of tomb; one section is the name of the builder in the genitive. ⁶⁹² Bench at ground level round all four sides of burial chamber. ⁶⁹³
TL85 (grave 44; epitaph of Eserdepl̃mi).	<ã> = √ <ẽ> = √ (?) √ <χ> = √ <p> = √ <n> = √ <a> = √ <s> = √.	Bench at ground level round all four sides of burial chamber. ⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁸⁸ Borchhardt, Eichner, Kogler, Pesditschek, and Seyer (2004) 16-41. Gives sketch of modern squeeze of inscription.

⁶⁸⁹ Seyer (2009) 56.

⁶⁹⁰ Borchhardt, Eichner, Kogler, Pesditschek, and Seyer (2004) 41-

⁶⁹¹ Seyer (2009) 56.

⁶⁹² Eichner (1993) 229-240 discusses the inscriptions and the order in which they should be read, and argues that the single name, in the genitive, was inscribed first (revising the numbering of the inscriptions from 309a-309d; his new order is followed by Melchert in his *Corpus*.)

⁶⁹³ Seyer (2009) 56.

⁶⁹⁴ Seyer (2009) 56.

TL86 (grave 17; epitaph of Erimñnuha).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \Psi \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Upsilon \langle p \rangle = \Gamma \langle n \rangle$ $= \wedge \langle a \rangle = \text{P} \langle s \rangle = \text{S}.$	Bench at ground level round all four sides of burial chamber. ⁶⁹⁵
TL94 (grave 10; epitaph of Hurttuweti).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \Psi \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Upsilon \langle \chi \rangle = \Psi \langle p \rangle$ $= \Gamma \langle n \rangle = \text{N} \langle a \rangle = \text{P} \langle s \rangle = \text{S}.$	On a large double-tomb (graves 10 and 11); the inscription is on the lintel of the left hand tomb (which consists of three comparatively narrow sections). Above is another, smaller tomb (grave 9), with a relief scene over it. The burial chamber of the grave 10 has a bench running along all four sides at ground level. The relief scene has been variously dated between 385 and 320, but most suggestions put it in the first part of the century; Seyer concludes that the group of tombs was built some time in the period 380-350. ⁶⁹⁶ The letter-forms perhaps suggest a time towards the end of this period.
TL84 (Sura; epitaph of Mizretije).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \downarrow \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Upsilon \langle \chi \rangle = \downarrow \langle p \rangle = \Gamma \langle n \rangle = \text{N} \langle a \rangle = \text{P} \langle s \rangle = \text{S};$ $\langle u \rangle, \langle m \rangle$ and $\langle l \rangle$ usually slightly smaller than other letters. Letters well spaced, neatly and deeply cut.	On a large tomb (two storeys, three 'doors'); inscription is written across the lintel. Burial chamber has bench at ground level on all four sides. ⁶⁹⁷
'Post-Perikle' (approx. second half of fourth century, and start of third)		
TL80 (epitaph of Xakbija, from Dereagži).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \downarrow, \Psi \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Upsilon \langle \chi \rangle = \Psi$ $\langle p \rangle = \Gamma \langle n \rangle = \text{N} \langle a \rangle = \text{P} \langle s \rangle = \text{S}$	Sketches in Kalinka (1901) and Neumann (1993).
TL92 (epitaph (name of builder lost, starts ...]urttija)).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \Psi \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Upsilon \langle \chi \rangle = \Psi \langle p \rangle$ $= \Gamma \langle n \rangle = \text{N} \langle a \rangle = \text{P}; \langle u \rangle$ slightly smaller.	On the lintel of a rock-tomb (two storeys, with two 'doors').
TL93 (epitaph of Upazi).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \Psi \langle \tilde{e} \rangle =$ not clear (may be Υ) $\langle \chi \rangle = \Psi \langle p \rangle = \Gamma \langle n \rangle = \text{N}$ $\langle a \rangle = \text{P} \langle b \rangle = \text{b}.$	On the lintel of a rock-tomb (two storeys, with three 'doors').

⁶⁹⁵ Seyer (2009) 56.

⁶⁹⁶ Seyer (2008) 335-362 gives a detailed description of the monument as well as discussion of its possible date.

⁶⁹⁷ Seyer (2009) 56.

N304 (Sura; remains of an inscription on a large (?)statue base or sarcophagus).	<ã> = Ψ <a> = 𐎠 <s> = 𐎡 ; lettering c. 15 -20 mm high; <u> half size. Letters deeply and neatly cut, well spaced; serifs appear to be visible on the ends of certain letter-strokes.	Only the central section of the inscription is still legible, but it seems likely that it was very long and extended right across the statue base.
N308 (grave 50; epitaph of Huzeimi).	<ẽ> = 𐎡 <χ> = 𐎠 <p> = 𐎠 <n> = 𐎠 <a> = 𐎠 <s> = 𐎡 = 𐎡 ; <u> and <d> slightly smaller than other letters.	On a rock-tomb. Burial chamber has bench at ground level around all four sides. ⁶⁹⁸ <i>xupu</i> for <i>xupã</i> . Date of tomb is doubtful.
TL87 (epitaph of Apñnātama).	<ã> = Ψ <ẽ> = 𐎡 <χ> = 𐎠 <p> = 𐎠 <n> = 𐎠 <a> = 𐎠 <s> = 𐎡 ; <u> is half size.	Carved on the left hand wall of the vestibule of a rock tomb .
TL88 (epitaph of Ddaqasa).	<ã> = 𐎠 <ẽ> = 𐎡 <p> = 𐎠 <n> = 𐎠 <a> = 𐎠 <s> = 𐎡 ; <u> and <l> slightly smaller than other letters.	On the lintel of a large rock-tomb (two storeys, with two ‘doors’).
TL91 (epitaph of Xlppasi).	<ã> = Ψ <ẽ> = 𐎡 <χ> = 𐎠 <p> = 𐎠 <n> = 𐎠 <a> = 𐎠 <s> = 𐎡 ; <u> half size.	On part of an Ionic façade.
Undatable		
TL95 (epitaph (name of builder lost)).	<ẽ> = 𐎡 <p> = 𐎠 <n> = 𐎠 <a> = 𐎠 <s> = 𐎡 ; <u> slightly smaller	Too few surviving letters to enable any suggestion.
TL96 (epitaph (name of builder lost)).	<a> = 𐎠 <s> = 𐎡 ; <u> half size.	Too few surviving letters to enable any suggestion.
TL97 (epitaph (name of builder lost)).	<p> = 𐎠 <n> = 𐎠 <a> = 𐎠 ; <u> half size.	Too few surviving letters to enable any suggestion.

⁶⁹⁸ Seyer (2009) 56.

Chart 5: Limyra

Size of lettering as measured on squeezes in the ÖAI and ÖAW.

Information about appearance and position of tombs at Limyra is from catalogue (with pictures and maps) at Kuban (2012) 129-398 unless otherwise stated; tomb numbers given are as in Kuban. For Greek inscriptions, their number in Wörle (2012a) is given.

Inscription	Important letter forms	Other indications of date/ general comments
'Pre-Perikle' (early fourth century)		
TL128 (N IV 7; epitaph of Krustti).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \Psi \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Psi \langle \chi \rangle = \Psi \langle p \rangle$ $= \Gamma \langle n \rangle = \mathcal{N} \langle a \rangle = \mathcal{P} \langle s \rangle = \mathcal{S}$. $\diamond$ sign is found. Lettering c. 17-30 mm high, irregular in size and shape, but well spaced and in neat lines; $\langle u \rangle$ once half-size, once only slightly smaller.	On a rock tomb with Greek columns. Mention of Trbbēnīmi, but dating is problematic.
TL135 (N II 19; epitaph of {X}uwata).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \Psi \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Psi \langle n \rangle = \mathcal{N} \langle a \rangle$ $= \mathcal{P} \langle s \rangle = \mathcal{S}$. Lettering c. 20-25 mm; $\langle u \rangle$ half size.	On a single-door rock tomb. Mention of Trbbēnīmi.
TL106 (N V 45; epitaph of Sbi◊aza).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \Psi \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Psi \langle \chi \rangle = \Psi \langle p \rangle$ $= \Gamma \langle n \rangle = \mathcal{N} \langle a \rangle = \mathcal{P} \langle s \rangle = \mathcal{S}$. $\diamond$ sign is found. Lettering comparatively large, c. 30-35 mm, but $\langle d \rangle$ and $\langle m \rangle$ are half size and $\langle u \rangle$ and $\langle n \rangle$ approx. three-quarter size.	'Two-door' rock-cut tomb; early form of tomb-chamber (bench at ground level on all four sides). ⁶⁹⁹ Built next to – and apparently later than – tomb of Artimas, which might imply a later date, since the Aramaic inscription for Artimas is generally dated in the mid fourth century.
TL107 (N V 40; epitaph of Tele).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \Psi \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Psi \langle p \rangle = \Gamma \langle n \rangle$ $= \mathcal{N} \langle a \rangle = \mathcal{P} \langle s \rangle = \mathcal{S}$. Lettering c. 17-25 mm high, letter-shapes and letter-spacing both quite irregular; $\langle u \rangle$ and $\langle m \rangle$ half size.	'Two-door' rock-cut tomb. Burial chamber has three benches at ground level with a 'step' on the fourth side – the first stage in development from the earliest form.
'Time of Perikle' (c. 380-360?), or shortly after: inscriptions showing mixtures of letter forms without any indications of a later date.		
TL103 (N II 140; epitaph of Tebursseli).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \Psi, \Psi \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Psi \langle \chi \rangle = \Psi$ $\langle p \rangle = \Gamma \langle n \rangle = \mathcal{N} \langle a \rangle = \mathcal{P} \langle s \rangle = \mathcal{S}$. Lettering large, c. 30 mm high, and neatly spaced; deeply cut letter strokes; $\langle u \rangle$ half size.	Reign of Perikle (see above). 'Two-door' rock tomb, with 'pole-roof' and above it a relief scene (with TL104).

⁶⁹⁹ Seyer (2009) 56.

TL104 (N II 140; inscriptions accompanying relief).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \nabla \downarrow \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \nabla \chi \langle p \rangle = \sqcap$ $\langle n \rangle = \nabla \nabla \langle a \rangle = \nabla \nabla \langle s \rangle = \nabla \nabla$. Lettering c. 15-20 mm high; $\langle u \rangle$ half size.	Reign of Perikle (see above). Below relief over tomb of Tebursseli.
TL132 (N V 90; epitaph of Xudrehila).	$\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \nabla \chi \langle \chi \rangle = \nabla$ (not clear) $\langle p \rangle = \nabla \langle n \rangle = \nabla \langle a \rangle = \nabla$. Lettering c. 20 mm high, $\langle u \rangle$ slightly smaller; letters neatly and deeply cut, well spaced.	Reign of Perikle (see above). 'Two-door' rock tomb, with 'pole-roof'. Burial chamber poorly preserved, but left and back wall at least had benches formed of stone ledges.
TL133 (N V 68; epitaph of Xñtlapane).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \nabla \chi \langle \chi \rangle = \nabla \langle p \rangle = \sqcap \nabla$ poss. ∇ $\langle n \rangle = \nabla \nabla \langle a \rangle = \nabla$. Lettering large, c. 35-45 mm high, letter forms irregular, but appear (although squeeze is not well preserved) quite deeply and finely cut.	Reign of Perikle (see above). Early form of burial chamber (bench at ground level on all four sides). ⁷⁰⁰ Deep 'Vorplatz' cut into rock in front of tomb, with sarcophagus added at later date. ⁷⁰¹
N337 (inscription on a block of stone).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \nabla \nabla \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \nabla \chi \langle \chi \rangle = \nabla$ $\langle p \rangle = \sqcap \langle n \rangle = \nabla \nabla \langle a \rangle = \nabla \langle s \rangle = \nabla \nabla$. Lettering c. 20 mm; $\langle u \rangle$ half size.	(see Chapter 3)
TL125 (N III 45; epitaph of Xñtabura).	$\langle \chi \rangle = \nabla \langle n \rangle = \nabla \langle a \rangle = \nabla$. Lettering large, c. 30-35 mm high; letters neatly and deeply cut.	On a ogive-lidded sarcophagus decorated with reliefs.
TL116 (N V 59; epitaph (name of builder lost, ends ...]izixle)).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \nabla \chi \langle \chi \rangle = \nabla \langle p \rangle = \sqcap \langle n \rangle = \nabla \langle a \rangle = \nabla \langle s \rangle = \nabla \nabla$. Lettering unusually large, c. 45-55 mm high.	'Two-door' rock tomb, with 'roof' section missing. Three benches, with the back one hollowed out as a coffin, the side benches formed from stone ledges.
TL139 (N II 162, epitaph of Tilumezi).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \nabla \nabla \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \nabla \chi \langle \chi \rangle = \nabla \nabla$ $\langle p \rangle = \sqcap \langle n \rangle = \nabla \langle a \rangle = \nabla \langle s \rangle = \nabla \nabla$. Lettering c. 20 mm; $\langle u \rangle$ half size. The ends of lines one and three were recut at some point, apparently in an attempt to correct what was written there; the letter-forms used are the same.	On a 'Limyra-typus' tomb. (See note on TL135.)

⁷⁰⁰ Seyer (2009) 56.

⁷⁰¹ Seyer and Kogler (2007) 136-137.

TL111 (N II 67; epitaph of Ersinube)	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐤀}, \text{𐤁} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐤄}, \text{𐤅} \langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤇}$ $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤐} \langle n \rangle = \text{𐤓} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐤁} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐤅}$ Lettering c. 15-20 mm; $\langle u \rangle$ once half size, otherwise only slightly smaller. Letters deeply but not neatly cut; letter-strokes often do not join.	'Limyra-typus' tomb, plain door-frame. Slightly up hill from tombs with TL113 and TL145, slightly below tombs with TL110, TL109, and TL105.
TL113 (N II 81; epitaph of Pttarazi)	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐤀} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐤄}, (?) \text{𐤄} \langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤇}$ $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤐} \langle n \rangle = \text{𐤓} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐤁} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐤅}$ Lettering small, c. 15-20 mm, deeply cut but irregular in shape; $\langle u \rangle$ and $\langle d \rangle$ half size.	'Limyra-typus' tomb, plain door-frame. Inscription not well preserved. Next to tomb with TL145.
TL145 (N II 82; epitaph of Hla)	$\langle a \rangle = \text{𐤁} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐤅}$ Lettering very small, c. 10-15 mm, and closely packed. Letter strokes delicate. (Final line): $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐤄}$ (larger lettering, c. 21 mm) (Too few letter forms to allow convincing suggestion of date.)	'Limyra-typus' tomb, with beam-ends. Near to tomb with TL113. Possible e.g. of 'chancery' script?
TL120 (N II 99; epitaph of Pumaza)	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐤀} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐤄} \text{𐤄} \langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤇}$ $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤐} \langle n \rangle = \text{𐤓} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐤁} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐤅}$ Lettering c. 18-30 mm; lettering looks carelessly cut (irregular in shape and size; lines do not always meet at apex); $\langle u \rangle$, $\langle d \rangle$ and $\langle m \rangle$ half size.	'Two-door' rock-cut tomb, with 'pole-roof' under two fasciae. Inscription not well preserved. At the bottom of the group of tombs which also includes TL113 and TL145
TL123 (N II 103; epitaph of Eḫeteija).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐤀} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐤄} \langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤇}$ $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤐} \langle n \rangle = \text{𐤓} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐤁} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐤅}$ Letters c. 15-20 mm high; $\langle u \rangle$ half size; letter-strokes thick and deeply cut, but rather untidy (letter strokes do not always join neatly).	'Two-door' rock-cut tomb, with 'pole-roof' under two fasciae. Directly in front of, and very similar in appearance to, tomb with TL120
TL127 (N III 28; epitaph of Stamaha)	$\langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤇} \langle p \rangle = \text{𐤐} \langle n \rangle = \text{𐤓}$ $\langle a \rangle = \text{𐤁} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐤅}$. Lettering small, c. 15 mm; $\langle u \rangle$ half size. (Too few letter forms to allow convincing suggestion of date.)	'Limyra-typus' tomb. See Chapter 3, p. 000.

TL115 (N V 21; grave of Esedeplēmi. Greek inscription = H II 23)	<ē> =  <χ> =  <p> =  <a> =  <s> =  . Letters c. 15-20 mm high; <u> half size; too few significant letter forms to allow convincing suggestion of date.	Name of a different man in Greek, also fourth century (Greek lettering looks comparatively early). Tomb has gable above a line of dentilation, fluted Ionic columns on either side. Possibly second half of fourth century?
TL114 (N V 35; grave of Esedeplēmi)	<ē> =  <χ> =  <p> =  <n> =  <a> =  <s> =  . Letters c. 15-25 mm high; <u> half size; too few letter forms to allow convincing suggestion of date.	Same tomb-builder as TL115. (Same man also, apparently, built a tomb with a Greek epitaph, N V 63.)
TL101 (N V 44; epitaph of Zahama).	<ā> =  <ē> =  <χ> =  <p> =  <n> =  <a> =  <s> =  . Letters c. 20-30 mm high, irregular in shape. Letter strokes deeply cut, but do not always join neatly; <u> half size.	Single-door rock tomb with plain door-frame. (Builder's name also that of father of builder of TL139, but it seems unlikely that they are the same man.)
TL122 (N II 143; epitaph of Mlētederi)	<ā> =  <ē> =  <χ> =  <p> =  <n> =  <a> =  . Letters c. 20 -25 mm high, neatly cut and well spaced; <u> half size.	'Two-door' rock-cut tomb (door side slightly larger than other side.) To the east of the main line of graves with inscriptions (TL113, TL111 etc), but just up hill of grave of Tebursseli, with TL103 and TL104. Tomb-chamber has six burial places, with top three formed from a stone ledge.
TL119 (N II 171; epitaph of Hura)	<ā> =  <ē> =  <χ> =  <p> =  <a> =  . Letters c. 20-30 mm high; <u> and <d> slightly smaller.	Single-door rock tomb (part of façade appears to be missing).
TL137 (N II 163; epitaph of Ēñēhineri).	<ā> =  <ē> =  <χ> =  <p> =  (neither very clear) <n> =  <a> =  . Lettering c. 15-20 mm high; letter shapes appear quite regular.	Single door rock tomb, badly broken, but with dentilation instead of 'pole-roof', and column carved in relief by side of door. Inscription poorly preserved.

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TL131 (N V 6).	<ā> = √ <ē> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟ <s> = ∟ Lettering c. 15-20 mm high; <u> half size; letters regularly and neatly cut, with bold letter-strokes.	'Two door' rock tomb, with six benches (top three formed from a ledge of stone).
TL138 (N V 22; epitaph of Uwihairi for his daughter).	<ā> = √ <ē> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟. Letters irregular in size, quite large (c. 20-30 mm).	One odd form of <ē>, as though letter-cutter had begun to cut √. Tomb is between tomb with TL115 and a tomb with a 'Greek- style' gable and façade.
TL98 (N II 141; epitaph of Pizzi).	<p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟ <s> = ∟ ∟. Lettering quite large, c. 25 mm. Letters are well-spaced and deeply and regularly cut. (An e.g. of 'monumental' script?)	Connected to tomb of Tebursseli; built later. ⁷⁰⁴ Façade has dentilation rather than 'pole-roof', and Doric columns in relief on either side of door.
TL126 (N IV 11; epitaph of Prddewē (or -ā?)).	<ā> = √ [<ē> = ? √] <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟, ∟ <s> = ∟. Large letters, 35-45 mm.	'Two-door' tomb with pole- roof. Final letter of name may be <ā> rather than <ē>.
TL121 (N II 151; epitaph of Ermmenēni).	<ā> = √ <ē> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟. Letters large (c. 30-40 mm) and irregular in form, with large, highly stylised serifs.	Tomb (with three doors) has gable over a line of dentils, with Ionic columns on either side.
TL109 (N II 53; epitaph of Uwēmi).	<ā> = √ <ē> = √, √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟ <s> = ∟ ∟. Lettering c. 15-20 mm; <u> half size.	'Limyra-typus' tomb with plain door-frame. Next to tombs with TL110 and TL105. Inscription refers to sarcophagus built near tomb, as well as tomb itself. ⁷⁰⁵ Cf. TL124.
TL110 (N II 52; epitaph of Medemudi).	<ā> = √ <ē> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <a> = ∟ <s> = ∟. Lettering c. 20-25 mm (<ē> c. 30 mm); <u> is smaller. Letters close together and irregular in size, but well spaced and deeply cut.	'Limyra-typus' tomb with plain door-frame and relief- scene above. Between tombs with TL109 and TL105.

⁷⁰⁴ Kuban (2012) 80.

⁷⁰⁵ Seyer and Kogler (2007) 125-130.

TL105 (N II 51; epitaph of Esete).	$\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐌵} \langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐌶} \langle p \rangle = \text{𐌰}$ $\langle n \rangle = \text{𐌺} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐌰}$ Lettering c. 15-20 mm high ($\langle \tilde{e} \rangle$ is 25 mm), irregularly spaced, irregular in size; $\langle u \rangle$ and $\langle d \rangle$ half size.	'Limyra-typus' tomb with plain door-frame. Next to tomb with TL110. Inscription poorly preserved. No <i>tideimi</i> after genitive of father's name, <i>xupu</i> for <i>xupā</i> , <i>atli ehbi</i> used, without <i>hrppi</i> . (See above, p. 000)
TL108 (N V 14; epitaph of Xertubi).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐌵} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐌵}$ (one e.g. is very irregular in form, as though 𐌵 has been cut and then corrected) $\langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐌵}, \text{𐌶}$ $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐌰} \langle n \rangle = \text{𐌺} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐌰}$ $\langle s \rangle = \text{𐌶} \langle b \rangle = \text{𐌶}$. Letters c. 20-25 mm high, irregular in shape and size, and irregularly spaced; $\langle u \rangle$ is half size.	Single-door rock tomb with plain door-frame (wider than standard 'Limyra-typus'). (Burial chamber broken, but may have had a niche in the right-hand wall.)
TL143 (N IX 4, to the west of the main site, on the edge of the coastal plain; epitaph of Xudara. Greek inscription = H II 20).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐌵} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐌵} \langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐌵} \langle p \rangle = \text{𐌰} \langle n \rangle = \text{𐌺} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐌰} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐌶}$. Lettering large (c. 30-40 mm); $\langle u \rangle$ and $\langle d \rangle$ half size. Name (in nominative) and patronymic in Greek above Lycian text. Greek letters are twice the size of the Lycian. Inscription appears to be carefully arranged into two 'sentences', with the second sentence starting on a new line.	On a large sarcophagus with ogive lid; no relief decoration, but bosses are carved into the shape of horses heads. Inscription not well preserved. Kalinka attributed the Greek inscription to the fifth century, presumably because of the widely diverging hastae of the Σ , but this is a feature which seems to have been retained throughout the fourth century in Lycia. ⁷⁰⁶ Wörrle gives a date of '[u]m 400 v. Chr. oder etwas später' for the Greek, but the Greek inscription with TL134 (probably mid-fourth century) is very similar in appearance. ⁷⁰⁷ Xudara's patronymic, Osaimios seems to be the Greek version of Huzeimi, the name of the builder of N308. However, even N308 was produced at an early date (very doubtful, as discussed above), the connection is not certain, and would not necessitate a date prior to the mid fourth century.

⁷⁰⁶ Kalinka (1901) 90

⁷⁰⁷ Wörrle (2012) 418-419.

TL118 (N II 3; epitaph of Xuñnijēi)	$\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐤅}$ $\langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤆}$ $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤋}$ $\langle n \rangle = \text{𐤍}$, $\langle a \rangle = \text{𐤀}$ $\langle s \rangle = \text{𐤑}$. Lettering c. 20 mm; $\langle u \rangle$ and $\langle d \rangle$ slightly smaller; $\langle m \rangle$ has parallel hastae.	Tomb builder probably the brother of builder of Purihimeti. Sarcophagus has a pitched roof, with dentilation around the top edges.
TL124 (N II 75; epitaphs of Uhetēi)	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐤁}$ $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐤅}$ $\langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤆}$ $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤋}$ $\langle n \rangle = \text{𐤍}$, $\langle a \rangle = \text{𐤀}$ $\langle s \rangle = \text{𐤑}$. Lettering tightly packed, c. 18-20 mm; $\langle u \rangle$ slightly smaller; $\langle m \rangle$ has parallel hastae; some letters ($\langle l \rangle$, $\langle e \rangle$) have small serifs.	'Limyra-typus' tomb, plain door-frame. Directly in front of tomb with TL113, to which it is almost identical. Inscription down side of door-frame (very unusual); refers to sarcophagus built near tomb as well as tomb itself. ⁷⁰⁸ Cf. TL109 (in same part of N II). Lettering very similar to that of TL124; possibly the same hand.
TL100 (N III 23; epitaph of Tibe)	$\langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤆}$ $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤋}$ $\langle a \rangle = \text{𐤀}$, 𐤀 . Lettering c. 18-20 mm.	Next to tomb with TL99 (see above – dating doubtful). Unusual wording of inscription.
TL99 (N III 24; epitaph of Purihimeti)	$\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤋}$ $\langle n \rangle = \text{𐤍}$ $\langle a \rangle = \text{𐤀}$ $\langle s \rangle = \text{𐤑}$, 𐤑 . Lettering c. 20 mm; $\langle u \rangle$ half size. (Later addition:) $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐤁}$ $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐤅}$ $\langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤆}$ $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤋}$ $\langle a \rangle = \text{𐤀}$. Lettering more irregular than first line, c. 15-23 mm, $\langle u \rangle$ full size.	Greek honorific decree in honour of Purihimeti also known.
TL102 (N III 26; epitaph of Sxxutrazi)	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐤁}$ $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐤅}$ $\langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤆}$, once 𐤆 $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤋}$ $\langle n \rangle = \text{𐤍}$ $\langle a \rangle = \text{𐤀}$ $\langle s \rangle = \text{𐤑}$. Very small lettering, c. 12-15 mm; $\langle u \rangle$ half size.	Next to tomb with TL99 (see above). Possible e.g. of 'chancery' script?
TL148 (N V 110; epitaph of Zru... (?))	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle (= \langle \tilde{e} \rangle) = \text{𐤁}$ $\langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤆}$ $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤋}$ $\langle a \rangle = \text{𐤀}$ $\langle s \rangle = \text{𐤑}$. Very small letters, c. 8-15 mm; lettering squashed together and rather irregular, but cut with fine strokes.	'Limyra-typus' rock tomb with plain door-frame. Possible e.g. of 'chancery' script?
N317 (N III 48; epitaph of Zuwiqeli)	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle (= \langle \tilde{e} \rangle) = \text{𐤁}$ $\langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐤆}$ $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐤋}$, $\langle n \rangle = \text{𐤍}$ $\langle a \rangle = \text{𐤀}$ $\langle s \rangle = \text{𐤑}$	'Limyra-typus' rock tomb with lintel missing. Possible e.g. of

⁷⁰⁸ Seyer and Kogler (2007) 130-134.

	=>; <u> is half size.	'chancery' script? [No squeeze in ÖAI]
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Uncertain		
TL146 (N III 10; epitaph, builder's name lost)	<χ> = Ψ <p> = ρ <a> = ρ Lettering c. 20 mm high, letter-strokes finely but firmly cut; <u> is half size. Too few letters survive to allow a date to be suggested: Ψ suggests an early date (but note its appearance in TL100), ρ perhaps a later one.	'Two-door' rock tomb.
TL117 (N II 187; epitaph of Siderija. Greek inscription = H II 11.)	<ē> = ϣ <p> = ρ <n> = ρ <a> = ρ (?) ρ <s> = ϣ. Lettering large, c. 35-40 mm high; <u> half size. Greek lettering similar in size; <o> half size.	Bilingual inscription on a large sarcophagus, with pitched roof and 'Greek' gable and door-frame. Greek inscription follows Lycian – wording very similar. Kalinka dates Greek to end of the fifth century, but Wörrle suggests the fourth. ⁷⁰⁹ Lettering similar to that of Greek texts with TL134 and TL143 – possibly similar in date? Contains the phrase <i>etli ehbi</i> .
TL140 (N V 75; epitaph (name of builder lost)).	<ē> = ϣ (and possibly ϣ) <χ> = ϣ <p> = ρ <a> = (form with 'leg' below loop, cf N308). Too few letters to suggest date.	'Limyra typus' tomb; burial chamber has three raised benches. [No squeeze in ÖAI.]
TL142 (N II 23; epitaph of [W]eqa[d]etu).	<ē> = ϣ <p> = ρ <n> = ρ <a> = ρ; ; <u> half size. Too few visible letters to suggest date.	'Limyra typus' tomb. Inscription poorly preserved. [No squeeze in ÖAI.]
TL130 (N V 12; epitaph of Ddepnnewe).	<n> = ρ <p> = ρ. Letters large, c. 35-45 mm.	Large tomb, with three 'doors'. Main part of tomb still buried. Name only, on lintel. (Perhaps suggests a late date, but see Chapter 4, p. 000, and remarks on N309, above; note that the name of the builder of this tomb is same as that of the builder of N309.)
TL141 (N II 63; epitaph of Mida).	<a> = ρ.	'Limyra-typus' rock tomb. Name only, on lintel. (See note on TL130.) [No squeeze in

⁷⁰⁹ Kalinka (1901) 81; Wörrle (2012) 414.

		ÖAI]
TL129 (N V 96; epitaph of Hla).	<a> = ꞑ. Letters large, c. 30-35 mm high.	Single door tomb, comparatively wide; façade badly broken; had a vestibule in front of main door, now broken. Inscription gives only name in genitive, although other parts of the inscription may have been lost. (See note on TL130.)

Chart 6: Pinara
From squeezes in ÖAI.

Inscription	Important letter forms	Type of tomb/ other indications of date
Late fifth or early fourth century (?)		
TL11 (epitaph of Ddapssñma).	<ã> = ∇ <ẽ> = ꞑ <χ> = ∇ <p> = ꞑ <n> = ꞑ <a> = ꞑ <s> = ∫. Lettering c. 35-40 mm high, very neat and well-spaced, with thick letter strokes.	On a sarcophagus, below the acropolis. Time of Arttuñpara (see above). [vidi]
TL21 (epitaph (name of tomb builder lost)).	<ã> = ∇ <p> = ꞑ <n> = ꞑ <a> = ꞑ <s> = ∫. Letters c. 25-30 mm high; neatly cut between carved guidelines.	On a two-storey rock tomb with two 'doors'. In 'stream necropolis', thought to be the earlier of the two main necropoleis at Pinara.
TL19 (epitaph of Xisterija).	<ã> = ∇ <ẽ> = ꞑ <χ> = ∇ <p> = ꞑ <n> = ꞑ <a> = ꞑ <s> = ∫. Letters c. 30-35 mm high; letters well-spaced and deeply cut, but irregular in shape. Beginning to look 'curved'.	On a two-storey tomb with two 'doors', in the 'stream necropolis'. ('Early ∇ appears in name of builder, possible because this is more 'formal'.
N336 (epitaph of Eseuwe(sa?).	<ã> = ∇ <ẽ> = ꞑ <χ> = ∇ <p> = ꞑ <n> = ꞑ <a> = ꞑ <s> = ∫. <u> half size.	On a small rock-tomb west of the 'stream necropolis', under the upper acropolis. Ed. pr. Kogler and Seyer (2007) 115-131.

Late fourth century and early third century		
N322 (epitaph (name of tomb builder lost)).	<ē> = 𐤅 <χ> = 𐤆 <p> = 𐤍 <n> = 𐤊 <a> = 𐤐 <s> = 𐤑. Letters c. 35-50 mm, deeply cut, but set close together and rather irregular.	On a rock tomb in 'south necropolis', thought to be later than the 'stream necropolis'.
TL16 (epitaph of Wazala).	<ē> = 𐤅 <χ> = 𐤆 <p> = 𐤍 <n> = 𐤊 <a> = 𐤐. Letters c. 15-20 mm high, letter strokes delicately cut; clear 'serifs' on many letters, painted dark red (still visible); parallel guidelines have been scored into stone, as for TL21.	Inscription poorly preserved; only a small part of squeeze is still visible. On a 'two-door' rock tomb in the 'south necropolis'. [vidi]
TL20 (epitaph (name of tomb builder is lost)).	<ē> = 𐤅 <p> = 𐤍 <n> = 𐤊 (?) <a> = 𐤐 <s> = 𐤑. Letters c. 25-40 mm high, with wide letter-strokes. Too few letters survive to really help with dating, although 𐤅 might suggest an earlier date than TL14 and TL15 – but note TL16, which also has 𐤅, probably at a late date.	Inscription poorly preserved; on a small, single door rock tomb in the 'south necropolis' very similar to those with TL14 and TL15 – may suggest it was built at a similar date? [vidi]
TL14 (epitaph of Ahamāsi)	<ā> = 𐤁 <ē> = 𐤅 <p> = 𐤍 <n> = 𐤊 <a> = 𐤐 <s> = 𐤑. Letters c. 20-25 mm high; lines 1 and 3 painted dark red (still visible), line 3 probably blue, although this has faded; 'curved' style, letters neatly spaced, in straight lines, but slightly irregular in shape; hints of serifs on some letter-strokes.	On a small, single door rock tomb in the 'south necropolis'. [vidi]
TL15 (epitaph of Pddaxñta).	<ē> = 𐤅 <χ> = 𐤆 <p> = 𐤍 <n> = 𐤊 <a> = 𐤐. Letters c. 25-30 mm high; painted dark red (paint still clearly visible); 'curved' style; <m> half size, letters well spaced in straight lines.	On a small, single door rock tomb in the 'south necropolis'. [vidi]

TL12 (epitaph of Sl̥m̥mewe).	<ã> = ∇ <ẽ> = ∇ <χ> = ∇ <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ <s> = ∟. Letters c. 30-40 mm high; painted blue (faded but still visible); 'curved' style; <u> and <m> half size, letters well spaced in straight lines.	On a 'two-door' rock tomb in the 'stream necropolis'. [vidi]
Undatable		
TL10	<ẽ> = ∇ <p> = ∟ <a> = ∟ <s> = ∟. Letters c. 50-70 mm high, well spaced and thickly cut. Too few letters to suggest date.	Name and patronym + <i>tideimi</i> only; on a rock tomb in the 'stream necropolis'.

Chart 7: Central Lycia (Seyret/Gökçeören to Hoyran)

Information from Kalinka (1901) and Neumann (1979) unless otherwise stated.

Inscription	Important letter forms	Other indications of date
Approx. first half of fourth century or earlier		
N310 (Phellos; epitaph of Xlasitini).	<ẽ> = ∇ <χ> = ∇ <p> = ∟ <n> = ∟ ∇ <a> = ∟ <s> = ∟.	Fifth century, reign of Arppaxu. On a large rock tomb (two storeys, three 'doors'). [vidi] (See above)
TL77 (Çindam; epitaph of Ñturigaḫã).	<ã> = ∇ <ẽ> = ∇ <χ> = ∇ <p> = ∟ ∟, possibly ∟ <n> = ∇ <a> = ∟ <s> = ∟.	Fifth century, reign of Arppaxu. On an unusual sarcophagus. (See above.)
TL54 (Phellos; niche for statues set up by Xudalijẽ).	<ã> = ∇ <ẽ> = ∇ <χ> = ∇ <n> = ∇ ∇ <a> = ∟. ♦ sign is found; lettering is large (35-45 mm high).	Builder of TL72 mentioned (probably the builder of the statues mentioned here).

TL52 (Sidek Yayla; epitaph of Krehenube).	<ã> = √ <ẽ> = √ <χ> not clear <p> = ∩ <n> = √ <a> = ∩; <u> half size.	On a small 'two-door' rock tomb, on top part of door-frame below lintel. Inscription not well preserved.
TL72 (Kyaneai; epitaph of Xudalijē).	<ã> = √ <ẽ> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∩ <n> = √ <a> = ∩ <s> = √	Reliefs on lid of tomb dated by Zahle c. 380, but by Borchhardt c. 350. ⁷¹⁰ Letters are boldly cut with wide letter strokes. ⁷¹¹ Builder also mentioned in TL54.
TL81 (Kandyba; epitaph of Xurijāna).	<ã> = √ <ẽ> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∩ <n> = √ <a> = ∩; lettering c. 25 mm in first line – letters at end of second line noticeably larger, c. 30-35 mm; <u>, <m>, <n> and <d> are all half size; letters deeply and neatly cut, with wide letter strokes.	Over the door of a 'two-door' rock tomb. Inscription in centre of lintel, neatly divided into two lines ('building formula' on first line, and 'hrppi clause' on next. Burial chamber has three high couches. [vidi]
N315 (Seyret (Gökçeören); epitaph of (?)Añpu[...]eu).	<ẽ> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∩ <n> = √ <a> = ∩. Lettering c. 25-30 mm, <u> half size.	Reign of Mithrapata (see above). On a small rock tomb, with ogive-lidded façade. <i>xupu</i> for <i>xupā</i> . (See above) [vidi]
TL64 (Isinda; epitaph (name of tomb builder lost)).	<p> = ∩, ∩ <n> = √ <a> = ∩ ∩. Lettering c. 10-15 mm, deeply cut, but somewhat irregular.	Reign of Mithrapata (see above). On a small 'two-door' rock tomb. (See above) [vidi]
TL61 (Sebeda, mod. Bayindir Limanı; epitaph of Sbikezijēi).	<ã> = √ <ẽ> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∩ ∩ <n> = √ <a> = ∩ <s> = √. Letters deeply and neatly cut, neatly spaced.	Reign of Autophradates (see above). On a large rock tomb, two storeys with two 'doors', directly above the sea. (See above) [vidi]
TL67 (Timiussa; epitaph of Xluwānimi).	<ã> = √ <ẽ> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = ∩ possibly ∩ ∩ <n> = √ <a> = ∩ ∩ ∩ <s> = √. Lettering neatly spaced in two long, straight	Reign of Perikle. On a 'two-door' rock tomb (See above) [vidi]

⁷¹⁰ Seyer (2009) 60.

⁷¹¹ This is clearly visible on a photograph taken by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, and kindly lent to me by Heiner Eichner.

	lines.	
TL66 (Timiussa; epitaph of Pertinamuwa).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐌆} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐌇} \langle p \rangle = \text{𐌈}$ $\langle n \rangle = \text{𐌉} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐌊} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐌋}$	On a single door rock tomb.

Approx. second half of fourth century, and start of third

TL53 (Seyret (Gökçeören); epitaph of Hanadaza).	$\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐌇} \langle p \rangle = \text{𐌈} \langle n \rangle = \text{𐌉} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐌊} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐌋}$. Letters large and well spaced, neatly and deeply cut. Too few significant letters to help suggest a date.	On a large rock tomb (two storeys, with two 'doors'). Inscription is across the lintel. <i>prñawu</i> for <i>prñawā</i> , which implies a late date (see above, p. 000 – but note that N315, also at Seyret, has <i>xupu</i> for <i>xupā</i> , apparently before the middle of the fourth century.
TL57 (Antiphellos; epitaph of Ida Maxzza).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐌆}$ and/or 𐌇 (not clear; could also be intermediate forms) $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐌇}$ $\langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐌈}$ and $\text{𐌉} \langle p \rangle = \text{𐌈} \langle n \rangle = \text{𐌉} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐌊} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐌋}$. Letters c. 20-25 mm high; $\langle u \rangle$, $\langle d \rangle$, $\langle l \rangle$ and $\langle \chi \rangle$ appear half size; letter-strokes sharply cut, but untidy, do not always meet at apices.	On a 'two door' rock tomb with a façade shaped like the lid of a sarcophagus. $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$ has changed to $\langle u \rangle$ in acc. sg. [vidi]
TL58 (Antiphellos; epitaph of Sbelimi).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐌆} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐌇} \langle \chi \rangle = \text{𐌈}$ (unclear) $\langle p \rangle = \text{𐌈} \langle n \rangle = \text{𐌉} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐌊} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐌋}$. Letters c. 15-20 mm, letters quite carefully carved with comparatively narrow strokes, but irregular in shape and spacing.	On a rock tomb.
TL56 (Antiphellos; epitaph of Ixtta).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \text{𐌆} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐌇} \langle p \rangle = \text{𐌈}$ $\langle n \rangle = \text{𐌉} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐌊} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐌋}$. Letters c. 20-30 mm high; lettering in the 'curved style', neatly cut although rather irregular in shape; $\langle u \rangle$ is smaller; some letters seem to have small serifs.	Bilingual epitaph on a 'two-door' rock tomb; Greek follows Lycian. Greek has Σ with almost parallel lines (appears quite late). Lycian has <i>prñawu</i> for <i>prñawā</i> . [vidi]
TL62 (Isinda; epitaph of Unuwēmi.)	$\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \text{𐌇} \langle p \rangle = \text{𐌈} \langle n \rangle = \text{𐌉} \langle a \rangle = \text{𐌊} \langle s \rangle = \text{𐌋} \langle b \rangle = \text{𐌌}$; $\langle l \rangle$ is half size. Lettering well spaced.	On a 'two-door' rock tomb.

TL63 (Isinda; epitaph (name of builder is lost)).	<ã> = ∇ <χ> = ∇ <p> = ∇ <a> = ∇ <s> = ∇. Letters neatly cut, in two straight lines.	On a free-standing tomb with 'Doric' door, very similar to Hellenistic 'Doric tomb' at Antiphellos (see Chapter 5.12).
Undatable		
TL82 (Kandyba; epitaph of a man from Kerθθi (name of builder is lost.))	<p> = ∇ <n> = ∇ <a> = ∇ <s> = ∇; letters large, c. 60-75 mm high; <u>, <n> and <θ> half size. Not enough letters to suggest a date.	On a large rock tomb (two storeys, three 'doors'), cut half free of the rock face. ⁷¹²
TL59 (Antiphellos; epitaph of Qñturahi).	<ã> = ∇ <ē> = ∇ <χ> = ∇ (not clear) <p> = ∇ <n> = ∇ <a> = ∇ <s> = ∇. Letters deeply cut but rather untidy, irregular in shape and size.	On a large rock tomb (two storeys, two 'doors'), with benches round three sides of burial chamber.
TL60 (Antiphellos)	<a> = ∇ <s> = ∇; <l> half size. Not enough letters to suggest a date.	Fragment of stone built into wall; form of monument not clear.

⁷¹² Pictures and sketches of tomb and inscription in Borchhardt, Eichner and Schulz (2005).

Chart 8: Tlos
Information from Kalinka (1901) unless otherwise stated.

Inscription	Important letter forms	Other indications of date
Late fifth or early fourth century (?)		
TL24 (epitaph of Izraza).	<a> = 𐌐. (Name only.) Not enough letters to help with dating.	Base of monument decorated with reliefs. Zahle (1979) 320 dates these c. 350.
TL26 (record of (?)religious foundation by Izraza).	<ã> = 𐌵 𐌵 𐌵 <ẽ> = 𐌶 <χ> = 𐌶 <p> = 𐌱 <n> = 𐌺 <a> = 𐌐 <s> = 𐌰	Block of stone (statue base?) with long inscription; possibly part of same monument as TL26 (see Chapter 3, p. 000). [vidi]
TL22 (epitaph of Hriχttbili).	<χ> = 𐌵 <a> = 𐌐. Letters large, c. 80-90 mm high; <d> and <m> slightly smaller. Letter strokes wide (c. 5 mm), letters neatly cut and well spaced.	On rock face below a broken (unfinished?) grave/ niche for sarcophagus. [vidi]
Late fourth century and early third century		
N334 (epitaph of Ipresida).	<ã> = 𐌵 <ẽ> = 𐌶, 𐌶 <p> = 𐌱 <n> = 𐌺 <a> = 𐌐; <m> beginning to show 'curved' style.	On the right-hand side of the door of what seen to have been a small rock-cut tomb (most of tomb is still buried). ⁷¹³ [vidi]
TL27 (stele of Mexisttêne)	<ẽ> = 𐌶 <χ> = 𐌵 <p> = 𐌱 <n> = 𐌺 <a> = 𐌐 <s> = 𐌰.	On a stele topped with a moulded gable. Mexisttêne says that he has set it up <i>atli ehbi</i> , which might support a later date (see p. 000).
TL28 (monument of Putinezi)	<ã> = 𐌵 <χ> = 𐌵 <p> = 𐌱 <n> = 𐌺 <a> = 𐌐.	On a block of stone (from a built tomb?)
TL30 (epitaph of Tiwiθθeimija)	<ã> = 𐌵 <χ> = 𐌵 <a> = 𐌐.	On a sarcophagus.

⁷¹³ A photograph of the squeeze and a sketch of the inscription is given in Tekoğlu (2002-2003) 112-113.

N333 (funerary altar?)	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \mathbb{W} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \mathbb{Y} \langle \chi \rangle = \mathbb{V} \langle p \rangle$ $= \mathbb{P} \langle n \rangle = \mathbb{N} \langle a \rangle = \mathbb{B} \langle b \rangle = \mathbb{b}$; $\langle u \rangle$ and $\langle d \rangle$ slightly smaller; ‘curved’ style.	On what appears to be a small altar (a funerary altar? Could also be a statue base?); stone has moulding at the bottom – the inscription continues over this. [Have seen photo courtesy of Heiner Eichner.]
TL23 (bilingual epitaph of Elpuweti).	$\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \mathbb{Y} \langle \chi \rangle = \mathbb{V} \langle p \rangle = \mathbb{P} \langle a \rangle = \mathbb{B}$. Inscription not well preserved, but appears to have been neatly cut and laid out in a <i>stoichedon</i> pattern.	On a sarcophagus. Greek follows Lycian; the two appear to be contemporary. Greek lettering would fit late fourth-century date (has Σ with parallel strokes, and Ω closed at the bottom).
TL25 (bilingual statue base of Xssbezē).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \mathbb{W} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \mathbb{Y} \langle \chi \rangle = \mathbb{V} \langle p \rangle$ $= \mathbb{P} \langle n \rangle = \mathbb{N} \langle a \rangle = \mathbb{B} \langle s \rangle = \mathbb{S}$. Letters c. 30-35 mm high, very neatly cut and well spaced, all in ‘curved’ style.	Greek follows Lycian; the two appear to be contemporary. The Greek text has large serifs, suggesting a late fourth-century date; the two alphabets are deliberately distinguished from each other (see Chapter 4, pp. 000-000). [<i>vidi</i>]
TL29 (epitaph of Ikuwe)	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \mathbb{W}, \mathbb{W} \langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \mathbb{Y} \langle \chi \rangle = \mathbb{V} \langle p \rangle = \mathbb{P} \langle n \rangle = \mathbb{N} \langle a \rangle = \mathbb{B} \langle s \rangle = \mathbb{S}$. Lettering larger at top of column, but soon become smaller. Letters closely packed; not well enough preserved to read clearly.	On a large block of limestone (bottom of a ‘pillar’ tomb?). (See above, p. 000). [<i>vidi</i>]

Chart 9: Karmylessos

Inscription	Important letter forms	Other indications of date
Late fourth century		
TL8 (tomb built by Trijētezi Karmylessos).	<ã> = √ or √ <ẽ> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = √ <n> = √ <a> = √ <s> = √ ∠. Lettering c. 40-50 mm.	On a 'two door' rock tomb.
TL7 (epitaph of Trijētezi; Karmylessos).	<ã> = √ or √ <ẽ> = √ (possibly √) <p> = √ <n> = √ Lettering c. 40-45 mm high; <u> smaller.	On the lintel of a 'two-door' rock tomb.
TL6 (bilingual epitaph of Pulenjda and Dapara, acropolis of modern Kaya Köy).	<ã> = √ <ẽ> = √ <p> = √ <n> = √ <a> = √ <s> = √ ∠. Lettering c. 20-30 mm high.	On a rock tomb with a single door. The lettering of the Greek version has small serifs and sigma with horizontal hastae almost parallel, both of which suggest a late date.

Chart 10: Kadyanda

Inscription	Important letter forms	Other indications of date
Late fifth or early fourth century (?)		
TL32 (labelling of reliefs on tomb of wife of Zzala).	<ã> = √ <χ> = √ <p> = √ <a> = √ ∠ ∠. (Sketch in Kalinka not clear.)	Names given in Lycian and Greek labelling the relief sculpture of a tomb. Main relief (of a woman, on front of tomb) labelled 'wife of Zzala' in accusative; she was probably buried in the tomb. Other names in nominative. [no squeeze]. Zahle (1979) 320 dates reliefs to c. 400-390.
TL33 (epitaph of Uzeblēmi).	<ẽ> = √ <p> = √ <n> = √ (possibly √) <a> = √. Lettering c. 25 mm high; appears irregularly laid out; <z> half size.	On a tomb with relief of horse and rider. Inscriptions poorly preserved. [squeeze] Zahle (1979) 320 dates reliefs c. 370.
TL34 (epitaph of the son of Ssewe (name of tomb builder lost)).	<ã> possibly √ or √ (squeeze very hard to read) <χ> = √ (not visible on squeeze) <a> = √ <s> = √. Lettering large, c. 35-50 mm; letters irregular in size and spacing.	Very fragmentary; on a pillar tomb, which suggests an early date. [squeeze]

Late fourth century and early third century		
TL31 (epitaph of Upazi).	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \Psi$ $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Upsilon$ $\langle p \rangle = \neg$ $\langle n \rangle = \neg$ $\langle a \rangle = \neg$ $\langle s \rangle = \neg$ Lettering c. 20-25 mm; $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle$ slightly larger, $\langle l \rangle$ and $\langle d \rangle$ slightly smaller. Lettering tightly packed, letter strokes narrow but deep.	On a small 'two-storey' rock tomb. [squeeze]
TL35	$\langle \tilde{a} \rangle = \Psi$ $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle = \Upsilon$ $\langle \chi \rangle = \Psi$ $\langle p \rangle = \neg$ $\langle n \rangle = \neg$ $\langle a \rangle = \neg$ $\langle s \rangle = \neg$ Lettering appears to have been tightly packed and comparatively neat.	Time of Ptolemy (II?) (see above). [no squeeze; sketch in Heberdey's note-book.]

FIGURES



Fig. 1 (left): rock-cut tombs at Pinara.
Fig. 2 (above): a 'Limyra-typus' rock-tomb, with the door, unusually, still in place.



Fig. 3 (left): tomb of Xlastini at Phellos (with N310) (Photo: Daniel Martin-Thomas).
Fig. 4 (above): part of N310.



Fig. 5 (above left): Merehi's sarcophagus at Xanthos (with TL43).
Fig. 6 (above right): part of TL43.



Fig. 7 (above left): the Inscribed pillar at Xanthos (with TL44) (Photo: Martyn Rix).



Fig. 8 (above right): tomb of Ddapsšm̃ma at Pinara (with TL11, marked by white arrow).



Fig. 9 (above left): tomb of Xudrehila at Limyra (with TL132).



Fig. 10 (above right): tomb of Xluwāñimi at Timiussa, modern Uçağiz (with TL67).



Fig. 11 (above left): house-tomb at Arneai (with TL83, marked by white arrow).



Fig. 12 (above right): tomb of Masauwēti at Kızılca (with N314a and b, marked by a white arrows).



Fig. 13 (above left): N314b.

Fig. 14 (above right): view from the tombs at Kızılca, over southern part of Elmalı plain.



Fig. 15 (above left): tomb of Sbikezijēni at Bayındır Limanı (with TL61 marked with arrow).

Fig. 16 (above right): left-hand side of TL61.



Fig. 17 (above left): Pajawa sarcophagus, in the British Museum (with TL 40).

Fig. 18 (above right): tomb at Isinda (with TL64).



Fig. 19 (left): part of TL64.

Fig. 20 (below left): monument of Ikuwe at Tlos (with TL29).

Fig. 21 (right): the Letöon trilingual (N320) in Fethiye Museum (Lycian text).



Fig. 22 (bottom left): sketch of TL35 from Heberdey's notebook (*Lykien 1898, Heberdey I*), in the ÖAW.

Fig. 23 (bottom right): TL26, from Tlos, showing the development of <ã>:
 $\nabla > \nabla > \nabla$.

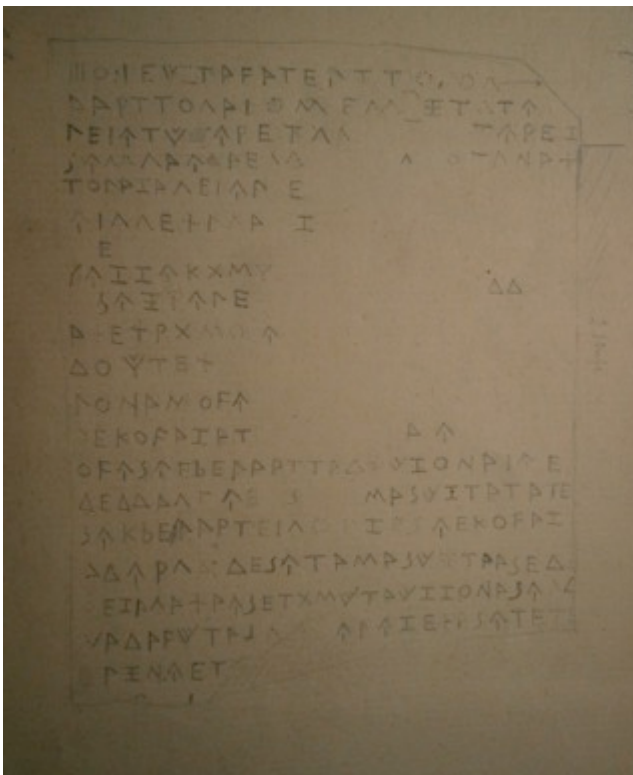




Fig 24 (above): the tomb of Mede at Xanthos (with TL37).



Fig. 25 (right): TL37.

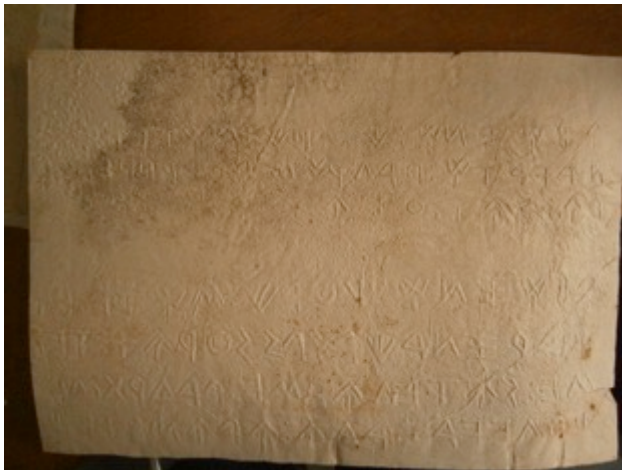


Fig. 26 (above left): squeeze of TL48 from ÖAI.



Fig. 27 (above right): tomb at Kirme (with TL9, showing poor preservation of inscription).



Fig. 28 (left): Pinara, view from the theatre showing upper and lower acropoleis.



Fig. 29 (above right): newly discovered inscription from Limyra (N337).



Fig. 30 (above left): statue base dedicated by Demokleides at the Letöon (with N312).
 Fig. 31 (above right): epitaph of Ijetruyle at Xanthos (TL38).

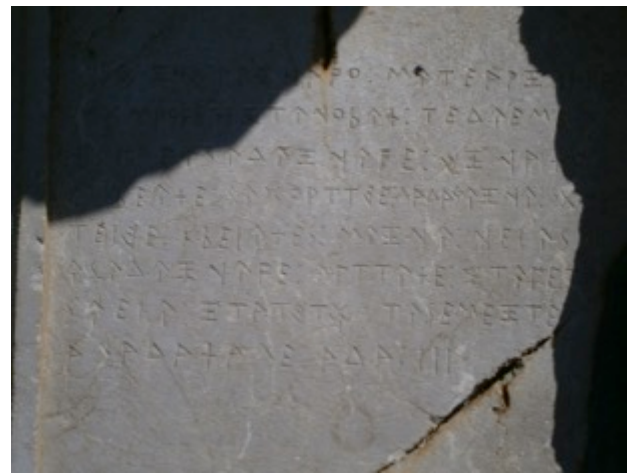


Fig. 32 (above left): tomb of Mēmruwi at Xanthos (with TL39).
 Fig. 33 (above right): part of TL39.



Fig. 34 (above left): TL25, the statue base of Xssbezē, at Tlos.
 Fig. 35 (above right): part of TL6, the bilingual epitaph of Pulenjda and Dapara at Kaya Köy.



Fig. 36 (above left): tomb of Ixtta at Antiphellos (with TL56).
 Fig. 37 (above right): part of TL56.



Fig. 38 (left): tomb of ...]maḫu[t]awi, at Isinda (with TL63).
 Fig. 39 (above): part of TL63.



Fig. 40 (above left): tomb of Tlepolemos, at Hoiran.
 Fig. 41 (above right): the bilingual inscription TL65, at Isinda.

