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Tombs and the Social Hierarchy in Ancient Lycia

The Lycian sepulchral monuments of the epichoric period (6th–4th centuries B.C.) can be divided into four basic categories:

- (a) monumental tombs 6 recorded
- (b) pillar tombs 35 “
- (c) sarcophagoi 64 “
- (d) house-tombs 770¹ “

J. Zahle has suggested that these categories, when considered along with the relief motifs appearing on a number of the tombs, may reflect a fairly clearly defined hierarchy in Lycian society;² if so, the more imposing, less common tombs were presumably associated with persons and families belonging to the highest levels of Lycian society, the less imposing, more common tombs with person and families of lower social status.

To what extent is this suggestion supported by inscriptional evidence?

To date, we know of 172 inscriptions carved on stone. Of these, 150 are sepulchral inscriptions, concerned primarily with a list of persons eligible for interment within a particular tomb, along with instructions for their burial arrangements. Most of the 22 non-sepulchral inscriptions are votive in character, but the group also includes one, or possibly two, decrees (TL 45, N 326), a 255-line inscription on a stele in Xanthos (TL 44), and the well known trilingual from the Letoon (N 320).

The Xanthos stele inscription records, *inter alia*, the genealogy of the so-called Xanthian dynasty, a ruling family based in Xanthos from (perhaps) the late 6th to the early 4th century. It is clear from this and other inscriptions, as well as from numismatic and literary sources of information, that this dynasty was the dominant family group, and exercised the most widespread influence, in Lycia during the epichoric period. There can be little doubt that the most impressive 5th and early 4th century monuments in Xanthos—the Harpy tomb, Heroon G, and the Nereid monument, as well as the Xanthos stele—are to be associated with this dynasty.³

¹ See J. Zahle, *Arkaeologiske studier i lykiske klippegrave og deres relieffer*, Copenhagen 1983, 29f., 108f., 142f.—The following abbreviations are used in this article: N—G. Neumann, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901*, Vienna 1979; E. Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris: Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, Vienna 1901.

² Zahle (ref. n. 1), chapters 2–3 (pp. 39–63), German abstract 163f.

³ The dynasty and the monuments associated with it will be discussed by T. R. Bryce and J. Zahle, in: *The Lycians*, vol. II, Copenhagen (forthcoming).

Unfortunately the information we have about the status of other families within the Lycian hierarchy is very limited. One of the main reasons for this is that most of our information about particular Lycian families comes from the inscriptions appearing on the rock-tombs. And during the epichoric period, the practice of inscribing these tombs was the exception rather than the rule. Of the (approx.) 900 tombs recorded for the period, only one in six bears an inscription, and only from the late 5th century onwards. Moreover, there is no identifiable pattern in the presence or absence of inscriptions; some of the humbler tombs are inscribed, some of the more imposing ones are not. Thus it is not unlikely that many of the uninscribed tombs of the first three categories belonged to important persons or families of whom no trace survives in the epigraphic sources. In all probability a number of these tombs were associated with the families of the 35 or more persons known to have issued coins in Lycia during the epichoric period (in addition to the coin-issuing members of the Xanthian dynasty). We may assume that such persons occupied an important place within the Lycian hierarchy. But since very few of them figure in the sepulchral inscriptions,⁴ we know little or nothing about them (beyond the information provided by their coin-issues) or the families to which they belonged.

But what of the persons and families who do figure in the sepulchral inscriptions? What conclusions can we draw about their place within the Lycian social hierarchy? Do they form, or belong to, a class which is distinguishable from the rest of Lycian society? And if so, are we able to distinguish within this class various social gradations, corresponding to the hierarchy of tomb-types?

We have already referred to the Xanthian dynasty as Lycia's preeminent family, and we have assumed that regional coin-issuers also occupied a prominent place within the Lycian hierarchy. However, if J. Zahle's suggestion is correct, the tombs of the first three categories are sufficiently numerous to suggest that there may have been other person who, though of lesser status than the members of the Xanthian dynasty (and perhaps the regional coin-issuers), nonetheless ranked in importance above the majority of tomb-owners represented by the fourth category of tomb types.

This suggestion can be tested by an investigation of a number of inscriptions which are associated with one or more of the first three tomb-types, or with other notable monuments. The following inscriptions can be so identified:

TL 54—on a monumental tomb

TL 44, 50—on pillar tombs

TL 11, 23, 29, 30, 32, 36, 40, 43, 55, 72, 78, 117, 125, 143—on sarcophagoi

TL 25, 51—on statue-bases.

(The inscriptions on the pillar-tombs will not be considered here. TL 44, the Xanthos stele inscription, has been referred to above in connection with the Xanthian dynasty. In TL 50, also from Xanthos, only the last two lines of the inscription are preserved. We have no information about the tomb-builder, or the family to which he belonged.)

⁴ The only names of coin-issuers found also in the sepulchral inscriptions are Khinakha (TL 125), Sppātaza (TL 3), and Trbbēnīmi (TL 128, 135). These may be no more than homonyms; but on Trbbēnīmi, see below.

TL 54, a dedicatory inscription which appears on a monumental tomb in Phellos, provides a convenient starting point for our investigation.

tukedri:[e]behē:m[. . .kh]udaliyē abu[. . .]-w[ēte]he:zzimaza murāzahe tide[imi]
(lines 1–2).

The inscription names Khudaliye, son of Murāza, as the tomb-owner, and refers to a statue (*tukedri*), which Khudaliye has erected. Khudaliye, son of Murāza, also figures in TL 72, which is inscribed on a sarcophagos (*tezi* in the inscription) in Kyaneae, built by Khudaliye (for a person whose name begins with the letters Dem. . .).

ebēññē:tezi:me ne:ñte:tuwetē:khudali[y]ē:murāzah[e] tideimi:hrppi dem[. . .]

“This sarcophagos Khudaliye, son of Murāza, erected it for Dem. . .”

Since the father-son relationship is identical in both inscriptions, then almost certainly these inscriptions refer to the same persons. And it is clear from the monumental character of the tomb on which TL 54 appears and the reference which the inscription makes to the erection of a statue, that the family to which Khudaliye and Murāza belonged was one of considerable distinction in Phellos, and also had links with Kyaneae, as indicated in TL 72.

Within this context, we might also note that in TL 84, a Murāza is named as the uncle of the tomb-owner Mizretiye, who held the office of *mluhidaza* in the city of Sura (line 1).

ebēññē:prñnawā:me ti:prñnawatē:mizretiye:murāzah:tuhes:mluhidaza surezi
(line 1).

“This building Mizretiye, nephew of Murāza (and) *mluhidaza* at Sura, built (it).”

The nature of the office of *mluhidaza* is not known, but it probably indicates that Mizretiye occupied a prominent position in the local Suran administration.⁵ A further indication of his importance is provided by the elaborate funeral instructions contained in the inscription, with provision being made for annual sacrifice, apparently in honour of the deceased (lines 5–7).⁶ Such provision is extremely rare in the inscriptions. We should note, however, that TL 84 appears on a house-tomb, and is therefore not associated with any of the less common, and more imposing, tomb-types.

I have discussed elsewhere the possible significance of the avuncular form of identification, in the relatively small number of inscriptions in which it occurs.⁷ On some occasions, it figures in the genealogy of families of considerable distinction—e.g. the Xanthian dynasty (TL 44 a 31), and a prominent family group in the city of Tlos (TL 25, to be discussed below). But a particularly noteworthy feature of its use in TL 84 is that it is not accompanied by the usual paternal identification. The fact that Mizretiye, an apparently prominent citizen of Sura, specifically links his name with that of his uncle seems to underline the uncle's importance within the region. Since we know of an important Murāza in Phellos, whose family had links with Kyaneae, it seems not unreasonable to suppose from TL 84 that Murāza's family connections extended to nearby Sura as well.

⁵ References to titles and offices in the epichoric inscriptions (in contrast to the later Greek inscriptions) are relatively rare; see T. R. Bryce, *The Lycians*, vol I: *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, Copenhagen 1986, 130–138.

⁶ See T. R. Bryce, *Sacrifices to the Dead in Lycia*, in: *Kadmos* 19 [1980], 41–49.

⁷ Bryce (ref. n. 5), 139–143.

There is one further occurrence of the name Murāza in an inscription from Telmessos (TL 2). In this case Muraza is identified as the father of a tomb owner called Uhacēe. In the absence of other information, we cannot determine whether these persons were connected with the central Lycian family discussed above. Yet it is conceivable that a branch of this family became established in Telmessos. The likelihood that the coin-issuers Teththiweiβi and Sppñtaza had associations with both Phellos and Telmessos⁸ indicates the plausibility of suggesting that certain family groups, particularly important family groups, were linked with cities in both central and western Lycia.

We have noted that the burial arrangements made by Khudaliye included provision for a sarcophagos burial in the city of Kyanaeae. TL 72 which provides this information is one of 14 inscriptions which appear on sarcophagoi of the epichoric period, as listed above. And we can add to this list a reference in TL 44 a 25 to the sarcophagos of Erbbina (*erbbinahe tezi*), one of the members of the Xanthian dynasty. Sarcophagos burials were much less common than house-tomb burials, and we know that in some instances at least, these burials were associated with prominent persons or family groups in Lycian society, as illustrated by the family group in the Phellos region (considered above), and also by TL 43, the inscription on the so-called Merehi sarcophagos (it now seems very likely that Merehi was a member of the Xanthian dynasty).⁹

A further illustration is provided by the well known Payawa sarcophagos (from Xanthos), on which TL 40 appears. From the elaborate reliefs on the tomb and the reference to a dedication made to or by the Lydian satrap Autophradates (*ebeiya:[khr]uwata:me iye piyetē wat[aprd]ata.khssadrapa*) (d 1), it is clear that Payawa, the author of the monument, was a prominent citizen of Xanthos some time during the second quarter of the 4th century, and apparently an adherent or associate of Autophradates. Unfortunately we know nothing of the family to which he belonged, since only the first two letters of his father's name (*Ed. . .*) are preserved in the identification formula, and he apparently makes no reference to any other members of his family in the rest of the inscription.

In TL 125, an inscription on a sculptured sarcophagos in Limyra, the names Khñtabura and Khinakha appear. Here again we have no information about family relationships or connections. However, both names occur in several other contexts. Khñtabura may be the same person who is mentioned in TL 103, another sepulchral inscription from Limyra.¹⁰ The tomb owner in this case is Tebursseli,

⁸ See O. Mørkholm – G. Neumann, *Die lykischen Münzlegenden*, Göttingen 1978, 15, 24. It is possible, that the coin-issuer Sppñtaza was also the person named as the father of the tomb-owner Tewinezēi in TL 3 (from Telmessos).

⁹ To be discussed by J. Bousquet, in: *Fouilles de Xanthos IX*.

¹⁰ The equation is assumed by J. Borchardt et al., *Ein Totengericht in Lykien. Zum Grabmal des χñtabura in Limyra*, in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 19/20 [1969/1970], 220; cf. J. Borchardt et al., *Die Felsgräber des Tebursseli und des Pizzi in der Nekropole II von Limyra*, in: *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes* 58 [1987], 142. On the basis of architectural and sculptural features, the tombs on which TL 103 and 125 are inscribed have both been dated to the mid 4th century (for the former, see Borchardt et al., *Jahreshefte . . .* 58, 142, for the latter, Borchardt et al., *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 19/20, 220). This dating, if correct, would increase the likelihood that Khñtabura is the same person in both inscriptions.

who also figures as the subject of TL 104, and seems to have been an adherent or associate of the Lycian Perikle.¹¹ According to G. Neumann's interpretation of TL 103 and 104, Tebursseli was the nephew of Khñtabura.¹² One further example of the name Khñtabura occurs in the Xanthos stele inscription—TL 44 d 41; the Khñtabura in question thus belongs to a group of Lycians who were involved in the activities of the Xanthian dynasty in the late 5th-early 4th centuries; and he may well have been the same Khñtabura who figures in TL 103 as a member of a prominent family group in Limyra during the first half of the 4th century.

The name Khinakha appears (sometimes in an abbreviated form) in the legends of a number of coin-issues, of both eastern and western Lycian. It is thus one of the few names which are found in both an epigraphic and a numismatic context. The Khinakha of TL 125 may have had family links with the eastern Lycian coin-issuer of the same name (who minted c. 450 B.C.), although he was obviously two or three generations younger. On the other hand, it is possible, though not provable, that the eastern Lycian coin-issuer was the same person who minted in western Lycia c. 440–420 B.C. We have noted above two other coin-issuers, Spñtaza and Teththiweibi, who were known to have minted in both parts of the country.

It is clear from a number of inscriptions that the tombs on which they were inscribed were intended for use by a range of family connections. In TL 11, an inscription which appears on a sarcophagus in Pinara, the tomb owner Ddapsmma, son of Padmma, makes provision for the burial of his *prñezi*, i.e. the members of his household.

ebēññē prñawā.mē ti prñawatē:ddapssmma:padrmah tid[eimi] hrppi prñezi:ehbi (lines 1–2).

“This building Ddapsmma, son of Padmma, has built (it) for the members-of-his-household”.

Ddapsmma is thus one of a number of Lycian tomb owners who have the status of heads of family groups, the members of whom are designated by the term *prñeziyehi*—“member of the household of . . .”. The precise implications of being head of a household are not altogether clear; and they may in fact have varied from one family group to another.¹³ However in at least some instances, persons assigned this status seem to have been associated with prominent family groups, as illustrated by the family of Purihmeti referred to in TL 6 and TL 25 (discussed below), and the term may provide evidence of extended family organisations which incorporated a range of family connections. This too is exemplified by TL 6 and 25, as well as by TL 36, which appears on a sarcophagus in Xanthos. The tomb owner Ahqqadi is identified as the son of Pizibia/i and the nephew of Hñprama, and makes provision in his tomb for the burial of various family connections, including his *prñezi*.¹⁴

¹¹ This may be indicated by the *ēñē periklehe xñawata* formula appended to TL 103, but there is a more explicit association between Tebursseli and Perikle in TL 104b; see G. Neumann, in: Borchardt et al., *Jahreshefte* . . . 58, 122.

¹² Borchardt et al., *Jahreshefte* . . . 58, 121f., see also 141f.

¹³ See Bryce (ref. n. 5), 139–143.

¹⁴ Cf. also TL 78, which is inscribed on a sarcophagus built by Kupriya and makes provisions for the burial of a range of family connections, including the *esedeñnewi*, the “blood-relatives” of Makha; on the term *esedeñnewi*, see Bryce (ref. n. 5), 149f.

The likely importance of Ddapssm̃ma in Pinara is further indicated by lines 2–3 of his inscription which indicate that he was associated, either as a partner or a subordinate, with Arttuṃpara, one of the successors of the Xanthian dynasty in western Lycia (*urebillaha tr̃m̃mis̃ñ kh̃ñtewete ter[ñ] arttuṃpara*).¹⁵ And it is possible that he was also linked with a family in Xanthos. The link is suggested by the name Padrāma, a variant of the name of Ddapssm̃ma's father in TL 11, and also that of a tomb owner in Xanthos, as indicated by TL 48 (a & b) and TL 49 (in the latter case in the form Padrñma). These inscriptions appear on a house-tomb, the former on the tomb's exterior, the latter inside the tomb. From TL 49, it is likely that Padrāma was a person of some importance in Xanthos, where he held the priestly office of *kumaza*, an office also associated with the establishment of the new cult recorded in the Letoon trilingual (N 320).¹⁶

In TL 48a, Padrāma makes provision for the burial of two sets of family connections, *ner-* and *tuh-*.

ebēññē khupā:mē ti prñnawatē:padrāma:hrppi nere:se t:uhe
tuhes we know as the word for "nephew/niece". The meaning of *ner-* (which also occurs in TL 103.2) is uncertain; it may designate some form of collateral relationship, or a relationship by marriage.¹⁷ TL 48b seems to be a later supplement to 48a.¹⁸

ebēññē:khupā:mē ti:iyetē q[a]rñnakha:pssureh:tideimi se tideimi padrñmahe
 Its author Qarñnaka is apparently the son of both Pssura/i and Padrāma, if *pssureh tideimi se tideimi padrñmahe* can be so interpreted (although identification by reference to both parents is, so far as I know, without parallel in the epichoric inscriptions). It may be that responsibility for the supervision and use of the tomb has passed to a son of Padrāma, perhaps after the latter's death and interment. If so, then TL 48b may reflect some change in Padrāma's family circumstances, since no provision was made for the burial of any of his children in the original inscription (48a).

In TL 51 (also from Xanthos), a Qarñnaka is named as the person responsible for the erection of a statue. Since this Qarñnaka is identified as the son of Qñtba/i, he is evidently to be distinguished from his namesake in TL 48a. Even so, the two occurrences of the same name in the same city may indicate some kind of family link.

The suggestion that the families referred to in TL 11, 48 and 49, and 51 were all part of the one family group is of course conjectural. Nevertheless it is clear from the inscriptions associated with Khudaliye and Muraza that a prominent family could well have associations with more than one city; and such associations seem

¹⁵ Arttuṃpara is also known from his coin issues (see Mørkholm — Neumann [ref. n. 8], 27, 31).

¹⁶ On the likely connotations of the term, see E. Laroche, *La stèle trilingue de Xanthos*, in: *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris) 1974, 124, and in: *Fouilles de Xanthos VI*, Paris 1979, 98.

¹⁷ For various suggestions see P. Meriggi, *Beiträge zur lykischen Syntax*, in: *Kleinasiatische Forschungen 1* [Weimar 1930], 423, E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite*, Paris 1959, 73, R. Shafer, *System of Relationship in Lukian*, in: *Die Welt des Orients 2* [1959], 493–495, R. Gusmani, *Kleinasiatische Verwandtschaftsnamen*, in: *Die Sprache 8* [1962], 80f.

¹⁸ See TL p. 51, and cf. E. Laroche, in: *Fouilles de Xanthos V*, Paris 1974, 133.

all the more plausible when the cities in question lay relatively close together—like Xanthos and Pinara.

The longest and potentially the most informative of the inscriptions appearing on sarcophagoi is TL 29, from Tlos. The inscription begins thus:

ikuwe ti:prñawate:ipresidah:tideimi:.[. . .]pe[h] tuhes ñtatu atli se

ladi:ehbi:tuhesi:sñme señne: Ourtta.ñkh[r]ahidiyē:akhuti:wwehi (lines 1–3).

The author of the inscription is Ikuwe, identified as the son of Ipresida and the nephew of another person, of whose name only two letters survive (*[pe[h]]*). Ikuwe built the tomb for the use of himself, his wife (and?) his nephew/niece. In the lines immediately following the burial provisions, the terms *Ourtta* (line 2) and *wwehi* (line 3) occur. From other inscriptions, we know that these terms were used to designate the holders of official positions,¹⁹ which in this case appear to have been associated with Ikuwe's family, although the context in which they occur is largely obscure.

Overall, TL 29 is much more elaborate and detailed than the usual sepulchral inscriptions. Unfortunately it is at present largely unintelligible. However, it is interesting to note that it contains a reference, apparently, to the Carian satrap Idrieus (*edriyeuschñ*, line 5), Alexander the Great (*alakhssa[ñ]tra*, line 9),²⁰ and the Lycian Arttuñpara (line 7) (referred to also in TL 11, as noted above). In view of the reference to Alexander, the inscription should probably be dated to c. 330 B.C. If so, then the reference to Idrieus and Arttuñpara must be retrospective; and thus part of the purpose of the inscription, presumably, was to record important events and persons with whom the tomb owner, and perhaps other members of his family, had been associated. The very nature of the inscription, the historical dimension which it contains, and the allusions it makes to distinguished historical personages seem to indicate, by association, the importance of Ikuwe's family in Lycian affairs during the 4th century.

It is possible that Ikuwe was linked with a family which figures in two inscriptions of central Lycia—TL 68 (Simena) and TL 69 (Kyaneae). Both inscriptions appear on house-tombs. In TL 68 the tomb owner Arñpa provides for the burial of his wife and children (unnamed). TL 69 consists of only four words—*ipresidahe arñpake tideimi tuburehe*, probably to be translated “(The tomb) of Ipresida, son of Arñpa, citizen of Tyberissos(?)”. Thus the tomb owner has the same name as the father of Ikuwe in TL 29. The occurrence of the name Arñpa in both inscriptions, which belong to towns situated close to each other in central Lycia, may (once again) indicate that the inscriptions refer to the same person, or at least to two persons from the same family group. If they refer to the same person, then one of Arñpa's sons who apparently had links with Tyberissos as well as with Kyaneae evidently built his own tomb. Thus Arñpa's family may have had associations with three towns—Simena, Kyaneae, and Tyberissos (which lay between Simena and Kyaneae).

The name Arñpa also occurs twice in the Xanthos stele inscription, in contexts where reference is made to members of the Xanthian dynasty. In TL 44 d 10, it appears in close proximity to Kheriga (d 8) and Kuprlli (d 11), in TL 44 d 21 in

¹⁹ See Bryce (ref. n. 5), 132, 135.

²⁰ For Alexander's campaign in Lycia, see Arrian 1.24.3–6.

close proximity to Kheriga (d 19). Although both contexts are obscure, we may reasonably suppose that Arṁpa was one of a group of prominent Lycians who collaborated or cooperated with the Xanthian dynasty in the last decades of the 5th century. It may well be that this is the Arṁpa of TL 68 and 69.

The possibility of a link between the family of Ikuwe, the sarcophagos builder in Tlos, and the central Lycian family of Arṁpa is suggested by the personal name Ipresida, which is common to both families. Chronologically speaking, it is conceivable that the Ipresida of TL 69, son of Arṁpa, was also the father of Ikuwe. If the Arṁpa of TL 68 and 69 is the person associated with the Xanthian dynasty in TL 44, then his association with this dynasty must go back at least two generations before TL 29 was inscribed. Thus if a family relationship can be postulated between Arṁpa and Ikuwe, it may have been that of grandfather-grandson, which would be compatible with the identification of Ipresida as the son of one (Arṁpa) and the father of the other (Ikuwe).

This of course is very conjectural. And even if we are dealing with the one family group in these inscriptions, we cannot be sure of what the actual relationships was between various members specified in them, given that a personal name may appear more than once in the same family (as illustrated by the genealogy of the Xanthian dynasty).

In this connection, it is possible that the lacuna at the end of the first line of TL 29 is to be restored *[searṁ]pe[h]* "and . . . of Arṁpa". If so, then the identification formula at the beginning of the inscription may be read thus: "Ikuwe, son of Ipresida and nephew of Arṁpa". According to both E. Kalinka's and J. Friedrich's edition of the text, the lacuna before *-pe[h]* appears to be only four letters long. However, the letters of the first line of the text diminish in size towards the end of the line, leaving sufficient space for five letters before *-pe[h]*. We would thus need to fill the lacuna with a personal name whose genitive ends in *-peh* preceded by three letters (leaving room for the connective *se*). Arṁpa is, as far as I know, the only personal Lycian name which fulfils this requirement. Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility of a quite different name otherwise unattested in the inscriptions. However, if the suggested restoration is correct, then the families identified in TL 29 and TL 68 and 69 have two personal names in common—which would strengthen the likelihood of a direct link between them.

We have noted two instances in the inscriptions dealt with above in which reference is made to the erection of a statue—TL 51 and 54. This practice, rarely attested during the epichoric period, is clearly a mark of considerable social distinction in Lycian society. Elsewhere it is associated with the Xanthian dynasty, as indicated by the statues set up by Erbbina in the Letoon early in the 4th century.²¹

A further addition to the select group of statue-builders is provided by TL 25.
ebeis:tukedris:m[. . .] tuwete:khssbezē:krup[sseh] tideimi:se purihime[teh]
tuhes:tlāñna:atru:ehb[i] se ladu:ehbi:tikeukēprē pilleñni
urtaqiyahñ:kbatru se priyenubehñ:tuhesñ

²¹ See J. Bousquet, Arbinas, fils de Gergis, dynaste de Xanthos, in: *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris) 1975, 138–148, H. Metzger, in: *Fouilles de Xanthos VI*, Paris 1979, 24f.

“These statues Khssbeze, son of Krupssi, nephew of Purihimeti, and citizen of Tlos, has erected (them), (the images of) himself and his wife Tikeukēpre, citizen of Pinara, daughter of Urtaqiya, and niece of Priyenuba.”

This is the Lycian version of a bilingual inscription from Tlos, which refers to two statues set up in the city by Khssbeze, son of Krupssi, nephew of Purihimeti, and a citizen of Tlos (*tlāñna*)—one in honour of himself, the other in honour of his wife Tikeukēpre. The latter is a citizen of Pinara (*pilleñni*), daughter of Urtaqiya and niece of Priyenuba. The inscription is a specific illustration of the fact that marriages sometimes took place between families from different cities.

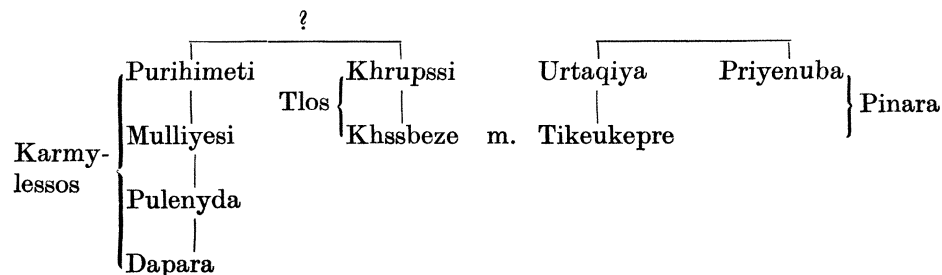
The reference to Purihimeti, uncle of the statue-builder, very likely indicates a link between the family in Tlos and a family group in Karmylessos. In TL 6, a bilingual inscription on a house-tomb in Karmylessos, a Purihimeti is identified as the head of a household, whose members include the tomb owner Pulyenda, his father Mulliyesi, and his son Dapara. All these persons are linked to Purihimeti by the term *prñneziyehi*—“member of the household of . . .”.

ebēñē ñtatā me ne prñnawātē pulenyda mulliyeseh se dapara pulenydah purihimetehe pr[ñ]neziyehi hrppi lada epttehe se tideime (lines 1–3).

“This chamber Pulyenda, (son) of Mulliyesi, and Dapara, (son) of Pulyenda, members-of-the-household-of Purihimeti, have built it for their wives and children.”

While we do not know what the precise relationship was of Purihimeti to the various persons identified as belonging to his household, the inscription provides a further example of an extended family organisation, which may well have included both lineal and collateral relatives, as well as relatives by marriage. It is quite conceivable that the person identified as the head of the household in TL 6 was also the uncle of the statue-builder in TL 25. And the latter’s marriage extended the family connections to Pinara as well.

Diagrammatically, the suggested family links can be represented as follows:



We have no indication that Purihimeti lived in or was buried in either Karmylessos or Tlos. On the other hand, we do know of a tomb owner called Purihimeti in eastern Lycia, in Limyra. In TL 99, Purihimeti, the son of Masasi, makes provision for the burial of his wife and his children (unnamed). The name Masasi appears in two other inscriptions, both in Limyra—TL 118, where Masasi is identified as the father of the tomb owner Khuñniyēi, and TL 134, where Masasi

built a tomb for his wife Khuwata.²² We cannot be sure whether or not the tomb was intended for his own burial.²³

It is likely, though not certain, that Masasi is the same person in all three inscriptions. Some support for this may be provided by the fact that in TL 99 and 118 Purihimeti and Khuñniyēi, sons of Masasi, built tombs of their own—which is compatible with the fact in TL 134 Masasi makes no provision for the burial of his children.

The family of Masasi and Purihimeti in Limyra may have had marriage links with a distinguished citizen of Limyra called Trbbēnīmi. In fact our sources seem to provide evidence of two prominent Lycians so called. TL 44 a 44–45 names a Trbbēnīmi as the conqueror of the Athenian general Melesander in 430–29 B.C.²⁴ We know also of a Trbbēnīmi who issued coins, which associate him with the Lycian Perikle, some time during the first three decades of the 4th century.²⁵ However, if we are to distinguish two Trbbēnīmī in our sources, it is not unlikely that they were members of the same family group, perhaps belonging to successive generations. In TL 135, the author of the inscription is identified as [.]uwata, *tideri* of Trbbēnīmi. If the name [.]uwata can be restored [Kh]uwata,²⁶ then in all likelihood the person in question was the wife of Masasi. Her relationship with Trbbēnīmi depends on the meaning of the much debated term *tideri*.²⁷ My own view is that it may be equivalent to the Greek term *threptos/threpte*, which appears quite regularly in the later Greek inscriptions of Lycia as a term of identification.²⁸ Even so, we would still have to leave open the question of which Trbbēnīmi is referred to in TL 135—the conqueror of Melesander or the early 4th century coin-issuer.

The name Purihimeti suggests the possibility of links between families in eastern and western Lycia—although, once again, in the absence of other evidence, any such suggestion must remain speculative. But if we may for a moment indulge this speculation, it is possible that we have to do with a family group which originated in Limyra and had, by the early 4th century, joined the tomb-owning class in the region. To begin with, the family seems to have been relatively undistinguished.²⁹ However, its fortunes may have improved during the course

²² See J. Borchardt, in: J. Borchardt – G. Neumann – K. J. Schulz, *Die Grabstiftung der χuwata in der Nekropole II von Limyra*, in: *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes* 56 [1985], 88–91.

²³ J. Borchardt (ref. n. 22), 91, believes that it was not so intended, on the grounds that it lacks the usual formula which indicates that the tomb builder intended the tomb for his own use. Note, however, the reflexive expression *me ti prīnawate* in line 1. This in itself is sometimes sufficient to indicate that the tomb owner himself was to be buried in the tomb, without any more explicit indication to this effect; cf. TL 57, where it does not become evident until line 7 that the tomb owner is to be buried in his tomb along with his wife and children.

²⁴ Recorded also by Thucydides 2.69.

²⁵ See Mørkholm – Neumann (ref. n. 8), 18f. (nos. 141–144a).

²⁶ Thus G. Neumann, in: *Jahreshefte* . . . 56 (ref. n. 22), 65.

²⁷ The suggestion that *tideri* = Amme (“wet-nurse”) (see Neumann [ref. n. 26], 66, in reference to O. Carruba, *Su alcuni nomi di parentela in licio e in nesico*, in: *Parola del Passato* 24 [1969], 272f.) seems to me highly improbable.

²⁸ See A. Cameron, *Θεττός* and related terms in the inscriptions of Asia Minor, in: W. M. Calder – J. Keil (eds.), *Anatolian Studies presented to W. Buckler*, Manchester 1939, 27–62.

²⁹ See J. Borchardt’s comments in: *Jahreshefte* . . . 56 (ref. n. 22), 101.

of the 4th century—due in part, perhaps, to Masasi's marriage to a family connection of Trbbēnīmi. Branches of the family were established in western Lycia, where the Tlos branch in particular seems to have achieved considerable local distinction.

Conclusions

In our investigation of a number of Lycian families and groups of families, we have concentrated on inscriptions appearing on some of the more notable Lycian monuments—statue-bases, sarcophagoi, and a monumental tomb. Our intention has been to determine whether the social hierarchy suggested by the various categories of tomb-types is reflected also in the associated epigraphic material.

Admittedly there is no completely consistent pattern observable in the inscriptions with which we have been concerned. But they do contain a number of more or less recurrent features which are worthy of comment.

In the first place, it is likely that in at least some cases we have to do with what appear to be extended family organisations, as indicated by the term *tuhes* and *prñneziyehi* in the identification formulae. Such forms of identification are quite rare in the inscriptions as a whole. I have suggested that in a number of cases the families had connections with or established branches in two or more cities. This would of course be quite compatible with the notion of extended family organisations. Thus, for example, the family of the tomb owner Khudaliye (TL 54) had connections with several cities in the Phellos region. It may have originated in Phellos, but had links also with Kyaneae and probably Sura. And it is possible that a branch of the family was established in Telmessos. TL 68 and 69 may indicate another central Lycian family network, connected with Kyaneae, Tyberissos, and Simena—and *perhaps* also extending to Tlos in western Lycia (see TL 29). TL 6 and 25 provide evidence of a western Lycian family group, associated with Karmylessos and Tlos, and linked by marriage with a family in Pinara; and I have suggested, very tentatively, the possibility of a link between this family and a family group in Limyra (TL 99, 118, 134, 135).

Admittedly the suggestion that various family groups were connected with two or more cities or regions of Lycia depends in most cases on an unprovable assumption—namely that the same name in different inscriptions may refer to the same person, or at least to two persons belonging to the same family group. Nevertheless, the fact that certain names were sometimes used more than once in the same family group is clearly demonstrated by the genealogy of the Xanthian dynasty where, within the space of five generations, the names Kheziga and Kuprlli, and perhaps Erbbina, occur at least twice.³⁰ Moreover, we should remember that the

³⁰ Kheziga is probably the name of the founder of the Xanthian dynasty, if *xa/3/ua* is the correct reading in TL 44 c 31, and also the name of the uncle of Kuprlli's grandson. Kuprlli is known from his coin-issues, which date to the period c. 460–440 B.C.; Herodotos' Kybernis, son of Kossikas, leader of the Lycian contingent in Xerxes' armada (Herodotos 7.98), was probably an earlier namesake in the dynasty. The Erbbina who figures as the subject of the 4th century Greek inscriptions from the Letoon (see Bous-

epichoric inscriptions are concerned with a relatively small number of persons and family groups, and cover a relatively short time period. This in itself makes it less likely that names which recur in the inscriptions are totally unrelated. Indeed such recurrences are quite rare. The majority of examples are confined to the inscriptions we have dealt with above.

Our analysis of these inscriptions provides some support for the *prima facie* assumption that builders of monumental tombs, sarcophagoi, and statues were persons of some distinction in the social and administrative hierarchy of Lycian society, and were in at least some instances members of extended family organisations associated with two or more cities or regions of the country.

Yet other tomb-owning members of their families are not readily distinguishable from the majority of tomb owners, since in all demonstrable instances their tombs belong to the common house-tomb category.³¹ It is of course possible that uninscribed tombs of the first three categories belonged, in at least some instances, to unidentified family members. Nevertheless, in the light of a number of the inscriptions we have considered above, we should be careful not to assume too readily that ownership of a house-tomb invariably reflects a lower status in the Lycian hierarchy than ownership of one of the tombs of the first three categories. There may well have been important exceptions to J. Zahle's proposition, referred to at the beginning of this paper.

On the other hand, the status associated with ownership of one of the more prestigious tombs, or with the erection of a statue, may sometimes reflect individual distinction rather than membership of a distinguished family group.

Even so, in most if not all of the cases with which we have been concerned, the sarcophagos- and statue-builders came from families in which a tradition of tomb-ownership had already been established. This in itself presupposes for the family in question a certain status and level of wealth superior to that of the majority of Lycians.³² It is possible, then, that the more prestigious monument associated with a family member of a later generation may on occasion reflect a further advance in his family's fortunes—perhaps corresponding, in some cases, with the spread of the family into different regions or cities. But this of course falls far short of the kind of situation envisaged by O. Mørkholm and J. Zahle in which "the great landlords or chieftains, organised into clans . . . presumably owned extensive estates spread over Lycia from Telmessos in the west to Limyra in the east".³³ More substantial evidence is needed before suggestions of this kind can be seriously entertained.

Within the more limited framework appropriate to the families we have been

quiet [ref. n. 21], 138–148), may have had an earlier namesake, referred to in the phrase *tezi erbbinahe* ("the sarcophagos of Erbinna") in TL 44 a 25. It is possible, however, that the references in these cases is to the same person.

³¹ Although in some cases they are distinguishable from the majority of such tombs by their sculptural decoration. The tomb of Tebursseli with the inscription TL 104 is a noteworthy example of this; see J. Borchardt, in: *Jahreshefte . . .* 58 (ref. n. 10), 98–120.

³² See Bryce (ref. n. 5), 129.

³³ O. Mørkholm — J. Zahle, *The Coinage of Kuprilli*, in: *Acta Archaeologica* 43 [1972], 112. Cf. the comments of W. A. P. Childs, *Lycian Relations with Persians and Greeks in the 5th and 4th centuries Re-examined*, in: *Anatolian Studies* 31 [1981], 59f., n. 25.

considering in this paper, we have yet to determine what the basis of the wealth and the status of a particular person or family group was. Political patronage and judicious marriage alliances may well have been important factors. We have noted several instances in which sarcophagos-builders or other members of their families were apparently associated with prominent political figures, administrators, or military leaders of their day. Cooperation or collaboration with such persons no doubt brought its material rewards. But there must have been other bases for the acquisition of wealth, status, and influence in Lycian society, including the rewards of military enterprises, successful careers in the local administrations, profitable merchant ventures, and no doubt also the accumulation and effective exploitation of landed property.