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SARDIS







# SARDIS

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE EXCAVATION OF SARDIS

VOLUME VI

LYDIAN INSCRIPTIONS

PART I

BY

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

It was at first my intention to publish what follows as a preliminary article or essay, because the novelty of the subject and the fresh light which is sure to be thrown on it by other scholars will cause many of the views here expressed to need modifications and additions.

It has seemed best however to issue these chapters on the Lydian alphabet and on those Lydian inscriptions which I believe myself able to interpret with a certain degree of probability, together with this commentary in the series of monographs describing the results of the American Excavations at Sardis. The new texts can thus be presented in a form more worthy of their importance.

In future parts of this volume I hope not only to publish all Lydian inscriptions found at Sardis and elsewhere but also to embody the results of criticisms and discoveries contributed by other workers in this new and difficult field. Many problems in this connection are such that we can look forward to their being solved only by the joint labors of many different specialists.

I have already had the help of several scholars, to whom I wish to express my sincere indebtedness. Above all, it was my friend and colleague W. H. BUCKLER who with his untiring zeal not only assisted me in the material preparation of this Part but also contributed many a valuable note on the deciphering and interpretation; his name will be found quoted often on the following pages. Moreover I wish to express my gratitude to Professors J. WACKERNAGEL, G. HERBIG, A. TORP and J. KEIL. A number of suggestions made by Professors WACKERNAGEL and HERBIG have been added to my commentary. Prof. TORP recognized the meaning of the negative particle *ni-*, although he differs from me in the interpretation of the formula *viššis nivišqē*. Let us hope that his rich knowledge on all questions of Asia Minor and Etruscan Philology will soon be made available for Lydian Philology also. Prof. J. KEIL very kindly sent me drawings and squeezes of two Lydian fragments discovered by him and VON PREMERSTEIN in 1911. These fragments are here cited as from "Arably Hadjili" and "Falanga"; they correspond with Nos. 16 and 132 in the publication of

the results of the Third Journey made by KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN; see below the List of Lydian Inscriptions heretofore published, No. H. Although these fragments are very short they have nevertheless thrown new light on several Lydian words and forms.

The inscriptions published here are those which can be interpreted and translated to some extent; they are almost all of them funerary inscriptions. Out of the 34 texts found by the American Excavations only 15 have here been edited. Of the remaining 19 texts a good many are small fragments or give only a few letters representing masons' marks or the like. But about half a dozen of rather long, well carved Lydian inscriptions, some of which are in perfect condition, have been reserved for the future publication since they cannot as yet be translated. The numbers given to these inscriptions at Sardis, i. e. L(ydian) 1-34, have been kept in this Publication because the vocabulary of all Lydian words and the lists of endings and forms which I made at Sardis in 1913 were based on this numbering; it was therefore impossible to rearrange the inscriptions according to their ages or their contents and to change all the numerous quotations in my vocabulary and in my lists of forms and endings.

During the latter half of 1913 I was entirely occupied by other work so that I could not devote any time to the Lydian inscriptions. The present Part was prepared and written during the months from May to August 1914. Its publication has been delayed till now by the War.

In the meantime Prof. HROZNÝ published his new theory on the Hittite language. It seems to me safer to postpone a definite judgment on his theory of the Indo-Germanic origin of the cuneiform Hittite language until more of his material will have been made accessible. I hope all considerate and thoughtful scholars will approve of the way in which I have presented the "Comparisons" in Chapter VI of this Part.

It remains to acknowledge here the great care which the Publishing House of Late E. J. BRILL have devoted to the making of the Lydian type, used for the first time in this Publication, and to the entire setting up and printing of this Part.

Göttingen, March 1916.

E. LITTMANN.

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## LIST OF LYDIAN INSCRIPTIONS HERETOFORE PUBLISHED.

(By W. H. BUCKLER, who by the kind permission of Mr. A. H. SMITH and Mr. G. F. HILL was enabled to examine the originals of A and C.)

- A. Fragment, in British Museum, of inscription on column-drum of Kroisean temple of Artemis at Ephesos. — NEWTON, *Transact. Soc. of Biblical Archaeol.* IV, 1876, p. 334. — See below, p. 66.
- B. Bilingual inscription, in Berlin Museum, on column-drum from Pergamon. — FRÄNKEL, *Inscr. von Pergamon* I, 1890, No. 1. — See below p. 39.
- C. Electrum coin in British Museum, inscribed !1111A1, all letters uncertain, except second and third. — HEAD, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lydia* 1892, No. 16, plate I, 7.
- D. Inscription on rock near the Nile. — SAYCE, *Proc. Soc. of Biblical Archaeol.* XVII, 1895, pp. 41—43, No. V.
- E. Three fragmentary inscriptions from Lydia, with commentary by KRETSCHMER. — KEIL-V. PREMERSTEIN, *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.* LIII, 1908, II, Nos. 9, 11, 208.
- F. One fragmentary inscription from Lydia, and republication of No. 11 (1908). — KEIL-V. PREMERSTEIN, *ib.*, LIV, 1911, II, No. 182.
- G. One complete and one fragmentary text from Sardis. — THUMB, *Amer. Journ. Archaeol.*, XV, 1911, pp. 149 ff. — See below p. 42.
- H. Three fragmentary inscriptions from Lydia. — KEIL-V. PREMERSTEIN, *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.* 57, 1914, I, Nos. 16, 126, 132.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- BARTHOLOMAE: *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, von Christian Bartholomae, Strassburg, 1904.
- HERBIG: *Kleinasiatisch-etruskische Namengleichungen*, von Gustav Herbig, in *Sitzungsber. d. Kgl. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1914, 2. Abhandlung.
- KIRCHHOFF: *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets*, von Adolf Kirchhoff. Vierte umgearbeitete Auflage. Gütersloh 1887.
- KRETSCHMER: *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, von Paul Kretschmer, Göttingen, 1896.
- SUNDWALL: *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnisse kleinasiatischer Namenstämme*, von Joh. Sundwall, Leipzig, 1913 (= Klio, Elfte Beiheft).
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## CHAPTER I.

### The Alphabet.

Greek.	Lydian.	Value.	Greek.	Lydian.	Value.
A	A	<i>a</i>	O	o	<i>o</i>
B	β	<i>b</i>	Π	—	—
Γ	(d)	( <i>g</i> )	P	ρ	<i>r</i>
Δ	ι	<i>d</i>	—	τ	<i>s</i>
E	ει	<i>e</i>	Σ	ι	<i>ś</i>
F	φ	<i>v</i>	Τ	τ	<i>t</i>
Z	(ζ)	( <i>s</i> )	Υ	υ	<i>u</i>
H	—	—	Φ	β	<i>f</i>
Θ	—	—	X	+	<i>h</i>
I	ι	<i>i</i>	Υ	—	—
K	κ	<i>k</i>	—	μ	<i>ā</i>
Λ	ι	<i>l</i>	—	ψ	<i>ē</i>
M	μ	<i>m</i>	—	π	<i>n̄</i>
N	ν	<i>n</i>	—	ς	<i>ē</i> (?)
—	ξ	<i>n̄</i>	—	↑	<i>g</i> (?)
Ξ	—	—	—	ϑ	<i>o</i> ( <i>i</i> or <i>e</i> )

## A.

*The Values of the Lydian Letters.*

The bilingual inscription to be discussed below in Chapter II contains a number of proper names; these names represent the first starting point and the only safe foundation for the deciphering of the Lydian alphabet. They are in the Aramaic part as follows:

ארתחשש	(l. 1)	${}^3RTH\check{S}\check{S}$	Artaxerxes.
ספרד	(l. 2)	$S_p^F RD$	Sardis.
מני	(l. 4)	$MNY$	Mane (Mani).
כמלי	(l. 4)	$KMLY$	
סרוכ(י)	(l. 4)	$SRWK(Y)^{\circ}$	of SRWK (?)
ארתמו	(l. 7)	${}^3RTMW$	Artemis.
כלו	(l. 7)	$KLW$	Koloë.
אפשי	(l. 7)	${}^3F_p\check{S}\check{S}Y$	(of?) Ephesos.

It was seen at once that the first two names, viz. Artaxerxes and Sardis, are not given in the Lydian part of the inscription. It is possible that they were never written there, and that the first Lydian line now lost contained a different date. Both of them however occur in other inscriptions as we shall see below where the single letters are discussed, under 7, 3, 8. But we find in corresponding places the following names:

- 1) 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤠𐤏 =  $MNY$
- 2) 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤠𐤏 =  $KMLY$
- 3) 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤠𐤏𐤠 =  $SRWK(Y)^{\circ}$
- 4) (3) 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤠𐤏 =  ${}^3RTMW$
- 5) 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤠𐤏𐤠 =  ${}^3F_p\check{S}\check{S}(Y)$
- 6) 𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤠𐤏𐤠 =  $KLW$

These names enable us to determine with certainty the values of several Lydian letters. They are:

- 𐤠 =  $m$ , because it corresponds with 𐤠 ( $m$ ) in 1, 2, 4;
- 𐤏 =  $n$ , because it corresponds with 𐤏 ( $n$ ) in 1;
- 𐤠 =  $k$ , because it corresponds with 𐤠 ( $k$ ) in 2, 3, 6;
- 𐤠 =  $l$ , because it corresponds with 𐤠 ( $l$ ) in 2 and 6;
- 𐤠 =  $s$ , because it corresponds with 𐤠 ( $s$ ) in 3;
- 𐤠 =  $\$$  (or  $\$$ ), because it corresponds with 𐤠 ( $\$$ ) in 5;
- 𐤠 =  $r$ , because it corresponds with 𐤠 ( $r$ ) in 4;
- 𐤠 =  $t$ , because it corresponds with 𐤠 ( $t$ ) in 4.

The short vowels are, of course, not written in Aramaic, but 𐤀(?) stands in two cases at the beginning of a word, where the Lydian text has 𐤀 and 𐤁 respectively. The letter 𐤂 (*y*) stands where the Lydian has 𐤃 (No. 1) and 𐤄 (No. 2); in Aramaic it may indicate the vowels *e*, *i*, or the diphthong *ay* (*ai*). The letter 𐤅 (*w*) stands in 3, 4, and 6 where the Lydian has 𐤆; in Aramaic it may indicate the vowels *o*, *u*, or the diphthong *aw* (*au*). Now I think there is no doubt that 𐤆, 𐤇, 𐤈, 𐤉 must represent the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*. Since the letters 𐤆, 𐤇 and 𐤈 occur also where the Aramaic has no vowel sign, we must infer that long and short vowels were probably not distinguished in Lydian. Moreover 𐤃 and 𐤄 occur where the Aramaic has *Y*, and 𐤄 stands in 4 and 5 where the corresponding Greek forms have *ε*; this leads us to the conclusion that the short *i* in Lydian must have been an open vowel.

In 3 Lydian 𐤆 is found where the Aramaic has 𐤇 (*r*). As the value of 𐤆 is certainly *l*, we must infer that *l* and *r* sometimes interchange in Lydian.

In 5 Lydian 𐤈 is found where the Aramaic has 𐤉; this may be, of course, either *p* or *ph*. Now 𐤈 is probably a *b* as we shall see below from other examples. It seems therefore that the Lydians had no *p* or *ph* (i. e. tenuis and tenuis aspirata) and replaced it by their *b*.

The endings of the Lydian words, 𐤆𐤇 in 1-3, 𐤆 in 4, 𐤇𐤈𐤉 in 5 and 6, will be spoken of in Chap. II, A.

These six names have yielded thirteen Lydian letters, i. e. about half of the whole alphabet: a good beginning! The letters are 𐤆 = *a*, 𐤇 = *b*, 𐤃 = *e*, 𐤄 = *i*, 𐤅 = *k*, 𐤆 = *l*, 𐤇 = *m*, 𐤈 = *n*, 𐤉 = *r*, 𐤊 = *s*, 𐤋 = *t*, 𐤌 = *u*.

I shall now attempt to determine the values of the other letters found in the Lydian inscriptions and to give the material on which the table of the alphabet, above p. 1, is based. At the same time I shall give a few more examples in the case of those letters whose values are already known from the proper names in the bilingual inscription. I follow the order of the Greek alphabet, placing the additional Lydian letters at the end.

𐤆 = *a*.

This letter is of very frequent occurrence in the Lydian inscriptions. Several times 𐤆𐤆 is found; this doubling may perhaps indicate a long *a*. The 𐤆 occurs quite often in proper names; besides 𐤃𐤇𐤆𐤇𐤆𐤆 (Artemis) and 𐤃𐤆𐤆𐤇 (Mane) it is found in 𐤃𐤆𐤆 (Alu-, which is a short form of the name Αλυαττης) 𐤃𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 (Artakṣassa-, Artaxerxes); 𐤃𐤆𐤆 (Ata, Ατα, Αττας, cf. KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung*, p. 349 f.); 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆, which is rendered in a bilingual inscription published in Chap. II, B by NΑΝΝΑΣ (cf. Νανας etc. in KRETSCHMER, *l. c.*, p. 341 f.), and in several other names.

In a few Lydian lines written from left to right the 𐤆 has of course the small slanting line turned in the other direction.



𐌆 = b.

The Greco-Lyidian bilingual inscription from Sardis, below, Chap. II, B, has 𐌆𐌐𐌐𐌐𐌐𐌐𐌐 corresponding with ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ. It is easy to see that the first part, -𐌐𐌐𐌐𐌐, must be a rendering of Διονυσί; therefore -𐌐𐌐𐌐𐌐 is nothing else but βακχος and 𐌐 is *b*, *β*, as in Oscan and in those lines of ancient Greek inscriptions that run from right to left. Another example is the name -ΑΥΜ𐌆ΑΤ𐌐Α (Inscr. 9, l. 5) which is obviously the Persian name Artabanes. Above on p. 2 it was pointed out that -𐌐𐌐𐌐𐌐 must be the Lyidian for Ephesos. And in the Greco-Lyidian inscription from Pergamon, published in *Altertümer von Pergamon*, II, p. 76 and VIII 1, p. 1, we find 𐌐Α𐌐ΑΤ𐌐Α𐌐 as the equivalent of ΓΑΡΤΑΡΑΣ. In our Lyidian inscr. 29, l. 1 a word 1ΑΑ𐌐 is found. I think it highly probable that this word is the same as the Semitic *Ba'al*, although one cannot be sure of it, because the interpretation of the passage is unknown; it would seem not at all impossible that a Semitic god should have been worshipped at Sardis, for LIDZBARSKI has shown in his *Ephemeris*, III, p. 192 f., that on the stele of Oerdek-burnu, inscribed in an unknown language of Asia Minor, names of Semitic gods are found.

We should then have the Lyidian 𐌆 as an equivalent of *β*, *π*, and *φ* or of *b*, *p*, and *ph*. Another example of this fact might perhaps be recognized in one of the "Lyidian glosses" (LAGARDE, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* p. 271, No. 16; p. 286, No. 17), in which *Βρύγες* and *Φρύγες* are identified. See however KRETSCHMER, p. 229. The Lydians therefore had only one labial explosive sound. Whether it was voiced or voiceless I cannot say. For it is possible that all *b*-sounds had been changed to *p*, and that the 𐌆 had been chosen for the labial explosive sound instead of a sign corresponding to Greek *π*. Modern West-Armenian, i. e. the Armenian spoken in Asia Minor, and the rendering of Turkish with Armenian characters might furnish certain parallels to this. However, I keep *b* as a transliteration of Lyidian 𐌆.

In the single instance where this letter occurs in a line running from left to right (No. 24) the form 𐌆 has been written, not B.

Γ.

A letter representing the *g*-sound has not been found so far, unless it be 𐌐. This sign occurs only twice, viz. in inscr. 2, which contains only the letters 𐌐𐌐 as a mason's mark, and in the word 𐌐1𐌐𐌐𐌐𐌐 (No. 12, l. 4). The latter may be compared with the word 𐌐𐌐𐌐𐌐𐌐 (in No. 12, l. 8). But this is very uncertain. Perhaps 𐌐 is only a second form of 𐌐, a sign which is discussed at the end of the alphabet.

If 𐌐 be really *γ* (*g*), its form may be compared with 𐌐 in Greek inscriptions from the Islands and from Athens, and above all with 𐌐 and 𐌐 in Western Greek alphabets, forms which gave rise to the Latin C. Or, on the other hand, it may have been created in Lydia as a differentiation from 𐌐 (*l*).

$$4 = d.$$

The name  $\mathfrak{IATFAI\eta TI\eta}$ , which occurs no less than seven times, in Nos. 7 and 30 – both of which, however, may refer to the same person – serves to determine the value of the sign 4. For to my mind this name is to be read *Mitridastaś*. At first I thought this to be a rendering of the name Mithridates, taking the *st* as an attempt to represent Persian  $\mathfrak{S}$ ; but the Persian has a *t*, not a  $\mathfrak{S}$  in *dāta* – “given”. Prof. ANDREAS moreover is of the opinion that *Mitridastaś* can only mean “hand of Mit(h)ra”. In Old-Iranian *zusto*- and *dusto* = “hand” are used of men and of gods; cf. BARTHOLOMAE, *Wörterbuch*, col. 1685. The vowels *u* and *o* have been chosen according to Prof. ANDREAS. As a parallel to this name we may cite the Abyssinian names *Ba’eda-Māryām*, “through (in) the hand of (the Virgin) Mary”, and *Yamāna-Krēstōs*, “right hand of Christ”.

Again the identification of  $\mathfrak{I\eta A 8 \mathfrak{I}}$  with  $\mathfrak{S}^F RD$  ( $S_p^F RD$ ), i. e. Sardis, seems to me certain. On this see below p. 12, under the letter 8. And in all Lydian words in which 4 occurs nothing prevents us from reading it as a *d*.

Professor HERBIG suggested to me that 4 might represent a dental sibilant, i. e.  $\mathfrak{d}$  or even  $\mathfrak{z}$ ; in that case the endings of the subjective case (see below Ch. V, C) would be *-s*, *-ś* and *-z* instead of *-s*, *-ś* and *-d*, and such endings would perhaps stand in closer relation with each other. As a matter of fact, the name  $\mathfrak{IATFAI\eta TI\eta}$  might be read *Mitrizastaś*; this would be the Old North-Iranian form which is missing elsewhere. But we cannot be sure of this. The reasons why I keep my rendering  $4 = d$  for the present are the following: 1) The name of Sardis certainly had a *d*, not a *z*. 2) Although the Iranian word for ‘hand’ is *zust* in the Avesta and should be the same in all other Iranian dialects except the Persian, i. e. Southwest-Iranian, yet the truly Persian form *đust* (*dāst*) is found, according to Professor ANDREAS, in all other later Iranian dialects, and it must have spread there at a comparatively early date. 3) The Achaemenian, i. e. Southwest-Iranian, form should be expected in Asia Minor: this would be, it is true, *\*Missodusto*, but *Mipro*, the name of the god, often kept its archaic form in proper names, and then we would have *\*Miprođusto*, or since about 400 A. D., *Miprēđusto* =  $\mathfrak{IATFAI\eta TI\eta}$ . 4) In Lydian we find the corresponding forms  $\mathfrak{I A \eta M \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I}$  ‘this tomb’ and  $\mathfrak{I \eta \eta \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I}$  ‘this stele’; see below Ch. II, A. It seems most likely that *es-ś vāna-ś* stands for *\*es-ś vāna-ś* and *es-t mru-d* for *\*es-d mru-d*.

$$\mathfrak{I} = e.$$

In No. 8, ll. 1–2, the names  $\mathfrak{I \eta \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{A}$   $\mathfrak{I \eta \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I}$  occur. The first is *Kumli* as we have seen above, p. 2. The second must be *Ate*; on  $\mathfrak{A \eta \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I}$ ,  $\mathfrak{A \eta \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I}$ ,  $\mathfrak{A \eta \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I}$ , etc. cf. KRETSCHMER, *l. c.*, p. 350. The name *Ates* is probably the second part of  $\mathfrak{A \lambda \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I}$ , being a short form or hypocoristicon of the longer name. The first part of it is found above on p. 3 in the name *Alu*-. Again in  $\mathfrak{I \eta \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{I}$  (*Mane*-), above p. 2,  $\mathfrak{I}$  is *e*.

1 = v.

The letter 1 occurs very frequently in Lydian. Of proper names that contain this letter -A1°TA1 and -A111T are the most striking. I do not hesitate to connect the former with Kadof- a very well known element of proper names in Asia Minor; see BUCKLER-ROBINSON in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1912, XVI, pp. 33-35. There is, however, a difference between -1°TA1 with *t* and Kadof- with *ð*. The Lycian form *kada-wāti* also has a *d*; cf. SUNDWALL, p. 93. But the corresponding Italic names have a *s* or a *t*; see HERBIG, p. 18.

In -A111T, a name occurring in four places, I recognize an element *tiv* which is perhaps the same as the Etruscan *tiv* "moon"; cf. *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1914, p. 512, and below, Chap. III, F, (L. 13). The 1 may have represented a labio-dental or a bilabial sound. But I think the latter is the more likely, since 1 seems to interchange with 1; cf. this letter below.

## Z.

It would be very natural to connect Lydian 𐌆 with Greek Z, since the oldest form of Z is 𐤆 both in Greek and in Phoenician. But in Lydian 𐌆 is undoubtedly a voiceless *s*.

It is probable that 𐌆 was originally a voiced *z*, and became later a voiceless *s*, and that the letter 𐌆 should really have its place in the alphabet where Z stands. For in an ancient Berber inscription the letter 𐌆 which is derived from Phoenician 𐤆 is used as a sign for *s*; cf. LIDZBARSKI, *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1913, XV, p. 297. And Prof. WACKERNAGEL called my attention to the fact that 𐌆 is a voiceless *s* in Oscan and Umbrian. But on the other hand 𐌆 (*s*) may perhaps have been derived from 𐌆 (*s*) by omission of one of the horizontal bars, as e. g. 𐌆 was derived from 𐌆. I have placed 𐌆 below together with the other sibilant 𐌆. The form 𐌆 occurs in Lydian in a very few cases.

## H.

I have found no sign for the long *ē* in Lydian. The names Μωνης, Αττης have 𐌆 where the Greek forms have *η*. It should be remembered also that Ατης occurs as well as Αττης; see KRETSCHMER, p. 350. And in those ancient Greek inscriptions in which H was used as the sign of the spiritus asper, E was used not only for *ε* and *αι*, but also for *η*.

The question arises whether the sign derived from the Phoenician 𐤇 might have been used in Lydia to render *h*. This would a priori not be very likely since the Lydians most probably received their script from the Ionians. No H or 𐌆 has so far been found in the Lydian inscriptions.

## Θ.

Again the letter and sound Θ seems to have been lost in Lydian. No sign resembling the Phoenician or Greek Θ etc. occurs in our inscriptions. The name of the god Mithras is written with a *t* (-19111), but this is not an absolutely conclusive proof of the fact that the Lydians had no Θ; the North-Iranian form is *Mipro-*, and this form has found its way also into Greek literature, cf. *Μεσπράδατης*, etc. But we should expect to find here in Lydia the Old Persian form; see above p. 5. I believe therefore that -19111 was written because the Lydians had no Θ. It must also be said here that in Greek renderings of indigenous Asia Minor names Θ is extremely rare,<sup>1</sup> that the foreign sound *p* is generally written τ in Greek, and that in Etruscan Θ very often interchanges with *t*, especially in later inscriptions.

$$l = i.$$

This identification scarcely needs proof. As an example the name 1A1111111111111111 may be cited.

$$k = k.$$

Instances of  $k = k$  are given above in the names -A1111111111111111 and -1111111111111111. To these may be added here -A1111111111111111 and 1111111111111111, *Kapros*. The latter occurs several times with different endings.

$$l = l.$$

That *l* equals *l* was shown above on p. 2 by the names -1111111111111111 (*Kumli*) and -1111111111111111 (*Kolov*). It is possible that *l* became voiceless at the end of a word, especially after a voiceless consonant, as e. g. in 1111111111111111 (No. 12, l. 8). But one cannot say which special kind of *l* was expressed by *l*, whether it resembled more the German *l* or the Slavic *l*, the Armenian *L* or the Armenian *l*.

In the lines that run from left to right this letter is turned in the other direction, viz. *l*. In No. 23, l. 3 a sign *l* is found which I take to be intended for *l*. But this is uncertain, because the word in which it is read does not occur elsewhere. If it be *l*, it is only accidentally carved in this form, probably because the chisel slipped from the hand of the carver; for in other words of this inscription *l* is represented by *l*.

$$m = m.$$

Again the names -1111111111111111, -1111111111111111, 1A1111111111111111 are sufficient proof for this reading. In a line running from left to right *m* has the form *m*.

$$n = n.$$

The names 1A1111111111111111 = NANNAS, and -1111111111111111 speak for themselves.

<sup>1</sup> The same fact was also stated by Mr. ARKWRIGHT in his very important article "Notes on the Lycian Alphabet"; see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXXV, Part I, 1915, p. 100.

In the same way as the sign for *m*, the letter *ɱ* is also turned to the right in a line running from left to right, viz. *ɱ*.

Perhaps the *n* lost its voice when placed at the end of a word after a voiceless consonant; cf. e. g. *ɱʒ°TAɱ* in No. 12, l. 11.

$$\mathfrak{z} = \tilde{n}.$$

The letter *z* occurs not infrequently; but it seems to have been especially used in inscriptions written in a lofty style. In the ordinary funerary inscriptions it is very rare, but in No. 4, which seems to be a votive stele, and in Nos. 12, 19, 27, 29, which are written in poetry, it is much more frequent. Perhaps it went gradually out of use and was later on employed in inscriptions that affected an archaic style.

In determining its value we may eliminate at the outset its Greek meaning, viz. *ξ*. For the sound *ks* is rendered by *ɱ* in *ɱAɱɱAɱɱATɱA* (*Artaxerxes*) and by *ɱ* in *ɱɱɱɱɱɱɱɱTA* which cannot be anything else than some rendering of *Alexander*.

Now in No. 19, l. 11 we find *ɱɱɱɱ*, but in No. 27, l. 5 we read *ɱɱɱɱ*. The ending *ɱɱ* occurs in *ɱɱ°ɱAɱɱ* (11, l. 2) and *ɱɱAɱ* (12, l. 10), but in No. 11, l. 3 it is written with *ɱ* in *ɱɱAɱɱAɱ*. This points to the fact that there must be a certain relation between *z* and *n*.

But the decisive words are *ɱAɱɱɱ* in No. 12, l. 2, *TAɱɱɱ* in 12, l. 11, and *TAɱAɱ* in 13, l. 2. For a discussion of these words we must take for granted what is said below on the letter *ɱ*, namely that it means *ā*, i. e. a nasalized *a*. One of the most common words in our Lydian inscriptions is *ɱAɱɱ*, which I read *vānaś* and translate by "(sepulchral) cavern, tomb". Almost always it is written *ɱAɱɱ*, but in 12, l. 2 a *z* is added after the *ɱ*. Again in 13, l. 2 we read *TAɱAɱ*, but in line 4 *TAɱɱɱ*. The conclusion is inevitable that *z* must be a nasalized *n*, i. e. the guttural nasal sound (*ŋ*). This should perhaps be transliterated rather by *ŋ* than by *ñ*; but since it has become customary to indicate the nasal vowels by *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, the closely related guttural *n* may be written *ñ* for the sake of convenience. Thus *ɱAɱɱ*: *ɱAɱɱɱ* on the one hand, and *TAɱɱɱ*: *TAɱAɱ* on the other, would be only orthographic variants. The former would be pronounced *vānaś* or *vāñś*, the second *kānañ* or *kaññ*. This method of spelling has a parallel in Lycian and in modern Albanian orthography. In the latter the nasal vowels are ordinarily written *â ê î ô û ŷ*; but if a nasal consonant (*n*, *m*) follows in the same syllable, the sign of the nasal vowel, i. e. the circumflex accent, may be omitted; cf. WEIGAND, *Albanesische Grammatik*, § 3, ann. 2. Another parallel is furnished by the spelling of the nasal sounds in Portuguese.

The variants *ɱɱ*: *ɱɱ* and *ɱɱɱ*: *ɱɱɱ* seem, however, to indicate more than a mere difference in orthography. Here I believe that the guttural *n* became an ordinary dental *n* either in a later period of the Sardian dialect or in the special dialect of the man who had the inscription written or of the mason who carved it. Such dialectic



variants are known to exist in Albanian; cf. WEIGAND, *l. c.*, 3, ann. 3. In modern European Turkish the guttural  $\tilde{n}$  is usually pronounced like an ordinary  $n$ . In Asia Minor the Turkish  $\tilde{n}$  is sometimes kept, sometimes pronounced as  $n$ ; cf. GIESE, *Materialien zur Kenntnis des anatolischen Türkisch*, p. 8. In the Turkish dialect of Adherbeijan again  $\tilde{n}$  has become  $n$ .

If then  $\text{𐤠}$  has been shown to be  $\tilde{n}$ , one can easily understand why this sign occurs very frequently after a  $\text{𐤡}$ . For  $n$  after  $k$  easily becomes guttural; the German word *Knie*, for instance, is often pronounced  $k\tilde{n}\tilde{i}$  or  $k\tilde{n}\tilde{i}$  by Germans as well as by foreigners.

I have given the  $\text{𐤠}$  its place after the  $\text{𐤡}$  on account of their close phonetic relationship. It is not impossible that in the alphabets of Lycia and Lydia the Phoenician  $\text{𐤠}$  ( $s$ ), which comes directly after the  $n$ , was adopted without its meaning, only as a sign, and was used for an altogether different sound; this sound however was nearest to  $n$  phonetically.

In a few cases the shaft of the letter projects beyond the lowest horizontal bar, and then the Lydian letter exactly resembles the Phoenician *Samekh*.

$$\circ = o.$$

The names  $\text{-A} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤡} \text{𐤠}$  and  $\text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠}$  may suffice to prove that the sign which means  $o$  in all Greek and Italic alphabets—except of course the Etruscan which had no  $O$ —has the same value in Lydian also. Whether this  $o$  was long or short, open or closed, I cannot say.

## II.

No sign corresponding to Greek  $\pi$  has been found in Lydian. And Greek  $\pi$  is rendered by  $\text{𐤠}$ , as we have seen above, p. 4. Even in all cases where the small slanting line of  $\text{𐤠}$  ( $l$ ) looks rather like a curve, so that the sign resembles a Phoenician  $\text{𐤠}$  or ancient Greek  $\pi$ , the sign can be only  $l$ ; this is proven by parallels.

$$\text{𐤠} = r.$$

This most natural value of the letter  $\text{𐤠}$  is ascertained at once from  $\text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠}$ ,  $\text{-A} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠}$ ,  $\text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠}$  and other names.

$$\text{𐤠} = s; \text{𐤠} = \acute{s}.$$

The words on which my identification of these letters is based are chiefly the following:

$$\text{-A} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} = \text{סרש}, SRWK-$$

$$\text{-A} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} = \text{שש}, \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠}.$$

$$\text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} = \text{שששששש}, \text{𐤠} RTH\check{S}\check{S}$$

$$\text{-A} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} \text{𐤠} = \text{Persian } Mil(h)ridasta.$$

The Greek  $\text{Ναννας}$  for  $\text{𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍}$  cannot decide the question, since in Greek both  $s$  and  $\xi$  would be rendered by the same sign. But I think that the above examples are sufficient to prove that  $\text{𐤆}$  is  $s$  and  $\text{𐤇}$  is  $\xi$  (or  $\xi$ ).

The name of Sardis however seems to furnish an argument against this proof. For in Lydian it is written  $\text{𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍}$ , in Aramaic  $\text{ספרר}$  ( $S^F_pRD$ ), a word which in the Old Testament, OBAD. v. 20, is vocalized *Sēfārād*. This fact, to be sure, presents a difficulty. But I think it is not unsurmountable. For in Lydian itself  $\text{𐤆}$  and  $\text{𐤇}$  interchange, as we see from the words  $\text{𐤇𐤇𐤇}$  and  $\text{𐤆𐤆𐤆}$  which are often found at the beginnings of inscriptions; see below, Chap. II, A. And such changes from  $s$  to  $\xi$  and vice versa are well known in Semitic languages and dialects. These changes are generally regulated by phonetic laws, but not always; to quote one case, in Arabic and Ethiopic  $s$  and  $\xi$  always correspond with each other, but Ethiopic *sannāy* "beautiful" is certainly the same as Arabic *sanzy*, and Ethiopic *tafaššəha* "he rejoiced" is the same as Arabic *tafassaha*. This may not bear directly on the case under discussion, but we must remember that one half of the  $\text{𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍}$ - $\text{ספרר}$  problem is Semitic.

Another proof that  $\text{𐤆}$  is a voiceless  $s$ , not a voiced  $z$ , is furnished by the word  $\text{𐤆𐤆𐤇}$ . For it is very improbable that a  $z$  should stand directly before a  $t$ : either the  $t$  must become a  $d$ , or the  $z$  must become an  $s$ .

On p. 6 above, I said that  $\text{𐤆}$  may be derived either from Phœnician  $\text{𐤆}$  ( $z$ ) or  $\text{𐤇}$  ( $s$ ). I do not wish to give a definite answer to this question. But since I placed  $\text{𐤆}$  between  $\text{𐤇}$  and  $\text{𐤇}$  I wish to call attention to the fact that in the alphabet of Vaste, which MOMMSEN published from the papers of LUIGI CEPOLLA, a  $\text{𐤆}$  is placed between  $\text{𐤇}$  and  $\text{𐤇}$ ; KIRCHHOFF, p. 157, eliminates this  $\text{𐤆}$ , because he believes it does not belong there, and J. SCHMIDT, in PAULY-WISSOWA's *Real-Lexikon s.v.* Alphabet, makes a  $\text{𐤆}$  of it and places it after the  $\text{𐤇}$ .

In a very few cases the shaft of the  $s$  does not project beyond the lower horizontal bar, and the letter looks like the Phœnician  $\text{𐤆}$  ( $z$ ); again in a very few cases the shaft projects at the top as well as at the bottom, and the letter then becomes  $\text{𐤇}$ , a form which may be compared with  $\text{𐤇}$  in Carian, Etruscan, Oscan, and Faliscan.

The letter  $\text{𐤇}$  has a curious form in two old Lydian inscriptions running from left to right, viz.  $\text{𐤇}$ . Parallels are to be found in Old-Phrygian and in certain Greek alphabets; for KIRCHHOFF gives in his tables similar forms from Rhodes and Laconia. And curiously enough the same letter received a similar form in a distant country and at a much later period, after it had wandered from Phœnicia to Southern Arabia and then back through the deserts of Arabia northward to the Syrian desert. Phœnician  $\text{𐤇}$  ( $\xi$ ) became  $\text{𐤇}$  or  $\text{𐤇}$  in Sabæan, and then  $\text{𐤇}$  or  $\text{𐤇}$  in Safaitic script.

$$\text{𐤆} = t.$$

A number of names contain a  $\text{𐤆}$ , and this is certain to be a  $t$ ; cf.  $\text{𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍}$ ,

-ATAQTIT, 3ATFAITIT. In -A10TAK and TITITITITIT, however, we have a *t* where the Greek forms have a *d*. Above on p. 6 it has been said that *Katova-* has its parallels in Italy. And though the names with -*vd-* are so very common in Asia Minor, the second part of Greek names composed with -*avδρος* has a *t* in Lycian; cf. *alakss[an]tra(n?)* SUNDWALL, p. 4, and *lusāntra-*, ib. p. 16.

In an old Lydian inscription the upper crossbar of the T is very short; see below, p. 57.

$$1 = u.$$

In 3ITIT9A, in -A1111 and in -1111 the letter 1 stands where the Semitic equivalents have a 1 (*w*); see above p. 2. In -11A it corresponds with a Greek *v*. And many words, as 3IT111, 1191 and the like, show that 1 is a vowel. We are therefore justified in rendering 1 by *u*.

In a line running from left to right it is turned towards the right: 1.

It is possible that 1 is sometimes written where we should expect 1. There is a grammatical ending 21- and another one 21-, and the latter is found sometimes after consonants; cf. below Chap. V, H. This would correspond to a similar usage in certain Etruscan inscriptions. But I have found no case in which the same word had in the same place once a 1 and another time a 1.

Prof. Herbig suggested to me that 1 should be *ü* rather than *u*, comparing Βρύγες and Φρύγες, Ἀρτεμῖς and 3ITIT9A. This is very possible, but I do not wish to decide this question as yet.

$$8 = f.$$

The letter 8 occurs quite frequently in Lydian. The value here adopted for it is based on one word which is found in many different forms. This is 19A83, which I read *Sfard-*, and take to be the indigenous name of Sardis. I shall first give the forms in which this word appears.

1A19A83 12, l. 1; 16, l. 19.	TIT19A83 4, l. 2.
T9A83 4, l. 5 and l. 10.	3IT19A83 4, l. 1.
1A19A83 12, l. 9; 23, l. 3.	3IT19A83 4, l. 13.
1AT19A83 4, l. 4.	2AT19A83 4, l. 8.

I believe that the first two of these forms mean "Sardis", and the last six "Sardian" or "Sardians". It is not the place here to discuss the meanings of the endings; that will be done in Chaps. II, III and V. But it is necessary to state why I derive the first two forms from the same root. 1A19A83 occurs first in inscr. 12, an inscription written in poetry in which the very common word 1191 is given in the form 1AA1191. We have then the parallels -19A83: 1A19A83 and 1191: 1AA1191. In both cases the syllable *va* is added, perhaps as an infix; see below Chap. V, F, 4. Concerning the

form 𐤓𐤒𐤀𐤔𐤓 the following may be stated. Besides the word 𐤕𐤒𐤒 we very often find the form 𐤓𐤒𐤒. So we have the parallels 𐤕𐤒𐤒: 𐤓𐤒𐤒 and 𐤕𐤒𐤀𐤔𐤓: 𐤓𐤒𐤀𐤔𐤓.

Now we know that in the Aramaic part of the bilingual inscription 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 ( $S_p^f RD$ ) is the name of Sardis. We know moreover that in the Greek inscriptions of Sardis the names of the town and of its inhabitants are often mentioned. If then in 𐤕𐤒𐤀𐤔𐤓 we have determined the letters *S.ard*, I think the conclusion is inevitable that 𐤔 must be either an *f* or a *p*; for in Aramaic the 𐤓 may mean either. But we learned above that *p* is rendered 𐤔 in Lydian: so there remains only the *f*. It is unnecessary to give here a list of all words in which 𐤔 occurs, but I made such a list and found that the value *f* for 𐤔 would be suitable in all cases. Among these words many begin with 𐤔𐤓.

The Biblical 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 (*Sēfārad*) in OBAD. v. 20 has always been identified with some part of Asia Minor. Also *Sparda* (*Saparda*), a name which occurs in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, has been located there by most scholars. And Sardis has many years ago been actually identified with Sparda. For LASSEN said in 1845 (*Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes* VI, p. 50, a passage to which my attention was called by Prof. WELLHAUSEN): "Nehmen wir nämlich an, dass Sardis, Σάρδις oder Σάρδεϊς in der einheimischen Sprache *Çvarda* lautete, musste Persisch daraus *Çparda* werden, im Griechischen aber das *v* verloren gehen. Es residierten in der alten Hauptstadt Lydiens auch die Persischen Satrapen, und es erklärt sich daher leicht der Name, Sardische Provinz." Also Professor ANDREAS identified Sparda with Sardis; see *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte*, III, 1903, p. 505. His note is of special importance.

LASSEN was right in his identification, for we now know the real name of the capital of King Kroisos in his own tongue, and we see that the Hebrew and the old Persian form of the name are even nearer to the original than LASSEN was able to guess.

Lydian *Šfard-* became Σαρδ- in the dialect of the Ionians through whom the other Greeks must have received the name of the Lydian capital. The Ionians probably chose this form because the foreign name had an unusual beginning. Even if they knew the name at a time when their own language still had the digamma, it could in time not become anything else but Σαρδ-. According to THUMB (in *Indogerman. Forschungen* IX, 1898, p. 334 sqq.) the Ionians had both a voiceless and a voiced digamma; the former would be the Lydian 𐤔, the latter the Lydian 𐤕. Both digammas disappeared in time; the voiceless one first, being changed to the rough breathing and then being dropped altogether.

Finally it may here be added that JOHANNES LYDUS (III, 14) gives Ευσρην as another form of Σαρδην. The Ευ- would be an attempt to render the unusual sounds 𐤔𐤓. But it is important to know that he gives a form without δ: this would be another proof for my assumption that 𐤓𐤒𐤀𐤔𐤓 is a derived form of 𐤕𐤒𐤀𐤔𐤓.

$$+ = h.$$

I admit that I have found no strict proof that the sign + in Lydian really represents *h* or *χ*. No proper names that could be identified with certainty have been found. My assumption that + equals *h* is not based on Lydian words, but has been suggested by Lycian and by some of the Greek alphabets of Asia Minor.

Among the words containing + one seems to be the name of a deity, i. e.  $\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}+$ . It occurs four times, in every case together with Artemis. In No. 1 B, l. 4/5 we read  $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{T}+\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}+$ ; this must mean "may Hūdāns and Artemis destroy"; cf. below Chap. II. In 7, l. 1.  $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}+$  must mean something like "is sacred to Hūdāns and Artemis". In the same inscription l. 3/4  $\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}+\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}$  probably means "Hūdāns Tavśas and Artemis of Ephesos will punish"; and in l. 10 there is a shorter formula  $\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}+$ , "Hūdāns as well as Artemis will punish". I believe therefore that  $\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}+$  is the name of some divinity, but I have been unable to identify it. An identification of this name would probably make the value of + definite.

W. H. BUCKLER very ingeniously identified *Hūdāns Tavśas* with Ζεύς Ὑδηνός. He kindly sent me the following note:

"Hyde was the ancient, or one of the ancient names, of Sardis (STRAB. XIII, 4. 6), and as in the third century B. C. one could speak of the Carian god Komyros without also calling him Zeus (LYKOPH. AL. 459: κατὰ Σων θύσθλα Κομύρω, and TZETZES *ad loc.*), so one could probably have mentioned *Hūdāns* without the additional name *Tavśas*. The Old-Indian god Dyaus (*Dyāuś*) is the same as Zeus, and since *t* in Lydian often takes the place of *d*, *Tavśas* might represent *D(y)avś-as*, and this would be very similar to Dyaus.

In the big stele (No. 7) sacred to *Hūdāns* and *Artemis*, the god mentioned before Artemis must be an important one. We know that Zeus' temple shared the precinct of Artemis at Sardis, that Tmolos disputed with Crete the honor of Zeus' birthplace, that Zeus was very important in Lydia, being mentioned and depicted on coins of Sardis and many other towns, in short that next to Artemis he was by far the most important local deity."

He furthermore called my attention to the following facts: "1) The hypothesis *Hūdāns* = Ὑδηνός tends to support the identification of the letter + as = *h*. — 2) The termination of *Hūdāns* does not seem to be found in any other Lydian adjective denoting origin, but we cannot be sure that it is not a possible form, and it certainly suggests the Greek termination Σαρδι-ανός, or -ηνός. Or perhaps *Hūdāns* is no adjective, but the original name of the Lydian Zeus."

It seems to me that BUCKLER's assumption is a very valuable contribution to the interpretation of our Lydian inscriptions. In *Tavś-as* the ending *-(a)ś* would then be

the Lydian termination of the subjective case; see below Ch. V, C. The *T* in the beginning of the name would have its parallel in the Cretan forms *Tῆνα*, *Τῆῆνα*, *Τᾶνα*; cf. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gramm. d. indogerm. Sprachen* I (1897), p. 277. The ending *-ān-* might very well be compared with the ending *-ēn-*; for also in Lycian *-aūna-* is found besides *-ēñni*; see below Chs. V, D and VI, B.

Professor HERBIG compares also the Oscan *Honde*, *Hunte* (masc.) *Hunte Juvie* (fem.) and the Umbrian *Huntia* (fem.?), which is the name of a deity. The Oscan-Umbrian deity would then be Etruscan; but in Etruscan it has not been found.

A discussion of the true relation between *Hūdāns*: Ὑδηνός: *Honde* must be left to Classical and Indogermanic scholars.

The sign *+* does not occur very often, yet it is not rare. A very common word with *+* is *†1+*. This word means, as we shall see below in Ch. II, A, "somebody". Other derivatives of the same root are *†1+* (perhaps "something"), *†+* and perhaps *A†1+*, *††1+*, *†A†+*. Again a frequent root is *-A†1+* which occurs in the forms *†A†1+*, *†AA†1+*, *†A†1+*, *†AA†1+*. On its meaning cf. the commentary on l. 8 of the bilingual inscription, below p. 36. In the middle of words *+* is found several times before *†*; this would be in keeping with its character as *h*. For the combination *hr* seems to be a natural one in Greek (*ῥ*) as well as in other Indogermanic languages; cf. Armenian and Icelandic *hr*, and Celtic *rh*.

### Greek *Υ*.

I have found no letter in Lydian that can be rendered by *ϕs* like the Greek *Υ*. There is a letter *†* in Lydian, but this is, as we shall see below, a nasal vowel. On the other hand the combination *†8* is found in Lydian.

$$M = \tilde{a}.$$

The value of this sign is certain. For *-A†M8A††A* in No. 9, l. 5 can be nothing else but Artabanes. We see from this word that even vowels in foreign names were nasalized when they were followed by *n*. In the list of words which contain the letter *M* there are great many that have *†* or *†* after the *M*. A few examples may serve to illustrate this fact: *†M*, *††M*, *†A†M*, *††M†1*, *††M†*, *†M†*, *†A††A8†M†*, etc.

$$† = \tilde{e}.$$

There is no doubt that *†* and *†* are both nasalized vowels. For (1) they must be vowels because they often occur in words in which all other letters are consonants and none of them sonants; (2) they must be nasalized because they occur in the majority of cases before *n*, *t* or *k*. The question now arises which of the two is *ẽ* and which is *ũ* (or perhaps *õ*). I believe however that there are certain facts which lead to the conclusion that *†* is *ẽ* and *†* *ũ*.

In No. 13, l. 3 a word 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 occurs. We shall see below in Chap. II, A, that 𐌠𐌠 is an ending often found with proper names. It is highly probable that -(A)𐌠𐌠 is a proper name. If this is transliterated *Mēn(a)*, one thinks at once of *Μῆν*. But I admit that this is not an absolute proof, since one also might read *Mēn(a)* and compare many of the names that contain the element *muwa*; cf. SUNDWALL, p. 160-163. However there are also some good reasons why 𐌠 must be *n̄*; see next paragraph. The letter 𐌠 has been found in no other names, except in endings, like 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠, 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 etc.; cf. above p. 11. That this ending 𐌠𐌠 - (and - 𐌠𐌠 -) is most likely to be read *ēnē* (and *ēt*) we conclude from Lycian *ēnēi*, Greek *-ηνος*; cf. below Chap. VI, B. Words beginning with 𐌠 are among others the following: 𐌠𐌠 (27, 7) 𐌠𐌠𐌠 (16, 18) and other derivatives of this root; 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (23, 2); 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (4, 6); 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (29, 9); 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (29, 18); 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (16, 7); 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 or ..𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (passim); 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (27, 1); 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (29, 16); 𐌠𐌠𐌠 (16, 9) etc. Words beginning with 𐌠 are: 𐌠𐌠 (7, 19); 𐌠𐌠𐌠 (19, 2); 𐌠𐌠𐌠 (13, 4); 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (13, 4). All these words indicate that 𐌠 is a nasal vowel; in many other words 𐌠 appears before *m* or *n* in the middle of the word. But it would be of no value to give here the list of all words containing 𐌠.

$$\text{𐌠} = \tilde{u}.$$

Words like 𐌠𐌠, 𐌠𐌠, 𐌠𐌠𐌠 etc. show that 𐌠 must be a vowel; words like 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠, 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 and 𐌠𐌠𐌠 point to the fact that it is a nasalized vowel.

The reason why I at once thought of identifying 𐌠 with *n̄* was its occurrence in the neighbourhood of 𐌠 and 𐌠; cf. 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (7, 1); 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (12, 7); -𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (23, 3); 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (inscription from Falanga, l. 2; (in Sardian inscrs. No. 3, 3: 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠, and 11, 2: 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 - are probably to be read ...𐌠𐌠𐌠).

But there are also a few names containing 𐌠, viz. -𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (11, 4 and 9), -𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (4, passim; 11, 10), 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (see above p. 13) and 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 (26, 1). The first of these is the name of a person; if we read it *Sabn̄a*, the names *Σαβνς* (SUNDWALL, p. 192) *Σαβωνος* (*ibid.*, p. 163) may be compared. 𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 is an epithet of Artemis. Therefore -𐌠𐌠𐌠𐌠 is probably the name of a place in Asia Minor; perhaps of Smyrna.

The identification of *Sivrañ* with Smyrna was proposed to me by W. H. BUCKLER. He justly suggests that *v*, *b* and *m* are consonants that might easily interchange. In fact, there are many examples of this change from Indogermanic as well as from Semitic languages. For the Lycian BUCKLER cites *ζεβα[n]* = Greek *Σίμννα* on coins, *telebehi* = *Τελμισός*; see Mr. ARKWRIGHT's article in *Journ. of Hellen. Studies* XXXV, p. 100 and 102. Furthermore he recalls the account in STRABO (XIV, 1. 4), which points to Smyrna as being a native name. Finally he says that the Smyrna "Mother of the Gods", i. e. Artemis, was quite worthy to rank with the goddesses of Ephesos





Greek alphabets help us. For  $\epsilon$  resembles a Phoenician  $yōd$ , it is true; but the  $yōd$  is represented in Lydian by  $\iota$ , and the sign for this vowel cannot have been received by the Lydians twice at different periods, once from the Greeks and once from the Phoenicians. Of the signs occurring in Greek alphabets a certain kind of  $yōd$  would have some similarity with  $\epsilon$ , and so would a sign for  $\beta$  used at Corinth, Megara and in some Corinthian colonies. But here again we already have a *beta* in Lydian. We must therefore try to interpret this Lydian letter from the Lydian itself. In 19, l. 5 we read a word  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ , in 1, 8  $\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\alpha$ . It seems that we have here a case in which  $\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon\tau$  have the same value. Furthermore a word which I translate "these" (in the oblique case) is usually written  $\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ , but in 13, l. 4  $\epsilon\alpha\epsilon$  seems to be the same word. From these cases it would appear that  $\epsilon$  has a certain relation to  $t$  and to  $s$  or  $\zeta$ . Finally another argument may be advanced. The very frequent endings in  $\epsilon$  represent the oblique case of the plural in Lydian, as will be seen below in Chaps. II, III and V. It will also there be shown that the nominative or subjective case of the plural very probably ends in  $\epsilon$ . Now there is one very well known language that has the nom. plur. in  $-ē$ , viz. the Armenian. I may add at once that this ending in Armenian is generally not considered to be of Indo-Germanic origin. In Armenian the genitive, dative, ablative of the plural have the ending  $\text{ը}$  ( $ts$ ), the accusative and the locative the ending  $\text{ւ}$  ( $s$ ), that is to say always certain sibilants. If then in the nominative Lydian and Armenian have the same ending, it is not unnatural to assume that the endings of the oblique case are also similar in the two languages, especially since the Armenian  $\text{ը}$  is also not Indo-Germanic. For these reasons I have assigned the value  $\epsilon$  to the letter  $\epsilon$ , well aware of the fact that this is a mere hypothesis and that some one else may give a better solution of the problem. I cannot decide whether  $\epsilon$  should be pronounced  $ts$  or  $ty$  or  $t\zeta$ , although the last of these possibilities seems to me the most likely.<sup>1</sup>

The endings with the letter  $\epsilon$  are the following:  $\epsilon\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\mu$ ,  $\epsilon\tau$ ,  $\epsilon\tau$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\tau$ ,  $\epsilon\tau$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ . The ending  $\epsilon\alpha$  occurs more than thirty times in these inscriptions. The endings  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\tau$ ,  $\epsilon\tau$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$  may in reality represent only the ending  $\epsilon$ ; the letters before it would then belong to the respective roots. Words in which  $\epsilon$  occurs in the middle or at the beginning are the following:  $\tau\iota\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon$ ,  $\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon$ ,  $\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ . Some of these words, to which may be added  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  (*sanse*) would with their many sibilants resemble Slavic words.

$$\uparrow = q (?)$$

My identification of this sign rests on a single word, viz.  $\tau\iota\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  in inscr. 11, l. 1.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. BUCKLER compared the Lycian letter  $\chi$  to which Mr. ARKWRIGHT recently has assigned the value  $\zeta$ ; see *Journ. Hellen. Studies* XXXV, p. 100 f. It is quite possible that Lydian  $\epsilon$  is to be derived from  $\chi$ ; for it is often written  $\chi$ , i. e. the Lycian  $\chi$  without the lower part of the left half circle.



Inscription No. 21 which is a mason's mark contains only the letters  $\gamma\uparrow$ ; but these cannot bear on the question under discussion.

$$\mathfrak{d} = \mathfrak{z}.$$

This letter occurs only in a few inscriptions as a variant of  $\mathfrak{z}$ .

In 7, l. 2 we read  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{t}$ , but in all other instances this word is written  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}$ , even in 7, ll. 9 and 18. In 7, ll. 8 and 14 we have  $\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{t}$ , but commonly the word is spelt  $\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}$ . Other parallels are the following:

$\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{a}$  (1, B, l. 5):  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{a}$  (passim);

$\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{t}$  (7, l. 11):  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}$  (often);

$\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{f}$  (7, l. 1):  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{f}$  (7, l. 2; 27, l. 7);  $\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{f}$  (30, ll. 3 and 16);

$\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{f}$  (19, l. 3):  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{f}$  (12, ll. 1 and 7);

$\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{a}$  (7, l. 11) and  $\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{a}$  (7, l. 13):  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{a}$  (30, l. 13).

From all this I think it is sufficiently clear that  $\mathfrak{d}$  and  $\mathfrak{t}$  must be very closely related. Perhaps  $\mathfrak{d}$  was pronounced like the Armenian  $\mathfrak{L}$ . This letter too sometimes takes the place of  $\mathfrak{z}$ .

## B.

### *The Lydian Alphabet in comparison with other Alphabets.*

*The Lydian alphabet is not directly derived from the Phoenician.* The mere facts that the  $\mathfrak{z}$  occurs, that the letters  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{o}$  are vowels, and that  $\mathfrak{t}$  is added to the alphabet, are sufficient proof of this statement. For in none of all Semitic alphabets has the lower part of the Phoenician  $\mathfrak{g}$  ( $\delta$ ) ever been closed as in the Greek and the Italic alphabets. We must therefore assume either (1) that the Greek and the Lydian alphabets were derived from the Phoenician through an intermediate one which is now lost, or (2) that the Lydians received their script from the Greeks and modified it according to their own wants. The latter seems to me more probable; but I must at once add (1) that I cannot prove this theory definitely, and (2) that the Lydians must have received the Greek alphabet at a very early period, probably before  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$  ( $\varphi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$ ) were invented and before  $\Xi$  was used for  $\xi$ , and also before the Etruscans emigrated to Italy.

If then the Lydian alphabet is a daughter of the Greek, it must, I think, belong to the Eastern group of Greek alphabets. But since the characteristic additional letters (East:  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi = \varphi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$ , and  $\mathfrak{H}$  ( $\mathfrak{H}$ ) =  $\xi$ ; West:  $\chi$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\psi = \xi$ ,  $\varphi$ ,  $\chi$ ) are not to be found in Lydian, at least not with values similar to those of the Greek alphabets, it is difficult to treat of this special question at all.

The letters which in Lydian and Greek have the same value and look more or

less alike are the following: A (A), B (B), Δ (Δ), E (E), F (F), I (I), K (K), Λ (Λ), M (M), N (N), O (O), P (P), Σ (Σ), T (T), Y (Y), X (X). The signs in parentheses are of course the ordinary Greek letters. The similarity would be much closer if the oldest forms, such as are used in lines running from right to left, were added above. Most of these values were inferred at once by comparing the letters heretofore found in Lydian inscriptions with those of the Greek alphabet. Thus KRETSCHMER (KEIL-PREMERSTEIN, *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.* 53; 2) recognized A = α, B = β (with certain restrictions), Δ = ν, E = ε (with certain restrictions), I = ι, K = κ, Λ = μ, M = ν, O = ο, P = ρ, Σ = σ, T = τ, Y = υ. Some of the letters that he saw on the very badly weathered fragments at his disposal, are not confirmed by the inscriptions from Sardis. He stated himself that his γ (γ) and ϑ (ϑ) were uncertain; the latter is probably ο with a flaw in the stone. His ϗ may perhaps be ϛ, his ϙ may be in II, l. 8 a ϙ, in II, l. 11 a ϙ. From his material he could not conclude that the round and the angular Δ are the same letter, viz. ν. The letter which he took to be φ (in 1111φA) is very indistinctly written, and I have found no corresponding word in the Sardian inscriptions; therefore I cannot say which letter should be read there. KRETSCHMER's very important discussion of the letter B will be referred to below.

THUMB in his article on the first Lydian inscriptions from Sardis adopted most of KRETSCHMER's identifications, correcting them in a few details, but he advanced several steps further in deciphering the Lydian script, especially with regard to those letters which are peculiar to the Lydian alphabet. He very acutely suggested that M, ϙ, T might be nasal vowels (giving however different values from those assigned to them above), and after having discussed the question with myself, he concluded that ϗ and ϙ might be sibilants. He could not know at that time that ϗ in 1 a, l. 3 (p. 43) is only a carelessly written ϙ.

A few of those Lydian letters that have equivalents in the Greek alphabet deserve special attention.

Δ has a very unusual form; it looks like a minuscule Δ (δ) of which the bottom has been opened (Δ > Δ > Δ). I have not found a similar form in any Greek or Semitic alphabet. It seems that it must have been derived from Δ in some such way as that just indicated.

Δ or Δ with only two slanting lines is very rare. KIRCHHOFF has only one instance of a similar form; on p. 176 he quotes Δ = ε from Eleutherna. In later Semitic alphabets however one of the three cross lines of Ξ is often omitted. In Phrygian and Lycian the three lines are preserved just as in Greek, Latin and Etruscan. Only in one case a Phrygian Δ is found, as THUMB has pointed out on p. 154 of his article.

The letter ο is always much smaller than the other letters. I think this is a sign of great age. The Semitic *ʿAyin* was originally smaller than the other letters, and it took some time before this letter was made the same size as the others for the sake

of symmetry. I know of course that a very small  $\circ$  occurs also in late Greek inscriptions, but I do not believe that this has anything to do with the Lydian.

The letters  $\text{𐌆}$  and  $\text{𐌇}$  have been discussed above on pp. 6, 9 f. I may here add that KRETSCHMER, p. 235 ann. 4 and pp. 313-314 was inclined to conclude that  $\text{𐌆}$  in Phrygian and  $\text{𐌇}$  in Lycian was a voiceless  $s$ . As to the origin of  $\text{𐌆}$  there is some doubt; it may be derived either from  $\text{𐌇}$  (*zayin*) or  $\text{𐌆}$  (*sāmekkh*). But I am sure that  $\text{𐌇}$  is the Semitic *šm*. When the latter has the form  $\text{𐌇}$  as in a few old Lydian inscriptions it resembles the Phrygian  $s$  and the  $s$  of some Greek inscriptions from Laconia; see above p. 10.

The ordinary  $\text{𐌆}$  does not differ from the common Greek form of this letter, but the oldest  $\text{𐌆}$  has only a very short crossbar at the top. The latter form is again a connecting link between Lydian and Phrygian. For  $\text{𐌆}$  in the Phrygian inscriptions published in CHANTRE's *Mission en Cappadoce*, pp. 169 and 176 has the same peculiarity.

The additional letters of the Lydian alphabet are  $\text{𐌆}$  ( $\tilde{n}$ ),  $\text{𐌇}$  ( $f$ ),  $\text{𐌈}$  ( $\tilde{a}$ ),  $\text{𐌉}$  ( $\tilde{e}$ ),  $\text{𐌊}$  ( $\tilde{n}$ ),  $\text{𐌋}$  ( $\tilde{e}$ ),  $\text{𐌌}$  ( $q?$ ),  $\text{𐌍}$  ( $\tilde{e}$ ) and perhaps  $\text{𐌎}$  ( $h$ ). Two of these letters remind us at once of other alphabets, viz.  $\text{𐌆}$  of the Lycian  $\tilde{n}$  and  $\text{𐌇}$  of the Etruscan  $f$ . To my mind these similarities cannot be accidental. Whatsoever may be the ultimate origin of these signs, they prove that there are common features (1) between Lydian and Lycian, (2) between Lydian and Etruscan. At the present stage of our knowledge it is not safe to go further than a mere statement of these facts.

It is possible that  $\text{𐌆}$  ( $\tilde{n}$ ) was chosen because in the Phoenician alphabet  $\text{𐌆}$  came after  $n$ ; see above p. 9. It has also been suggested that  $\text{𐌇}$  is a modification of  $\text{𐌇}$ . But I call attention to the fact that the oldest form of  $f$  in Lydian seems to be  $\text{𐌇}$ ; cf. below, L. 24, at the end of Chap. III. Some scholars were of the opinion that  $\text{𐌇}$  in Etruscan did not occur before the fourth century B. C.; cf. PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. *Alphabet*. But KRETSCHMER has shown in his discussion of this letter (*Denkschr. Wiener Akad.*, 53; 2, pp. 101 sq.) that this opinion is wrong. The facts which he states and the conclusions which he draws are of great importance.

Of the other letters  $\text{𐌈}$  would again be the same as in Lycian, and perhaps the same as the  $\chi$  of the Eastern Greek alphabets. The sign  $\text{𐌉}$  for  $\tilde{e}$  may be compared with Carian  $\theta$  ( $\tilde{e}$ ), but this is by no means certain.

How and when Lycians and Lydians derived their signs for the nasal vowels is impossible to say. It is not likely that the one people adopted them from the other, since there are remarkable divergences. However, a certain general resemblance cannot be denied; therefore it is possible that in both alphabets these signs were derived from the same source. As a mere suggestion I recall here the fact that the Copts when they adopted the Greek alphabet for their language added some signs that were taken from Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. Would it not be possible that the peoples of Asia Minor, when they wrote their native tongues with Greek letters, added some

letters derived from the old hieroglyphic writing of those countries, i. e. the Hittite?

My readings of ʔ (ç) and † (q) are uncertain. With the latter may be compared a Phrygian †, which KRETSCHMER, p. 235, ann. l. thought to be perhaps a variant of the *koppa*, or perhaps Cypriote † which means *ka*. Again I am not sure whether ʔ and † might not have had their prototype in the Hittite. The ʔ agrees curiously with the Armenian Զ (ç). This gives rise to the question whether the Armenians did not draw some of their letters from Asia Minor alphabets. But it would lead us too far here to enter into this problem. And Prof. ANDREAS is of opinion that the Armenian alphabet as a whole was derived from Sasanide Pehlevi.

In conclusion we may repeat that Lydian script is in the main derived from the Greek or from an intermediate source between Phoenician and Greek, and that certain Lydian letters point to a relationship with Lycian, Phrygian and Etruscan. But it is not possible yet to trace every one of these letters back to its origin. And even in the history of the Greek alphabets several problems still remain to be solved.

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## CHAPTER II.

### The Bilingual Inscriptions.

#### A.

The Lydo-Aramaic Bilingual Inscription from Sardis.

(L. 17)

FUNERARY STELE; dated 445. or 394 B. C. Marble. The stele was broken into two pieces; the break runs through the top lines of the Lydian part. The decorated top is 63 cm. high and 53 cm. wide. Adjoining the top there is a narrow uninscribed piece of the die preserved,  $16\frac{1}{2}$  cm. high and  $45\frac{1}{2}$  wide. The lower, inscribed piece of the die is 82 cm. high and 46 (top)–47 (bottom) cm. wide. The decorated top is  $16\frac{1}{2}$  cm. thick, the die  $11\frac{1}{2}$  cm. The Lydian letters are  $\frac{3}{4}$ – $1\frac{3}{4}$  cm. high, the additional letters in l. 3:  $\frac{1}{2}$ –1 cm. The Aramaic letters are  $\frac{3}{4}$ – $2\frac{3}{4}$  cm. high, the additional letters in l. 4:  $\frac{1}{2}$ – $1\frac{1}{4}$  cm. The Aramaic letter **א** is  $2$ – $2\frac{1}{2}$  cm. wide. The stele was found on the northern slope of the Sardian necropolis. Between the two parts of the inscription there is a monogram, probably a mason's mark.

#### The Aramaic Text.

1. כוון ו למרחשון שנת ר — ארתחשש מלכא  
 2. בספרד בירתא ונה סחונא ומערתא (ו) לךחחא  
 3. אחרתא ופרכד זי על ספרד(ר) ונה פרבדה אחר  
 4. זי מני בר כמלי סרוכ(ו)א ומן זי על סחונא ונה או  
 5. מערתא או לךחחא לקבל זי פרבד למערתא  
 6. ונה אחר מן זי יחבל או יפרך מנדעם אחר  
 7. ארתמו זי כלו ואפששי תרכצה ביתח  
 8. קנינה טין ומין ומנדעמתה יבדרונה וירתח

1. On the 5th of Marḥešwān of the 10th year of King Artaxerxes,
2. in the city of Sardis. This stele and the cavern [and] the funerary
3. couches(?) and the fore-court which is above Sardis(?), this its fore-court, [they are] the property
4. of MNY, son of KMLY, of SRWK. And if anybody against this stele or
5. the cavern or the funerary couches(?) opposite the fore-court of this cavern,

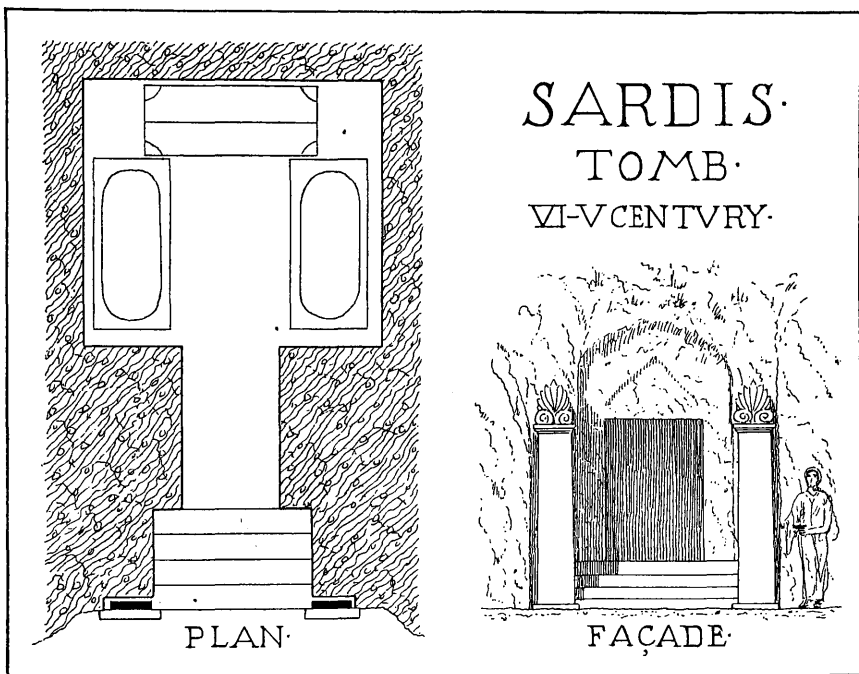
- There are still and will probably always remain a number of doubtful words and passages in this inscription. This is mainly due to lack of knowledge of the Aramaic language on the part of the man who translated the Lydian into Aramaic, and partly also to the use of some words not known in Aramaic literature. The translator of this inscription tried to be very literal, and seems even to have followed Lydian syntax mechanically, but he obscured the meaning of several passages. He even used מַעֲרַח as a masculine (in l. 5-6) and used the masculine plural יַכְרוּנָה referring to two female deities. This indicates that the Lydians had no grammatical gender in their language. Moreover it seems that the mason also made some mistakes when he carved the Aramaic inscription. All this is not so very much to be wondered at if we take into consideration the probability that nobody spoke Aramaic at Sardis. The people spoke Lydian, the higher officials Persian, and Aramaic was only an artificial language in those western provinces of the Persian Empire where no Aramaeans or Jews lived. But it is much to be regretted that the one document on which the entire deciphering of Lydian rests is so obscure.

L. 1: The reading of every letter is certain. Only the first  $\omega$  in the name of the king is a little damaged. The question arises how the name  $\text{𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴}$  should be read. It is, as Prof. ANDREAS has shown, in LIDZBARSKI's, *Ephemeris*, II, p. 221, ann. 2, a rendering of the truly Persian form of this name, i. e. *Urtahšas(s)a*. In the Old Testament we find the forms *Artahšasta*, *Artahšastā* and *Artahšast*.<sup>1</sup> The Aramaic papyri of Elephantine have the same form as our inscription from Sardis. In this form Prof. ANDREAS thinks  $\text{𐎠𐎼}$  to be a rendering of the Persian sound *ss* or *šš* into which the Old-Iranian *br* had developed at the time of the Achaemenids. This is possible: in that case we should have to read *Artahšasš*, without any ending; for the ending *a* would undoubtedly have been expressed by  $\text{𐎠}$ . But  $\text{𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴}$  might also be transcribed *Artahšassasš*, a form which would be very natural at Sardis; for there we find in Lydian  $\text{𐌶𐌵𐌶𐌹𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌶𐌰}$ . In the latter the Iranian *br* is certainly rendered by *ss*, and the last  $\text{𐌶}$  must be a Lydian ending.

<sup>1</sup> This form (Ezr. 4, 7) has an *א* at the end, which proves that the original had a vowel there; it may be due only to an artificial vocalization by a man who wanted to make a difference between Hebrew and Aramaic. The usual Syriac form is *ܐܪܬܝܐܝܬ* (*Ar-tšaišit*).



L. 2: On the name כפר see above p. 12. I have translated the word כירחא by "city": This word generally means in Aramaic "palace, castle, fortress", and is sometimes also applied to small towns. Here it cannot mean "palace" or "fortress", since the palace was in the plain beyond the Paktolos, and the fortress, i. e. the Acropolis of Sardis, on the other side of the hills. It is therefore probable that כירחא was used for the whole of Sardis because it was a fortified city. The word סחונה is of Persian origin (*stūna*). We should expect ט instead of ת, since in Syriac as well as in Arabic the *t* of this Persian word is rendered by *t*. But in Greco-Phoenician words τ and ת also correspond with each other, especially in the early centuries. The Persian word



means "column", and the same meaning has been kept in Syriac and in Arabic. But here סחונה must mean "stele", because "this סחונה" can only refer to the monument on which the inscription is written.

After the סחונה, i. e. the first thing that a man reading the inscription would see, follows the מערהא. This Aramaic word means "cave, cavern" etc. There is no doubt that the cave in the rock, the Lydian tomb, was meant. Drawings of such rock tombs by Prof. H. C. BUTLER are given in the illustrations on p. 25 and p. 27.

The last word in l. 2 is כרחחא. The א at the end is smaller than the other letters, because the space for it was too narrow, and the mason did not wish to put

it at the beginning of the next line. Before this word a ך must be supplied as it seems to me; for in ll. 4-5 also three different things, (1) סחונא (2) מערתא (3) ברחתא are separated by אן. In l. 2 this curious word is combined with אתרתא "places", in l. 5 it stands by itself. Its meaning can only be guessed. As ך and ך are in this inscription absolutely alike, we do not know whether we should read ברחתא or ברחתא so long as the word has not been identified. The Arabic word بَرَحْ is scarcely to be compared here. Nor do I believe that our term might be an Aramaicized Lydian word; the corresponding word in Lydian is 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌶𐌹𐌶𐌹𐌶𐌹. Since in similar funerary inscriptions the different parts and belongings of the tomb are mentioned, I propose to translate this expression by "funerary couches". For the most characteristic feature of these tombs is their couches (see plan on p. 27), and it would have been very natural that the owner of a tomb should make special mention of the fact that all couches belonged to his family, so that no stranger should be buried on them. Of course אתרתא ברחתא might also mean "tomb-niches", like גמחא (גומחא) in Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions. At all events it seems to me most probable that the term denotes the *loculi* where the dead were buried, of whatever kind these *loculi* may have been.

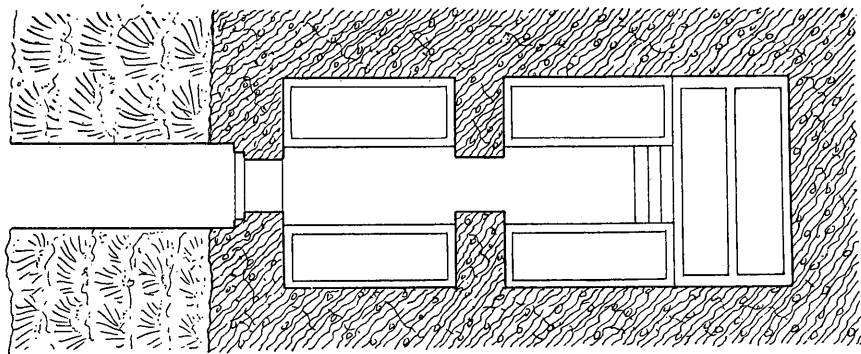
L. 3: The plural אתרתא is unusual. We should expect אתריא or possibly as in Syriac אתרוותא. The word פרבר might of course also be read פרכר, פרכר or פרכר. In writing פרבר I follow a suggestion of Prof. ANDREAS. He took as a base for explaining this word the Armenian Հրապարակ (*hraparak*), for which he postulates an old Persian \**fra-pādak*. This Armenian word means "place, court". Its derivation from the Persian is certain. For Persian *fra-* becomes in Armenian *hra-*; cf. the examples in HÜBSCHMANN, *Armen. Gramm.* pp. 181 sqq. And Persian or Syriac *ā* often becomes *r* in Armenian; cf. for instance Հրէայ (*hreyay*) = ܙܗܕܝܐ (*zhūdāyā*). The word \**frapādak* is not found in Old Persian; but this is probably due only to an accident. The word \**pādak* must have existed; for Modern Persian پایه (*pāyah*) is the same word in a later stage. And for *pāda-* the meaning "Standort, Heimstätte" is given by BARTHOLOMAE, col. 887. This combined with *fra-* (Latin *pro*), is exactly the word required for our פרבר.

Prof. G. HOFFMANN called my attention to the Biblical פרבר (*parbār*), which occurs in I. Chron. 26, 18, and which is supposed to be an annexed building on the west side of the temple at Jerusalem. Now Prof. ANDREAS suggests that פרבר is a mistake for פרכר and that here also a sort of fore-court is meant. The word פרוּר, which has sometimes been connected with פרבר, would then have had a different origin.

If פרבר in our inscription is the Persian \**frapāda-*, i. e. "fore-court", it can here mean only the open space before the tomb. Most of the tombs at Sardis have such a small "fore-court", corresponding to the *dromos* of Greco-Roman tombs. In this "fore-court" our stele was standing, just as Nabataean and Greek stelae stood in the *dromoi* of the tombs of Umm idj-Djimal; cf. my *Nabataean Inscriptions*, Leiden 1914,

p. XII and p. 53. It might very well be that the man who owned the tomb inside the rock wished also to declare his claim on the area leading up to it, so that nobody should trespass upon his rights.

The following words, in the original **ספר** **על** **וי** or **על** **ספר** **וי**, are to me unintelligible. Since I have not been able to find in Aramaic or Persian anything that would throw light on the word **ספר** I think there must be some mistake. Seeing the letters **ספר** one thinks at once of **ספר**, and if the lower crossbar of the **כ** may be considered to have been carved by mistake, the reading **ספר** would be assured. These words would then be translated "the fore-court which is above Sardis". As a matter of fact the tombs near which the inscription was found are high up on the hill whence the town in the plain could be seen. A Greek inscription from Si<sup>c</sup> in the Haurân, published in my *Nabataean Inscriptions*, pp. 81-82 says Σεση κατὰ νῆγ' Αὑρα-  
νειου ἐστὶ θεοῦ, because the statue of the goddess Se<sup>c</sup> stood in a place from which the



Groundplan of a tomb with two chambers and six couches.

Haurân country could be overlooked. But of course this parallel does not prove much, and my interpretation of the words **על** **ספר** **וי** still remains very doubtful.

Now with the words **זנה** **פרכרה** the anacoluthic constructions of our inscription begin. They can only mean "this its **פרכר**", i. e. "this its fore-court", if our translation be correct. Why these words were repeated I do not know. Perhaps emphasis was laid upon them because the inscription stood in the fore-court, and the people who read it were within the **פרכר**.

The last word in this line may be **אחר** or **אחד**. I think it is the former and means "property". The translator may have thought of some derivative of the root **אחד**, cf. the Syriac **ܐܫܬܝܢܐ** "property"; for this root might very well be spelt with a **ך**, although we read **וי** instead of **רי**, since the same is to be observed in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine. But it seems to me almost certain that the writer chose this word which he probably pronounced *ahad*, (or perhaps *akad*, if the Lydians

had no *h*), because at the very same place in the Lydian part of our inscription 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 is the word used.

L. 4: The names of Mane and Kumli are recognized without difficulty. But the additional word is indistinctly written. The letters סרוכי are almost certain, but the letter before the last has a very unusual form. Its top looks like that of a כ, ר, י, or ך, but at the bottom it has a small curve towards the right which is never found in any of these four letters. This curve brings the letter into near relation with י and ך, and I believe therefore that it is nothing but an incomplete י. This would be well in keeping with the meaning that the added word seems to have. Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor, especially those from Lycia, Lydia and Phrygia, very often mention, besides the name of the person and his father, that also of the *demos*, the tribe or the place from which he came. At certain periods this seems to have been a very popular fashion. A noun derived from the name of a place would in Aramaic very properly have the ending *-āyā*. And סרוכי would then mean "a man from Sirūka" or "Silūka"; cf. the Lydian text. It is significant that the mason should have left out the gentilicium both in the Lydian and in the Aramaic text, so that a correction was considered necessary. The facts were probably these: the man who gave the Lydian copy to some Persian official for translation had omitted the word. The Persian naturally did not write it in the Aramaic text. Then the mason received both copies and carved them on the stone. Later on when the man who had ordered the inscription looked at the finished work and discovered his mistake he caused the correction to be made in both texts. This serves as a valuable hint to us modern interpreters; for hence we may infer that the two parts of the inscription must correspond with each other very closely.

After the gentilicium follows the second part of the inscription, containing the curse against him who should try to interfere with the monument: these curses are known from so many Oriental and Occidental inscriptions and manuscripts that it is not worth while to quote parallels. The syntax of our formula is not quite clear, but I can see no other way out of the difficulty than to assume that the construction is anacoluthic and that the first מן זי is taken up again by אחר מן זי. If this be so, the first relative clause would have no verb. Prof. LIDZBARSKI was of opinion that על contains the verb, and he proposed a verb \*על "to wrong", which the translator of the inscription would himself have created, thinking of *awwel* and *awwāl*. Although I do not deny the possibility of this interpretation, in view also of the Ethiopic መሠ which is used in the ground-stem, I think that יחבל או יפרך are the real verbs that were intended to be connected with the first מן זי, and that the second אחר מן זי was used partly because the verb would have been too far separated from its subject by the interposed objects, and partly also because in the Lydian original the corresponding words were used twice.

L. 5: The preposition **לְקַבֵּל** means "in front of, opposite". The funerary couches opposite the fore-court would then be those in the first room of the cavern. For the tombs generally contained two rooms, one at the back, probably for the man and his wife and sometimes for his children, and one in the front destined for more distant relations or for other members of the household such as freedmen or the like (see p. 27). Persons of the latter class are sometimes included in the funerary inscriptions of Asia Minor.

L. 6: **אָחָר** is an Aramaic word, but the Aramaeans scarcely ever used it in the sense which it must have here. Prof. LIDZBARSKI called my attention to the use of Persian *pasča(ēta)* which he thinks was the prototype of this **אָחָר**, and to the fact that in Pehlevi **אָחָר** and *pas* correspond. The Persian *pasčaēta* is often used to introduce the apodosis or even merely to connect sentences. Originally meaning "afterwards" it gradually came to be used for "then, furthermore, thus, and". I think LIDZBARSKI is undoubtedly right in this suggestion. The word **פָּרַךְ** meaning in Aramaic "to rub to pieces", would scarcely have been employed here by a man whose native tongue was Aramaic. Again we see that the translator had but a slight and superficial knowledge of that language.

L. 7: The words **כְּלוּ** and **אִפְשִׁי** certainly denote the lake of Koloë and the town of Ephesos, at each of which places there was a famous sanctuary of Artemis. But here we have again a linguistic difficulty. The words **כְּלוּ וִי אִרְחָמוּ וִי אִפְשִׁי** are perfectly good Aramaic. After them we should expect **וִי אִפְשִׁי**, or even better **וִי אִרְחָמוּ וִי אִפְשִׁי** since they were different deities. But the stone bears the letters **וִי אִפְשִׁי**. This can to my mind mean only "and the Ephesian one". Now in correct Aramaic "the Ephesian one" referring to Artemis should be **אִפְשִׁיחָא**. Our [worthy translator, however, knew very little of the *status emphaticus* and the *status absolutus*, and certainly nothing of grammatical genders. I think he was perfectly capable of translating "the Ephesian Artemis" by **אִרְחָמוּ אִפְשִׁי**.

L. 8. The word **מִנְרַעְמָחָא** would literally mean "his anythings". This is not good English; neither is it good Aramaic. The plural of the indefinite **מִנְרַעַם** together with a suffix is very conspicuous in Old Aramaic. The form **מִנְרַעְמָחָא** without the suffix occurs in the papyri from Elephantine, and the masculine plural is found in later dialects; cf. NÖLDEKE, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 186 and ann. 4. — That we should expect **יִכְרַנְנָא** instead of **יִכְרֻנְנָא** has been said above on p. 24. The last word is **וִירְחָא** which is the singular, whereas from parallels in other inscriptions we should expect the plural. Perhaps this is another mistake of the translator. The choice of the verb **כָּרַר** meaning "disperse" is also very strange. What the writer intended was probably "may the gods drive him away from his property", or "may the gods disperse his property". The translation given above is an attempt to imitate the curiously worded Aramaic phrase.

## The Lydian Text.

Unfortunately the beginning of the Lydian text was destroyed when the stone was broken. This lost part contained the date. The end of this date consists of the words  $\text{ṯ111ṯA8 ṯ1ṯ1 ṯA9-1}$ . The words which then follow are also partly destroyed. But the missing letters can be restored with approximate certainty from a few other funerary inscriptions that will be discussed below in Chap. III. By comparing these inscriptions, especially No. 9, we find that we should here read the following words:  $\text{1019ATṯ8 [ṯAṽM1 ṯṯṯ ṯṯ1 ṯ1ṯ11ṯ ṯA1ṯ+ ṯAṯ19+A1 [ṯAṽM1] ṯṯṯ ṯ19ṽ ṯṯṯ}$ . At the end of l. 3 we should supply the word  $\text{ṯ1+Mṽ}$  which generally follows  $\text{ṯ1ṯA}$  (or a derivative of the same root) and which is here found in l. 6 after  $\text{ṽ1ṯṯA}$ . In l. 5 parts of an  $\text{°}$  are to be seen over the  $\text{1}$ , and as the word  $\text{1019ATṯ8}$  is a very common one, almost always combined with  $\text{ṯAṽM1}$  or  $\text{ṯAṽM1}$ , there is no doubt that here too it must be read. Now taking these restorations for granted I shall try to present in parallel columns what appear to be the corresponding words of the two parts of the inscription. In the first column I give my English translation of the Aramaic, subject to all reservations pointed out in my commentary, in the second the Lydian text.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) This stele  | $\text{ṯ19ṽ ṯṯṯ}$   |
| (2) and the cavern  | $\text{[ṯAṽM1] ṯṯṯ}$  |
| (3) [and] the funerary couches(?)   | $\text{ṯAṯ19+A1}$   |
| (4) and the fore-court which is above<br>Sardis(?) – this its fore-court –  | $\text{1019ATṯ8 [ṯAṽM1 ṯṯṯ ṯṯ1 ṯ1ṯ11ṯ ṯA1ṯ+}$                           |
| (5) [they are] the property of MNY son<br>of KMLY of SLWK.  | $\text{ṯ11Aṯ11ṯ ṯ111ṽṽṽ ṯ11ṽṽAṽ ṯAṽA}$                                  |
| (6) And if anybody against this stele   | $\text{ṯ19ṽ ṯṯṯ ṯ1+Mṽ ṯ1ṯA}$  |
| (7) or the cavern   | $\text{ṯAṽM1 ṯṯṯ ṯ18}$  |
| (8) or the funerary couches   | $\text{ṯAṯ19+A1 ṯAṯṯṯ ṯ18}$   |
| (9) opposite the fore-court of this cavern –  | $\text{1019ATṯ8 ṯAṽM1 ṯṯṯ ṯṯ1 ṯ1ṯ ṯ1ṯ18}$                               |
| (10) that is to say, if anybody destroys<br>or breaks anything,   | $\text{ṯ1(8)ṯṯṯṯ8 ṯṯ1ṯ+ ṯ1+Mṽ ṽ1ṯṯA}$                                   |
| (11) then may Artemis of Ephesos and<br>of Koloë  | $\text{ṯ1ṽ1ṯṽA ṯ1ṯṽ1ṽ1 ṽ1ṽ1ṯṽA ṯṽṽA8}$<br>$\text{ṯ1ṯṽ1ṽ1ṽ}$             |
| (12) with regard to his court, his house,<br>his property, soil and water, and all<br>that is his disperse him and his heir(s). | $\text{ṯṯ180ṽ ṯAṯ1ṯṽ ṯṯAṽ18 ṯAṽAA}$<br>$\text{ṯṽṽ+A8ṯ1 ṯ18 ṯṯ1ṯ+ ṯAṽ1+$ |

We cannot expect that absolutely every word in the two parts of a bilingual inscription of this kind has been literally translated. But comparing the columns we soon notice that the translation is as a whole accurate enough to allow us to identify most

<sup>1</sup> For a possible restoration see the end of the commentary on this inscription.

of the Lydian words. Only in §§ 4, 9 and 12 we cannot as yet be sure of the meaning of every word. I shall now give those Lydian words of which the meaning seems to be established with reasonable certainty.

𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 is in Aramaic **זנה סחונא** "this stele". In Lydian therefore *est* means "this" and *mrud* "stele". A number of other inscriptions begin 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁 (No. 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 26); three (No. 1 A, B, and 6) have 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁. Now we know from § 7 on p. 30 that -𐤁𐤁𐤁 is in Aramaic **מערהא** "cavern", and we find another word for "this", viz. *ess* or *es*, employed when the word *vānaś* "cavern" follows. We conclude therefore that when a word ending in -*d* is used, the demonstrative pronoun is *est*, but with a word ending in -*s* it is *ess*. Furthermore in § 6 and 7 we have 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 and 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁. Judging from the context, 𐤀 is the sign of the oblique case, whereas 𐤁 and 𐤁 are the signs of the subjective case. Now all four words *es(s)*, *est*, *mrud*, and *vānaś* have the same sign in the oblique case: *esū* (derived both from *ess* and *est*), *mrudū*, *vānaū*. The stem of the demonstrative pronoun is therefore *es-*, but when *s*, the ending of certain substantives in the subjective case, is added, the *s* is assimilated by the *s*, and we have *ess* or *es*. Our first results then are three Lydian stems: *es*- "this", *mrud*- "stele" and *vāna-* "cavern".

§ 2 reads 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁, in Aramaic **ומערהא** "and the cavern". The demonstrative pronoun is omitted in the Aramaic. Nor is there any rule in Lydian with regard to the use of this pronoun; generally it is used with every word denoting a different part of the tomb, but sometimes it is omitted in Lydian also. Here however to the pronoun another letter is added, viz. 𐤁-; this corresponds with the Aramaic 𐤁 "and". We know then that in Lydian "and" is expressed by the suffix -*k*.

In § 3, I have placed only the word 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁+𐤁𐤁. It is very probable however that before this we should supply 𐤁𐤁𐤁. The word *lahrisak* is here rendered in Aramaic **אחרתא אחרתא**, but in § 8 by the first of these two words alone. Above on p. 26 I inferred the meaning "funeral couches" for this term. The word is in the plural in Aramaic, and must be in the plural if my translation is correct; for there were always several couches in every tomb. But what is the sign of the subjective case in the plural? I think, but cannot be absolutely sure that it is the 𐤁. For it appears that when the 𐤁 "and" is added the case-ending is dropped; cf. *esk mrud* 5, l. 1 "and this stele" (for \**est-k*), and *mrud* 11, l. 2 "and the stele" (for \**mrud-k*). If we read 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁+𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 the -*k* in *esk* might be the conjunction "and", and the -(*a*)*k* in *lahrisak* would be the subjective case of the plural. The oblique case of the plural which has the ending 𐤁𐤁- is much better known. In § 8 we read 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁+𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁, and in the other inscriptions there are over thirty instances of words with the ending 𐤁𐤁-. Inscription 9 has in the first part the words 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁+𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 and in the second 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁+𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁. In the form *lahris-k* an *a* is perhaps omitted, so that *lahrisak* should be read. From the formula *es-k lahrisak* one might conclude that the demon-

strative pronoun was the same in the singular and in the plural, if used as an adjective, as for instance in modern Persian and Turkish. But the form *esēac* with *lahrisac* shows us that this is not the case. I believe therefore that the form *es-k* meaning "and these" should really be *\*es-k-k*, and that where two *-k* came together at the end of the word only one was written. The paradigm of the demonstrative pronoun, so far as we now know it, would be:

	Sing.:	Plur.:
Subj. Case	<i>es(š). est</i>	<i>esk</i>
Obl. Case	<i>esū</i>	<i>esēac</i>

In *esēac* the *ē* has been reduplicated; for *\*esac* or *\*esē* would be the form expected from the analogy of other plural forms.

In § 4 there seems to be a divergence between the Lydian and the Aramaic. We must compare with one another § 4 and § 9; the former reads *helak kudkit ist esū vā(naū) būtarvod*, the latter read *bukit kud ist esū vānaū būtarvod*. The translation of the former is very uncertain in the Aramaic ("and the fore-court which is above Sardis, — this its fore-court —"); the latter is reasonably certain ("opposite the fore-court of this cavern"). We know that *esū* is the oblique case of "this", that *vānaū* is that of *vāna-š* "cave". The word *ist* occurs twice in No. 4 together with *šfarū*; I am tempted to translate *ist šfarū* "here in Sardis",<sup>1</sup> since 𐤓𐤒𐤁𐤓 is the oblique case of 𐤕𐤒𐤁𐤓, as 𐤕𐤒𐤕𐤕 is of 𐤕𐤒𐤕.<sup>2</sup> Now the word "fore-court" occurs three times in the Aramaic, twice where the Lydian has *vānaū būtarvod*, and once where the Lydian has *helak*. The latter may stand for *hela-d-k*, and *helad* might then be the word for "fore-court", whereas *vānaū būtarvod* might be a synonym, meaning "that which is before the cavern". But we cannot as yet reach a solution of these questions. The same is to be said about *kudkit* and *bukitkud* which in all probability are equivalent to the Aramaic 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 "opposite". A definite opinion on the grammatical character of these words, their prefixes and suffixes, cannot be given. The only equivalent of Sardis in the Aramaic passage — if this be correctly read — would be 𐤕𐤕𐤕, "here".

§ 5 again is plain and acquaints us with several important facts as to Lydian grammar. It reads *akad Mane-lid Kumli-lid Siluka-lid* and is to be translated "(they are) the property of Mane the son of Kumli of (the town of) Siluka."

The words "they are" are not found in Aramaic; for in most Semitic languages the "verbum substantivum" or the "copula" or whatever it may be called is omitted. I presume that this is the case also in Lydian, for sentences like *es vānaš Mane-lis Alu-lis*, "this tomb (is) that of Mane, son of Alu", or "this (is) the tomb of Mane, son of Alu", occur several times in our inscriptions. The word 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 is in the same

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "here in Šado" in inscriptions from Aksum, my edition in *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, IV, No. 10, 24 and 11, 44.

<sup>2</sup> As a parallel that may not prove anything, I cite Armenian *ais* "this", plur. *aishē*, and *ast* "here".



place as the Aramaic 𐤏𐤍, which above has been translated "the property". I believe this meaning to be quite certain, and I cannot refrain from calling attention to the fact that PAULI in his *Altitalische Forschungen*, II, 2, pp. 99-100, suggested the meanings "property" for the Etruscan word *acil* and "he appropriated, dedicated" for *acilune* in the Lemnos inscription.<sup>1</sup>

The three words following have the ending *-lid*. The most natural supposition would be that this was the ending of the genitive in Lydian. But though genitives of the first and second names could easily be understood, that of the third name which indicates the place whence the man came,<sup>2</sup> would be difficult to explain. It might however be claimed that the third name is that of the grandfather, or else a title. But even then *-lid* cannot be the genitive: for it is used only when the preceding word ends in *-d*, and when that word ends in *-s* the ending *-lis* is used instead of *-lid*. This may be inferred from the following list:

<i>vānaś Mane-lis Alu-lis</i>	(1 a, b)
<i>mrud Alikuerid . . . . .</i>	(5, l. 1)
<i>vānaś Kumli-lis Ate-lis</i>	(8, l. 1)
<i>akad Artabāna-lid</i>	(9, l. 3-5)
<i>akad Karo-lid Sabūa-lid</i>	(11, l. 3-4)
<i>vānaś Ala-lis Tivda-lis</i>	(13, l. 1)
<i>vānaś Sivāmlis Armāvlis</i>	(15, l. 1)
<i>mrud Atrasta-lid Timle-lid</i>	(26, l. 2).

I believe therefore that *-lis* and *-lid* are the endings of adjectives denoting appurtenance or origin, and that *akad Mane-lid Kumli-lid Siluka-lid* are all three nominatives or subjective cases. The *-s* of *-lis* corresponds with the ending *ś*, the *-d* of *-lid* with the ending *-d*. Expressions like Marcus Tullius, Τελαμῶνιος Αἴας, etc., are too well known to be here discussed at length. But it is a new feature that the adjective derived from the name of a place should also be added in the same form. It is of course not only possible but even highly probable that these adjectives of appurtenance are derived from the genitive and that *l* was originally a termination of the genitive.

§ 6 begins 𐤕𐤁𐤌𐤏 𐤕𐤏𐤁, and these words are the equivalent of 𐤏 𐤌𐤏 which means either "whosoever" or "if anybody". In § 10 𐤕𐤁𐤌𐤏 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤁 is the equivalent of 𐤏𐤕𐤏 𐤏 𐤌𐤏, "that is to say, if anybody". The ending 𐤏- must here correspond with 𐤏𐤕𐤏 "that is to say, then". The beginning of the apodosis is again marked in the Aramaic by 𐤏𐤕𐤏 "then", in the Lydian by 𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤁𐤏. There are three correlated words in Lydian: 𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤁, 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤁, 𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤁𐤏. The relation between 𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤁 and 𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤁𐤏 was also recognized by Prof. THUMB, and he correctly concluded that *-𐤏* must be a kind of prefix. The common element in these words is 𐤏𐤁. This occurs in Lydian with many different

<sup>1</sup> Professor HERBIG refers also to TORP, *Etrusk. Beiträge*, 2, 101.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 28.

suffixes. Besides  $\text{TI}\mathbf{\Lambda}$  and  $\text{YIT}\mathbf{\Lambda}$  we find  $\mathbf{\Lambda}$  without addition; furthermore  $\text{YI}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ ,  $\text{TA}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ ,  $\text{I}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ ,  $\text{YI}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ ,  $\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ ,  $\text{TI}\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ ,  $\text{IAT}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ ,  $\text{YI}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ ,  $\text{Z}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ . It is not yet possible to say what all these different endings mean. But it seems to me that the meanings of  $\text{TI-}$ ,  $\text{YI-}$ ,  $\text{YIT-}$  (probably for  $\text{YITI-}$ ) and  $\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda-}$  can be guessed with some certainty.  $\text{TI}+\text{MI}\mathbf{\Lambda}$  and  $\text{TI}+\text{MI}\text{TI}\mathbf{\Lambda}$  evidently mean almost the same. They both occur in similar sentences at the beginning of the second part of the funerary inscriptions. I take  $\text{TI-}$  to be a sort of particle either connecting the two parts and leading over from one to the other, or having a generalizing idea well suited for a conditional clause; its meaning would be either like that of the English "now", German "nun" (wenn nun . . .), Greek  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  or  $\kappa\acute{\iota}$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\iota\ \kappa\acute{\iota}$ !), Ethiopic  $-h\bar{a}$  and the like, or of the English "-soever", German "nur immer". The Aramaic here gives  $\text{I}$  "and", a word that in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, has to serve a great many purposes. The suffix  $\text{YI-}$  must convey, judging from this inscription, rather a consecutive or conclusive idea, like the German "also".  $\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda-}$  on the other hand seems to me to be a "personal suffix", i. e. a suffix taking the place of a personal pronoun. I conclude this from such sentences as *akmū-t his fēnsūbīd f-akmū-t Hūdāns Artamu-k vgbahēnt* (No. 1). As we shall see below in § 10 and § 12 *fēnsūbīd* equals "destroys" and *vgbahēnt* "may they disperse". Now in the sentence just quoted there is no object whatsoever unless it be  $-m\bar{u}$ , or perhaps  $-m\bar{u}-t$ . A fuller form of  $-m\bar{u}$ , used when it stands by itself, not as a suffix or encliticon, seems to be  $\bar{e}m\bar{u}$ ; cf.  $\mu\omicron\iota$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota$ . Thus when we take  $-m\bar{u}$  to be a "personal suffix" the phrase makes very good sense and is perfectly complete: "if anybody destroys this, then may Hūdāns and Artemis disperse (i. e. punish) him". If this be correct,  $m\bar{u}$  would mean "him" and "it", like the personal suffixes in all Semitic languages and in modern Persian. And we have already seen that  $\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda-}$  is the sign for the oblique case.

Returning to our sentence we may translate *akit nā-his* "if now anybody". Both *his* and *nā-his* occur after *akit*, *akīn*, *akmū* etc. It appears that *his* is an indefinite pronoun with about the same meaning as  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , *quis*, and that *nā-* is a prefix which emphasizes the indefinite meaning: "whosoever", *quicumque*, etc. Of the meaning of *ak* we shall have to speak again in § 11. — The words  $\text{YIYI}\mathbf{\Lambda}\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda}$  are the oblique case of  $\text{YIYI}\mathbf{\Lambda}\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ .

§ 7. The word  $\text{YI}\mathbf{\Lambda}$  is rendered in Aramaic by  $\text{I}\mathbf{\Lambda}$  "or". The meaning of *buk* is therefore established. The  $-k$  at the end may be the same as the connecting postposition  $-k$  which in other cases means "and". On  $\text{YAYMI}\mathbf{\Lambda}\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda}$  see above p. 31.

§ 8. The words *buk esāc lahrisac* "or these funeral couches" (oblique case) need no further discussion after what has been said above on p. 31 and in § 7.

§ 9. I have no satisfactory interpretation to offer. In § 4 we read  $\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda}\text{TI}\mathbf{\Lambda}\text{YI}\mathbf{\Lambda}$   $\text{IYIYAT}\mathbf{\Lambda}\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda}$  [ $\text{YAYMI}\mathbf{\Lambda}\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda}$   $\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ ] and in inscr. 9, ll. 2-3 and ll. 9-10 we have exactly the same reading, with the single difference that  $\text{T}\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{\Lambda}$  is omitted. But here the sentence begins  $\text{YIYI}\mathbf{\Lambda}\text{TI}\mathbf{\Lambda}\mathbf{\Lambda}$ . If the correct formula is *kudkit esū vānāñ būtarvod* it is possible

§ 10 is in Lydian *aktin nā-his helūk fēnsūi(b)id*. The original has 𐌰𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸 but the second 8 is certainly a mistake for 𐌰, since the word 𐌰𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸 occurs over a dozen times with 𐌰 in the last syllable. For the word *aktin* (for \**ak-it-in*) we have postulated the meaning "wenn nun also". The word *helūk* is the equivalent of Aramaic מְנַדֵּעַ "something, anything". The stem of this word is probably *hel-*; for *-ū* is the sign of the oblique case. The *-k* at the end cannot here mean "and", because there is no "and" in the Aramaic and because an "and" would not agree with the context. Nor can it be the sign of the plural, because there *-k* is used only in the subjective case, and the objective case of the plural ends in *-(a)ē*. I think therefore that *-k* here has a generalizing meaning, like that of *-que* in the Latin *quidque*. We might then, so far as the formation is concerned, compare *his*: *nā-his* with *quis*: *ali-quis*,<sup>1</sup> and *helū*: *helū-k* with *quid*: *quidque*. The first group has prefixes, the second has suffixes. The verb *fēnsūibid* is rendered in Aramaic by two verbs "he destroys or breaks". In Lydian it probably had a more general meaning than the two special words in Aramaic. It is therefore best translated by "he damages". The word is probably composed of the prefix *f-*, another prefix (originally preposition?) *-ēn-*, the stem *-sū-*, the sign of the mood *-ib-* and the sign of the person *-id*. But this is only guess-work.

<sup>1</sup> Hungarian *ki* "who?" *vali-ki* "somebody".

the latter denotes a man who is or lives at Smyrna. In Lydian then *Ibsimsis* would be the name of Artemis, because she dwelt there. This word seems to have a double adjectival ending: the sibilant was repeated as for instance in *eséaś*, see above p. 31. The ending *-mis* occurs also, e. g. in *Sivraūmis*, another epithet of Artemis. Perhaps *\*Ibsimis* existed also in Lydian; this may have become *\*Ibsimisis* and then *Ibsimsis*, as *akitin* became *aktin*. The forms in *-msis* would then be a sort of hybrid. If adjectives ending in *-lis* were derived from a genitive ending in *-l*, those ending in *-mis* (*-msis*) may have been derived from a locative ending in *-m*.

§ 12 gives a number of nouns in the oblique case; some have the ending *†*-, some are without it. But there is much doubt with regard to the equivalents in Lydian and in Aramaic. In Lydian we have three pairs: (1) *aaraū biraūk*, (2) *kūidaū kofuūk*, (3) *hiraū helūk*; after these there is the word *bilū*, which I take to be the missing word for "his". In Aramaic we have (1) his court, his house, (i. e. "Haus und Hof", "house and home"); (2) his property; (3) soil and water; (4) and everything that is his. It is safe to assume that the first two words are the same in Lydian and Aramaic, since they make a good pair, and since they occur together in Inscr. No. 30. We should then have *aaraū biraūk* "court and house". Which of the two means "court" and which means "house", may be doubtful. If we were to keep the same order in Lydian as in Aramaic, we ought to translate the Lydian "property and soil, water and all that is his". But such a combination does not commend itself. Moreover the word *hiraū* would mean "water". Now this word is found in several other inscriptions, but never with the word *kofuū* which would mean "soil", if we keep the same order in both parts of the inscription. On the contrary, I think I can prove that *hiraū* cannot mean water, but must be something else. Inscr. 13, l. 5 ends *fakmū Artimus hiraū helūk vqbahēnt*. It would be very strange to translate this curse "may Artemis destroy him and all the water", whereas a translation "may Artemis destroy him and all (his) property" would be very natural. I propose as a solution of the difficulty that the order of meanings in the Aramaic may in the Lydian be changed. It would be very plausible to read: (1) "house and home", (2) "soil and water", (3) "property and all that is his", or better (3) "and all property belonging to him". In that case *kūidaū kofuūk* would be "soil and water". Again I shall not decide the question which of the two words is the equivalent of "soil" and which is that of "water". The third pair would be *hiraū helūk*. Of these two we know *helūk* to mean "anything". But not in English only may "anything" also mean "everything". We have *quisque* in Latin and in all Semitic languages the root *kull-*, which means "all, everything, anybody, anything". We are, I think, entitled to assign here to *helūk* the meaning „all". And *hira-* would be "property". It is moreover surely not accidental that the three pairs of words which we have just established are united by alliteration; for we have (1) *aaraū biraūk*; (2) *kūidaū kofuūk*; (3) *hiraū helūk*. These were

probably proverbial sayings like "rhyme or reason", "Kind und Kegel", "house and home".

The word *bilū* I take to mean "his". In the Aramaic part the suffix "his" is found with "court", "house", "property", "all". We cannot here dispense with a word for "his". Now *bilū* is the oblique case; its subjective case would be *bilis*. This is found in No. 7, l. 13 where we have 𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤁𐤀𐤁; and the oblique case of both these words is found in No. 30, l. 13, viz. 𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤁𐤀. It is very tempting to translate the first of these two passages "neither he nor anyone who is his", the second "him and anyone who is his". We should thus have the paradigm:

Subj. case: <i>bis</i> "he" or "this, that"	<i>bilis</i>	} "his"
Obl. case: <i>bū</i> "him"                   "       "	<i>bilū</i>	

The "possessive pronoun" or "adjective denoting appurtenance" *bilis* would be derived from *bi-s* like *Mane-lis* from *Mane-s*. An inflected possessive pronoun of the third person or an adjective of appurtenance derived from a demonstrative pronoun might well have existed in Lydian. Although such forms are not common and their place is often taken by the reflexive possessive pronoun, they grow up independently in different languages; cf. for instance Sanskrit *tadīya-*, Latin *quofus*<sup>1</sup> (Spanish *cuyo*, *cuya*, etc., Portuguese *cujo*, *cuja* etc.). Like these last forms *bilis* is probably derived from a genitive.

The last word in the Lydian text is *vqbahēnt*. This is no doubt the equivalent of יברונה "may they disperse (him)". The exact meaning of the verb is not clear. As I said before, we should expect "may they drive him away from his property" or "may they scatter his property". Since there is this uncertainty in the Aramaic, there is all the more in the Lydian. However we might take the *-mū* in *fakmū* as a sort of dative denoting "to somebody's advantage" or "to his disadvantage" (*dativus ethicus*), since personal suffixes may signify either the accusative or the dative, especially if it be true that there is only one oblique case in Lydian. Then a literal translation of the Lydian in ll. 6-8 would be: "now then, may to his disadvantage Artemis of Ephesos and Artemis of Koloë scatter his house and home, soil and water, all his property".<sup>2</sup> If this is right, the 𐤁 in *helūk* is not taken as a conjunction "and" but with the same meaning as in § 10. What verb-form *vqbahēnt* is I cannot say. It seems of course to be a plural form of the third person in some imperative or jussive mood; but in No. 13 it occurs with 𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁, a singular.

There is however in the word וירתה "and his heir" one objection to my interpretation. In the Lydian I have discovered no similar expression, but it is not impossible that the Aramaic has an addition not contained in the Lydian; a similar case seems to occur in § 4, where the Aramaic has perhaps the name of Sardis, which

<sup>1</sup> See SOMMER, *Handbuch der lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*, p. 472, ann. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in German "die Feinde zerstörten ihm sein Haus".

is not found in the Lydian. I repeat that my interpretation is only tentative, but it is the best that I can now offer.

For a restoration of the beginning of the Lydian text W. H. BUCKLER suggested to me the following:

1. [borlū X quvellū Artakṣassaūš]
2. [o]raū islū Bakillū.

„Year 10 of King Artaxerxes during (?) or “in the course of”) the Dionysiac month”.

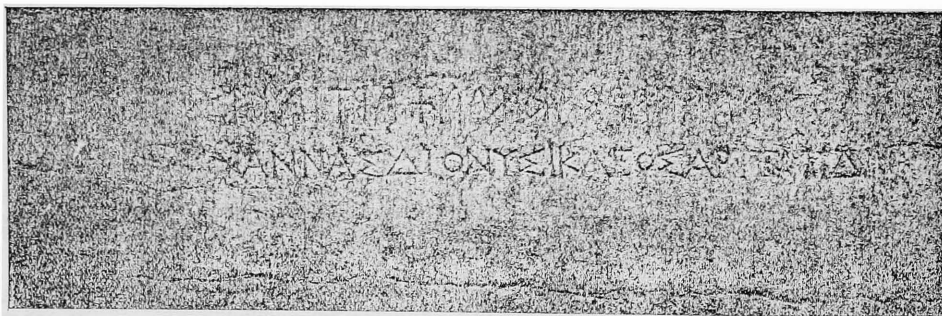
The restoration of l. 1 is based on L. 11; see below Ch. III, E. However, I should rather propose to read [borlū X Artakṣassaūš quvellū o]raū “In the year 10 of Artaxerxes, the great king”; for *quvellū* (gen.) “king” and *oraū* (gen.) “great” see the commentary on L. 11.

*Bakillū* undoubtedly means “Dionysiac”, as Mr. BUCKLER suggests; he points for comparison to *kave-k Bakillis* in 4, l. 9 = “and priest of Dionysos”. We learn from the Greco-Lydian bilingual inscription, p. 39, that 𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤕 equals Διονυσιο-. The “Dionysiac month” would then, of course, be the Lydian equivalent of “Marḥešwān”. The latter corresponds to our October–November. That would be the time when the vintage is over and the first wine is drunk, a month very apt to be called “Dionysiac”. The custom of calling certain months after the name of a god or a saint or of a festival is very widely spread. At the same time we would have here a new word for month, viz. *isl-*.

## B.

### The Greco-Lydian Inscriptions.

(L. 25).



Greco-Lydian Bilingual from Sardis.

SMALL MARBLE PEDESTAL found at Sardis 1913 on the north side of the temple of Artemis. In the flat top of the pedestal are holes into which the base of a statue seems to have fitted.

Line 1 (Lydian) is  $26\frac{3}{4}$  cm. long; l. 2 (Greek) 33 cm.

The Lydian letters are  $1\frac{3}{4}$  cm. high, the Greek  $1-1\frac{1}{2}$  cm.



The words *esû taagû* are distinctly read in the inscription from Arably Hadjili. The meaning "column" for *taagû* is merely guessed. — I have been unable to read the last letters in l. 1 with certainty. The word seems to contain the name of Athena; its first three letters are probably *Ata*-. The last word I take to be a verb. The letters 𐎧𐎡𐎥𐎥 are reasonably certain. If we consider *-it* to be the ending, *ora*- would be the stem. This root may be connected with the word *oraû* for which I conclude the meaning "great"; see below Ch. III, p. 50. The verb might then mean "to make great", or "high", i. e. "to erect".

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## CHAPTER III.

### Unilingual Inscriptions.

In this chapter I shall give a number of Lydian inscriptions of which I am able to offer tentative interpretations based on the bilingual inscription published in the foregoing chapter. I follow the order of the numbers given to these documents in the foregoing chapter. I follow the order of the numbers

Sardis according to the time at which they were found.

A.

(L. 1)



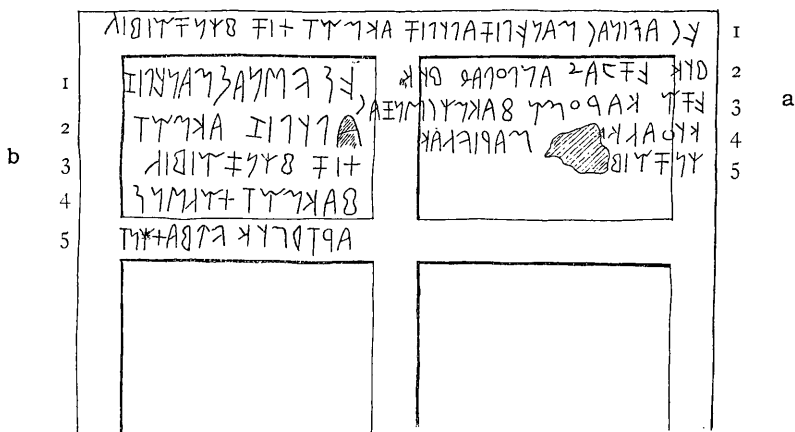
facing East, on the hillside  
was a single couch on the



STELE OF LIMESTONE found in the dromos of a tomb  
West of the temple. In the interior of the tomb there

Sardis Expedition VI.

right, another on the left, and a double couch at the back. The top line contains black colouring matter in the letters, while those of Inscription **b** have red colouring matter. The stone measures  $59 \times 71\frac{1}{2}$  cm. (maximum measurements). Thickness: 19 cm. The face of the stone is smooth, the back very rough, the sides are fairly well finished. The letters are in **a**:  $1-3\frac{3}{4}$  cm., in **b**:  $1\frac{3}{4}-3$  cm. high. This inscription was published by Prof. THUMB, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.*, XV (1911), No. 2.



Inscr. L. 1. — Scale 1 : 5.

I take **b** first, since its interpretation presents no difficulty.

**b.**

1. *eš vānaš Manclis*
2. *Alulis. akmūt*
3. *his fēnsūibid*
4. *fakmūt Hūdāns*
5. *Artēmuk vqbahēnt*

This tomb (is) that of Manes,  
the son of Alus. If it  
anybody destroys,  
then him may Hūdāns  
and Artemis punish.

The letters of this inscription are all certain, but not very well carved nor regularly written. The letter **𐎧** occurs twice without the projecting part of the shaft (= **I**). In the **𐎧** of **𐎧𐎶𐎠𐎥𐎶** (l. 5) the upper part is a winding line without angles. The **𐎶** in **𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶** has a curved top; this word is a proof of the fact that there is no difference between **𐎶** and **𐎶**.

On **𐎶** for **𐎶𐎶** see above p. 31. — The word *akmūt* is composed of *ak*, *-mū* and *it*. The fuller form *akmūt* occurs also, e. g. 7, l. 9. From the forms *akmūt* and *aktin* (above p. 34) we learn that the suffix *-it* does not bear the accent. I have tried above on p. 34 to interpret *-mū* and *-it*. On the **𐎠** in **𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎥𐎶** see above p. 19. The deity *Hūdāns* has been mentioned above on p. 13.

## a.

1. *eš aānaš Manelis Alulis akmūt his fēnsūibid*
2. *buk ešāc anlolač buk*
3. *esū karovū fakmē Sānñāš*
4. *Kuoadk(?) Marivdak*
5. *ēnsuiō[id].*

1. This tomb (is) that of Manes, son of Alus. If anybody destroys it
2. or these *anlol-* or
3. this *karov-* (*daros-?*), then may Sānñāš
4. and Kuoad- and Marivda-
5. destroy him.

This inscription contains several unknown words and forms.

L. 1: The  $\aleph$  is written  $\gamma$ . This was of course very apt to lead astray the first interpreter. The second word  $\aleph\aleph\aleph\aleph$  may be a mistake for  $\aleph\aleph\aleph\aleph$ . The latter is given also in b, l. 1. Moreover I have not found  $\aleph\aleph\aleph\aleph$  anywhere else, whereas  $\aleph\aleph\aleph\aleph$  occurs more than twenty times. There is no proof yet that the digamma was dropped in Lydian; unless it be the stem  $-\aleph\aleph$  which occurs a few times and which perhaps may be derived from the same stem as  $\aleph\aleph\aleph\aleph$ .

L. 2: The meaning of *anlolač* is not known. In 15, l. 3 and 20, l. 2 there is a word *antolač* which I firmly believe to be the same as this word. I think the *l* here is a mistake for *t*, caused by the *l* directly following. Now *antolač* cannot be a synonym of *lahrisač*, since they both occur together in No. 15. Perhaps *antolač* means "the bodies"; for the word occurs only in the second part of funerary inscriptions (— if anybody destroys the *antolač* —), not in the first part (— the *antolak* are the property of —).

L. 3-4: The second word may be read *karosū*, *karovū*, *karolū*, *darosū*, *darovū* or *darolū*. None of these words is found elsewhere except *karolū*; but this seems to be in all instances the oblique case of an adjective derived from a proper name, whereas here a common noun is needed.

The word *fakmē* corresponds with *akmūt* in l. 1. I have not found this form anywhere else; but *fakmū* is not rare. I am inclined to believe that *fakmē* is a mistake for *fakmū*, especially because of the corresponding form in l. 1. The absence of the ending  $-(i)t$  in *fakm(ū)* shows that  $-(i)t$  may be left out without making much difference in the meaning.

*Sānñāš*, *Kuoad*- and *Marivda*- I take to be names of deities. The first, I think, is rather the Cilician god Sandon than another form of Sawazios (Sabazios). For *Sānñāš* might easily stand for Sandas, and Sandas, Sandes etc. are variant forms of Sandon; cf. ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, § 484. In *Kuoad*- we may recognize the elements *kuova-* and *-ad* ( $-at?$ ), which occur frequently in names from

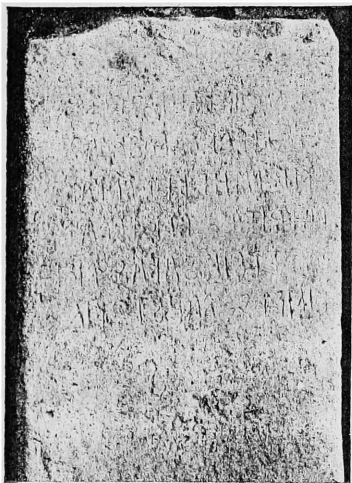
Asia Minor; cf. KRETSCHMER, p. 368, SUNDWALL, pp. 127 ff. The name Marivda- may be the same as the second part of the Carian personal name Σουμ-μαρουδης, cf. KRETSCHMER, p. 366, and see similar names in SUNDWALL, pp. 142 ff.

L. 5: It is just possible that there is a 8 before -11111, but it is not very likely. The form *ənsūibid* without the *f*- at the beginning occurs once more (26, l. 3). Perhaps the verb *ənsū(ib)*- is used, when the deity "destroys" man, and *f-ənsū(ib)*- when man destroys a thing. In this inscription such a difference might very well be recognized.

## B.

(L. 6)

STELE OF LIMESTONE, found in situ before a tomb on the hillside West of the Paktolos, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  km. from the river, opposite the South part of the South Village. The tomb had one double and two single couches. The stone is  $96\frac{1}{2}$  cm. high, 33 cm. wide, 27 cm. thick. The letters are  $1\frac{1}{4}$ - $2\frac{1}{4}$  cm. high. There are traces of the stone cutter's guiding lines. Below the inscription there is a single letter which is probably a mason's mark.



1. *eś vānaś esk lahrisa(k)*
2. *esk helad bavafunī . . .*
3. *akit nāhis esū vānañ b[uk]*
4. *lahrisaē buk helañ*
5. *fənsū(i)bid fakaē viśis*
6. *nvišqē varbtokid.*

1. This tomb and these couches
2. and this fore-court(?) are sacrosanct(?).
3. If anybody destroys this tomb or
4. the couches or the fore-court,
5. then may a god take
6. vengeance upon the godless.

The letters of this inscription are somewhat indistinct; for the limestone has not preserved their outlines so well as the marble. In l. 1 at the end a 1- is probably obliterated. In l. 2 after *bavafu-* there may be 11 (*ā*) or 11 (*nī*), but after this nothing is certain; my copy made from the stone indicates TAA as being very uncertain. At the end of l. 3 the letters 11 are easily restored. At the end of l. 4 I drew an uncertain 2 in my copy, but I rather believe now for grammatical reasons that there never was another letter after 11111.

L. 1: 11 stands again for 111.

L. 2: On 11111 see above, p. 32. The last word, howsoever it may be read, must mean something like "is sacrosanct", "is protected by the gods", or "is inviolable".

We have here one of the very few cases in which the owner of the tomb is not mentioned. The word 18A1A8 cannot be analyzed. In 7, l. 15 it occurs in the form 718A1A8, but there the meaning of the context is altogether uncertain.

L. 3 and 4: The words occurring here are known from the bilingual inscription.

L. 5 and 6: Here we have a new formula which must contain a curse or a menace. This formula occurs complete in three other cases. They are the following:

41XOT89A1 27111117 713311 2A1A8 (9, l. 11-12)

41XOT89A1 27111117 713311 2A1A8 (15, l. 5-6)

40T89A1 27111117 713311 2A1A (16, l. 22-23).

We see that 71311 stands for 713311 and that 2711117 again stands for 27111117. It seems to me that *višsis* stands for *viš-sis*, and that we have here the same adjectival ending as above in *Kulu-m-sis*. The first *s* was assimilated because it was directly preceded by *s*. The form *višs-qē* was probably always pronounced *viš-qē*, because of the coming together of so many consonants; the spelling *višsqē* in No. 15 is probably only an etymological spelling. But *višsis* also became *višis*, since it seems that double consonants gradually came to be pronounced like single ones in Lydian. Thus *višsis* would be historical, *višis* phonetic orthography. If *varbtod* in No. 16 is not a mistake, we learn also that *varbtokid* and *varbtod* are synonymous. Probably *-ki-* is the sign of the mood, like *-bi-* in *fensūibid*. The *-d* may be the ending of the third person singular. The stem of the verb may be *varb-*; for the syllable *-to-* I believe to be the sign of a derived stem, like *-lo-* in *katsarlokid*, a verb which stands three times after the name of the deity and probably means "may he (she) punish".

The meaning of *fakaē višsis nivišqē varbtokid* can only be guessed. We know *f-ak* to be the conjunction of the apodosis and *-aē* to be the ending of the oblique case of the plural. It is possible that the suffix *-aē* is an abbreviated form of *-maē*,<sup>1</sup> and this I take to be the plural of *-mū*. Then *-aē* would mean "them" or "to them, to their disadvantage"; cf. above p. 37. A plural in the apodosis would not be improbable; for the protasis, although grammatically in the singular, is *κατὰ σύνεσιν* in the plural. In Syriac "everybody that" (ܐܚܝܐ ܕܝܬܐ) often takes the plural. The two words following are undoubtedly derived from the same stem, *viš-*. The prefix of the second word is *ni-*; cf. also *nin*: *ni-nin*; *hešis*: *ni-hešik*; *haaslū*: *ni-hasllū*. Again *ni-* occurs in the word *ni-k*; cf. *nik bis nik bilis*, above p. 37. It would be most natural to consider *ni-* a negative and to translate *nik...nik* by "neither...nor". Now *viš(s)is* is in the subjective case of the singular, while *nivišqē* on account of its final *ē* is in the oblique case of the plural. But I cannot explain the *q* in *ni-viš-q-ē*. However this may be, we shall not be far from the truth if we suggest as a translation of the formula something like the following: "may a just one punish the unjust ones"; or perhaps rather: "may a divine one (a Deity) take vengeance upon the non-divine

<sup>1</sup> The form *fakmaē* occurs also.

ones<sup>5</sup> (the mortals, or better "the godless"). If *vis(s)is* means divine, the stem *vis-* recalls the Etruscan *ais-a(r)*, "god(s)"; but this comparison is very doubtful.

## C.

(L. 8)

FRAGMENTS OF A FUNERARY STELE, which were found in different places built into a wall on the hillside near the tombs. These fragments have been stuck together and the whole now measures as follows: Height (maximum):  $41\frac{1}{2}$  cm.; width, at the top:  $32\frac{1}{2}$  cm.; at the bottom  $28\frac{1}{2}$  cm. Thickness: 8 cm. Height of letters  $2-4\frac{3}{4}$  cm.



Inscr. L. 8. — Scale 1 : 10.

1. *eśś vānaś Kumlil-*
2. *-is Atelis Sam-*
3. *[ū]llis lahris-*
4. *ak. aki[t] nāhis*
5. *fēnsū[ibid esū]*
6. *vānaū bu[k esāc]*
7. *lahrisa[é fakač]*
8. *[vis]is n[ivisqč]*
9. *[varbtokid]*


This tomb (is) that of Kumli,  
son of Ate, a man from Samūs(?)  
and [also] the couches.

If anybody  
destroys [this]  
tomb or [these]  
couches, [may then]  
[a god upon the godless]  
[take vengeance].

My restoration of this inscription I take to be reasonably certain. There are enough traces of words left at the end to indicate which formula must have been employed. Only the two letters in l. 3 cannot be restored, since this proper name occurs nowhere else. Neither can we be sure whether *Sam-* might be the beginning of a gentilicium derived from Samos. This was suggested to me by W. H. BUCKLER who recalled a passage of Herodotos (I, 51) in which are mentioned bronze caldrons made by Theodoros of Samos; these caldrons were given by Kroisos to the temple at Delphi. However, Mr. BUCKLER is now of opinion that the third names are not

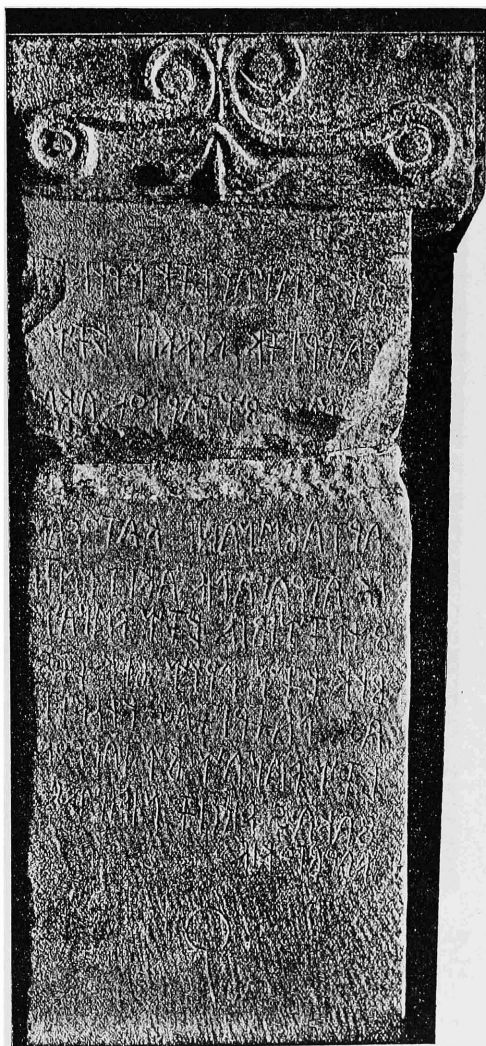
D.

**FUNERARY STELE.** This stele was found at the same place as L. 8. Above the inscription there is a decorated top; see the photograph. The two fragments fit perfectly; there can be only one line missing. The decorated top-piece has the following measurements. Height: 51 cm. Width: 39 cm. Thickness:  $18\frac{1}{2}$  cm. The lower part (die) measures as follows. Height: 128 cm. Width: 32 cm. Thickness  $17\frac{1}{2}$  cm. The inscription is 50 cm., the letters are  $\frac{3}{4}$ - $2\frac{3}{4}$  cm. high.



1. *ess vānaš esk mruđ e[sk]*
2. *lahrišk kudkit esū*
3. *(vān)āū būtarvōd akad*
4. . . . .
5. *Artabānalid Katoval-*
6. *-ik Atrasalid akit nāhis*
7. *fēnsūibid esū vānaū*
8. *buk esū mruū buk es-*
9. *ā lahrišaē kudkit*
10. *esū vānaū būtarvōd*
11. *fakaē viššis nivišqē*
12. *varbtokid.*

1. This tomb and this stele and these
2. couches opposite this
3. fore-court(?) (are) the property
4. of . . . . .
5. son of Artabanēs, and of Katovaś,
6. son of Atraśaś. If anybody
7. destroys this tomb
8. or this stele or these
9. couches opposite
10. this fore-court,
11. then may a god upon the godless
12. take vengeance.



There is some doubt about the arrangement of names, since we do not know how many of these were lost in l. 4. The above translation supposes that only one long name was contained in l. 4. Moreover I am not certain whether the 𐎧- "and" was added to the name of the second person or to that of his father.

Below the inscription there is again a mason's mark.

## E.

(L. 11)

FUNERARY STELE found at the same place as L. 8. Parts of the top and of the right hand side are broken off. The stone in its present size is 72 cm. high, 54½ cm.



wide, 12 cm. thick. The inscription is 31 cm. high, the letters are  $\frac{3}{4}$ -2½ cm. high. The slab is smoothly finished on the face and the back.

1. [b]orlū XV oraū quvellū Artaksassaš
2. [h]aūmūū dāē ešš vānaš mruk būasokiñ
3. hid kataē il lahrisakin hi(d) ētošrš akad



4. *Karolid Sabūalid Istubeūmlid aktin*
5. *nāhis fēnsūibid esāc mūvēd(a)ē i(s)kon*
6. *hida tamē buk vānaū esū b(u)k mruū buk*
7. *būasoū esū buk lahrisāc būkin aūēē*
8. *avūāc hisk d(ē)tdid ist esū (v)ānaū Karolū*
9. *Sabūalū Karolaš sfēndaē arvol akmū*
10. *Artimuē Ibsīm(a)ē Kulumēak Sivraūmn(?)*
11. *-sānu aktin nāhis fēnsūibid fakataē ebad*
12. *- - ra bistaē tahaūāc sīsīrorš sfēndavmūin*
13. *-(v)qbuhid.*

About two thirds of the inscription can be translated either from internal evidence or on information derived from other inscriptions.

1. In the year 15 of the great king (?) Artaxerxes,
2. in the days of the month... (?). This tomb and the stele and also the *būaso(d)* which . . . .
3. and also the couches, which (are) inside (?), (are) the property
4. of Karoš, the son of Sabūas, a man from Istubeū-. If
5. anybody destroys these . . . . .
6. . . or this tomb or this stele or
7. this *būaso(d)* or the couches or even *aūēē*
8. *avūāc*, and whosoever buries (?) here in this tomb of Karoš,
9. the son of Sabūas, may the . . . . . of Karoš, . . . .
10. the "Artemides" of Ephesos and of Koloē and of Smyrna (?)
11. . . . . if anybody destroys . . . . . (13.) scattered.

First the corrections and restorations in this inscription are to be justified.

L. 1: Of the first word only *-rlū* is entirely preserved; the *o* is half destroyed. Before the *o* I restore a *š* because the fragment L. 3 has the word *š190š* and because the fragment from Falanga begins: *..AT9A III III — š190š*.

L. 2: The + at the beginning is again restored from the Falanga fragment where in line 2 we read *šM1 š1š1š1A+*.

L. 3: Instead of *11+* I read *41+*, a Lydian word that occurs quite frequently, which would here have its correlative in the *41+* at the beginning of the line. From *118* in l. 6 for *118* we know that in this inscription small lines are sometimes omitted.

L. 5: *mūvēnd(a)ē* I read *A* instead of *Λ*, (1) because the latter is not a Lydian letter and (2) because *-ac* is a most common ending. Here the slanting cross-bar was left out by the mason. The last word in this inscription would as it stands have to be read *ihkon*. But I read *i(s)kon* (1) because the small cross-bar is not exactly in

the middle as ought to be the case with + (*h*), and (2) because 𐌶𐌵𐌶𐌶𐌶 (12, l. 2), and 𐌶𐌵𐌶𐌶𐌶 (12, l. 10 and 29, l. 6) are Lydian words.

L. 6: The correction 𐌶𐌶𐌶 for 𐌶𐌶𐌶 is evident.<sup>1</sup>

L. 8: Instead of 𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 I read 𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶; see above p. 18. The correction 𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 for 𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 is self-evident.

L. 10: In *Ibsimē(a)ē* again a *Λ* has been carved in lieu of *Α*, cf. l. 5. I may add that in Greek and Latin inscriptions from Syria I have often noticed *Λ* for *Α*.

On the interpretation and translation of this interesting document the following may be said.

L. 1: I think there is no doubt that *borlū* must mean "in the year". The oblique case seems to serve not only for the dative, but also like the Greek dative and the Latin ablative to indicate time and place. — If *quvellū*, of which I have spoken above on p. 18, means "king", *oraū* can scarcely mean anything else but "great". Both words are in the oblique case which here has the meaning of a genitive. The word *Artakṣassaś* is noticeable because of its ending. For the *ś*, which usually indicates the subjective case, is here added after the sign of the oblique case. In other cases, like *vānaś* — *vānaū* etc., the *ū* takes the place of the *ś*. There are two possible explanations for the form in question: (1) the *ś* is here not the sign of the subjective case, but indicates determination like *u* (*s*) in Armenian; (2) the sign of the oblique case was not "affixed" to the form *Artakṣassaś*, but "infixcd" before the *ś* which was considered as a part of the name, not as the Lydian ending of the subjective case.

L. 2: (*h*)*aūmūū* is an oblique case; it seems to me that it is a genitive here dependent upon the following noun. This is *dāē*, a short noun in the oblique case of the plural. It is of course not necessary that after the year the month should also be mentioned, but it is likely to be the case, as above in the bilingual inscription. There is no figure giving the exact day; therefore *dāē* would stand in the plural and mean "in the days of the month . . ." A certain similarity between *dāē* and Etruscan *tinši* "days" cannot be denied. For in Etruscan *d* must needs become *t*; and if we take *\*din* as the root, we might say that this became *\*dā-* in Lydian by a similar development to that which turns Latin *in-* into *ā* (*en*) in modern French; the intermediate stages in both languages would be *en-* *z-*, and we know that in Lydian the *i* was an open vowel, since it corresponds with Greek *ε*. The name of the month — if *haūmūū* represents it — is unknown to me; the eight known names of Etruscan months furnish no point of comparison. — In *būasokiū* we have *-k* and *-iū* added to the same word; we found a similar case in *aktin* above, p. 34. The noun may be *būasoś* or *būasod*; but the latter is more likely, because *hid* follows. What the *būasod* is I do not know. Since we have the words for tomb, stele, fore-court, couch, there

<sup>1</sup> It is barely possible that *bik* was a variant pronunciation for *buk*. The sounds *u* and *i* sometimes interchange, e. g. in modern Persian and Arabic dialects.

is not much choice left; of the parts of a Lydian tomb only the door, the front or rear chamber, the steps or the inscription are at our disposal.

L. 3: The word *hid* is probably a relative pronoun here. We know *his* as an indefinite pronoun: I think *hid* stands in the same relation to *his* as *Manelid* to *Manelis*. Relative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns are closely related in many languages. The word *katač* is probably in the oblique case of the plural; *il* may be a postposition or a conjunction. For *ētošrs* I have suggested the meaning "inside", because the *lahrisak* are in the interior of the tomb.

L. 5: The word *mūvēndač* may be a general term for the whole tomb and may at the same time include the meaning "sacred".

L. 8: The word *hisk* is composed of the pronoun *his* and the conjunction *k*. I take *his* to be the relative pronoun. It seems to me very likely that the verb *dētdid* means "buries"; for "burying" in the tomb is often forbidden. Moreover the following words *ist esū (v)ānaū* would be quite in keeping with that meaning, if *ist* means "here", as I suggested above on p. 32.

Ll. 9 ff.: Very little is clear in the sentences that contain the curse or menace or punishment of the infringer, because most of the words are unknown. In l. 10 *Artimuč* is in the oblique case of the plural; for there are two or three "Artemides" but her name is given only once. Above in the bilingual inscription we had *Artimus Ibsimsis Artimuk Kulumsis* in the singular because the name was repeated. From *Ibsimčac Kulumčak* (for \**Kulumčac-k*) we conclude that in the adjectives terminating in *-sis* the other endings are likewise doubled (*-čac*). A parallel may be found in the Armenian where instead of *ink'n* "he himself" *ink'n-in* may also be said, or in the Turkish, where *bir-i-si* "some one" and *baz-y-sy* "some" etc. have a double suffix of the 3. person. — The last word of the inscription is *-qbuhiđ*. This may be restored as *vqbuhid*; for *vqbahēnt* seems to be of the same stem.

## F.

(L. 13)

FUNERARY STELE found in the same place as L. 8. The stone is 101 cm. high, 36 $\frac{1}{2}$  cm. wide, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  cm. thick. The top is smoothly finished. The inscription is 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  cm., the letters are  $\frac{1}{3}$ –2 cm. high.

1. *ešš vānaš Atalis Tivdalis Tarvñallis*
2. *akin kudkañāures ak Tešastid Sīvāmlid*
3. *mūola Šrfaštid Meñalid mūola ak nāhis*
4. *ēmū (v)ānaū kileū buk ēminac ešač qitalad*
5. *fadint fakmū Artimus hiraū helūk vqbahēnt*

In l. 4  $\text{TATM}$  is on the stone, but this may be a mistake for  $\text{TATM}$ . However the words near it are not certain, and in l. 2 we read *kud-kaña-ures*,

The tomb is that of *Ata(s)*, the son of *Tivda(s)*, from *Tarvñas(?)*<sup>1</sup>. On the



name *Ata(s)* see KRETSCHMER, p. 349 ff. In *Tivda-s* the first element may be *tiv* which in Etruscan means "moon, month". In Asia Minor the names Menodoros, Menodotos, Menogenes, Menophilos etc. are very common.<sup>2</sup> They show that the moon-god (or goddess) was worshipped there.<sup>3</sup> This *Men* is in my opinion to be distinguished from the Lydian Manes. Perhaps the goddess  $\Theta\upsilon\alpha$ <sup>4</sup> was the same as *tiv*. And the names  $\text{Tiv}\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\text{Tiv}\eta\varsigma$  and others may be derived from the name of this goddess.

In *akin* and *ak* of l. 2 the conjunction *ak* "if" cannot be recognized; the *ak* must here have some other meaning. Perhaps it is an independent word for "and" used between

the words that are to be connected; cf. Latin *atque* and *-que*.

The word *kudkañaures* probably means relatives or persons in some way connected with the owner of the tomb. Perhaps this word is derived from the same root as *kudkit* "opposite".

Then follow two groups of three words

*tešastid sivāmlid mñola*

*šrfastid mēnalid mñola*

From 15, l. 1 and 27, l. 1 we know that *Sivām-* is the name of a person. The word

<sup>1</sup> W. H. BUCKLER refers to *Tarra*, a place name, and *Tarabous*, a personal name; KEIL-PREMERSTEIN, *Dritte Reise*, p. 81, No. 113.

<sup>2</sup> See BUCKLER-ROBINSON, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.* XVI, 1912, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ED. MEYER, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, I, 2, 2nd ed. p. 639.

<sup>4</sup> BUCKLER-ROBINSON, *l.c.*, p. 40, and SUNDWALL, p. 223 f.

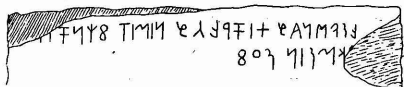
*mēña* has already been compared with *Mḡon*; above p. 15. It seems then that *tesaś(t)*- and *śrfaś(t)*- are proper names too. The word *mūola* may signify some grade of relationship. But the meaning is very uncertain. There are besides in these words three problems which I cannot solve as yet: (1) why is the ending *-id* used here? (2) what does the *t* in the ending *-tid* mean? (3) what grammatical form is *mūola*?

The last two lines contain again the curse, but most of the details escape my knowledge. In l. 5 we have "may then to his disadvantage Artemis destroy all his property". Cf. above p. 37. There is certainly a connection between *ēmū* and *ēminat*; they are likely to be personal pronouns of the 3rd person or demonstrative pronouns. But then *esaś* could scarcely be the same as *escaś*.

## G.

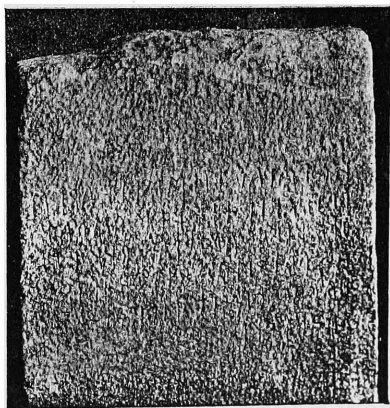
(L. 14)

FUNERARY STELE. This stele was found at the same place as L. 8. Height of stone 75 cm.; width  $34\frac{3}{4}$ - $35\frac{1}{2}$  cm.; thickness 15 cm. Height of inscribed place  $6\frac{1}{2}$  cm.; of letters  $\frac{3}{4}$ -2 cm. The stone is broken at the top and at the bottom; the back is smooth.

1. *eś- vānaś hisredē nimit fēnsūibid*2. [*fa*]*kmsin sof*.

The inscription may be complete and may simply say "If anybody destroys any of these tombs, may punishment be upon him".

The only certain words are *vānaś fēnsūibid*. The first word, *eś-* seems to stand for *eś* or *escaś*. The third word must on account of its ending refer to *vānaś*. The fourth word, *nimit*, has the same suffix as *ak-it* and *his-it*. It is not unlikely that *nim* is the substantive form of the relative pronoun, like the Arabic *man*, meaning "he, who" and "whosoever".



## H.

(L. 15)

FUNERARY STELE. This stele was found at the same place as L. 8. Height of stone:  $72\frac{1}{2}$  cm. Width: 36 cm. Thickness:  $9\frac{1}{2}$  cm. Height of inscription: 17 cm.; of letters:  $\frac{3}{4}$ - $1\frac{3}{4}$  cm.

1. *ess vā(n)as̄ Sivāmlis Armā-*
2. *elis. akit his esū vānaū*
3. *buk esāc antolaē buk esē-*
4. *aē lahriśaē fēnsūibid*
5. *fakaē viśśis nivīśśqē*
6. *varbtokid.*

This tomb (is) that of Sivām-, son of Armāv-.  
 If anybody this tomb  
 or these bodies(?) or these  
 couches destroys,  
 may a god upon the godless  
 take vengeance.

All words occurring in this inscription, except the two names, have been discussed already. The name *Sivām-* is not known to me from other sources; the name *Armāv-* may be the same as *Αρμαυος*; cf. SUNDWALL, p. 54.

## I.

(L. 26)

FUNERARY STELE. This stele was found at the entrance to a tomb in the northern part of the necropolis of Sardis, on the hillside facing North. Height of stone 61 cm.;



width 56 cm.; thickness 12 cm., at the top 16 cm. Below the inscription there is a relief of a man lying on a couch to the right, with a woman sitting to the left turning to the right and apparently conversing with him.

1. *brvāc III II Aūiksāntruū dāc. eśś vānaś esk mrud*
2. *Atraštaḷid Timleḷid arḏeq alarmś fadol vštaś*
3. *ak his hisred fakaś silavad fat nid ʔnsūibid akmū*
4. *levś sarētaś hisit fēnsūibid esū vānaū*
5. *buk e[sū] mruū fakmū levś vqbahēnt.*

The first line undoubtedly contains a date, and it looks as if it ought to mean: "in the fifth year of Alexander". But there are considerable differences between this date and the date above on p. 50 in No. 11. There we have *borlū* for "in the year", and for *dāc* the meaning "in the days" was suggested. Now it is perfectly possible that in Lydian there were two words for "year". In Arabic for instance there are three words for "year", *sanah*, *ḥol* and *ʾam*, and in Arabic documents they alternate with each other. If then *borl-* and *brva-* both mean "year"<sup>1</sup> the passage in this inscription could only be translated "Of the years 5 (i. e. the 5th) in the days of Alexander", i. e. "in the days of the 5th of the years of Alexander". Such an expression would seem very strange. Another strange fact would be the omission of the word "king".

After the date we read:

"This tomb and this stele (are) those of Atrašta(ś), the son of Timle(ś)".

Both names are probably Greek. Atrašta(ś) seems to be Ἀδραστος; we even know of an Adrastos, the son of Gordios, who came to Kroisos. Timle(ś) seems to be Τιμλεσς. The name Atrašta(ś) seems to indicate that in Lydian *d* was tending to become *t*.

Of the second part of l. 2 I do not understand anything. These words may relate to the family of Atrašta(ś); or in *vś-taś* we may recognize the stem *vis-* "god, divine".

Again in l. 3 there are several unknown words. It seems that the protasis reaches from *ak* to *ʔnsūibid*, and that the apodosis consists only of the words *akmū levś sarētaś*. The word *hisred* would seem to be composed of *his* and *red*; *hisredē* occurs above p. 53 in L. 14. The ending *-taś* is also found in *vštaś* in l. 2. I believe that *levś* is the name of a deity, since it stands where otherwise *Artimus* would stand. There is in Etruscan a nomen divinum which may be compared with this. On the bronze liver from Piacenza, *lvsl* is mentioned, and this has been identified with the *Lynsa* of Martianus Capella; cf. G. KÖRTE, *Die Bronzeleber von Piacenza*, *Mitt. d. K. D. Archaeol. Inst.*, Rom 1905, XX, p. 365. The general meaning of the words from *ak* to *sarētaś* is probably "if anybody preserves these monuments and does not destroy them, to him (may) Levś (be) merciful". Ll. 4 and 5 are intelligible. From the third word onward we read:

"whosoever destroys this tomb or this stele, may Levś punish him".

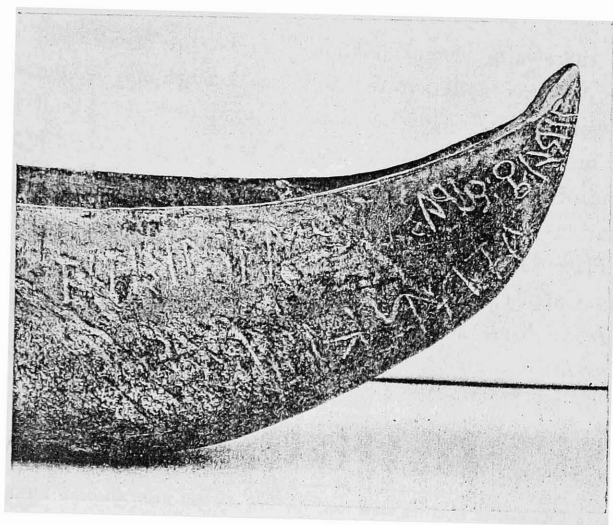
<sup>1</sup> Perhaps they are even both derived from the same root, viz. *bor-*, if *l* and *v* are additional letters.

K.

(L. 24)



From cast.



From original vase.



CANOE-SHAPED VASE. This *boustrophedon* text was not scratched or incised upon the vase after the baking, but was written with a blunt implement while the clay was still soft. The text is here given in order to show the oldest Lydian characters so far known. The vase will be published and discussed in the Section on Pottery. We are here interested in the inscription only.

This is probably to be transliterated:

*titišin žmētīšariē fabil*

*Ataū Kitvaū*

Several letters have special forms to which attention has been called in Chap. I under their respective headings. The dividing points are also of interest, since they are found in Semitic as well as in Old Greek and Phrygian inscriptions.



L. 24, from drawing by W. H. BUCKLER.

The meaning of this inscription is quite obscure. I think however that *Ataū* and *Kitvaū* are proper names in the oblique case. We may consider both to have the meaning of genitives and then *Ata(s)* might be the son of *Kitva(s)*. We are at once reminded of Ἄτρυς the son of Κέρυς, in the pedigree of the ancestors of Ἀνδρῆς. But this may be accidental. Nor do we know whether *Ata(s)* and *Kitva(s)* were divine or human persons.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Lydian Poetry.

It is a remarkable fact that no less than five inscriptions written in poetry have been found at Sardis. However only one of them is absolutely complete, the others being more or less damaged. In order to give an idea of this poetry I publish here the one complete poem, although very little can be translated. It is on a funerary stele of very fine white marble, which unlike the ordinary Sardian marble contains no traces of blue. The stele has a cap 7 cm. high and 38 cm. wide. The lower part (die) is  $102\frac{1}{2}$  cm. high; at the top  $35\frac{1}{2}$  cm., at the bottom  $38\frac{1}{2}$  cm. wide, and 14 cm. thick. The inscription is  $32\frac{1}{2}$  cm., its letters are  $\frac{1}{2}$ – $1\frac{1}{2}$  cm. high. It reads, according to the alphabet established above, as follows:

#### L. 12.

1. *est mruvaad Saristrošū Šfarvad aštrkoñ*
2. *vānñas viqš areū || kañaredkmš iskoš*
3. *alīs hidad savē vratuñ aršñānsrš kasnod*
4. *kšbñtañkš atrgolū || tafañ fabañkol*
5. *avkač ētamēvedmas varedtañ šfatoš*
5. *kotaš gat hedkñad qfišad isaañal umēod*
7. *Saristrošū Srkastuš || Katovalis šuñoš*
8. *datrošis hañmñad || his labtānal atrokl*
9. *Šfardak Artimuñ dāt || qahrñlañ aštrkoñ*
10. *fakiñ est inal adalū aksaakmñ iskod*
11. *vānñakt ešāč ifrol || his fakorfid katofn*
12. *buk mruvañ fakmñatač || viššis vaars nid kantrod.*

The rhyme of this poem is *o*; No. 19 has the rhyme *a*; Nos. 27 and 29 again have *o*; No. 34, which is a very small fragment, has the rhyme *i*.

I have indicated in my transliteration of these verses (except in ll. 1, 3, 5, 6, 10) that a caesura is assumed in the middle of each verse, or rather that I think each verse consists of two half-verses.

I do not pretend to be able at once to solve all metrical problems in Lydian.

In order to do this one ought to know a good many things some of which will probably never be known. Among other things one ought to know: (1) whether the Lydian accent was more a stress or a pitch; (2) whether the sonants, especially *r* (cf. *astrkoñ*, l. 1) were counted as a syllable or not; (3) whether other consonants which seem to constitute a syllable are counted as such or not (cf. *kš-* in *kšbūtaũks*, l. 4); (4) whether double vowels represented one or two syllables (e. g. *mru-va-ad*, l. 1, or *mru-vad*); (5) whether short vowels in open syllables without the accents might be omitted or slurred over in prosody; (6) whether the nasal vowels always counted as a syllable or might sometimes with other vowels constitute a nasal diphthong, e. g. *aũ*; (7) whether in prosody syllables that are not written might sometimes be added; (8) whether the caesura always had to come at the end of a word, or whether a part of a word of the first half-verse might be counted as belonging to the second half-verse.

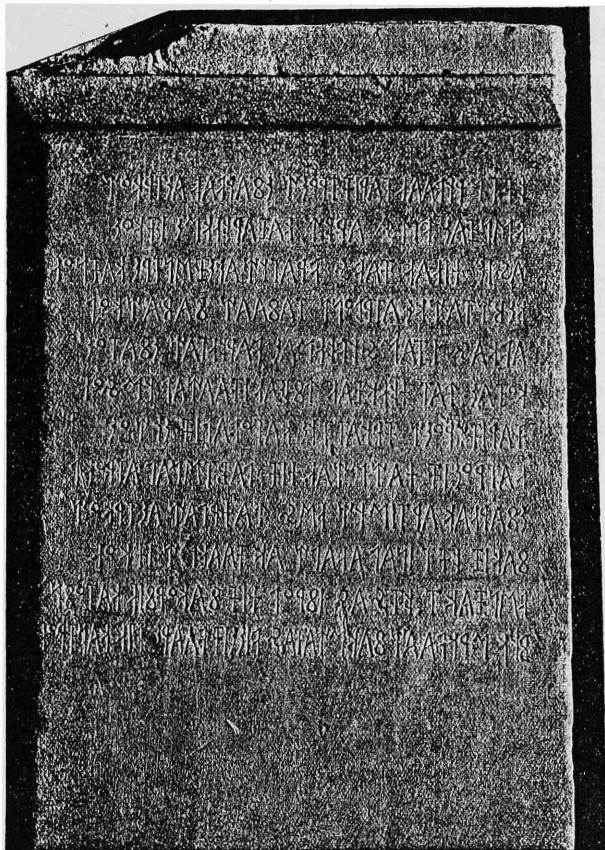
I shall leave the discussion of Lydian metrics to those scholars who are more versed than I in Greek and Latin metrics. However I may venture to call attention to a few points.

From the rhyme syllable in l. 1 it appears that the nasal

vowel does not constitute a syllable by itself; for, as we see from the other rhyme syllables, the rhyme vowel must always be in the last syllable. Therefore *oñ* would be almost the same as *oñ̃*. This leads us to assume that perhaps in other cases also *aũ* is only one syllable (= *auñ̃*). If we take l. 11 as an example we may read

*vāññākt | ešcāē | ifrōl || his fā|korfid | katōfn ||*

This would be, quantities neglected, somewhat like an iambic trimeter, i. e. two half-verses, each of which had three feet consisting of an unaccented and an accented



syllable. This order – not the order: accented and unaccented – is given, because the last syllable, the rhyme syllable, certainly had the stress. Now into this scheme the whole poem might be pressed. If we do that we must assume: (1) that the caesura may sometimes come in the middle of a word; (2) that the sonants may sometimes be counted as a syllable, sometimes not; (3) that nasal vowels sometimes constituted a syllable, but generally not; (4) that double vowels are always counted as one syllable; (5) that quantity played no rôle whatsoever. The whole would then look like this:

1. *est mru|vaad Sa|ristro||sū Šfar|vad as|tṛkoñ*
2. *vānñas | vigś a|reñ || kañā|redkmś | iskoś*
3. *atīs | hidad | savē vra||tuñ arś|ñānsṛś | kasnod*
4. *kšbūtañkś | aṭṛ|golū || tafaa|ñ fa|bañkol*
5. *avkaē | ētam|ēuved||maś va|redtañ | šfatos*
6. *kotas | qat hed|kñad qfi||śad i|saañal | uméod*
7. *Saris|trošū | Srkastus || Kato|valis | suñoš*
8. *datro|śis hañ|mñad || his lab|tānal | atrokl*
9. *Šfardak | Arti|muñ dāē || qahṛ|lañ aś|tṛkoñ*
10. *fak(i)ñ est | inal ada||lū ak|saakmū | iskod*
11. *vānñakt | eścaē | ifrol || his fa|korfid | katofn.*
12. *buk mru|vaañ fak|mñataē || viśsis | vaarś nid | kantrod.*

I admit that this is not very inviting or satisfactory. Although the only thing known about Lydian accent is the fact that suffixes had no stress (cf. *fak-it-in* > *faktin*, above p. 36; *vānñak-it* > *vānñakt* here, l. 11), I think that it would be incredible to accentuate *Šfardak | Arti|muñ* (l. 9), unless Lydian had lost its stress altogether. Then this metre would be nothing but a counting of syllables as in the Avesta,<sup>1</sup> in Syriac poetry and in the French blank verse. It seems to me therefore at present more likely that the Lydian verse consisted of two half-verses, each of which had three arses, without regard to the theses. If that is so, this verse would have some similarity with the Latin Saturnian verse.<sup>2</sup> This would enable us to discard 1) the caesura in the middle of words, which from the beginning seemed to me rather improbable; 2) the regular ictus, and especially the accent on syllables which in all probability never had the stress. Then in l. 1 the caesura would come after *Saristrošū*; in l. 3 after *vratuñ*; in l. 5 after *ētamēuvedmaś*, unless *maś* is a word by itself and only erroneously written together with the preceding word; in l. 6 after *qfiśad*; in l. 10 after *adalū*.

And this metre would have its parallel not only in Old Latin, but also in Old Hebrew, and especially in modern Tigre.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. WACKERNAGEL called my attention to this fact.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the latest discussion by C. THULIN, *Italische sakrale Poesie und Prosa*, pp. 21 ff.

A word is to be said of the rhyme. We here have the earliest rhyme in the history of human literature. Of course, occasional assonances have been observed as an embellishment of poetry in Hebrew, in later Sanscrit artistic poetry, in Latin, perhaps even in Old Egyptian; but in Lydian the rhyme for the first time has been made the distinguishing feature of poetry, and for the first time it is found throughout the poem, as in Arabic and Abyssinian poetry and in the tirades of the Middle Ages. In Etruscan the rhyme was beginning to be used, as we see from verses in the long text from Agram:

*<male> ceia hia etnam ciz vacl trin velʒre*  
*male ceia hia etnam ciz vacl aisvale*  
*male ceia hia trinʒ etnam ciz ale*  
*male ceia hia etnam ciz vacl vile vale.*

But it did not become a fundamental principle of poetry as in Lydian.

The Lydian rhyme is no rhyme in our modern sense. We should call it but an assonance. It depends entirely upon the vowel; the consonants do not matter at all. The reason probably was that when the verses were sung the last vowel of each verse was lengthened and its note held, so that only the vowel was of real importance. Therefore we have rhymes here like *-oñ*, *-oś*, *-od*, *-ol*, *-okl*, *-ofn*, and in No. 19: *-ad*, *-as*, *-aūk*, *-atē*, *-at*, etc. The rhymes in the older Surahs of the Koran are very similar; cf. Surah 101: *-aiš*, *-aif*, *-ū*, *-auf*; or Surah 113: *-alaq*, *-aqab*, *-uqad*, *-asad*. In Tigrē we find such rhymes as *-ūz*, *-ūq*, (see my *Public. of the Princeton Exped. to Abyssinia* III, No. 25, v. 10, 11), or *-āgen*, *-āzen*, *-āder*, *-ātel*, *-āfel*, etc. (*ib.* No. 67, 1 ff), or *-āyit*, *-āyiz*, *-āyid*, *-āyiš* (*ib.* No. 338) and the like. We see that there is much similarity in the form of the rhyme between Lydians, Arabs and Abyssinians. The Abyssinians probably learned the rhyme from the Arabs, but the Arabs did not learn it from the Lydians. However, it is possible that the home of our European rhymed poetry is in Lydia. The Greeks would have learned it from the Lydians, the later Romans from the Greeks, and from Roman church poetry it was passed on to the modern languages. Whether in trying to trace European rhyme back to its origin we should take no account of Arabic rhyme, is a question which cannot here be answered.

The inscription was probably written for a certain *Saristroś*, son of *Katova(s)*, a citizen of Sardis. The first line may perhaps be translated "This stele (is) that of *Saristroś(is)*, a Sardinian citizen". Lines 2-6 probably contain an eulogy of this man. L. 7 gives his name more fully; <sup>2</sup> if *sunōś* means "son", it could scarcely be dissociated from the Indo-Germanic *sunu* etc. In ll. 8-12 the Sardinian Artemis is invoked against infringers, and their punishment is described. It seems that there are two kinds of infringers, and that the former are to pay a certain sum of money (cf. *ada-lū*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. THULIN, *l.c.*, p. 5 and p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See below Chap. VI, D.

in l. 10 with the Lycian *ada*), while the latter are to be destroyed by the deity (*viššis* in l. 12). What the former and the latter are supposed to do to the tomb (*vānñas*, l. 2, *vānñakt*, l. 11) or to the stele (*mruvaad*, l. 1; *mruvaañ*, l. 12) cannot be stated as yet. The forms *mruvaad* and *Šfarvad* (for *mrud* and *Šfard*) are undoubtedly poetic, archaic forms. A perfect parallel to *Šfar-va-d* would be the Lycian *tlawa*; cf. SUNDWALL, p. 279. Perhaps *Šfardak* – if this means Sardian, which is very likely – is also an archaic form; it would then remind us of Etruscan *-aχ* in *rumaχ* “Roman”. We saw above that in prose different forms of gentilicia are used.

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## CHAPTER V.

### Notes on Lydian Grammar.

On the basis of what has been stated in the fore-going chapters it is possible to form an opinion upon certain grammatical features in Lydian. This chapter is bound to be very meagre. Let us hope that the longer inscriptions will soon be better understood and that our knowledge of Lydian grammar and of the Lydian lexicon will become more complete.

#### A. Phonology.

##### § 1. *Consonants.*

Lydian has three labial consonants: *b*, *f* and *v*. In one case *f* is written for *b*, above p. 35; but this is probably due to a mistake, not to a phonetic change. The sound *b* takes the place of  $\beta$ ,  $\pi$  and  $\varphi$ ; see above p. 4.

There are two dental consonants: *d* and *t*. But it seems that in foreign names *d* was changed; cf. *Katova*(*s*), *Añiksantru*(*s*) and *Atrašta*(*s*), above pp. 6, 11 and 55, also *est mrud*. There is no  $\theta$  in Lydian, see above p. 7.

There are two or perhaps more gutturals in Lydian: *k* (†), *q* (†); perhaps  $\mathfrak{d}$  (*g*?) and  $\mathfrak{t}$  (if this is the old Greek  $\chi$ , i. e. the aspirated voiceless guttural explosive). On  $\mathfrak{d}$  see above p. 4. If  $\mathfrak{d}$  is *g*, the *g* interchanges with *k*.

There are three sibilants, *s* (‡), *š* (‡) and *š̄* (‡), if the last may be placed in this group. Lydian *š* seems to be rendered by  $\square$  in Aramaic in the name of Sardis; cf. above p. 10. And Lydian *s* becomes *š* when *s* and *š* follow each other directly; cf. *es-s* > *ešš*, and *viš-sis* > *viššis*, above p. 31 and p. 45.

Finally there are the so-called "liquids" *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, and the guttural *ñ* (‡). All of them seem to be able to form syllables. For *l* compare *atrokē* (12, l. 8); for *m*: *akeñs* (in 4, several times); for *n*: *katofy* (12, l. 11), and the ending *-mē* in *Sivraūmē* (11, l. 10) and *alarmē* (16, l. 17); for *r*: *aštṛkoñ* (12, l. 1 and in several other passages), *šṛfaštīd* (13, l. 3); *brvāē* (26, l. 1), *srkastuš* (12, l. 7), *šṛmlis* (30, l. 3). It may here be added that certain voiceless consonants may also form syllables; cf. *kšbūtañkš* (12, l. 4), *vštaš* (26, l. 2), in which *š* takes the place of a vowel; in *vqbahēnt* (passim) *q* seems to take this place, but I think it should really be pronounced *vqbahēnt*.

The sounds *l* and *r* seem to interchange; compare מרוב(ח) with 𐤎𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 above, p. 2 and 28; furthermore 𐤕𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤕 (16, l. 3) with 𐤎𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤕 (30, l. 16). Also *n* and *ñ* interchange; but here we may have mere orthographic variants, cf. the ending *-iñ* (11, 2; 22, 10) and *-in* (passim).

It is to be noted that no certain case of a word beginning with *r* has been found in Lydian. This reminds us of Turkish; <sup>1</sup> no genuine Turkish words begin with *r*, and I have heard in Asia Minor from Turks *orum* for *Rûm* "Greeks", *orus* for *Rûs* "Russians", *orobalar* "clothes" (from Italian *roba*).

#### ANNOTATIONS.

##### 1. On the change of voiced and voiceless consonants.

It was noted above that in a few cases *d* is changed into *t*, i. e. that *d* loses its voice. In other cases however the use of *d* is very consistent, e. g. in the endings *-ad*, *-ed*, *-id*, *-od*, *-ud*, in which a change from *d* to *t* would be most naturally expected. In one case *-d* seems to have become *-t*, viz. *est* "this"; cf. *est mrud* "this stele". It is therefore not very likely that in cases like *atrokl* and *katofn* where *l* and *n* follow at the end after a voiceless consonant, this *l* and this *n* should lose their voice. But both words are at the ends of verses in No. 12; since the rhyme is based on the vowel and since this vowel was probably emphasized in singing, it is possible that the consonants after this rhyme vowel were not strongly articulated and perhaps became voiceless. I have heard voiceless *l* and *r* in the Turkish of Asia Minor and of Northern Syria, in the Arabic dialect of Syria and especially in that of Egypt, finally in the traditional pronunciation of Ethiopic at Aksum.

##### 2. On the doubling of consonants.

Double consonants are rather rare in Lydian. This is probably only a difference in writing. Either double consonants were pronounced but not always written; or long consonants were gradually shortened, as for instance in French, in most German dialects and in Jacobite Syriac. There are several words in which double and single consonants interchange; see *esš* and *es*, above p. 31; *viššis* and *višis*, *niviššqč* and *nivišqč*, above p. 45; *dummūt* and *dumūis*, in No. 27; *dummis*, in 16, l. 3 and *dumis*, in 29, l. 1. The last root occurs also in the word *dumms* (4, l. 2); the original root then is *dumm-*: *dumms* is the subjective case, *dummū* and *dumū* are objective cases, *dummis* and *dumis* are probably adjectives. Double *l* occurs in *sellis* (in one case *serlis*, see above l. 2); *qitollad*, in 7, l. 9; 30, l. 7 (cf. however *qitalad*, 13, l. 4); *Bakillis*, in 4, l. 9, *Bakillū*, in 17, l. 1 (cf. however *Bakivalis* in 18 and 25, *Bakivalū* in 16, l. 22), *quvellū* in 11, l. 1; perhaps also *fellanin*, in 16, l. 6, but this

<sup>1</sup> Prof. WACKERNAGEL reminded me also of the fact that no genuine Greek words begin with *r* and that the same holds true also of the Basque language.



### 3. *Vowels.*

The vowel *i* must have been a very open vowel, see above p. 3.

## 5. Abbreviations.

Sardis Expedition VI.

The word *ēnaūt* cannot yet be translated. It may be a demonstrative pronoun or mean "the said". *Bakivalū mruđ* seems to be a genitive construction, meaning "*Bakivalis*' *stēle*". The letters *b n l* may mean "is sacrosanct"; cf. *bavafuni* . . . , above p. 44.

In the second sentence I believe that 𐌶𐌵 certainly stands for *mruū*. Then the whole would be "now (*-it*) this stēle (*esū mruū*) if anybody (*his*, literally "he, who") destroys, may a god take vengeance upon the godless".

L. 22 reads 𐌶𐌵 𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 . . . and the fragment of an inscription from a column-drum of the Kroisean temple of Artemis at Ephesos, now in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> gives the letters 𐌶𐌵 𐌶𐌶 . . . It seems that *inl* also is an abbreviation of some fuller word, probably a verb meaning "he dedicated". If the name of Kroisos had been on the column at Ephesos the inscription might be read

𐌶𐌵 𐌶𐌶[𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶] or

𐌶𐌵 𐌶𐌶[𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶].

In L. 22 the name of the father of the donor is . . *btel-*; the word *kaveś* probably means "priest"; see BUCKLER-ROBINSON in *Am. Journ. of Archaeol.*, Vol. XVII (1913), pp. 362 sqq.

## B. Pronouns.

### 1. Personal Pronouns.

A personal pronoun of the first and second persons has not yet been discovered; nor is it very likely that such forms will be found in the funerary inscriptions from Sardis, unless it should be proved that in the poetical inscriptions the dead are addressed or speak themselves.

A personal pronoun of the third person seems to be the word *ōis*; but this may originally be a demonstrative pronoun. It would not be impossible to assume several demonstrative pronouns; for in Armenian as well as in the Caucasian languages these exist in considerable variety. The exact meaning of the following forms cannot be determined. We should have

	I	II
Subj. case	<i>ōis</i> he	—
Obl. case	<i>ōn</i> him	( <i>ēmū</i> him?)
Besides the independent forms there are as suffixes in Lydian		
	Sing.	Plur.
	<i>-mū</i> him, her, it	<i>-(m)ac</i> them, to them(?).

<sup>1</sup> This fragment was communicated to me by W. H. BUCKLER. It has been published by NEWTON in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archaeol.* IV, 1876, p. 334. KRETSCHMER, in *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.* 54; 2, p. 100, follows NEWTON's incorrect text.

2. *Possessive Pronoun.*

According to p. 37 above, we should have

Subj. case	<i>bilis</i>	} his.
Obl. case	<i>bilū</i>	

3. *Demonstrative Pronoun.*

	Sing.		Plur.
Subj. case	<i>eš(š)</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>ešk(?)</i>
Obl. case	<i>ešū</i>	} this	<i>ešāš</i>
			} these.

4. *Relative Pronoun.*

Subj. case	<i>his</i> <i>hid</i>	} he who, that which.
Obl. case	<i>hū</i>	

It seems that *his* etc. is originally an adjective form like *ai(y)-* in the Semitic interrogative. The corresponding substantive form seems to be *nim*, which would have the same use as Semitic *man*; cf. *nim-it*, above p. 53.

But *nim* as well as *his* seem to be originally interrogative pronouns, used in relative sentences only with the meaning *he who* = *whosoever* = *if anybody*; such an use would have its parallels in Semitic, and perhaps in Middle High-German *swēr*, etc.

5. *Indefinite Pronouns.*

Some of the forms mentioned in § 4 are found by themselves, or with prefixes, or with suffixes, as indefinite pronouns. Such forms are

Subj. case	<i>his</i>	<i>hid</i>	<i>hisk</i>	<i>his-it</i>	<i>nā-his</i>	<i>nā-hid</i>	<i>nim-it</i>
Obl. case	<i>hū</i>	<i>hūk</i>	—	—	—	—	—

Besides these forms there is a word *helūk* which must have the meaning of an indefinite pronoun or perhaps mean "all"; cf. above p. 36. The subjective case of this word would probably be *helisk(?)* or *helik* (for *helid-k*).

## C. Substantives.

So far two cases have been found in Lydian with certainty. I have called these the subjective case and the oblique case; but this is of course only a makeshift. In the singular the subjective case has the ending *-š* or *-d*, the oblique case has the ending *-ū*. The endings *-š* and *-d* disappear when *ū* is added; also when other endings such as *-k* "and", *-lis*, *-msis* (adjective endings), *-l* (probably an old genitive ending) are joined to the stem. We have then the paradigm

Subj. case	<i>vānaš</i> "tomb"	<i>mrud</i> "stele"
Obl. case	<i>vānaū</i>	<i>mruū</i>

Whether *-š* and *-d* denote different genders cannot be decided yet. The demonstrative pronoun *es-* agrees with the following substantives: *ešš* (for *\*ešš*) *vānaš*, *est* *mrud*.

These endings may just as well be signs of classes as signs of genders. Furthermore I do not wish as yet to say anything with regard to *-a-*, *-e-*, *-i-*, *-o-* and *-u-* stems. All five vowels and even some of the nasal vowels occur before the endings *-ś* and *d*. The words ending in *-aś*, *eś*, *iś-*, *-is*, *-oś*, *-uś* are probably all substantives or adjectives, those ending in *-ad*, *-ed*, *-id*, *-od*, *-ud* may be either substantives, adjectives or verbs.

The ending *-l*, which seems to signify an old genitive, occurs after different consonants, after *a*, after *o* and after *u*. Such forms occur several times, but I have not in a single case been able to determine the meaning of these words with absolute certainty. Many of them may be genitives, others verb forms. The conclusion that *-l* is an old genitive ending is suggested by the adjectives of appurtenance, viz. *-lis*, *-lid*; cf. above p. 33.

The oblique case ending in *ñ* evidently has many different functions. It seems to include the meanings of the genitive, dative, accusative, locative and of a temporal case. The words *orañ quvellñ Artaksassañś* in 11, l. 1 and *Añiksantruñ* in 26, l. 1 are in all probability genitives. The meaning of a dative was suggested above p. 37 for the suffix *-mñ*. The meaning of a dative or an accusative is implied in the words *esñ vānañ buk esñ mruñ* which occur very frequently, followed or preceded by the verb *fēsñibid* "he destroys". We do not know which case this verb takes; but it is likely that it takes either the dative or the accusative. Again in *ist Šfarñ* and in *ist esñ vānañ* the oblique case probably has the meaning of a locative; cf. above p. 32. In *borlñ*, a word which in all likelihood means "in the year", it would have the function of a temporal case.

It is not unlikely that other case-endings will later on be discovered. However the existence of only two cases in Lydian would have its parallels in other languages, e. g. Persian and one of the newly discovered Indo-Germanic languages of Central Asia; for the latter see MEILLET in *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch*, I, p. 107-111.

In the plural the subjective case very probably has the ending *-k*, the oblique case certainly has the ending *-ē* (?); see above p. 31. In the demonstrative pronoun the oblique case of the plural has a double ending, viz. *es-ē-aē*. The meanings of the oblique case of the singular seem to occur also in the plural. We have *brvāē* "of the years", above p. 55 for the genitive, *esēaē lahrisaē* "(to) these funeral couches" for the dative or accusative, *dāē* "in the days", above p. 50 for the temporal case; all this, of course would only be true if my readings and translations of these words are correct.

#### D. Adjectives.

Adjectives of appurtenance are formed by the ending *-li*. A paradigm would be

	Sing.	Plur.
Subj. case	<i>Manelis Manelid</i>	<i>Manelak</i> (?)
Obl. case	<i>Manelñ</i>	<i>Manelaē</i> .

Another adjective ending is *-is*, and reduplicated *-sis* (for *\*isis*). The simple ending *-is* occurs quite frequently, but the words containing it cannot be translated. The ending *-sis* is found in *višsis* (for *\*višsis*) to which I have tentatively assigned the meaning "divine, deity". Again it occurs in *brafrsis* (7, l. 7) and *mūvēsis* (27, l. 3). The same ending *-sis* is probably contained in *msis*; for the *-m-* is rather a remnant of a case ending. The word *Ibši-m-sis* means "Ephesian"; cf. above p. 36.

In 12, l. 9 we read *Šfardak Artimuū*. It seems that *-ak* is an obsolete adjective ending denoting origin or appurtenance. The two words would then mean "to (or: of) the Sardian Artemis". But we cannot be sure of this since the word *Šfardak* occurs only once more, in the fragment 23 where the following word is lost.

Again from the same word *Šfard* several forms are derived which may have a meaning similar to the one just suggested. They are *Šfardēnñ*, *Šfardētū*, *Šfardetak*, *Šfardetik*, *Šfardetač*. It seems that *Šfardetak* (subj. case) and *Šfardetač* (obl. case) are plural forms meaning "the Sardians". *Šfardētū* would then be the oblique case of the singular. *Šfardetik* may possibly stand for *\*Šfardēntis + k*. But I have found no parallel to *Šfardēnñ*. Perhaps *-ēnt-* is composed of *-en-* and *-t-*. Or *t* is here really *d*, and *t* after *n* should be pronounced *d* as in Lycian; in that case the *d* might be a hybrid sound developed from *nñ*. But this is all very uncertain. On the question of *-nt-* and *-nd-* cf. KRETSCHMER, pp. 293 ff.

### E. Verbs.

Although there are undoubtedly quite a large number of verb forms in the Lydian inscriptions from Sardis, I have been able to recognize only a very few of them with some degree of probability.

The standard verb of these inscriptions is *(f)ēnsūibid* which means "he destroys" or "he damages". There is scarcely any doubt that it is in the third person of the singular. So the *-d* is probably the ending characteristic of this person under certain circumstances. Furthermore *f* is a prefix, *-ēn-* probably also a prefix, or a preposition; *-bi-* or *-ibi-* may be a sign of the mood; then *sū* or *sūi* would be the root.

Another common form is *vqbahēnt*. In No. 1 it stands after "Hūdāns and Artemis"; in No. 17 after "Artemis of Ephesos and Artemis of Koloë"; in 13 after *Artimuš*, in 24 after *Leuš*. We have therefore the same form in two cases where we expect a plural, and in two cases where we expect a singular, unless *Artimuš* and *Leuš* be also plural forms. If the latter be true, my notes on the plural of the substantives should be revised. Leaving this question aside for the present I venture to suggest that *vqbahēnt* is really a form in the third person of the plural; then *-nt*, or *-ēnt* would be the sign characteristic of this form.

Other verbs are *varbtokid* and *varbtod*, *katsarlokid*, *d(ē)tdid*. It is possible that *varbtod* is only a mistake for *varbtokid*; for the former occurs only once, the latter

four times. The substantive to which this verb refers is always *viš(š)is*. Thus we have another instance of *-d* as the sign of the third person sing. The verb *d(ē)tdid* occurs in 11, l. 8, after *his-k*; see above p. 49. This again is a singular. But *katsarlokid* is found in the three following passages:

7, l. 3-4. *Hūdāns Tavšaš Artimuk Ibšimsis katsarlokid*

7, l. 10. *Hūdānk Artimuk katsarlokid*

30, l. 12-13. *Artimuš Ibšimsis katsarlokid*.

In the first two instances it refers to two deities; in the last to one only. Here again there is the same uncertainty as in the case of *vqbahēnt*.

## F. Particles.

The Lydian particles so far recognized are

(1) independent words, (2) suffixes, (3) prefixes.

(1) The independent words are *ak*, *buk*, *nik*.

*ak* is the conditional particle; its place is always at the beginning of the protasis; it corresponds with *fak* at the beginning of the apodosis. Only in one case is the apodosis introduced by *ak-*; and there the protasis has no *ak-*, but a relative pronoun with conditional meaning, viz. *esūt mr(uñ) his fensūibid akaš viššis* etc., 16, l. 23 f. Generally however it is found with suffixes, mostly *-it*, sometimes *-it + -in*; if the last two are added the word becomes *aktin*. Cf. above p. 34 and below the notes on Lydian Syntax. Evidently *ak* has sometimes another function besides that of introducing conditional clauses. For it seems also to be an independent word for "and"; see above p. 52. Perhaps this is even the original meaning of our particle; cf. *unde* with conditional clauses in Middle High German.

*buk* means "or"; see above p. 34.

*nik* seems to be composed of the negative *ni* and the suffix *-k*; its meaning is probably "neither". See above p. 37 *nik bis nik bilis*.

(2) The suffixed particles are *-k*, *-it*, *-in*.

(a) *-k* is the usual particle for "and"; see above p. 31. In such cases the endings of the subjective case (*-š*, *-s*, *-d*) are dropped; cf. *Artimuk* for *Artimuš + k*, *hik* for *his + k*, *mrūk* for *mrud + k*. But the ending of the oblique case is retained; cf. *Artimuūk*, *hūk*, *mruūk*. Sometimes *-k* is repeated, in the same way as Latin *que* and Greek *καί*; in L. 7, l. 10 *Hūdānk Artimuk* must mean "Hūdāns as well as Artemis". Another meaning of *-k* is that of a generalizing particle; cf. above p. 36. In this case the ending of the subjective case seems to be kept; cf. *hisk*, *hūk*, *helūk* (above p. 67).

(b) *-it* is generally found at the beginning of conditional clauses; it is added to *ak* as well as to other words taking its place, viz. *his* and *nim*, or even to any word of the protasis: *hisit fensūibid esū vānañ* etc. "whosoever (or: if anybody) destroys this tomb" etc., 26, ll. 4-5. The sentence in 14 *eš-vānaš hisredē nimit fēn(sūibid)* is

not absolutely certain, but I believe that *nim-it* here has the same meaning as *his-it*, and that the object is here placed before the verb and before the conditional pronoun: "these tombs . . . if anybody destroys". This order of words reminds us of Turkish, Abyssinian and Bavarian constructions. The same order is found in a case in which *-it* is joined to another word; cf. *esūt mr(uū) his fēnsūibid* 16, l. 23. When a personal suffix and this suffix *-it* come together, the former precedes the latter; cf. *ak-mū-it* and *ak-mū-t*, above p. 42.

(c) *-in* seems to have the function of a concluding particle; cf. above p. 34. It occurs almost always together with *-it* or *-k*, and follows them; we have then *-tin* and *-kin*. Perhaps it was originally *-iñ*, for in a few cases we read 𐤀𐤍𐤔 instead of 𐤀𐤍𐤔𐤀.

(3) The prefixed particles are *f-* and *nā-*.

(a) *f-* occurs chiefly in the apodosis of conditional constructions; cf. above p. 33 sq. In many words beginning with *f-* it may also be a prefix or a preposition prefixed to a verb or a noun; but we are not able yet to analyze these words. Cf. *fēnsūibid* and *ēnsūibid* above p. 44 and *fētamēidē akē his ēmē ētamē* in 7, l. 18–19.

(b) *nā-* is prefixed to the pronoun *his* in order to make it an indefinite pronoun; *nā-his* anybody, cf. above p. 35. It is also found at the beginning of several other words.

(c) It seems that *z-* (or *zn-*) is also a prefix or a preposition used in compound nouns or verbs. But its meaning is unknown.

(4) *Infixes*.

A few words are to be said with regard to infixes. It seems that a number of syllables are added to verbs or nouns between the stem and the ending. These syllables may be formative elements of declension or of conjugation or so-called "infixes" expressing different shades of meaning not connected with the inflexion. Above pp. 11 and 62 attention was called to the syllable *-va-* in *mruvaad* and *Šfarvad*; on p. 45 to the syllable *-to-* in *varbtokid*; *-lo-* may also belong to this category, an inference suggested by the verb *katsarlokid*. And if we compare the words *savē*, *savvaš* (*sav-va-š*) and *savtarid* we conclude that *sav-* is the stem, *-va-* is the same element as in *mruvaad*, and *-ta-* is another "infix" element. Nothing can be said of the meanings of these syllables, except that *-va-* does not seem much to change the signification of the original. Cf. SUNDWALL, p. 279.

## G. Notes on Syntax.

It sounds almost audacious to speak of syntax with regard to such an unknown language. But I intend only to present a few remarks on the order of words in those sentences which are fairly intelligible.

(1) *Position of the pronoun.*

The pronoun *es-* "this" stands in our inscriptions always before the substantive.

Cf. *cs(š) vānaš* "this tomb", *est mruud* "this stele"; in the oblique *esū vānañ*, *esū mruñ*; *esáac lahrisaac*, *esáac müvëdaac*, etc.

(2) *Position of the adjective.*

The adjective seems generally to follow the substantive; cf. *akad Manelid Kum-lilid*, above p. 33, *Artimus Ibšimsis*, above p. 35 and elsewhere. But if *Šfardak Artimñu* in 12, l. 9 means the Sardinian Artemis we should there have the adjective before the substantive; it is to be noted however that this inscription is written in poetry, so that one might expect the usual order of words to be changed.

(3) *Position of the "genitive".*

The oblique case that seems to serve as a genitive may either follow or precede the word on which it depends; cf. *borlū XV orañ quvellū* "in the year 15 of the great king", but *Añuksantruñ dāc* "in the days of Alexander" (if my interpretation be correct), and *Bakivalū mruud*, above p. 66.

(4) *Order of subject, object and predicate.*

So far I have carefully avoided speaking of subject, object and predicate, because we do not know at all the internal structure of Lydian. I have spoken only of the subjective and the oblique cases and of verbs, and these are meant when I adopt here those grammatical categories known to us from Indo-Germanic and Semitic languages.

It seems that the usual order in Lydian is the following: subject – object – predicate. A standard example would be

*akit nāhis esū vānañ fēnsūibid*  
if anybody this tomb destroys  
*fakaac viššis nivišqē varbtokid*  
then a deity upon the godless shall take vengeance.

The word *f-ak-ac* however indicates that we have not yet penetrated all the mysteries of this comparatively simple construction. I assume that *-ac* is a personal suffix of the third person plural: if it corresponds to the so-called *dativus ethicus* or *dativus incommodi* we should here have an "indirect object" besides a "direct object"; but if it has the meaning of a direct objective it may be used with a sort of prolepsis, and a literal translation would be: "then – upon them – a deity upon the godless shall take vengeance". In this case the object would be expressed twice, once before the subject by a suffix added to the particle, and once after the subject by a substantive in the oblique case.

The rule "subject – object – predicate" has however many exceptions, as may be seen from the following examples.

(a) Order: (1) subject (2) object (3) predicate.

*akit* (1) *nāhis* (2) *esū vānañ buk lahrisaac buk helañ* (3) *fēnsū(ι)bid fakaac* (1) *viššis* (2) *nivišqē* (3) *varbtokid*, in No. 6.



- ak* (1) *nāhis* (2) *ēmū kānau kileū buk ēmināc esāc* (3) *qitalad fadint fakmū* (1) *Artimus* (2) *hiraū helūk* (3) *vqbahēnt*, 13, l. 3 ff.  
*akit* (1) *his* (2) *esū vānau buk esāc antolac buk esāc lahrisac* (3) *fēnsūibid fakac*  
 (1) *višsis* (2) *nivišsqē* (3) *varbtokid*, 15, l. 2 ff.  
*akit* (1) *nāhis* (2) *esū mruū . . . . . aktin* (1) *nāhis* (2) *helūk* (3) *fēnsūibid fakmū*  
 (1) *Artimus* . . . . . (2) *aaraū biraūk . . . . .* (3) *vqbahēnt*, 17, l. 3 ff. . . . .

(b) Order: (1) subject — (3) predicate — (2) object.

- akū(t)* (1) *nāhis* (3) *fēnsūibid* (2) *esū vānau*, 8, l. 5 ff.  
*akit* (1) *nāhis* (3) *fēnsūibid* (2) *esū vānau buk esū mruū buk esāc lahrisac fakac*  
 (1) *višsis* (2) *nivišsqē* (3) *varbtokid*, 9, l. 6 ff. — Here we have only in the protasis the order (b), whereas in the apodosis the order (a) is followed.  
*aktin* (1) *nāhis* (3) *fēnsūibid* (2) *esāc mūvēndaē* etc., 11, l. 4 f.  
 (1) *hisit* (3) *fēnsūibid* (2) *esū vānau buk esū mruū fak(2)mū* (1) *Levs* (3) *vqbahēnt*  
 26, l. 4–5. — In the apodosis we have here the order (c).

(c) Order: (2) object — (1) subject — (3) predicate.

- ak(2)mūt* (1) *his* (3) *fēnsūibid fak(2)mūt* (1) *Hūdāns Artamuk* (3) *vqbahēnt*, 1 b.  
*a[kit* (2) *esū s]admeū buk esū mruū buk esāc maštāc* (1) *his* (3) *fēn[sūibid]* . . . 5, l. 3 f.  
*akit* (2) *esū sirmaū* (1) *hās* (3) *fēnsūibid* 7, l. 2.  
 (2) *es-vānac hisredē* (1) *nimit* (3) *fēnsūibid* 14, l. 1.  
 (2) *esūt mr(uū)* (1) *his* (3) *fēnsūibid akac* (1) *višsis* (2) *nivišsqē* (3) *varbtod*, 16, l. 23 f. . .

Here the apodosis has the order (a).

- akit* (2) *esū taagū* (1) *his* (3) *fēnsūibid*, Inscr. from Arably Hadjili, l. 4.

(d) Order: (2) object — (1) subject — (3) predicate — (4) other objects.

- ak(2)mūt* (1) *his* (3) *fēnsūibid* (4) *buk esāc an(t)olac buk* etc. in 1 a.

All these examples have been taken from the inscriptions written in prose.

## H. List of Endings.

It is perhaps of some use to give here a complete list of Lydian endings so far as I have been able to recognize them in our inscriptions. In the fore-going pages many of them have been mentioned, and suggestions have been made as to their probable meanings. I shall now give an alphabetical list of them without any reference to their meanings. I have arranged them with regard to the characteristic consonant of the ending.

### Endings with *d*.

*-ad* (very frequent); *-ed* (very rare); *-id* (frequent, cf. also *-lid* below); *-ida* (very rare, only in *hida*); *-od* (frequent); *-ud* (rare); *-lad* (? , very rare); *-ñad* (very rare); *-kid* (rare); *-lid* (frequent); *-tid* (very rare); *-rd* or *-ard* (only in one word, *qivard*).

Endings with *-v*.*-v* (very rare).Endings with *-k*.

*-k* following a consonant is rather rare; but it is very likely that in most of the following endings the *-k* is the real suffix whereas the vowels belong to the stems.

*-ak* (frequent); *-ek* and *-ik* (very rare); *-ok* (rare); *-uk* and *-ũk-* (very rare); *-ãk* (rare); *-kin* and *-kiũ* (rare) = *-k + in*, (see *-in*); *-ks* in *ks-bũtaũ-ks*, 12, l. 4; *-kit* (= *-k + it*, rare).

Endings with *-l*.

On *-l* and *-l* following a vowel the same is to be said as on *-k*. *-l* (rare); *-al* (rare); *-el* (very rare); *-il* (frequent); *-ol* (frequent); *-ul* (rare).

*-la* (only in *Mũola*); *-lad* (very rare); *-las* (very rare); *-lin* (?) (very rare, probably *-l + in*); *-lũ* (very frequent).

Endings with *-m*.

*-m* (after consonant); *-am*; *-im*; *-um*; *-ãm*; all of them are very rare. *-mun* (very rare, perhaps = *-m + in*); *-ms* is rather frequent, in most cases the words end in *-kms*; *-mũ* (frequent); *-mũt* and *-mũit* (= *-mũ + -t*; rare).

Endings with *n*.

*-n* (after consonant, very rare); *-nu* (rare); *-in* (frequent), sometimes written *-iũ*, cf. *-kiũ*; *-on* (very rare). *-iũn* (rare, probably *-in* reduplicated); *-tin* (rare, = *-it + in*).

Ending with *ũ*.

Only the ending *-ẽnũ* in *Šfardẽnũ*; but cf. also the other forms *Šfardẽtak* etc., above p. 69.

Endings with *-s*.

*-s* (after consonants), *-as* and *-ãs* (very rare); *-is* (frequent); *-lis* (very frequent); *-mis* (rare); *-sis* (= *-is* reduplicated, rare).

Endings with *ś*.

*-ś* (after consonants, especially *-r-*, frequent); *-aś* (very frequent); *-eś* (very rare); *-iś* (rare); *-oś* (frequent); *-uś* (only in *Artimus*); *-ãś*, *-ẽś*, and *-ũś* (very rare).

Endings with *-t*.

*-t* (after consonants, rare; perhaps = *-it* with elision of the *-i-*); *-at* (frequent); *-it* (very frequent); *-int* (very rare); *-ot* (rare); *-ãt* and *-ãnt* (very rare); *-õt* and *-ẽnt* (rare); *-ũt* and *-ũnt* (rare). *-kit* (see above under *-k*); *-tũ* (very rare).

Endings with *-u*.

It is not certain whether *-u* is a separate ending in Lydian; above, under *-n*, an ending *-nu* was mentioned. Here the words *kantoru* and *amnu* (or *amu-k*) are to be mentioned, in which *-u* seems to be an ending.

Endings with *-ñ*.

The ending *-ñ* is unusually frequent; it occurs after consonants as well as after vowels; with vowels we should have *-añ*, *-eñ*, *-oñ*, *-uñ*.

Endings with *-ē*.

*-aē* (very frequent); *-uē* (rare); *-āē* (frequent); *-ēē* (rare); *ñē* (very rare).

*-dē* (frequent); *-vē* (frequent); *-lē* (very rare); *-mē* (very rare); *-sē*, *-śē*, and *-tē* (very rare); *-qē* (rare).

Endings with *q*.

Only in *bitog* and *ardēq*.

## I. The Vocabulary.

There are not yet very many Lydian words the meanings of which are firmly established. But in order to give a short résumé of what seems to have been determined with more or less certainty I append here an alphabetical list of such words; all of them have been mentioned in the preceding chapters.

A	4
ṽAṽA "court" (obl. case).	4 ending of the subjective case of the singular.
ṽA (1) "if" or a particle of comparison; also T1ṽA and ṽ1T1ṽA etc.—(2) "and".—(3) suffix of appurtenance.	ṽM4 "in the days" (?).
4AṽA "property".	414T4 "he buries" (?).
ṽA1°T1A "bodies" (? , obl. case).	4
8	(3)ṽ4, Tṽ4 etc. "this".
ṽ111ṽA8 "Dionysiac"; obl. case ṽ111ṽA8.	4
ṽ1118 "his" (?) — ṽ18 "he" (?).	41ṽ°T8ṽA4 "may he take vengeance" (?).
ṽAṽ18 "house" (obl. case).	ṽ1(3)ṽ14 "deity, divine".
ṽ1ṽ°8 "in the year".	ṽAṽM4 "cavern, tomb".
ṽM1ṽ8 "of the years". Both words may have the same stem, viz. <i>bor-</i> ; one would have been amplified by means of <i>-l-</i> , the other by <i>-va-</i> .	T1ṽ+A8ṽ1 "may they (he?) disperse".
ṽ18 "or".	1
4°1ṽA1ṽ8 "fore-court" (?).	ṽ1-, ṽ1- suffix; see above p. 34.
	Tṽ1 "here" (?).
	T1- suffix, see above p. 70.
	ṽ1- adjective ending.
	ṽ1ṽ1 "month" (? , obl. case).

𐌰- suffix (1) "and" — (2) "so-  
 ever" in 𐌰𐌱𐌰 etc. —  
 (3) sign of the plural.  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱 "priest" (?).  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱 "soil and water" (obl. case).  
 𐌰-  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱 etc. "funerary couches".  
 𐌰-  
 𐌰𐌱- suffix, cf. p. 34.  
 𐌰-  
 -𐌰 negative.  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱 "the godless" (plur. obl.  
 case).  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰 "neither".  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰 "whosoever".  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰 etc. "anybody".  
 𐌰-  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱 "great" (? , obl. case).  
 𐌰-  
 𐌰- ending of the subjective  
 case of the singular.

𐌰-  
 𐌰- ending of the subjective  
 case of the singular.  
 𐌰-  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱 "column" (? , obl. case).  
 𐌰-  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱 "he destroys".  
 𐌰-  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰 etc. "fore-court".  
 (𐌰)𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰 "all, every one" (obl. case).  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰 "property" (? , obl. case).  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰 etc. "anybody".  
 𐌰-  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱 "interior" (? , above p. 51).  
 𐌰-  
 𐌰- sign of the obl. case of the  
 singular.  
 𐌰-  
 𐌰- sign of the obl. case of the  
 plural.  
 𐌰-  
 𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱𐌰𐌱 "king" (? , obl. case).

## CHAPTER VI.

### Comparisons.

A. Lydian has very little in common with Semitic and Hamitic languages. The *-l-* suffix forming adjectives of appurtenance occurs with similar import in the Kushitic languages of Abyssinia. Lydian has personal suffixes like the Semitic languages, but in Semitic the suffixes denoting the object are always found with the verbs, whereas in Lydian they are added to the particles as e.g. in Persian. Another point of comparison might be the absence of the verbum substantivum. In Semitic languages the words for "is, are" very often are omitted or replaced by pronouns and the like. In our inscriptions a word for "is, are" has not been found; this is probably due to our imperfect knowledge of the language. But it seems to have been epigraphical style in ordinary funerary inscriptions not to use the so-called copula; this must of course have been in keeping with the rules and the spirit of the language. On the other hand we know that in Greek also *ἐστίν* is very often omitted, and, as Prof. WACKER-NAGEL tells me, the omission of the copula is also common in Proto-Indo-Germanic. I think we may safely say that Lydian is neither Hamitic nor Semitic.

B. The languages adjoining Lydian were Phrygian, Carian and Lycian. So far as I can see, Lydian and Phrygian have in common (1) a number of letters and, in the old Phrygian, the general aspect of the alphabet; (2) certain proper names; (3) the style and diction of the funerary inscriptions. This indicates that Lydians and Phrygians had intercourse with each other and both probably partook of the same civilization. This is most natural.

The Carian glosses and inscriptions furnish so little material for comparison that I prefer to leave them aside for the present. KRETSCHMER, p. 376 ff., thinks that Carian and Lycian had a very important suffix in common; but this suffix I have not found in Lydian.

The Lycian and the Lydian alphabets have certain striking similarities, e.g.  $\text{𐌶} = \tilde{n}$ . But there are two important differences between the Lycian and the Lydian languages which are noticed at once when a Lycian inscription is compared with a Lydian: (1) Lycian as it were revels in double consonants, Lydian has them very seldom; (2) in Lycian almost all words end in vowels, in Lydian almost all words end in

consonants with the exception of those ending in  $\tilde{n}$  (which of course may be developed from  $-um$  or  $-un$ ). If the Lydian letter  $\Upsilon$  were  $\tilde{z}$ , the similarity between Lydian and Lycian endings would be somewhat greater, because many Lycian words terminate in  $\tilde{z}$ . However I have given above, p. 15 f., my reasons for thinking that  $\Upsilon$  must be  $\tilde{n}$ . An important feature in both Lycian and Lydian is the frequency of nasal vowels; and this point undoubtedly has considerable weight. But these two languages are not the only ones possessing such vowels. Indian languages (especially Urdu), Albanian, French, Portuguese, Piedmontese, South German and Slavic dialects are full of them, and it has also been suggested that the Etruscan language had them.

Prof. THUMB concluded from "the points of agreement between Lydian and Lycian, as shown in their alphabets, their phonetic systems, and the forms of their words", "that we may well be permitted to consider the possibility of the two languages being related". I do not deny this possibility, and I believe even that it is almost a probability. But the word-forms on which he based this conclusion were at that time not correctly read. We may however add a few words which seem to be the same in Lycian and Lydian. The word *ada* cannot be taken into consideration, since it is probably a foreign word in Lycian and Lydian, cf. above p. 61 f. But *ni-* is the negative both in Lydian and in Lycian. And the ending  $\tilde{en}\tilde{n}$  in *Šfardēnṅ*, if this means "the Sardinian", is probably the same as *aṅna*, *eṅni* in Lycian; cf. SUNDWALL, p. 41. It was alleged by JACOBSON in the *Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift*, 1914, No. 31, col. 995 ff., that the Greek suffix  $-\eta\eta\varsigma$ ,  $-\alpha\alpha\varsigma$  which SUNDWALL and HERBIG think to be the same as the Lycian ending, is of Indo-European (Thracio-Phrygian) origin. It is not altogether impossible that the Lydians borrowed this suffix from the Phrygians; for it seems to me certain that there is a connexion between this Greek and the Lydo-Lycian suffix. If Lycian  $\Gamma$  is read *s*, as in Lydian, the Lycian demotica ending in *azi*, *ezi*,<sup>1</sup> (i. e. *asi*, *esi*) might very well be compared with the Lydian adjectives ending in *-is*, *-sis*; cf. above p. 35 f. The *-l-* suffix is not so frequent in Lycian as it is in Lydian; but it occurs in a few cases, cf. the epichoric name of the Lydians *trṁmili*. The *-va-* suffix is also known to exist in Lycian; cf. SUNDWALL, p. 279. On the other hand, such a characteristic element as *-k* "and", is not found in Lycian. But we know that in Indo-Germanic languages also there is a great variety in the words meaning "and".

C. There are no doubt a number of resemblances between Lydian and the Indo-Germanic languages. I must leave a fuller treatment of these questions to students of comparative philology. Only a few points may be mentioned here.

The postposition *-k* "and" reminds us at once of *-que*,  $\tau\epsilon$ , Sanskrit *-ca*.

The endings of the subjective case *-s*, *-ś*, *-d* seem to agree with similar Indo-Germanic endings; *es(s)* and *est* "this" recall the Latin *iste* and *istud*.

<sup>1</sup> SUNDWALL, p. 40.

The pronouns *his* and *hid*, which are probably interrogative, relative and indefinite pronouns, look somewhat like Latin *quis*, *quid* etc.

The fact that so far only a subjective and an oblique case have been discovered reminds us of the same phenomenon in the later Iranian and in Tokharian languages.

The ending of the oblique case is *-ū*; this would most naturally be a later development of *-um* or *-un*. Reading this, anyone would at once think of the endings of the accusative in Greek and Latin. Now this *ū* is also used as a locative. In Old-Armenian the locative in *-um* is rather rare, but later on it becomes more and more common; in Russian certain classes of nouns have a locative in *-u*; in Sanskrit *-m*, and in Lithuanian *-iame*, are respectively found as the ending of the locative with certain substantives.

The word for "if" is *ak*; the Greek *ἀί κ* (in Homer) sounds somewhat like the Lydian word, but is undoubtedly of a different origin. Besides we know only that *ak* (usually with suffixes) stands at the beginning of conditional clauses. Its original meaning is unknown to us; this may have been "as", or even "and". See above p. 70.

A Lydian word *suñōs*, in 12, l. 6, may mean "son"; *Katovālis suñōs* would very well be translated by "son of Katovās", see above p. 61. It seems that if this meaning is correct the word must certainly be the same as the Indo-Germanic *sunu-*. But accidental coincidences are not uncommon: in a Guatemalan dialect *ruká* means "hand" just as *pyka* does in Russian; in Coptic *γενη* has exactly the same meaning as the German "Scheune"; in Telugu *pampu* means "to send"; in Tigre *sinsin* means the same as the German "Zinsen" etc. Secondly even words for relationship are sometimes borrowed by one language from another, as we see from Etruscan *neftis* (nepos) and *prumaš* (pronepos); German Onkel, Tante, Cousine, Papa, Mama; Lycian *cbrata* (for *\*tbrata*) "daughter".<sup>1</sup> But Indian, Gothic and Slavic, the languages in which *sunu-* is used, are rather far away from Lydian. The word *mrud* means "stele"; but if it be translated "monument", the Indo-Germanic root *\*mer* presents itself at once.

The only verb-forms recognized with certainty in Lydian end in *-ad*, *-id*, *-od* and *znt*. These of course will be at once compared by everybody with Indo-Germanic *-ti*, (*-t*, in some languages *-d*) and with *-nti* (in several languages *-nt*). But as I have said above, p. 69 f., there is still some doubt which of the two is singular and which is plural; and perhaps Lydian had a verbal inflexion built on principles totally different from those of other languages.

There are certain parallels between Lydian and Armenian, which have been pointed out in the preceding chapters. Cf. *-k* and *-c* as the endings of the plural, above p. 17; *q* as the equivalent of Armenian *լ* and its omission, above p. 19; the probable change from *n* > *ū*, above p. 16; the doubling of endings, above p. 51. But these peculiarities are explained with difficulty even in Armenian.

<sup>1</sup> See ARKWRIGHT in *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, 1915, p. 104.

D. A language very widely spread in ancient Asia Minor was the Hittite. It is probable that more will soon be known of this language when the tablets from Boghaz-kyöi are published. From the description of the Hittite vocabulary published by Prof. DELITZSCH in the *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1914, No. 3 we learn that Hittite nouns have the nominative endings *-aš*, *-iš*, *-uš* exactly as in Lydian. Prof. WINCKLER said in *Mitteil. d. Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* No. 35, p. 19, ann. \*\*\* that in Hittite the nominative ends in *-s*, the accusative in *-n*. If this statement be correct, the ending *-n* may be compared with Lydian *-ñ*. Moreover in *Hattusil* and *Mitrašsil* we find an ending *-sil* which reminds us very strongly of Lydian *-lis*; see also PEISER in *Orient. Lit. Zeitung* 1915, col. 7. This is of great importance; but it is not decisive. Words common to both languages with the same meaning I have not found. Some of the words that might give us a clue are unfortunately written in Hittite with ideograms. The Hittite word *biran*, which reminds us of Lydian ṬAḠI8 above p. 36, is not translated. A very uncertain parallel is Hittite *š[sarkuš* "the first": Lydian *srkastuš*; for in 12, l. 7 *srkastuš Katovalis šuñoš* might mean "the first-born son of Katovas".

Perhaps a few other Lydian words may be compared with Hittite forms; but this comparison is very doubtful. DELITZSCH p. 20, l. 1 reads in the Hittite column . . . *kuedani dannara*, in the Babylonian *i-da-a-an ra-kā-a-tūm*, The word *kuedani* recalls at once the Lydian *kūidañ* which means "soil" or "water"; see above p. 36. But unfortunately the meaning of the Babylonian expression is not certain, and the Hittite equivalent is incomplete. On the same page, l. 2, DELITZSCH gives the Hittite *kutti biran* as an equivalent of Babylonian *šahâtum*. The latter means "Seite, Umgebung". Now we have found above p. 32 that Lydian *kud* or *kudkid* means probably "before, opposite" and that *birañ* (obl. case) means "house". Then *šahâtum* and *kutti biran* may possibly be interpreted "what is before, or around, the house". Dr. EHELOLF tells me that *šahâtum* is usually translated "arm-pit", but may have a more general meaning "side"; it seems however that *šahâtum* is meant to be a part of the body at the passage just quoted. Prof. JENSEN is of the same opinion and thinks that Lydian *birañ* has nothing to do with Hittite *biran*.

E. The most interesting question is that of the relationship between Lydian and Etruscan. In the course of our discussion several points of agreement between these two languages have been mentioned. These and others are to be presented here.

Etruscan has no double consonants: Lydian has them very seldom, and often a single consonant is written instead of a double one; cf. above p. 64. But of course the Lydian writing may be imperfect in this respect.

Etruscan has no medials and the aspirated tenues often interchange with the simple tenues, showing that their pronunciation was not different: Lydian has the medials *b* and *d*, perhaps also *g*, but *d* is sometimes changed into *t*, and *g* seems to have become *k* in all cases except one (as far as our inscriptions go); there are no aspirated tenues in Lydian.



Etruscan and Lydian have both the voiced and the voiceless labial spirant (*v* and *f*) and express them both by the same sign, 1 and 8. But 1 (*v*) may be *u* in Lydian as well as in Etruscan.

Etruscan had nasal vowels; cf. HERBIG, p. 34 f. On the Lydian nasal vowels see above pp. 8 f., 14 ff., 78.

In Etruscan *u* and *v* interchange; for the Lydian see above p. 11.

Etruscan had a very strong stress as near the beginning of the word as possible; this brought about a great many changes in the vocalization of the syllables following. The same seems to have been the case in Lydian. For even if *Timles* is not *Τιμόλαος* (cf. above p. 65), the omission of certain vowels in the suffixes shows that one of the preceding syllables had a strong stress; cf. *ak-it-in* > *aktin*; *ak-mū-it* > *akmūt*.

In Etruscan there are two genitive endings: *s* (*ś*) and *l*, with varying vowels. In Lydian the adjectives of appurtenance which are most naturally to be derived from the genitive have *l* and *s* as their characteristic consonants. Moreover it seems that Lydian had originally a genitive ending in *-l* which became obsolete and was used only in archaic style, and which was gradually replaced by the oblique case ending in *ū*, when *l* became more and more restricted to the adjectives. Although, as I said above, p. 77, the *l* is used for similar derivatives in other languages, and although the Etruscan *l*-ending has often been compared with the Latin ending *-lis*, I think that there must be a nearer relation between Etruscan and Lydian in this matter.

It seems that neither Etruscan nor Lydian originally had a grammatical gender; for the Etruscan cf. HERBIG, p. 23, for the Lydian above, p. 24.

Etruscan had a gentilicium ending in *-ax*; the same seems to have existed in Lydian. Cf. Etr. *rumax* "Romanus", Lydian *Şfardak* "Sardian" (?).

The patronymic is in Lydian almost always used as an adjective. In Latin the use of these adjectives has been considered to be of Etruscan origin, in Greek of "Pelasgian" origin, in Phrygian of pre-Phrygian origin. But according to Prof. WACKER-NAGEL these hypotheses are not justified; for the use of the patronymic adjective is Old-Indo-Germanic also.

The particle "and" is in Etruscan *-c*, in Lydian *-k*.

In Etruscan there seem to have been verb endings *ǵ* and *uǵ*. Cf. PAULI, *Alt-ital. Forsch.* II, p. 103 f. In Lydian we find the endings *d* and *-nt*; cf. above p. 69.

Etruscan and Lydian seem to have several word-stems in common. Cf. *tiv* "moon", above p. 52; *akad* "property", above p. 33; *vis*: *ais*- "deity" (?), above p. 46; *dāc*: *tinsī* "days" (?), above p. 50; perhaps even Etruscan *ril* "year" (?): *bo-rlū* "in the year". The Lydian deity *Levś* has been compared above, p. 55, with the Etruscan *Lvsl*.

Of proper names Lydian *Katova*(*ś*) may be mentioned here; on the stem *caǵ* see HERBIG, p. 18 f.

Etruscan and Lydian poetry appear to have the same metrical system; cf. above p. 61.

It seems to me that the relationship between Etruscan and Lydian cannot be denied, unless we are misled and duped by accidental coincidences in the most extraordinary way. And it is also probable that Lydian and Lycian are related. Then Lydian might in time become the connecting link between Lycian and Etruscan.

F. The problem of the relations between Etruscan and Lydian on the one side, and the Caucasian languages on the other side, must be left to future investigation. There seem to be certain prominent features which belong to both groups, e. g. the role played by the *l*-suffix, or the "verbal infix" *-bi-* in Lydian and in Georgian. But I cannot treat of such difficult and intricate questions before I have acquired more knowledge of the Caucasian languages; and even then I am afraid the results will be very scanty, because the local and temporal distances between these groups are exceptionally wide.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### Lydian Proper Names.

In this chapter a short list will be given of those Lydian words which I take to be proper names of deities, of persons and of places. I think it is safe to do this, even before all Lydian inscriptions are published. But I refrain from giving parallels from other Asia Minor languages, because I cannot reach completeness in this respect from the material at my disposal. The most obvious parallels can easily be found in SUNDWALL's book. What lies beyond this will be supplied by those scholars who have more material at their disposal than myself. Only some Etruscan parallels, which were pointed out to me by Professor HERBIG, have been added here. All names will be given in exactly the form in which they occur in the inscriptions, without reference to their grammatical forms. Those names which occur in the third place after two other names I shall mark as *nom. loci*, although some of them may have another meaning.

#### A

419411A 51. — Etrusc. *aliqu*, *alxu*.  
 F1111A' I a<sub>1</sub>, I b<sub>2</sub>, 33. Etrusc. *alu*.  
 411A11A 51.  
 4AE19A (?) 410.  
 F111M19A 151-2.  
 411A1M8AT9A 96.  
 3TAFFA13AT9A 111; 3A[FFA13A]T9A Fa-  
     langua, l. 1-2.  
 3111T9A, 1111T9A, 3111T9A, 4111T9A etc.  
     "Artemis", *passim*.  
 3ATA 243; F11ATA 52, 132. — Etrusc. *ata*.  
 F113TA 82. — Etrusc. *ate*.  
 411A1A9TA *nom. loci* 96.  
 411AT1A9TA 262. — Etrusc. *atresæ*.  
 ...TA9TA 51.  
 319T1M13A 261.

#### B

1AA8 *nom. div.* (?) 291.  
 F11A113A8 18; 25; 31A113A8 1622.  
 F11113A8 49; 31113A8 171.

#### C

30TA94 perhaps *nom. propr.* 190, 11.

#### D

F1F11381 "Ephesian" 74, 177, 3012;  
     2A211381 1110.  
 F1111171 (meaning uncertain) 277.  
 F11111AT1 (meaning uncertain) 192.  
 F111338111 *nom. loci* 114.

#### E

309A3 161; F1109A3 and other derivatives  
     in 8 places. — Etrusc. *carv*.

TA10TAx 16<sub>2</sub>; F11A10TAx and other derivatives in 5 places.

TA1T1x(?) 24<sub>2</sub>.

F1F1111x "of Koloë" 17<sub>7</sub>; 2A21111x 10<sub>10</sub>.

F111111x 8<sub>1</sub>; 111111x 17<sub>3</sub>. — Etrusc. *cuml-na*.

1A01x *nom. div.*(?) 1 a<sub>4</sub>.

1

1111 *nom. div.* 26<sub>4</sub> 5.

1

F1111A1 1 a<sub>1</sub>, 1 b<sub>1</sub>, 18, 28<sub>2</sub>, 28<sub>4</sub>(?);

11111A1 17<sub>3</sub>. — Etrusc. *mane*.

1A111A1 *nom. div.*(?) 1 a<sub>4</sub>.

1A1A11 (meaning uncertain) 19<sub>4</sub>.

1A11 (meaning uncertain) 31.

F11ATA9T11 7<sub>5</sub>.

1ATFA119T11 7<sub>5</sub> 18, 30<sub>1</sub>; 1TATFA119T11

30<sub>17</sub>; incomplete at the end 30<sub>20</sub> 22 23.

1A1F91 (uncertain; cf. Μύρσιος?) 29<sub>7</sub>.

111AT11 13<sub>3</sub>.

1A111T11 41<sub>1</sub> 3; 1111T11 43<sub>1</sub> 5 10; 2A111T11

4<sub>8</sub>; 1111T11 41<sub>4</sub>. The word *Mūim*...

is perhaps to be derived from *Maion*...

This might be the epichoric name for

Lydians; for the name \**Lud* has not been found.

1

1A11A1 25.

1

111AT8A1 11<sub>4</sub>; 11AT8A1 11<sub>9</sub>. — Etrusc. *sapu*.

1309T119A1 12<sub>1</sub> 7.

F11TA911 three times before 1111T9A

in 4; 11TA911 in 11<sub>10</sub>; 1ATA911 in

29<sub>9</sub>. = "of Smyrna" (?); see p. 15.

1111M11 13<sub>2</sub>; 1111M11 15<sub>1</sub>; 1111M11 27<sub>1</sub>.

111A1111 *nom. loci* 17<sub>3</sub>.

1

F11T1A1 *nom. loci* 8<sub>2-3</sub>.

A1A1 (uncertain) 32.

11T3A81 13<sub>3</sub>.

1A81 "Sardis" in different derivatives; see above p. 11.

1A11M1 *nom. div.* 1 a<sub>3</sub>.

1

1A11AT 7<sub>3</sub> attribute of 11M1T.

F111A119AT *nom. loci* 13<sub>1</sub>. W. H. BUCKLER

compares the name of the Lydian town of *Tarne*.

11T3A11 13<sub>2</sub>.

F11A111T 3<sub>1</sub>, 5<sub>2</sub>, 13<sub>1</sub>, 28<sub>3</sub>.

111111T 26<sub>2</sub>.

1111T1T (meaning uncertain) 24<sub>1</sub>.

1

11M1T *nom. div.* 1 b<sub>4</sub>, 7<sub>1</sub> 3; 11M1T 7<sub>10</sub>.

## ADDENDUM.

Dr. EHELOLF has very acutely suggested to me that the deities *Šānñāš*... *Marivdak*, above p. 43, might be the Babylonian and Assyrian gods *Šamaš* and *Marduk*. He tells me also that these two gods are frequently invoked in imprecations against infringers of boundary lines and the like. The vowels of *Marivdak* he compared with those of the Biblical *Merōdak*, who is the same as Marduk. Inscription L. 1 would then in one part give the names of Lydian deities, in the other those of foreign deities. This would be by no means impossible. Our Lydian pantheon would contain, so far as it is known, the "Artemides" of Sardis, of Koloë, of Ephesos and of Smyrna, the Lydian Zeus (*Tavśaš*), the Lydian *Levś* (Etruscan *LvsI*), the Babylonian *Šamaš* and *Marduk*, perhaps the Semitic *Ba'al*, and one unknown deity *Kuoad*. W. H. BUCKLER calls my attention to the fact that the existence in Asia Minor of a primitive deity *\*Koaś*, or *\*Kovaś*, has been suggested on philological grounds by Mr. ARKWRIGHT, *Am. Journ. Arch.* XVII, 1913, p. 366.

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