

Luwic dialects and Anatolian

Inheritance and diffusion

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Foreword

Luwic Dialects and Anatolian: Inheritance and Diffusion inaugurates a new series, *Anatolica et Indogermanica*, which is part of the collection *Barcino Monographica Orientalia* of the Institut del Pròxim Orient Antic of the Universitat de Barcelona, directed by Prof. Adelina Millet Albà and Prof. Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, and published by Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona. The volume focuses on the Luwic languages, by bringing together approaches from Indo-European linguistics and language reconstruction but also from other intrinsically related disciplines such as epigraphy, numismatics and archaeology, and shows very clearly how these disciplines can benefit from each other.

The choice of the topic *Luwic Dialects and Anatolian: Inheritance and Diffusion* as the general theme of this volume was partly motivated by the growing interest that the Luwic languages have aroused among scholars in recent decades. Another reason was the research focus of the Indo-European sections at the University of Barcelona and the University of Santiago de Compostela since 2013, which received funding for three research projects: *Los dialectos lúvicos del grupo anatolio indoeuropeo: aproximaciones genéticas y areales* (FFI2012-32672 2013-2015). *Los dialectos lúvicos del grupo antolio en su contexto lingüístico, geográfico e histórico* (FFI2015-68467-C2-1-P 2016-2018). *Los dialectos lúvicos del grupo anatolio: escritura, gramática, onomástica, léxico* (PGC2018-098037-B-C21). On the basis of these three projects, in 2013 an international research group with a strongly interdisciplinary approach was created, comprising leading researchers from seven countries. Since then, the members of the research group have met

annually at workshops held either in Barcelona or in Santiago de Compostela to present and discuss their research results. Although the focus of all these workshops was the Luwic languages (Luwian, Lycian, Carian, Sidetic and Pisidian), other language families were also present in the discussion (Hittite, Lydian and Phrygian).

This volume gathers together the most recent research results in our field and is the natural extension of the work done by the research group over these six years.

Among the 13 contributions, fitting neatly within the Luwic and other Anatolian languages, a rich variety of subjects are covered: an alphabetical and epigraphical interpretation in Carian (Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, Zsolt Simon) and in Lycian (Birgit Christiansen), morphological perspectives in Hieroglyphic Luwian (José Virgilio García Trabazo) and in Lycian (Matilde Serangeli), a numismatic-glyptic point of view in Lycian (Manuela Anelli) and in Phrygian (Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach), an archaeological perspective in Lycian (Martin Seyer), an etymological interpretation of specific or several words in Lycian (Elena Martínez Rodríguez), in Hieroglyphic Luwian (Alwin Kloekhorst), in Hittite (José Luis García Ramón) and in both these languages (Elisabeth Rieken), but also, last but not least, other aspects such as the Lydian dating formulae (Ilya Yakubovich).

The volume thus marks the beginning of a new series, *Anatolica et Indogermanica*, published at the Universitat de Barcelona, which focuses on Luwic and Anatolian studies. The series is sure to flourish in the years to come with new issues combining the efforts of linguists, epigraphists, philologists and archaeologists.

We would like to thank all the scholars who have contributed to this volume, and we would also like to express our gratitude to Meritxell Anton, editor of the Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, for the invaluable support she has given to the project from the very beginning. Our thanks also go to the rest of the members of the editorial committee who have made the edition of this volume possible, for their knowledge, patience and enthusiasm: Prof. Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, Prof. José Virgilio García Trabazo, Dr. Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach and Elena Martínez Rodríguez.

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A Kingdom for a Carian Letter

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§ 1. *Introduction*

Although the decipherment of Carian alphabet was successfully accomplished some time ago – only a few scarcely documented letters continue to resist identification – our understanding of Carian texts is still very poor. It is easy to identify onomastic formulae, and we have been able to recognize some common words and analyse some syntactic structures, but the interpretation of the longer texts remains more a desire than a reality. The exasperating lack of fresh material (no new and really useful inscriptions have been published in recent years) leaves any possibility of bettering our knowledge of Carian to a more attentive examination of the existing corpus and of a reconsideration of certain currently accepted principles. In general, this examination and this reconsideration produce rather modest results, but very occasionally they can also bring unexpected surprises. In this paper I describe some exciting new proposals for the interpretation of several Carian inscriptions. I present them in the order in which they were discovered, because I am convinced that this order highlights clearly the main points of my proposal; at the same time, I hope to be able to reflect my growing astonishment as the results emerged.

§ 2. *Halicarnassus*

The starting point is the possible Carian name for Halicarnassus and the set of possibly Carian coins from this city. In my first article on Carian, I already pro-

posed that $\text{A}\Delta\text{OM}\text{XAFYOM}$ *aloskarnos* in an Egyptian stele (E.Me 45, Fig. 1) and $\text{A}\Delta\text{OM}\hat{\text{X}}\text{AFYOM}\hat{\text{X}}$ *alosδkarnosδ* in an inscription on a recipient (C.xx.2, Fig 2) could be the Carian forms of the place name of Halicarnassus (Adiego 1990b:135).



Fig. 1

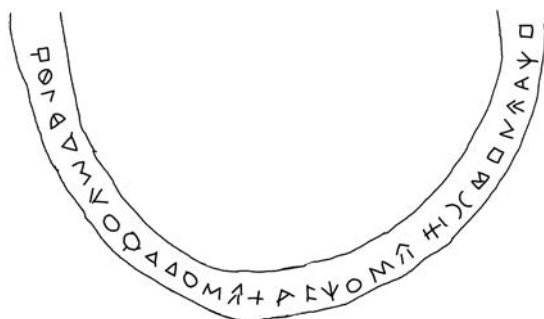


Fig. 2

This proposal has always been present in the discussion on Carian, but has not been fully accepted. The first inscription is from Memphis, and the second one is of unknown origin, and so the provenance cannot help to establish the identification; asserting that this latter inscription of unknown origin may come from Halicarnassus would be a circular reasoning! Moreover, the morphological analysis was unclear: *alosδkarnosδ* seems to point to two different words, inflected in the same way or accompanied by parallel clitics. So we would have *alos karnos* as the form of the place name. But then, how do we explain E.Me 45, where after an onomastic formula, an ethnic name rather than a place name would be expected? Certainly, these are not insurmountable objections, but without additional evidence for the indigenous name of Halicarnassus they inevitably weaken the hypothesis.

A further, more serious, objection was the fact that certain coins, judged by Hyla Troxell as coming from Halicarnassus (Troxell 1984:254), offered a legend

AϺO – sometimes abbreviated AϺ, which read *azo*, *az* – which was hardly compatible with *aloskarnos* (see fig. 3).



Fig. 3

A way to overcome this latter objection emerged when, some years ago, Koray Konuk proposed that these coins came from a different Carian city, Kasolaba (Konuk 2009). If so, the legend *azo* would have nothing to do with *aloskarnos* and/or Halicarnassus, but it would represent the initial letters of the place name Kasolaba.

However, Konuk's proposal comes up against serious difficulties. The equivalence *azo* = Kasolaba is hard to accept, due to the absence of *k* in the Carian form. Konuk adduced cases like $\eta\upsilon\beta\lambda\iota\sigma\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma$ vs. Κυβλίσσεῖς (plural ethnic of the Carian place name Κυβλίσσος/ος , Zgusta 1984 § 1396, Blümel 1998[2012]:172) or $\Upsilon\rho\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$ vs. $\text{Κυρ\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma}$ (variants of the Carian place name $\text{Ευρ\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma}$, Zgusta 1984 § 1412, Blümel 1998[2012]:185), but both examples show an alternance of $\kappa/h/\theta$ before υ . No cases of such an alternance are attested when *k* precedes *a*. Moreover, there is a possible example of the name Kasolaba in Carian inscriptions: in a funerary stele from Saqqâra we find the word *ksolb-ś* (E.Me 43), which is undeniably related to Kasolaba: very probably, according to a hypothesis formulated by Janda (1994:176) this is an ethnic name, indicating Kasolaba as the place of origin of a Caromemphite. This *ksolb-* is difficult to reconcile with *azo*.

Therefore, Konuk's identification to Kasolaba, based exclusively on linguistic arguments, is very unlikely, and the information about the Halicarnassian origin of different exemplars of the coins given by Troxell cannot be ignored; it implies that the name of the city was (or began with) *azo*, and that the equivalence *aloskarnos* = Halicarnassus is hardly tenable.

I confess that I was often intrigued by this AϺO *azo* vs. AΔO(MXAFVOM) *alo(skarnos)*. The vowels coincide, but the consonant is not the same: *l* in the name documented in the inscriptions, *z* in the sequence engraved on the coins. The forms show a certain proximity, but they are clearly different.

However, this conclusion was based on the assumption of a value *z* (i.e., a sound /sd/, /st/, /ts/, /dz/ or the like) for the letter $\mathfrak{S}$. But is this assumption guaranteed by convincing arguments? The answer is clearly ‘no’. To understand the value $\mathfrak{S} = z$ we must go back to Ševoroškin (1965), where the letter $\mathfrak{S}$ was considered a variant of the letter $\mathfrak{X}$, attending to the formal resemblance of both signs and to their complementary distribution: $\mathfrak{X}$ is found in the alphabetic variants used in Egypt and in Kaunos, whereas $\mathfrak{S}$ appears in other local alphabets from Caria proper. The assumption of the proximity of the two letters is also implicitly present in Masson’s ordering of the Carian letters, where $\mathfrak{X}$ is the sign n° 35, and $\mathfrak{S}$ the n° 36 (see the tables in Masson 1976, Masson 1978:10). When Diether Schürr established convincingly a value *z* for 35 (Schürr 1996), this value was generally attributed to 36, although no clear evidence could be presented (see Adiego 2007:251, and particularly the reservations regarding the decipherment of the letter expressed in Adiego 2005:87).

To sum up, there are two reasons for considering a value *z* for $\mathfrak{S}$: the formal resemblance to $\mathfrak{X}$ *z*, and the apparently complementary distribution. However, these reasons do not provide compelling evidence. In fact, there is no evidence at all, and my present inquiry begins by rejecting the equivalence $\mathfrak{S} = z$ and by assessing the results of giving to $\mathfrak{S}$ a value *l* or *l*-like. (Henceforth and until further notice, I will use conventionally a “diacritized *l*” <ł> to represent this hypothetical new value). With a *l* or *l*-like value, a reading *alo* of the coin legends would serve to support a threefold equivalence *alo* = *aloskarnos* = Halicarnassus.¹

§ 3. *Mylasa*

The next stage in this inquiry was to review the examples of $\mathfrak{S}$ in the inscription of Mylasa, C.My 1. This inscription consists basically of a list of persons (name + father’s name in genitive), preceded by a short heading where the word *molš*, for which I proposed the meaning ‘priests’, appears. So we appear to be dealing with a list of priests.

In Mylasa C.My.1, the letter $\mathfrak{S}$ shows an angular form $\mathfrak{S}^{\wedge}$, as do the other letters in the inscription (e.g., $\mathfrak{L}^{\wedge}$ for $\mathfrak{L}$ i). It appears three times: in the names in nom-

1. The attempt to attribute a *l*-value to $\mathfrak{S}$ in A $\mathfrak{S}$ O is not totally new: it was considered by John D. Ray in a page note of a paper (Ray 1998:127, n. 1): Ray speculatively proposed with a transcription *alo* (with $\mathfrak{S}$ as a cursive variant of $\mathfrak{I}$ λ) in order to obtain a form closer to *aloskarnos*, but he did not explore this possibility and its consequences any further.

inative *myse*, *qzali*, and in the name in genitive *qzaliś*. Obviously, these two latter forms are the same name.

A transcription *mylé* for *myse* does not greatly change the situation: for *myse*, we have an interesting parallel in the Carian name in Greek sources Μουζεας (Zgusta 1964 § 980-2, Blümel 1992[2012]:15; cf. Adiego 2005:91), and for *mylé*, we can now adduce the name Μυλης documented in Pisidia (LGPN Vc:306) and Cilicia (LGPN Vb:306).

More interesting are the results for the other name, *qzali*-. In Adiego (2005:91), a connection to the Carian name of Greek sources Κοστωλλις was cautiously suggested, but the vocalism does not fit well (we would expect **qzoli*) and it is also unlikely that *z* would appear here adapted by means of Greek στ and in *myse* by means of Greek ζ if the equivalence *myse* = Μουζεας is accepted. The connection, though not impossible, is speculative.

Now, with a transcription $\text{𐌚} = \acute{l}$, we obtain a much more satisfactory outcome: *qlali*, *qlaliś*. This is the name *qlali*-, well attested both in Carian and in Greek (E.Me 37, G 2), Κολαλδης, Κυλαλδης (Blümel 1992[2012]:12). Note that in Mylasa the letter <λ> does not appear and in its place, <ι> is used (for instance *iduśol* vs. *dwśol-ś* in Egypt; on this question, see below § 9.1).

§ 4. Kildara

We now turn our attention to the inscription of Kildara (C.Ki 1), a text consisting of four lines in *scriptio continua* where the only recognizable elements at present are two references to the city (line 1: *kił*; line 3: *kiłara*), a sequence *trqđ* undoubtedly related to the name of the Luwian Tempest-God *Tarhunt*- and a sequence *qrđs* which reappears in Kaunos (C.Ka 2) and may have an institutional meaning.

Here we have three examples of the letter 𐌚. The two first examples (in the first and in the second lines) are uninterpretable for me, regardless of whether we give 𐌚 a value *z* or a value *l* (line 1:]zolzbaķa[/ łolzbaķa[; line 2 *qrđs tazomđ* / *qrđs tałomđ*).

Much more interesting is the third example, in the third line. It appears immediately after the second appearance of the name Kildara:

kiłarađ[-]ybzsdmTnmkđa[-]aTuq[

Read with 𐌚 = *l*, the sequence thus becomes:

kiλaraδ[-]ybłsdmTnmkδa[-]aTuq[..

The most striking aspect of this new transcription is that a sequence [-]ybłs emerges here that powerfully recalls *qybłsiś* (E.Me 21), Κυβλισσ/ος/(Zgusta 1984 § 1396, Blümel 1998[2012]:172; cf. here supra § 1). Kyblissos was a Carian site near Kildara, as suggested by its proximity in the Athenian Tribute List:

... h[υ]βλισῆς, Ὀ[ρ]ανιῆται, Κι[λ]λαρῆ[ς] ... (IG I³ 262)

Cf. also Blümel *ibid.*: ‘Vermutlich zwischen Bargylia und Kildara’.

As for *qybłsiś*, as Janda (1994:176) already suggested, it is very likely to be an ethnonym from the place name *qybłs-*. Therefore *qybłs* / [-]ybłs- (to be completed [q]ybłs-) is quite a good correspondence, reinforced by the proximity of this place name to Kildara.

§ 5. Hyllarima

These two preceding pieces of evidence may seem attractive but not compelling. But the third piece is, in my opinion, not only definitive, but is accompanied by an astonishing sequence of knock-on effects.

This evidence is found in the Carian-Greek inscription from Hyllarima, C.Hy 1. As is well known, this stele is broken into two parts, which were found approximately 70 years apart; the first part was published in Laumonier (1934: 345-376), and the second, and the join between the two pieces, in Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu (2005).

The bilingual inscription of Hyllarima is a complex text, written over many years. The Carian part occupies the upper part of the stele. It appears divided into two columns: (a) consists of seven lines, of which lines 3-7 are onomastic formulae; (b) consists of two lines in Carian, followed by the two first Greek texts of the stele: a heading “priests of all the gods”, then an onomastic formula, then a new heading “priest (singular) of all the gods”, then a second onomastic formula. After these texts in columns (a) and (b), other Greek inscriptions follow, from a later date. The chart below aims to show this complexity of the stele (the Carian and the oldest Greek parts are shaded; for the chronology, see Debord in Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu (2005:626-627):

LEFT LATERAL FACE	FRONTAL FACE		RIGHT LATERAL FACE
Purchase of priesthood by Hermias son of Aristocles (197 BC)	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	Leasing of lands to three different per- sons (197 BC or later)
	Carian heading	Carian heading	
	Carian list of priests	Greek list of priests of all the gods	
Leasing of lands to Le(?)on son of Dionys- ios (197 BC or later)	Greek list of priests of Apollo (dated at 263/262 BC)	Greek priest of all the gods	
		Purchase of priest- hood by Leon son of Theodoros (197 BC)	

Here is the beginning of the stele with these Carian and oldest Greek texts (Fig. 4):

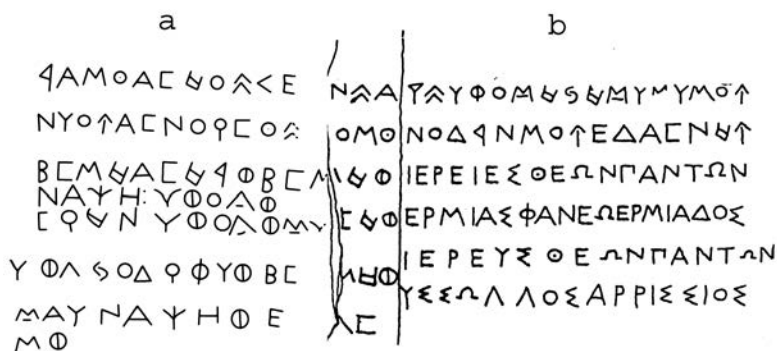


Fig. 4

Both in Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu and in Adiego (2007), the Carian text was read by columns: first column a, then column b, given the existence of a vertical line:

(a) šasqarioð dymða
muot armotrqðosq
βrsi arišš βrsiś
mane : uśolś
rtim uśolś pur'is

uśbzol tñuś βrsiś

pau manés ybr-
sś

(b) kδuśopizipususot
molš msot ylarmit

The onomastic formulae were clear, and the most part of the names were easy to identify, but the two initial lines in both columns were very obscure. The only fully identifiable elements were the stems contained in the sequence *armotrqδosq* and in *ylarmit*. As for *armotrqδosq*, I proposed to recognize in it the names of the Anatolian Moon-god *Arma-* and the Luwian Storm-god *Tarhunt-*, but it remained unclear to me whether we were dealing with the proper theonyms or with a theophoric personal name. As for *ylarmit*, as John D. Ray already proposed in the beginnings of the decipherment (Ray 1988:152), it was a form clearly related to the place name where the stele was found, Hyllarima. A more speculative interpretation was given for *molš msot ylarmit*, which might be a formula meaning “priests of the gods of Hyllarima” (Hajnal 1995:14-15, Adiego 2002:17, Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu 2005:618). This proposal was based on the formal proximity of *mso-τ* to the Luwic stem for ‘god’: Luwian *masan(i)-*, Milyan *masa-*, Lycian *māhān(i)-*, Sidetic *masara*.

The rest of these initial lines was impenetrable. In Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu (2005), I merely stated that *kδuś^o* at the beginning of (b) recalled the stem *kδow-/kδou-* for which a meaning ‘king’ had been suggested (in etymological connection to Luwian *hantawat(i)-*, Lycian *xñtawat(i)-* (Adiego-Debord-Varinlioğlu 2005:617-618; cf. also Schürr 1998:146 for this connection).

Let us assume for now that, despite the existence of a vertical mark for separating two columns, the two first lines should be read from one edge to the other. Let us also assign the value <ł> for the letter 𐤱 instead of <z>:

šasqarioddyḿḍakδuśopilipususot
muotarmotrqδosqmolšmsotyilarmit

From this new value a new sequence emerges that makes surprisingly good sense:

(δa) kδuśo pilipus

pīlipus is easily recognizable as the adaptation of the Greek name Philip (Φίλιππος). Since *-s* can mark a genitive or possessive in Carian (cf. Adiego 2007:314-317), and since *kdušo* contains the Carian stem for ‘king, ruler’ (cf. above), *kdušo pīlipus* (or *da kdušo pīlipus*, see the discussion below in § 8.1) makes sense as a formula meaning “under the reign of Philip”, comparable to the Lycian formula *ēnē: xñtawata* (variant: *ēti xñtawata*) plus personal name in genitive (preceding or following the formula) ‘under the rulership of X:’ *ēnē xñtawata xer[i]xehe* (TL 43), *ēnē xñtawata wataprddatehe* (TL 61), *ēnē xñtawwa[ta] mizrp-patah* (N 315), *[ē]ti: xñtawata [p]eriklehe* (N 314 a), *ēnē periklehe: xñtawata* (TL 67; also TL 83, 103, 132), *ē[nē]: arppaxuhe: xñt[aw]ata* (N 310).

Moreover, the segmentation of this nominal phrase (*da*) *kdušo pīlipus* has an impressive chain-reaction effect on the immediately following Carian text. Once segmented (*da*) *kdušo pīlipus*, another phrase emerges, easily segmentable thanks to the similar endings: *usot muot*. *usot* is, in all probability, the Carian word for ‘year’, matching etymologically both Luwian *uss(i)-* ‘year’ and Lycian *uhe/i-* ‘year’. As for the word immediately after *usot* ‘year’, *muot*, it can hardly be anything other than a numeral, and the identification with the Luwian word for the number ‘four’, *maw(a/i)-* follows almost automatically:

(*da*) *kdušo pīlipus*, *usot muot* ‘under the reign of Philip, in the year four(th)’

The chain-reaction culminates with a reinterpretation of *armotrqdos*². The etymological connection to *Arma-* and *Tarhunt-* was correct, but here we are not dealing either with god names or with a theophoric personal name: after the name of the king and the reference to the year, the sequence *armo trqdos* is the mention of the *month*, as we would expect: as is well known, Luwian *arma-* was not only the word for ‘moon’ (and ‘Moon-god’) but also the word for ‘month’. Cf. also Lycian *rñma-* in *rñma-zata* a compound meaning ‘monthly tribute’ (TL 131, 4), in parallel to *uha-zata* ‘yearly tribute’ (whose meaning was established thanks to the trilingual of the Letoon of Xanthos).

2. In the first version of this analysis of the dating formula (the version presented at the workshop held in Barcelona: see the powerpoint in academia.edu), I took *armo trqdos q* as a syntactic unit, where *q* was interpreted as a sort of relative/article, similar to Carian *kī* (therefore, literally “in the month which (is) of Tarhunt”). Now I prefer to segment *armo trqdos* and to link *q* to the following sequence: see below § 11.

Therefore *armo trqδos* can be interpreted as “in the month of Tarhunt”, in a syntactic structure that is absolutely parallel to *kδuśo pilīpus*: locative (in -o of an a-stem) plus genitive/possessive in -s.

The complete formula of dating is thus:

(δα) <i>kδuśo pilīpus</i>	‘under the reign of Philip (III)’
<i>usot muot</i>	‘in the year four(th)’
<i>armo trqδos</i>	‘in the month of Tarhunt.’

§ 6. *The king Pilīpu-*

Who is this *Pilīpu-/Philip* whose reign is used to date the inscription? The logical solution is to think of a Macedonian king, and in that case, it must be Philip III (Philip Arrhidaeus): the Greek inscription added after these first texts, dated 263/262 (the reign of Antioch and his son), marks a terminus ante quem. The terminus post quem is, of course, Alexander’s conquest of Caria (334 BC). The only possible Philip, then, is the half-brother and successor of Alexander, Philip III, who reigned between 323 and 317 BC.

Particularly striking is the fact that we also have seven Greek inscriptions from Caria dated in the reign of Philip III, many of which also mention the name of Asander, who became satrap of Caria after the death of Alexander. On Asander and the political context of this small but very relevant corpus of Greek inscriptions I refer readers to Kizil *et alii* (2015:393-403). What is of interest to us now is the fact that four of these seven inscriptions show complete dating formulae (king, year and month) which can be directly compared with the Carian formula in C.Hy 1:³

Amyzon 1 (McCabe = Robert-Robert, Amyzon no. 2)	
ἔτευσ τετάρτου	‘in the fourth year
Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος,	Philip being king
Ἀσάνδρου ἐξαθηραπεύοντος,	Asander being satrap
μηνὸς Μαρσηλίου...	in the month Marsellios...’
(the names of other local magistrates follow)	

3. The three remaining inscriptions are: Lagina 2 McCabe (= Şahin. IStr 501) and Pidasia (Kızıl et al. 2015), where only the reference to the year appears; and Mylasa 116 McCabe (= Blümel IMyll 21 + II p. 7) in whose fragmentary beginning the king Philip and a satrap (the name, presumably also Asander, is missing) are mentioned.