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# A pithos with Carian inscription from Mengefe settlement, north of the ancient city of Keramos, Caria

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**Abstract:** This article presents an edition and commentary of a hitherto unpublished Carian inscription found in the ancient settlement of Mengefe, north of Keramos, in 2008. The inscription is carved on the mouth of a pithos and consists of 58 readable signs. The text offers significant new information about Carian.

**Keywords:** Carian language, Carian epigraphy, Carian alphabet, Keramos, inscriptions on pithoi, Luwic dialects.

## 1 Introduction

A pithos (Fig. 1) with a Carian inscription was found in 2008 during a rescue excavation led by the Milas Museum Directorate in the ancient settlement of Mengefe, north of the ancient city of Keramos (Fig. 2). The pithos is now in Milas Museum (Mus. inv. no. 391).

The pithos is 76 cm high, the body diameter 65 cm and the mouth diameter 33 cm. The rim on which the Carian inscription is located is 3.1 cm wide.

Two coins (Fig. 3–4)<sup>1</sup> dating from the end of the 4th century BC were unearthed in the area where the pithos was located, at the same level as the pithos. The

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1 Macedonian coins, both featuring Alexander the Great (336–323 BC). AR drachm, AE, Mylasa or Miletos (for the coins, see Price 1991, Plate XXXIII, Fig. 545).

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**Article note:** We would like to thank the Milas Museum Directorate, which led the Mengefe rescue excavation, and scientific advisors Prof. Ahmet Tırpan and Prof. Bilal Söğüt for allowing us to publish this inscription. Abuzer Kızıl was a member of the scientific team in 2008.

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coins made it possible to reliably date the pithos with the Carian inscription to the same period.

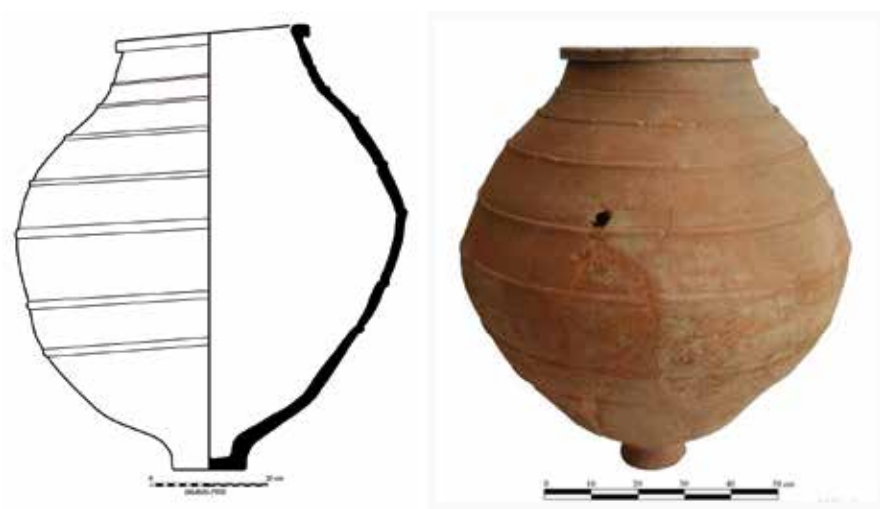


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

A. K.

2 Edition

The inscription consists of 58 readable signs (including interpunction marks) plus around nine further signs, according to our calculations, whose reading is uncertain or which are simply missing from a very damaged part of the mouth of the pithos. Interpunction is an interesting trait of this inscription: it is systematic and used to separate words (understood as prosodic unities, which also include clitics), and undoubtedly makes analysis of the text easier.



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

Figure 5 shows a complete photo of the inscribed mouth and figure 6 is a drawing submitted by the co-author of the article. Note that this drawing was created from the photo in figure 5, before the reading of the inscription offered here was made. It is useful for giving an overview of the position of the text on the surface of the mouth of the pithos, but it does not provide a faithful representation of the signs in the inscription. Therefore, it is included here for purely illustrative purposes and cannot be used to offer an edition of the text. Our edition is based on the close-up photos reproduced below, which were also submitted by the co-author, and the reference drawings are those that accompany each of these close-up photos.

To make reproducing the close-up photos of the inscription more convenient, it was divided into six sections by my colleague Abuzer Kızıl, as shown in figures 5 and 6. As some signs are repeated in two different photos, I have indicated these by means of brackets whenever they are edited in a different section.

Section 1 (1–11)



Fig. 7: Section 1



(67)		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
χ	(vacat)	□	∨	∨	∇	Ι	Ε	Ϛ	:	ϛ	Ϝ	ϝ
ê		e	u	n	k	λ	i	r	:	m	a	n

Section 2 (12–26)



Fig. 8: Section 2

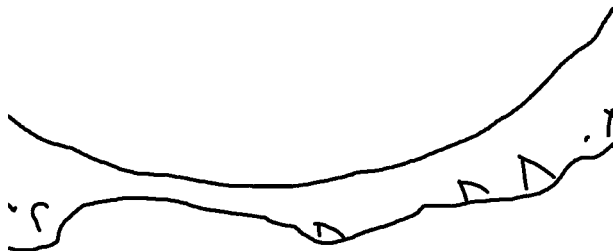


12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Π	:	Q	Π	Θ	Q	T	:	€	D	V	:	M	€	C
e	:	t	e	q	t	T	:	i	š	n	:	p	i	d

Section 3 (27–34)



Fig. 9: Section 3



(26)	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
C	[-	-	-]	?	[-]	Λ?	Λ?	:?
d	-	-	-	?	-	?	?	:?

Section 4 (35–44)



Fig. 10: Section 4



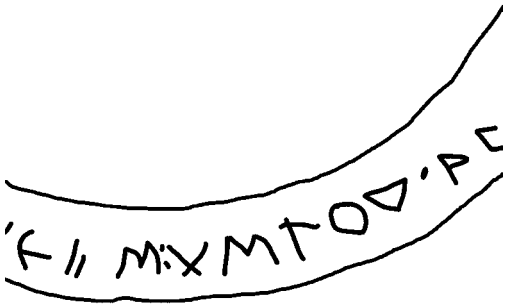
(33)	(34)	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
Λ <sup>?</sup>	: <sup>?</sup>	⋈ <sup>?</sup>	:	Ɔ	Ɔ	Q	ℵ	M	€	:	ℵ
?	: <sup>?</sup>	δ <sup>?</sup>	:	a	r	t	m	s	i	:	m



Section 5 (45–56)



Fig. 11: Section 5

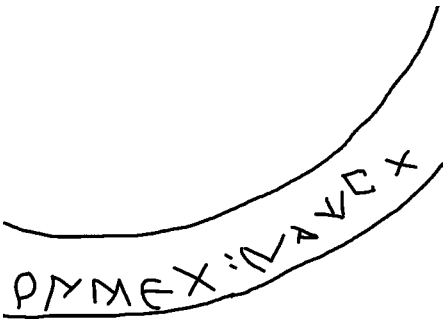


45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
€	⋈	М	:	X	М	Г	О	▽	:	Р	С
i	δ	s	:	ĥ	s	b	o	k	:	a	r

Section 6 (57–67)



Fig. 12: Section 6



57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	
Q	N	M	E	X	:	N	P	V	□	X	(vacat)
t	m	s	i	ĥ	:	m	a	n	e	ĥ	

## Notes on the reading

### Section 1 (1–11)

This is generally unproblematic. The letter for *e* apparently has the form  $\eth$  here and in section 2, no. 12, but I think that the inner stroke is accidental in both cases (in 12, it seems to be a fracture of the surface). 2  $\vee$  *u* seems quite clear, despite the fracture in the stone. An alternative reading  $\mathcal{N}$  *m* looks unlikely.

### Section 2 (12–26)

Letter 14 is more likely to be  $\mathcal{Q}$  *t* than  $\mathcal{O}$  (in the drawing of the Figure 6); the tail seems clear. There is some doubt as to whether letter 16 is  $\mathcal{O}$  *o* or  $\mathcal{Q}$  *q*, as is usual in Carian epigraphy. However, there is an incision in the middle of the circle, which is very similar to the points used for the interpunction, and this supports the reading  $\mathcal{Q}$  *q*. The rest of letters are clear. Note the form of 21  $\mathcal{Q}$ . I am quite sure that this is a local variant of the Carian letter  $\mathcal{Q}$  *š*; it is also attested in a graffito from Iasos, C.Ia 7, but in a text with left to right orientation, and cf.  $\mathcal{Q}$  in Sinyris.<sup>2</sup> Other interpretations (a further variant of  $\mathcal{V}$  *β*?) look much more improbable.

### Section 3 (27–34)

The rim of the pithos here is broken and very damaged. I assume that this part of the inscription had nine signs (including separation marks), numbered 27–35 here, but this is an estimate. In signs 30, 32 and 33, the upper parts of the letters are visible, but these are of ambiguous interpretation. Number 30 could be the upper part of  $\mathcal{O}$  *š*, 32 could be  $\mathcal{P}$  *a* or  $\mathcal{P}$  *b*, and 33 could be  $\Delta$ . Between 33 and 35, there is a space without clear remainders of letters, so it was possibly occupied by a separation mark.

### Section 4 (35–44)

The fracture continues up to 37. In the case of 35, I consider it highly probable that we are dealing with the Carian letter  $\mathcal{A}$  *δ*, but I am not entirely certain. From 36 on, the letters are more legible, but the eroded surface and the strange form of some letters make reading the word from 37–42 difficult at first glance. However, I think there is enough evidence to recognize the same sequence of letters that appear in 55–60 and that represent, as commented below, an easily identifiable personal name. The most uncertain readings are those of the signs 39 and 40, but the drawing provided by my colleague Kızıl and reproduced above in figure 6,

<sup>2</sup> For the use of Sinyris instead of the form ‘Sinuri’ in reference to this Carian sanctuary near Mylasa, see Adiego (forthcoming).

which was made without prior knowledge of the interpretation of the signs or the comparison to the sequence 54–60, coincides exactly with the reading proposed here: 39  $\varphi$   $t$  and 40  $N$   $m$ . The reading of 37–38 ( $ar$ ) and 42–43 ( $si$ ) is clear from the close-up photos ( $\square$  for 38 in the drawing in figure 6 can be ruled out, since the letter is clearly  $\zeta$   $r$ ).

#### Section 5 (45–56)

The only problematic point is 49. The sign can be interpreted in at least three ways: it could be  $X$   $\hat{k}$ ,  $\vee$   $u$  or  $\nabla$   $k$ . The two lines intersect, and this supports a reading of  $X$ , but the lower prolongation of the lines is shorter than other examples of  $X$ , so the letter could simply be  $\vee$ , or  $\nabla$  with the upper trace not visible. However, the  $\nabla$  that appears four letters afterwards presents a perfect triangle, without the intersection of the oblique lines and the upper horizontal line clearly incised. I think, therefore, that  $X$  is the best solution. In terms of the interpretation of the text,  $X$  and  $\nabla$  are the best options.

#### Section 6 (57–67)

Letter 57 is clearly  $\varphi$   $t$ , and not a kind of  $B$  as insinuated in the drawing in figure 6. Number 58 is most probably  $N$ , with a very archaic aspect. In 63–66, the situation is similar to that of 37–43; the word here is the same as in 9–12 ( $NAV\square$   $mane$ ). Letters 64–65 are clearly  $AV$   $an$ , the square of  $\square$  is, in my opinion, clearly visible in 66 and, finally, 63 is an odd form of  $N$ ; at least the left part of the letter ( $\vee$ ) can be easily identified. The final sign 67 is  $X$   $\hat{k}$ . No interpunction follows it and it is followed by an unwritten space (*vacat*); both points indicate that this is the end of the inscription.

#### Complete reading

*eunk̂lir : mane : teqtT : iŝn : pid[-]-?-[-]-?-? :<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> : artmsi : miδs : ksbok :  
artmsiĥ : manek̂*

### 3 The alphabet

The inscription presents a total of 20 different letters:

𐌰	a	𐌡	p
𐌱	b	𐌢	q
𐌲	d	𐌣	r
𐌳	e	𐌤	s
𐌴	i	𐌥	š
𐌵	k	𐌦	t
𐌶	λ	𐌧	u
𐌷	m	𐌨	ĥ
𐌸	n	𐌩	δ
𐌹	o	𐌪	τ

The attested letters are consistent with the typical alphabets of Caria proper and appear in inscriptions dating from around the 4th century BC, a timespan to which the new inscription must also be attributed; no ‘Egyptian’ letters such as 𐌠 𐌡 or 𐌢 appear here, and the forms *q* (𐌢) and *r* (𐌣) are also closer to the Carian epigraphy of 4th-century Caria (with the exception of Kaunos) than to more archaic shapes found in Egypt (𐌠, 𐌡). Most likely, therefore, the alphabet known by the author of the inscription on the pithos was a local Hellenistic Carian alphabetic variety consisting of around 27 letters, as seen in other places in Caria at that time. The absence of several letters, including some as common as 𐌫 *ś* and 𐌬 *l*, can be attributed to chance. In fact, these two letters could be present on the damaged part of the rim; see the edition of section 3 above.

The most idiosyncratic shape appears in the letter for *i*, 𐌴. However, this comes as no surprise, as this letter presents the highest number of variants in the alphabets of Caria: 𐌴 𐌵 𐌶 𐌷 𐌸 𐌹 𐌺 𐌻. The new form can easily be explained as a simplified version of an original form 𐌴 in which the vertical stroke is suppressed. At first glance, this gives it the appearance of a Greek cursive, almost minuscule, epsilon (ε), but the prolongation of the intermediate horizontal stroke refutes any direct comparison between the Carian and Greek forms, as the horizontal stroke intersected the vertical stroke in the original shape of the Carian letter. In other words, the Carian 𐌴 in the new inscription can be understood as a mere evolution of a local Carian alphabet; the Greek influence in the new letter shape cannot be absolutely ruled out, but in any case this is unnecessary.

## 4 Interpretation

### 4.1 Personal names

As in other texts of fragmentary languages, the first step in any interpretation of the text is the identification of proper names. Two names are clearly recognizable:<sup>3</sup> *mane* and *artmsi*.

The name *mane* is already known in both Greek and Carian sources. In fact, it is a name widely attested in Asia Minor, particularly Phrygia. For Caria, the online *LGNP* includes 12 examples out of a total of 318. Given that all these examples in Caria date from the 4th century onwards<sup>4</sup> and that the name is absent from the inventory of personal names attested in Egypt, it is possible that this name was introduced in Caria from Phrygia and/or Lydia, and perhaps not much earlier than the first epigraphic attestations. In the Carian epigraphic corpus, it had already been attested twice in the list of priests of Hyllarima (C.Hy 1), dating from no earlier than 320 BC.

The name *artmsi* is new in Carian epigraphy. There is little doubt that we are dealing with the Greek name Ἀρτεμίσιος. Despite its Greek character, it was a name with clear links to Caria; 40 of the 94 examples of the name in the *LGNP* come from Caria. In addition, its feminine counterpart Ἀρτεμισία was the name of two famous Carian queens: the ruler of Halicarnassus and commander of the Halicarnassian navy during the Battle of Salamis in 480 BC (Artemisia I); and the sister and wife of the satrap Mausolus, with whom she ruled Caria and whom she succeeded to the throne, which she held for two years, from 353 to 351 BC (Artemisia II).

The adaptation of a Greek name in -ιος as a Carian stem in -i is also observed in C.Eu 1 *ktai-s* < ἑκαταῖος.

The most striking aspect of the inscription is that these two names appear twice, and in a chiastic structure: ... *mane* ... *artmsi* ... *artmsik* : *manek*. Moreover, both names are repeated with an element *k* added at the end of each one. Why are the names repeated? Why are they repeated in inverse order? What does *k* represent in the repeated names?

The possible response I propose here is a hypothesis in which the sequence *miδs* : *k̂sbok* preceding *artmsik* : *manek*, and particularly the last form *k̂sbok*, play a crucial role.

<sup>3</sup> As for *k̂sbok*, see immediately below (4.2).

<sup>4</sup> In fact, 10 of these examples are dated no earlier than 354 BC, i.e. around the middle of the 4th century. The other two appear in an inscription from Mylasa (I.Mylasa 8), generically dated to the 4th century for palaeographical reasons.

## 4.2 *ksbok*

*ksbo* (or *ksbo* if one assumes an alternative reading of the controversial initial letter) had been attested in Carian as a personal name: E.My 1 *ksbo*, in Greek sources  $\chi\alpha\sigma\beta\omega\varsigma$  (Blümel 1992: 27).<sup>5</sup> Certainly, it could also be a personal name here, but I think that its interpretation as a common noun is much more attractive. It is commonly accepted that the personal name *ksbo*- $\chi\alpha\sigma\beta\omega\varsigma$  comes from a Carian word meaning ‘grandson’, which would match Lycian *xahba/xāhba* and Luwian *hams(i)-* (cf. Adiego 2007: 334). The hypothesis assumed here is that *ksbo* is ‘grandson’ in the new inscription, and this assumption gives rise to a possible interpretation of this final part of the inscription:

1) *ksbo* ‘grandson’ forms part of a construction *miδs ksbok*. *ksbok* can be analysed as *miδs ksbok=k*, with *=k* as a clitic conjunction, ‘X and the grandson’.

2) *miδs*, at the same syntactic level as *ksbo*-, could represent a meaning semantically related to *ksbo*. An obvious hypothesis is that the meaning is ‘grandfather’, so *miδs ksbok=k* could be interpreted as ‘the grandfather and the grandson’.

3) If points 1) and 2) are assumed to be true, the construction of *artmsik* : *manek* could be analysed as two personal names followed by two apocopated versions of the Carian ‘relative’ *ki*, *k̂*, each of these referring to *miδs* and *ksbo*, respectively:

$mi\delta s_1 ksbok_2=k artmsi=k̂_1 mane=k̂_2$

‘The grandfather<sub>1</sub> and the grandson<sub>2</sub>, (who is)<sub>1</sub> Artemisios, (who is)<sub>2</sub> Manes’ =

‘The grandfather and the grandson, Artemisios, Manes (respectively)’

To be viable, this hermeneutic hypothesis requires an explanation of the three abovementioned points, which I will attempt to do.

## 4.3 The clitic conjunction *=k*

Unfortunately, further evidence of a Carian enclitic conjunction *=k* is unclear in Carian, where the conjunction *sb*, or simply asyndeton, is usually attested. However, a similar *=k* can be isolated in C.Kr 1, although the lack of separation marks could suggest possible alternatives:

$q\sigma\tau_2 ?omus\delta isa$   
 $sn\acute{s}\sigma o\delta ubr\acute{s}$

<sup>5</sup> For the alternance between *k* and *k̂* compare *ktmno* (E.Th 25), *ktmn* (E.Th 32) vs. *k̂tmño-ś* (2x) in C.Si 2.

*sbmnošknor*  
*norilams*

The initial part of the inscription continues to be elusive, but we can at least suggest the following segmentation from *šodubrś* to the end:

*šodubrś sb mnoś=k nornorilams*

It is noteworthy that there are two words here (*šodubrś*, most likely a personal name, and *mnoś*, the Carian word for ‘son’), coordinated by the Carian conjunction *sb*, ‘of Šodubr- and the son’. Now, analysing *=k* as a enclitic conjunction offers the possibility of interpreting *nornorilams* as also belonging to the overall structure X *sb* Y:

[*Šodubr-ś*] *sb* [*mno-ś=k nornorilams*]

I wonder if *nornorilams* is also a kinship noun here. If so, it must be in the same case as *mnoś*; in other words, genitive, either singular or plural. At this point, it is relevant to recall the Carian bilingual of Kaunos (C.Ka 5), in which the Carian sequence that seems to correspond to Greek [αὐτο]ῦς καὶ ἐκγόνους καὶ ... (‘... themselves (acc.) and the descendants, and ...’) is:

*otrś sb aḱt[ms]kmt absims sb*

According to my analysis in Adiego (2007: 300), *otrś* is ‘themselves’ and *aḱt[ms]* *kmt* seems to match ‘descendants’ (‘offspring’) of the Greek version, but *absims* has no correspondence in the Greek part. I suggested in Adiego (*ibid.*) that it could be a possessive, comparable to Lycian *ehbi(je) < \*ebesi(-je)*. If we take this analysis a step further, *absims* could be interpreted as a genitive plural:<sup>6</sup> ‘the offspring of these, their offspring’. This fits well here, as the difference with respect to the Greek version would simply be the omission of the possessive reference; this is a minor detail.

Consequently, *-ms* would be an ending with the function of a genitive plural and *šodubr-ś sb [mno-ś=k nornorilams]* could be translated as ‘of Šodubr- and of the son and of the (pl.) *nornorila*’. The kind of kinship expressed by *nornorila* is currently impossible to deduce. The apparent reduplication could allude to a collective such as ‘brothers and sisters’ or ‘grandsons and granddaughters’. The

<sup>6</sup> I do not assume that *-ms* must absolutely be ‘the’ genitive plural ending in Carian (for a very recent proposal that identified this ending as *-un*, see Simon, forthcoming). It could be a different kind of ending, perhaps of pronominal origin (cf. Lycian pronominal genitive plural *-ēhē/e/-āhā* vs. nominal *-ē*). This could very well explain its use in *absims* and in *nornorilams* it could be an analogical extension to nominal forms.



(limited) assonance with Lycian *nere/i*- ‘sister (?)’ is striking, but it is impossible to take the comparison any further with any degree of certainty. An attractive, albeit purely speculative, suggestion is an original form *\*non-nori*- matching Lycian *nēne/i*- ‘brother’ + *nere/i*- ‘sister’, with dissimilation *-nn-* > *-rn-*. A similar case of dissimilation (here *-nm-* > *-rm-*) can be seen in the name of the syngeneia of Πορμουνοϝ, which comes from an earlier name Πορμουοννοϝ/*p̥m̥mn* in the sanctuary of the god Sinyris.<sup>7</sup> An interesting characteristic of =*k* in this text, unlike in the new inscription, is that the conjunction =*k* is attached to the first word, not the second word, but we can assume a certain level of mobility for this enclitic particle.

From an etymological point of view, *-k* ‘and’ matches Cuneiform Luwian *-ḫa*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *-ha*, with Proto-Luwic *\*h* > Carian *k* before *a*, cf. *kδου°/kδul°* < *\*/handawa/°*, etc. A connection to the Milyan (and Lycian?) enclitic conjunction *ke* ‘and’ depends on a satisfactory explanation on the outcome *k*, not *x*, of *\*h* and of the vowel *e* in these dialects.

#### 4.4 *miδs* ‘grandfather’

At first glance, *miδs* ‘grandfather’ seems problematic because we had assumed until now that the word for ‘grandfather’ in Carian was *quq*, attested only as a personal name (*quq- Tυνοϝ*) and with good Luwic etymology (Cuneiform Luwian *ḫūḫa*-, Hieroglyphic Luwian *huha*-, Lycian, Milyan *xuga*- ‘grandfather’). However, there are different explanations for the relationship between *miδs* and *quq*: one of them may be more official than the other; *quq* could be assumed as a more generic meaning (‘ancestor’); or it could simply be replaced by *miδs* in the common vocabulary, etc.

*miδs* with the meaning ‘grandfather’ has a sound possible etymological connection: *miδs* represents /mind(V?)s/, and immediately recalls the Lycian word *miñti* /mind/, also attested in Greek of Lycia as μνδῖς, the local supervisory authority mentioned in the Lycian funerary inscriptions. Of particular interest for the present discussion is the etymology proposed for *miñti*- by Onofrio Carruba (1980: 286–288, 1996: 220, n. 7): The Italian scholar saw the origin here as a par-

<sup>7</sup> The correspondence Carian *o* = Lycian *e/ē* may sound strange, particularly in light of other examples such as Carian *ted*/Lycian *tedi* and Carian *en*/Lycian *ēni*, but it is important to recall that C.Kr 1 belongs to the area of the Kaunos alphabet (and most likely also the dialect), where there was no letter for *e* and the example of *otono*- = Ἀθηναῖος (C.Ka 5) also shows a possible example of *e* adapted as *o* (although, in this latter case, other explanations for this use of *o* have certainly been suggested).

ticiples \**miġant-* ‘grown’, for which he adduced the Hittite verb *mai-* ‘to grow’. From the meaning ‘grown’, Lyc. *miñti* became ‘old people’ (*anziani*), “assembly of elders” (cf. Latin *senatus*). Carruba’s view can now be better articulated: it is clear that an adjective *miġant-* ‘many’ exists in Hieroglyphic Luwian, and Sasseville identified a verb *mai-* in Cuneiform Luwian (in the imperative form *ma-i-ú* ‘may it grow’) (Sasseville 2021: 369). Both forms point to a Luwic verb /*mai-/* /*miya-/* that matches Hittite *mai/miya-* ‘to grow’. The semantic changes leading to the meanings ‘many’ and ‘old’ (in Lyc. *miñti*) of the lexicalized participle /*miyant-/* are straightforward: for ‘grown’ > ‘many’ cf. Spanish *crecido*, literally ‘grown’, but also ‘numerous, abundant’; for ‘grown’ > ‘old’, cf. Sanskrit *vṛddha-* ‘grown; old person’.<sup>8</sup>

More difficult to explain is the final *-s*. In principle, we would expect a nominative here, as the noun appears in coordination with *ksbo*. The sigmatic character of the nominative can be explained only if it comes from a consonantal group. A direct outcome of \**miyant-s* > *miðs* seems problematic because of the parallel treatment of the accusative plural *-ints* > *-š* (cf. *kbdyn-š* in C.Ka 5); we should then assume a differentiated evolution of \*/nts/ after *a*. Alternatively, *-s* could be suffixal (matching Lycian *-s-*, *-za* or *-zi?*).

#### 4.5 The relative *ki*

The analysis of the two *ki* elements presented above means that these are apocopated forms of the Carian relative pronoun *ki* and that they have a distributive connection to the antecedents *miðs* and *ksbo*. I repeat the analysis below:

*miðs<sub>1</sub> ksbo<sub>2</sub>=k artmsi ki<sub>1</sub> mane ki<sub>2</sub>*

‘The grandfather<sub>1</sub> and the grandson<sub>2</sub>, (who is)<sub>1</sub> Artemisios, (who is)<sub>2</sub> Manes’ =

‘The grandfather and the grandson, Artemisios, Manes (respectively)’

In principle, the apocopated version could be explained as being determined by the fact that the preceding word ends in a vowel; all examples of non-apocopated *ki* in the Carian corpus are preceded by consonants (particularly *-š* in genitival constructions, but also *-n* in *armon ki*, *-l* in *kojoł ki*, etc.).

In Adiego (forthcoming), I suggest that the names in *yriki-*, *ýriki-* (adapted in Greek as *-υριϋος*) could be analysed as lexicalized forms of a relative construction

<sup>8</sup> The fact that the corresponding Hittite lexicalized participle *miyant-* means ‘young’ does not represent a real objection to the parallel development towards the opposite meaning ‘old’ in Lycian and eventually in Carian. In both cases, the point is the notion of ‘growing = becoming older’, referring respectively, in relative terms, to infancy and mature age.

*yri k̂(i)* ‘the great (one)’. If this analysis is correct, these forms would also present the apocope of *i* after the vowel.<sup>9</sup>

It is also relevant to the discussion to mention the personal name *yiś[k̂]bikŝs* (E.Me 46). From Masson’s edition of the inscriptions of Saqqara on, *k̂* here has been systematically deleted as an error, particularly if the name is compared to *ýsbiks* in C.xx 2.<sup>10</sup> Now that the existence of an apocopated form of *k̂i* has been confirmed, I wonder if the name of E.Me 46 might contain a relative construction *yiś=k̂ biks* ‘*yiś* who (is) luminous’ (for *biks*, cf. Luw. *pihašša/i-*, Adiego 2007: 337), whereas the form *ýsbiks* would simply mean ‘*ýś* luminous’. Certainly, the relative here would appear in its apocopated form *after the consonant*, but in this case the omission of the vowel could be explained as a consequence of the strong univerbation in the construction of the personal name. If this hypothesis is accepted, the *k̂* of the name must be restored: *yiśk̂biks*.

With respect to the structure of the two relative constructions, the *a b a b* distribution of antecedents and relatives seems surprising at first glance. However, the corpus of Saqqâra contains some structures in which the relatives seem to follow a similar structure. A possible example is E.Me 32:

*iturow-š<sub>1</sub> | kbjom-š<sub>2</sub> | k̂i<sub>1</sub> en | mw[d]on-š k̂i<sub>2</sub>*  
 ‘(stele) of Iturow<sub>1</sub>, of Kbjom<sub>2</sub> who<sub>1</sub> (is) the mother, who<sub>2</sub> is *mwdon-*’

Although it is not impossible that *mwdon-š k̂i* refers to *iturow-š*, it seems improbable, because when female names are implied in such inscriptions, *mwdon-š* always seems to refer to a masculine personal name.

In addition, there are two *k̂i*-constructions in E.Me 44; one referring to the deceased person, in nominative, and the other to the father, in genitive:

*apmen šrqwś kojoł k̂i / mwtonś k̂i*  
 ‘Apmen<sub>1</sub> (son) of Šrqwś<sub>2</sub>, who<sub>1</sub> (is) Koan (?) / who<sub>2</sub> is *mwton-*’

#### 4.6 Final remarks on the inscription

The above analysis, if correct, allows us to interpret the text after the damaged section of the inscription. With respect to the words preceding the gap (*eun̂k̂lir : mane : teqtT : išn : pidl*), the uncertainties are greater. The personal name *mane*

<sup>9</sup> The study of these classes of names involves a certain degree of complexity that cannot be addressed here. See Adiego (forthcoming) for more details.

<sup>10</sup> For the alternance between *yi* and *y*, see perhaps *jr-yin* vs. *kbd-yn-š*. The alternance *uiom̂ln* (C.Ka 5) / *yom̂ln* (C.Ka 4) in Kaunos is not far from the case of *yi/y*.

is preceded by a word *eunk̲lir*. This word is unparalleled in the Carian corpus, although the initial part *eu*<sup>o</sup> recalls *ew* in the graffiti of Thebes (particularly in combination with *mlane*, *lane*) and *eu*<sup>o</sup> in Buhen *euml?bnasal* (E.Bu 2); in this latter case, moreover, *eu*<sup>o</sup> also appears at the beginning of the inscription.

The form *teqtT* recalls the personal name *tqtes* in E.Me 47. In this position after *mane*, one would expect the father's name in *-ś*, but instead of *-ś*, the undeciphered letter T appears as the last letter of the word. Perhaps this is an ethnic or profession name. With respect to *išn*, the final *-n* could feasibly be interpreted as an accusative ending and, in this case, *iš-* could refer to the object, either as a noun meaning 'pithos' or as a pronoun ('this').

Finally, it is difficult to separate *pid* from *pjdl*<sup>r</sup> in C.xx 1, for which the meaning 'gift' (cf. Luwian, Hittite *piya-*, Lycian *pije-* 'to give') has been proposed (cf. Adiego 2007: 282, in line with Melchert's views).

We therefore have: '... Manes ... this/the pithos gift (or 'gave' or sim?) .... Artemisios'. In my opinion, this first appearance of the name Artemisios closes the first part of the inscription, and it seems quite probable that Manes is the dedicator and Artemisios the person to whom the object is addressed. Thus, the second part of the inscription serves to specify the kinship relationship between the two people: Artemisios is the grandfather and Manes is the grandson. This would explain why the order of names was inverted in the second part; the first part reflects the expected syntactic order of a dedication formula (Manes to Artemisios), but the second part follows a genealogical order: first the grandfather Artemisios, then the grandson Manes.

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