

სტატიები ARTICLES

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A proposal that Lycian A *waxssepddimi* is not a name in TL44a.49, but means “man-at-arms”

Keywords: *eDiAna*, *Fellows*, *hoplite*, *Lycian*, *TL44*, *numerals*, *waxsse*, *Xanthos*, *zēhi*

Abbreviations

HAR	Hungarian Assyriological Review
LSJ	Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, 1996 (electronic version, 2003)
TL	Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti (Kalinka 1901)

Introduction

I wish to acknowledge that my original draft has benefitted from comments made by the two anonymous reviewers and from personal communications from Florian Réveilhac, Diether Schürr, Ilya Yakubovich and Mark Weeden, though I, alone, must be held responsible for the unattributed proposals offered below. Lycian studies began in 1840, when Daniel Sharpe, decades before an Anatolian branch was remotely suspected, perceptively observed that “Lycian was one of that large family of languages to which the German philologists have given the name of *Indo-Germanic*” (Fellows 1841, 430).

Since 1840 many people have spent time progressively increasing our understanding, and the literature is bulky, with much of it now out of date. It therefore seems quite possible that nothing in my essay below is totally new. I therefore apologise in advance to anyone whose thunder I unknowingly appear to be stealing.

One major achievement of 20th century scholarship has been the discovery and progressive penetration of the Luwic family, a sub-group of Anatolian Indo-European that includes Luwian, Carian, the Lycian languages and other Luwic dialects, but there is still much more to uncover. The nascent eDiAna database already contains much that is considered proven, but, for the frontier zones, which include the Luwic languages, the database acts as a useful concordance of differing opinions, and I cite the eDiAna lemma number of several words during the course of this essay.

The source texts

The Xanthos Stele (Fellows 1842, TL44 in Kalinka 1901, 38-48 and Schürr 2021) is one of the longest and best known of the epichoric texts from Iron-Age Lycia. With some lost fragments and some weathering damage, it is inscribed on all four faces, and in three languages, though it is not a true trilingual inscription, but perhaps reflects the varying interests of cultural or political groups in the population.

The stele's sides are conventionally labelled alphabetically:

- a – 55 lines, starting with the stele builder's identity and listing the events that brought him to power. A gap at the end suggests that this narrative is distinct from the stele's other texts.
- b – 64 lines, apparently narrating political and religious events and continued in TL44c.1-19.
- c – 19 lines that continue TLb.1-64. Then come three quatrains of Greek hexameters, TL44c.20-31, glorifying the builder's status, followed by 34 lines, which Schürr 2021 has resolved into 14 verses of three lines each. After line 48 is a horizontal ruling, dividing the verses into two groups of seven. The lines of verse do not match the inscribed lines in length, and the end of each verse is recognised via the inserted delimiter ,')'.
- d – 71 lines, showing the same verse pattern as the preceding, making 22 three-line verses, plus one line left over. Part of lines TLd.30 and 31 holds the dittographically written sequence *kibe-meredi:)* *ni-k-ñqrimiz ñtuwiteni: uplesiz: waxssadi:*, and this mistake has been removed from the tenth verse in Schürr 2021, 7-8. The isolated final line leaves no room for more text on the stone. Further research should show

whether line 71 holds some sort of sign-off by the poet, or that the poem continues somewhere else, as yet undiscovered.

The first 138 lines, TL44a.1-55, TL44b.1-64 and TL44c.1-12, are written in the language called “Lycian A” by those who, myself included, prefer to use the suffixed “A” and “B” identifiers, and simply “Lycian” by those who do not. This section appears to narrate the sequence of military events which brought the stele’s creator to power in Xanthos. Among his victories is the slaying of seven Arcadian hoplites in one day. This feat, narrated on TL44c.29, is apparently matched in meaning by TL44a.49, but the latter line contains the word *waxssepddimi*, which, taken to be the name of a dynast, had presented a major obstacle.

After the Greek verses come 104 lines in the language called “Lycian B”, or, by those who do not use the suffixed identifiers, “Milyan”. Its small corpus includes just one further text, TL55, a nine-line epitaph from Antiphellos (Schürr 2005) and consists entirely of poetry, as shown in Schürr 2018. TL44c.32-64 contains seven instances of *waxs(s)a-* as an apparent noun or adjective.

The Lycian languages appear to lack a formal orthography, in that the spelling seems to reflect how text was spoken, thus revealing something of its phonotactic or sandhi phenomena. May I also remind readers who are less familiar with Lycian texts that a word containing *a* may also be found spelled with *e*, or vice versa or, sometimes, with no vowel in the syllable at all. When nasalised, i.e., *ã* or *ẽ*, the vowel may or may not be also followed by *m*, *n*, *ṁ* or *ṇ*, and when the vowel is missing, the last two of these nasal consonants stands for the preceding vowel too. The phonology revealed by these variations in spelling are of secondary concern in this essay, whose interest is on identifying the underlying etyma, which might each equate to one lemma in eDiAna.

Lycian voiceless velar fricatives are transcribed as ‘x’ here, as in eDiAna, though other symbols are used in some publications for the voiceless velar fricative. In non-Lycian Anatolian sources, i.e. Palaic, Hittite, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian and Lydian, it has become conventional, in some publications, to transcribe this sound with ‘h’, but ‘x’ is used below, so as to retain unambiguity. When two consonants are clustered together, it is usual in Lycian spelling, in most combinations, for the second of them to be written double. In my discussion below I do not quote all possible spelling variants, but only the form as found in the excerpt under consideration at that moment.

Lycian B is a language less well understood than Lycian A, but makes a significant contribution to this essay. There is some disagreement about Lycian B’s linguistic status and social function, but I have little to contribute on these specific aspects here. The most evident difference between the Lycian languages is that B has retained the [s] which has changed to [h] in A.

I have transcribed the Lycian B quoted in this essay from Schürr 2018, and adapted the Lycian A from Melchert 2001, Christiansen 2019 and, for TL44, from Schürr 2021. Frequent recourse is made to eDiAna, quoting its lemma numbers, or to Melchert 2004. My transcriptions omit certain editorial symbols that some publications insert to indicate morpheme boundaries, because reanalysis may could require forms to be parsed differently, though I sometimes insert a hyphen to that effect. In addition to the works that I cite, further information is available from their respective bibliographies.

Most of the continuous text in both Lycian languages uses a word-separator symbol which looks like a modern colon, and which we conventionally transcribe as ‘:’, or by inserting a space, or both. Additionally, the Lycian B corpus has what appears to be a sentence-separator symbol which looks like a modern right parenthesis or closing bracket. We can be reasonably confident of its function, as many of the delimited groups of words start with a conjunction, to which a particle-chain may be attached, and the group also contains a verb.

The specific historical event

In one Greek hexameter line, TL44c.28, the author of the stele’s texts, presumably writing of himself in the third person, tells us that he slew seven Arcadian hoplites within a single day. Although he attributes this feat to divine favour, it is clearly a boast about the soldierly deed of which he was most proud and is the focus of this essay. The previous nine lines on the stele and the two following make up a dozen lines of versified Greek summarising events that appear to be described more fully in the preceding 138 lines of Lycian A.

If so, then it seem unlikely that the author’s proud boast would not also be included in the Lycian A part, which is much more detailed. In seeking the words that correspond with the Greek, attention has mostly been focused on TL44a.49, *sewaxss/epddimi:ēti:zehi:hbāti:CII:ule* (after Schürr 2021, 2), where CII was recognised as, possibly, the numeral “seven”, but the unfamiliar vocabulary thwarted comprehension, and I attempt to make sense of this line below.

The text in question

I start with trying to understand what the original text looked like, given that loss to weathering of some material is evident. There are also points to observe about the difference between what was published in Fellows 1842, in Kalinka 1901 and what is visible today. Here are four images of TL44a.48-50:

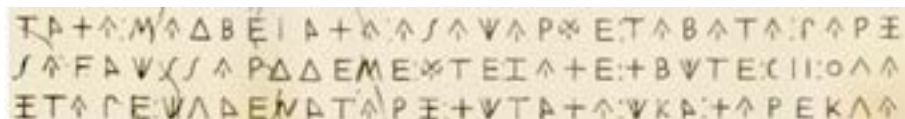


Image 1: In Fellows 1842, 14 2 South West Side.



Image 2: An unreliable copy of Image 1, found (Nov. 5th, 2024) in some on-line sources, such as: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a1/Text_of_the_Obelisk_at_Xanthos.jpg.

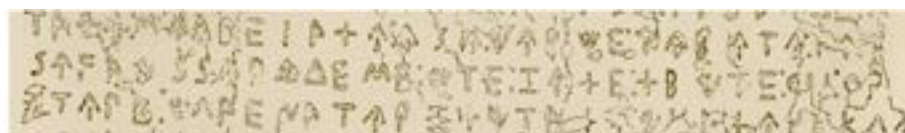


Image 3: TL44a.48-50 in Kalinka 1901, 40, and transcribed on 42.



Image 4: Photo, kindly sent by Diether Schürr, of TL44a.48-50 as they looked in 2020.

Image 2 is included here because a version of this inadequate representation could be used by some people as a primary source and so could be misleading. For instance, we can see that the right-hand end of the middle line has missed one upright stroke from C||, and the lambda-like penultimate letter has vanished, while the letter ‘+’, seventh from the end of the bottom line, has been omitted, but the vertical stoichedon alignment has been kept active, thus moving the final six letters one column to the left.

Image 1, when compared to Image 3, shows that Fellows had felt able to produce a “fair copy” of what he saw, straightening each line to improve its stoichedon layout. Indeed, in his introduction, he says “The transcript of the inscription now given is I think as perfect as it can be made” (Fellows 1842, 1). The colon-like word dividers are set between the letter columns, and the two vertical strokes in C|| are treated as occupying the space of a single letter. The edge of the stone is depicted as visible in the original full forms of

both Images 1 and 2, leaving no room for more than three letters at the end of TL44a.49, but how much stone was actually still intact in 1840 remains undetermined.

Image 3, when compared to Image 4, seems to show a degree of straightening out of the lines by Kalinka too, though not as much as by Fellows. Kalinka's is revealed by the extent to which the tail of line 47 is visible at the top right of Image 4, and the first part of line 51 at its lower left. He follows Fellows in transcribing the tail of line 49 as *ule*, although the final letter appears to have eroded away, and his drawing of the penultimate letter looks more like an upper-case Latin P in shape.

Although Images 1 and 2 seem show the right-hand edge of the stone as apparently intact, we may wonder how much of the erosion that is evident in Images 3 and 4 was already present in Fellows's time. He saw *ule* at the end of TL44a.49, but some commentators have preferred to posit an extra stroke to change L to N, though *une* is equally opaque. Friedrich 1932, 64 has *u[le]*, thus allowing for whatever weathering may have occurred after Fellows made his evidently idealised version of the text. Looking at the tail of TL44a.49 in Image 4 under magnification, one can see shapes for the penultimate letter which might be Kalinka's upright-looking letter to some eyes, but, to different researchers, the slope needed for the Lycian versions of lambda or nu. In a personal communication during October, 2024, Diether Schürr, probably the scholar most familiar with the stele's surface today, said that what had been written after the *o* is anybody's guess ("alles andere ist Willkür").

Although there is no evident requirement, in any of the four Images above, for *waxsse* and *pddimi* to be seen as two separate words, Kalinka makes them so in his transcription by introducing a space between them, which he did at the start of the line too, dividing *se*, "and", from *waxsse*. These emendations are followed in Friedrich 1932, 64, but later commentators have reunited *waxsse* and *pddimi*, presumably after realising that a man with that name existed. We may surmise that Kalinka was taking *waxsse* as a stand-alone word, partly because there are other instances in the corpus of *se* run together with the subsequent words, but mainly because what look like members of the same presumed paradigm of *waxsse* are found in seven other instances on the stele, all in the Lycian B parts and all delimited by dividers.

Waxssepddimi, the man

We may also surmise that Kalinka, publishing in 1901, did yet know of *Waxssepddimi* as a coin-issuing dynast, whose name, therefore, was acceptable to later scholars as an undivided word. Adiego 2021 chronicles the growth, since Kalinka's time, of instances of the name and of what are taken to be its related forms. Coins minted by one or more dynasts who bore those names are treated in Konuk 2016.

If my proposal is accepted, namely, that no dynast called *Waxssepddimi* is mentioned on the Xanthos stele at all, but only a compound noun also used elsewhere as a name, then all historical implications already based on his assumed presence there will need review. If so, then I pass to the specialists the decision of who defeated whom in battle and I next review what can be said about the structure of the word itself.

Adiego 2021 does not venture into the possible meaning of *waxsse-pddimi*, though, he says that it “gives the impression of being a compound name, as are many Anatolian indigenous personal names” (Adiego 2021, 15). He then cites Neumann 2007, 416 and Zgusta 1964, 1141-3, to the effect that *waxsse-* is a segment that can be compared with the Lycian B stem *waxs(s)a-*, “of unknown meaning”. Adiego goes on to cite personal names from the Isaurian region in Greek script which contain *ouaks*, and with Carian names starting *uks-*, *wks-* and *uqs-*. Many attempts have been offered to make good sense of the line TL44a.49, but as far as I can tell (perhaps erroneously), none have been able to see past *waxsse-pddimi* as the name of a dynast, and I mention below only those who, correctly in my opinion, contribute to understanding this difficult line.

Taking the preceding observations in this essay together, there has been a modicum of scholastic uncertainty about what the content of TL44a.49 actually is. It is therefore appropriate, as the next step and aside from the initial *se*, “and”, to look at each element that relates to the line.

The element *waxssa-* (eDiAna 196)

We find *waxssa* in TL44c.50 and 51, *waxssi* in TL44c.42 and *waxssadi* in TL44c.44 and 48, and TL44d.30. These are declined as nominals, namely:

- waxsa* in 44c.50 and 59 and *waxssa* in 44d.56 as possible nominative singulars or dative plurals;
- waxsi* in 44c.42, looking like a dative or locative singular;
- waxsadi* in 44c.44 and 48 and *waxssadi* in 44d.30 as ablatives. The erroneous duplication of this has been screened out. (Schürr 2021, 8)

Without my attempting to parse or translate most of the seven occurrences, their three word-shapes conform to Luwic nominal declension rather than to verb conjugation, and the last of the three must then be an ablative form. A clue to the word's meaning is provided by its contexts, as also analysed in Sasseville 2021a, 176, n. 7, which concludes there that the word probably refers to a kind of bread used for ritual offerings.

TL44d seems to proclaim some rules or ordinances, among which lines 28-30, running between two verses, contain:

... *ne-u priyeliyed[i] kibe meredi*) *ni-k-ṁqrimiz ṁtuwitēni uplesiz waxssadi* ...

These appear to be prohibitions involving mutually contrasting motives or reasons, meaning, perhaps:

“... not ... from desire or by law. Nor ... shall you constrain ... with *waxssa*...”

It is the context just cited that leads me to propose that *waxssa* means some kind of weapon. If Sasseville (above) has correctly deduced that part of the Lycian B narrative in TL44 is referring to placating a deity, then a weapon could be as valid an offering as bread.

In the clause here *waxssadi* has sometimes been seen as a 3rd person singular present verb, but I see it as ablative contrasting with *meredi* (eDiAna 225), “by means of law”, in a merism-like link, as also do both these words in a similar way with *priyeliyedi* (eDiAna 2642), which means, possibly, something like “from personal wish”. In Durnford 2019 I review how the dialects of the south-west of the Luwic-speaking region, which includes the two Lycian languages, had developed a preference for putting the verb in the middle of a clause. In the clause above, therefore, I see the verb in *ṁtuwitēni*.

The element *ṁtuwitēni*

I interpret this as the 2nd person plural present-future of an unattested **ṁte-tuwe*, “put inside”, which could mean something like “imprison” or, metaphorically, “constrain” or “limit”. Without trying to understand the accusative plurals in the clause, I therefore understand it as the prohibition of some sort of persecution: “nor shall you constrain by weapon the *ṁqri*-ed people (who are) *uplesi* (to be) *tuburi*”. What the cultural context for this is I hesitate to guess and shall not do so, but, while admitting to my desire to see *waxsse-pd-dimi* as equivalent to “hoplite”, I do find that *wakssa*, being a means of exerting control other than by law, command or whim, is best rendered by “weapon”, which might here refer to sword, spear, and so on.

The meaning of ‘hoplite’

Greek *hóplon* (LSJ, 2756-7) generally means “set of tools (characteristic of one’s trade)”. For a sailor it is a ship’s rigging and ropes. For a smith it is metal-working tools, and, for a man-at-arms, his weapons. Hence I propose that *waxsse-pddimi* is the almost literal translation of “man-at-arms”, a martial term suitable to be used as a male personal name, as is the Latin *miles* today among Anglophones.

A weapon is carried by a soldier in anticipation of combat, hence my suggestion that *waxsse-pddimi* means “armed”, i.e., “having a weapon in place and ready for deployment”. We cannot tell whether this had become a specifically Lycian technical term, equivalent to “hoplite”, or implying heavy weapons rather than lighter ones, while, admittedly, plain *pdde-* as a verb-stem is unknown.

The element *pdd(e)-* or *pddē(n)-* (eDiAna 3541-4)

This element has the basic meaning of “place” and is discussed in its broader Anatolian context in Yakubovich 2017 and Schürr 2010. This word has the same range of metaphorical meanings in Anatolian as it does in modern English. It descends from PIE *péd-om- via Pre-Lycian Luwic **padán-*, with the stress word-accent moved to the second syllable, and the first then syncope. The final nasal, where present, is not a suffix or infix, but the reflex of an obsolescent *m*-stem (Lehmann 1958, 191, paragraph 2). The results are the varying forms of the stem in Lycian A: *pdd-*, *pdde-*, *pddē-*, *pdden-*, and *pddēn-*. There are no forms of the word known in Lycian B, except, perhaps, possibly within mentions of *sarpedon* (Durnford 2008).

Use of this etymon in its sense of social or military rank is found in the five opening lines of the Lycian A and Greek versions of the trilingual N320, for which we are fortunate in having an Aramaic version too, though each version uses its own terminology and gives us partly differing narratives (after Storme 2014 and Teixidor 1978, 181). In short, the opening statements say that the satrap of Lycia, incidental to setting up a new cult, had either appointed or confirmed in office two named men as leaders of the region and a third as governor of Xanthos, the capital, though the Aramaic version does not mention their names and jobs. For the satrap’s action the Lycian A verb used is the compound stem *pddē-ha*, which is attested there in two conjugational forms, the preterite and the past participle.

The verb *ha-* is used elsewhere of freeing slaves, and so could designate a change in status, which implies that the three men were newly promoted, rather being already in post and confirmed by the new satrap. Whatever the

truth, however, the point here is that *pddē* is used to refer to the respective rank held by each. The preterite form, *ñte-pddē-hadē*, is nasalised to refer forward to the accusative case of each name (Durnford 2019, 26) and has its dental consonant voiced because of the word-stress on *-ha-*. It is prefixed by *ñte-*, “inside”, another indication, I suggest, that the men had been newly installed. The nominalised past participle, *pddēne-hm̃mi-*, referring to the now confirmed appointees as deputy satraps of Lycia, had no need of *ñte*, and the syncopated verb stem along with the presence of the longer form *pddēne-*, suggests that the word-stress fell instead on *-ē-*.

The adjectival element *-mi-*

Luwic verbs take *-mi-* as their regular past participle, which can often function as a noun too. Thus, for instance, the familiar *tideimi*, “child”, literally means “suckled (one)”, although it is used specifically for “son” in Lycian A, but is absent from the small Lycian B corpus. A nominalised adjective is also seen in *pddēne-hm̃mi-*, “appointee”.

The stem formant *-mi-* could also be added to a Luwic noun, apparently creating an adjective whose nominalized meaning is dictated by the implications carried by the underlying noun. For instance, examples are found in Luwian (Bunnens 2006, 27), where a king follows directions issued by his *masana-mi-* (eDiAna 1278), the royal seer, whose abilities and actions depend upon his supposed link to *masana*, a relevant god. A parallel construction is found in eDiAna 2667: Hieroglyphic Luwian *tiwadama/i-*, “(devotee of) the sun-god”. Lycian A *tasa*, “oath” (Melchert 2004, 63), appears to be the basis of *tesm̃mi* in N309d.16, which is described as a “divine being” in Melchert 2004, 64, possibly plural and “more likely direct denominative to *tese*”, which brings us to the concept of an oath-god, though the context is unclear.

The word *pddimi* has no directly comparable form, but implies, I suggest, that *-mi-* is directly attached to the noun *pdd(e)-* or *pddē(n)-*. There are rare instances of *i* being written in place of *ē*, such, indeed, as in the stele’s very first word (TL44a.1), *ebēñni*, “this (acc. sing.)”, instead of the frequent *ebēñnē*. There is thus no need to hope for a verb stem such as **pddi-*, “to put or place”, as the suffix’s initial nasal introduces ambiguity about the spelling and would permit *-mi-* to be added to the noun stem, as in the preceding examples, while masking whether the *-en-* extension to the noun was present or not.

The adjective *waxsse-pddimi* can thus be analysed, I maintain, as “(having had) weapon(s) put in place” or, more simply “armed (as a soldier)”. Used as a noun this term may have carried the extra nobility of the phrase “man-at-

arms” and made a suitable Lycian equivalent to a hoplite. The second part, *pddimi*, can be rendered “equipped”, as long as the whole compound is in a context like the one in this line.

The use of a descriptive term as a personal name

Another dynast’s name which ends with *-mi-* and has attracted the attention of etymologists is *Trbbēnimi* in TL44a.40 and TLb.11. It is the focus of Serangeli 2021, for instance, who proposes nothing resembling what my eye sees, which is the phonological reflex of **tarwani-mi-*, “having taken the rôle of *tarwani*”.

A *tarwani* (eDiAna 1996-2000) was the self-designation by the autocratic king of a Luwian-speaking former province of the Hittite empire. These new monarchs continued to style themselves *tarwani*, probably meaning “institutors of justice” and best translated as “judge”, in semantic parallel, for whatever reason, with the leaders of neighbouring contemporary Israel. The various *tarwani* autocrats of North Syria left a large corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian (the greater part of Hawkins and Çambel 2000 and subsequent finds).

The dynast *Waxssebllimi* (Adiego 2021) appears to have a name structured like that of *Waxssepddimi*, but incorporating the past participle of a different and unidentified verb, probably also of suitably martial significance. *Waxssepddimi* was certainly a dynast who minted coins, but the only way to make sense of TL44c.29 is to use the word’s literal meaning there, whether or not my suggestion about it is accepted.

In TL44a.39 and 40 *qayadunimi*, whatever its third sound turns out to be, is generally taken to be the name of another leader. It also ends in *-mi-*, and its etymology may one day be discovered.

The Hittite king Hattusili took his name from his capital city, but whether such gubernatorial names started as nicknames, surnames or throne names is unclear, but I suspect that they were not necessarily bestowed during infancy.

The phrase *waxsse-pddimi* ... C||

I assume that the semicircular variant of the “5” is because is it half of “10”, which is denoted by a circle, rather than the angular shape used elsewhere, including the instances in TL107a.1, below. We may ask why *waxsse-pddimi*, the direct object, is not in the accusative plural, as the proposed meaning might expect, and the reason for this appears to be the numeral, of which Melchert 2001 shows twenty-eight examples of a noun followed by numeral symbols

in clear contexts. The rules about the grammatical linkage between noun and numeral seem to offer considerable leeway to the author of an inscription.

E.g., in TL107a.1: *[e]beli mēti sijēni tele se lada se tideimi ehbi ∠ s'ladāi ebttehi IV*, “Within what is here lie Tele and wife and his 5 sons and their 4 wives”, the sons and wives are all in the nominative plural, as befits the sense. Similarly, TL124.10-13 tells us that the tomb was *ladi tideime ehbi* O, “for (his) wife and their 10 children”, where these nouns, respectively singular and plural, are in the dative, as expected, but other syntactic constructions appear in other texts.

The remaining twenty-five instances all refer to the coin called *ada*, and the sizes of payment vary from two upwards. In TL320.19 a large payment is specified among a list of cultic rules, but the rest specify the fee to be paid to the local authority each time the grave is opened for the insertion of the next dead body designated in the epitaph.

The majority of instances feature a verbless phrase, acting as a sort of instructive notice or price ticket, and the numerals appear to govern several different cases of *ada*. In TL4.5 we find *adē ||||*, where “4 adas” is expressed with the accusative singular, but in TL3.4, TL84.6 and TL145.5 the fee is shown as *adaijē*, the genitive plural. In TL11.3 *adai* is also plural, but the nominative. In two instances *ada* is omitted as being assumed by default. However, the remaining eighteen instances, the great majority, show no evident declensional endings, so that *ada* looks like the nominative singular, but could even be the bare stem.

With no clear rule evident on how a numeral governs the noun that precedes it, and with, perhaps only by chance, no instances of the accusative plural, I find little difficulty, therefore, in seeing *waxsse-pddimi* as accusative singular, but functionally plural, governed by the numeral C||, even though the absolute phrase *ēti zehi hbāti* comes between them, no, doubt for stylistic reasons.

The foregoing compares well with what is known of Luwian numeral syntax, as summarised in Bauer 2011, 260 about Hieroglyphic Luwian:

This paper has shed light on an unexpected distribution in nominal number marking in HLUwian – optional plurals with numerals ‘two’ to ‘four’, but strictly singular nouns from ‘five’ onwards – and the results have been explained from different points of view. Language-internally, the distribution is maintained through the morphological triggering caused by the plural endings of the numerals ‘two’, ‘three’ and ‘four’. Without such a trigger, the nouns default to general number, which is covered by the forms of the singular. This distribution points to a system of grammatical number that has two tiers, of which the top tier consists of a singular/plural dichotomy. The

second tier includes a general number besides the other two, and is invoked whenever a quantifier position is filled by a numeral, yet it can be overruled by morphological cueing.

The importance of analysing the numerals in Lycian A is that it allows *waxsse-pddimi* to have a singular form and a plural meaning because of its being syntactically governed by symbol cluster denoting “seven”. Unless we are prepared to posit such a multiplicity of homonymous dynasts, we cannot but accept *waxsse-pddimi* as a common noun, a compound with its literal meaning.

The phrase *ēti zehi hbāti*

The first word in this phrase is the only one already known from other texts. It is the preposition *ēti* “within”, which takes a noun or noun phrase in the dative and which can refer to abstract as well as physical expanses. In 44b.1’s *ēti pddāt[i]* and in TL107a.1, above, it refers to a physical space, as it probably does in N309d.10 also, with the word for “grave” assumed, while *ēti prñn[ezi]* in TL149.7 seems to refer a family as a group.

When referring to an inscribed object, *ēti* refers to what is being said, as in N320.22-23, where *ēti sttali ppuweti* means “(what he) wrote on (this) stele”. In TL44a.49, working from the wording of the Greek epigram, *ēti zehi hbāti* should be referring to the timespan during which the seven hoplites were slain. Temporal duration or frequency with this preposition is also found in N325.15’s *ēti uhi*, “within a year”.

The pattern that then suggests itself readily is the dative of the genitive adjective of a proposed noun *za-* or *ze-* “day” plus *hbāti* “fullness”, from a pre-Lycian **suwanti*, thus “within a day’s span”. It seems, however, almost impossible to assign this meaning to the other two instances of *za*, in TL65.17 and N320.14-15, which may mean that we must allow for homographs. Sasseville 2021b, 166-167 and eDiAna 1966 come close to resolving the meaning of *zehi*, but fail to connect it with *hbāti*.

Martínez Rodríguez 2021, 299-305 does relate *hbāti* to Luwian *suwa-*, “fill” (eDiAna 809-813), but wants it to be a verbal form, whereas I see a dative noun. Oreshko 2021, 131, note 175 argues against this origin for *hbāti*, but the Jupiter-like gravitational pull of the supposed dynast has thrown him onto a different track, and he looks instead for hoplites in *hbāti*.

The word *u[le]* (or *u[ne]*)

This possibly damaged final word poses line 49's biggest remaining problem. If it is not simply a joyful expletive, then it belongs either with the phrase on that line or with the wider context narrated in the adjoining lines. It is too short and unusual to translate easily.

Line 50, starting *ñtepi xlaina terñ hātahe*, belongs to the subsequent clause, and finding the three mystery letters at the end of 49 to be some sort of prefix for *ñtepi* seems equally unproductive. Also impossible is an epithet qualifying *waxsse-pddimi* and equating to the “Arcadian men” of the Greek.

Given that the loss of all voiced velar plosives was one of the earliest of the changes separating Common Luwic from Proto-Anatolian, the cognate of IE **g^h*(é)n-, “kill”, should be **wan-/un-*, but this leaves only *-e* at the end of the line, which is too little for a preterite form ending in *-xa* or *-ta*. A similar objection can be raised against an unattested causative form of *wal/ul-*, “die”. A verb form thus looks unlikely for *u[le]*.

As previously mentioned under *waxsse*, Lycian had come to prefer clauses with the verb positioned between its subject and object (Durnford 2019). The epitaphs often put the object in front for emphasis, while simple assertions show the subject first. Setting aside *u[le]*, the candidate for TL44a.49's verb lies in the previous line, making the statement that *xerēi tebete [t]er[ñ] se waxsse-pddimi ēti zehi hbāti C||*, “Xerēi overcame the local force and, within a day's span, seven men-at-arms”.

The word *terñ*

Sasseville 2021b seeks to show all instances of this word to be conjunctions, not nouns, and paradigmatically related to *teri* < **k^wari*. “when”, but this makes less sense than the older interpretation as the acc. sing of “district” (Melchert 2004, 63). Pairs of this word, declined in various cases, are found in TL26.6, TL44b.3 and 5, and N324.26, which I take to be an idiom meaning “district by district”.

The people of a district would have supplied its fighting force, which is probably why *terñ* has sometimes been translated as “army”. With this in mind, along with the older interpretation of *qā(n)*, not, wrongly, as “kill”, but as “have authority to issue verdicts and orders”, I see its iterative stem in TL 44a.47's *xerēi qastte terñ tlahñ* as meaning “Xerēi was in command of the Tloan detachment”.

The same declaratory sequence as in TL44a.48-9 is found just before, in TL 44a.44-45: *trbbēnimi tebete terñ se milasāñtrā*, “Trbbēnimi overcame the lo-

cal force and Milesandros (as well)”. Whether moving from the general to the specific in this way is a figure of speech found in other contexts too remains to be discovered.

Summary

I have attempted to lessen the difficulty of translating 44a.49 by reducing the puzzle to the line’s final word only, while aligning the rest of the line’s meaning to what is known from the Greek epigram. This hinges upon reading *waxsse-pddimi*, not as the name of a known dynast, but as a common noun with its literal meaning.

Associated with my suggestions come a number of possible additions to Lycian A vocabulary, specifically:

waxssa-, “weapon”;

-pddimi-, “-equipped”.

Reasons have also been offered for confirming:

za-, “day”;

hbāt-, “fullness; timespan”.

I duly offer these suggestions for consideration.

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სტივენ დერნფორდი

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**მოსაზრება იმის შესახებ, რომ TL44a.49-ში დადასტურებული
A-ლიკიური სიტყვა *waxssepddimi* არის არა საკუთარი სახელი,
არამედ აღნიშნავს „მეომარს“**

აბსტრაქტი

სტატიაში დეტალურად განვმარტავ, თუ რატომ მივიჩნევ სიტყვას *waxssepddimi* სამხედრო წოდების აღმნიშვნელ ნომინალიზებულ კომპოზიტად, რომელიც საკუთარი სახელის ფუნქციითაც გამოიყენებოდა. *waxssepddimi* ერთხელ გვხვდება A-ლიკიურ კორპუსში; B-ლიკიურ კორპუსში ეს სიტყვა არ დასტურდება, მისი ვარიანტი, *uxssepddimi*, კი წარმოდგენილია მონეტებზე გამოსახულ მმართველთა სახელებს შორის.

ბუნებრივი ფაქტორებით გამოწვეული მცირე დაზიანების მიუხედავად, აშკარაა, რომ ქსანტოსის სტელის წარწერაში (TL44) სიტყვა *waxssepddimi* ისტორიული თხრობის კონტექსტში გამოიყენება. *waxssepddimi*-ს, ჩვეულებრივ, განიხილავენ, როგორც მონეტაზე გამოსახული ერთი-ერთი მმართველის საკუთარ სახელს. თუმცა, ჩემი აზრით, მოცემულ კონტექსტში ეს სიტყვა პირდაპირი მნიშვნელობით უნდა გავიგოთ.

TL44 წარწერის B-ლიკიურ ნაწილში ვხვდებით *waxssa/e-* ელემენტს, რომელიც წარმოდგენილია არაკომპოზიტური არსებითი სახელისთვის დამახასიათებელი ბრუნვის ფორმით. მმართველთა საკუთარ სახელებს შორის გვხვდება ფუძეთა შეერთებით ნაწარმოები ფორმებიც. სტატიაში მოყვანილია შემთხვევები, როცა სამხედრო და სოციალური წოდების აღმნიშვნელი სიტყვები საკუთარი სახელის ფუნქციით გამოიყენება. *waxssa/e-*ს და *(-)pdd-* კონტექსტების გათვალისწინებით, შესაძლოა ვიფიქროთ, რომ TL44a.49-ში *waxsse-pddimi* პირდაპირი მნიშვნელობით არის გამოყენებული და ის ბერძნული TL44c.29-ის ეკვივალენტური შინაარსის მქონე ლიკიური წინადადების ნაწილია. ნაკლებად სავარაუდოა, რომ სტელის ბერძნულ წარწერაში ნახსენები „საგმირო საქმე“ გამორჩენილი ყოფილიყო A-ლიკიურ ტექსტში, რომელიც უფრო დაწვრილებით თხრობას ასახავს. ჩემი აზრით, *se waxssepddimi eti zehi hbati C|| u[le]* ითარგმნება, როგორც

“and 7 hoplite(s) within (a) day’s fullness” („და 7 ჰოპლიტი (ერთი) დღის განმავლობაში). სიტყვა *waxssepddimi* არის „ჰოპლიტის“ ლიკიური შესატყვისი; ზმნის „მოკლა“ (“killed”) მნიშვნელობას კი გადმოსცემს წინა სტრიქონში გამოყენებული *tebete*, რომელიც არ უკავშირდება TL44c.29-ის ბოლო, სადავო სიტყვას *u[le]*.