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LYCIAN *telēzi(je)-*

1. In his Lycian Lexicon H. Craig Melchert lists seven attestations under the lemma *telēzije-*: a nom.-acc. sing. *telēzijē*, a dative singular *telēzi* and a genetival adjective *telēzijehi*.¹ These seven attestations occur in four texts, TL 29, 40, 44 and 104; instead of a meaning a question mark is given. This is not to say there has been no suggestion as to its possible meaning. As early as 1898, Alf Torp in his *Lykische Beiträge*, II 10, proposed “Krieger(?) (oder Befehlshaber?)” and some years later “Kriegsleute”.² He was followed by Piero Meriggi, *Declinazione* 1, 434 (“soldati”)³ and Philo Houwink ten Cate (“army(?)”)⁴. Emmanuel Laroche, somewhat more cautiously, referred to these tentative renderings (“on a supposé ‘général, officier’”) but restricted himself to the possibility of “un titre, ou un nom de métier, de fonction”.⁵ Onofrio Carruba⁶, calling it “un termine militare, forse ‘generale; ufficiale’”, suggested the Lycian term was derived through a suffix *-zi* from the Luwian stem listed in Laroche’s DLL as *kulani-* “distinguer” with its possible variant *kuwali-*. An official would thus be a “distinguished” person. René Lebrun⁷, finally, seems to misquote Carruba in connecting Lycian *tele-* with Luwian *ku(wa)la-* meaning “army”. He identifies the suffix *-zi-* with Hittite *-zzi-* and Lycian *-zi-* (as in *Sppartazi* “Spartan”) indicating “autant une spatialité locale que sociale”.⁸ He therefore proposes “militaire, soldat/camp”.

¹ Research for this article was made possible by a fellowship from the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences. Furthermore, I would like to thank H. Craig Melchert for his valuable remarks.

² *Lykische Beiträge* V (Christiania 1901) 7.

³ Cf. also Meriggi, *Declinazione* 2, 252 “‘Armata’ o sim.” and Fs Pedersen 512.

⁴ LPG 12.

⁵ FdX 5, 138.

⁶ *Sprache* 24 (1978) 166.

⁷ *Hethitica* 10 (1990) 163.

⁸ Op. cit. 162.

2. Before we discuss the etymology any further, it seems expedient to review briefly the passages in which *telēzije-* occurs. The clearest passage is TL 104, a grave built by a certain Tebursseli; above the tomb there is a relief on the rock surface depicting a battle scene with, directly underneath, an inscription in three columns. Whereas the right one (c) is damaged and fragmentary, the other two are well preserved:

a) ⁽¹⁾ *Tebursseli* : ⁽²⁾ *prñnawate* : *Lusñ-* ⁽³⁾ *t<r>e* : *êti* : *Wazisse*
 “Tebursseli built (it) under Lysander from Wazi(?)”⁹.

b) ⁽¹⁾ *Tebursseli* : *prñnawate* : ⁽²⁾ *Gasabala* : *ēke* : *ese* : *Perikle*
 : ⁽³⁾ *tebete* : *Arttuñparā* : *se Mparahe* : ⁽⁴⁾ *telēzijē* “Tebursseli built (it) when Gasabala with Perikles defeated/besieged(?) Artembares and Imbres”¹⁰.

The same verb *tebe-* occurs in the immediate but heavily damaged context of *telēzijē* in 29,10 and 11: ⁽⁹⁾ ... *hlmmide* : *Alaxssañtra* : *erite teri* : *Trñmisñ* : *ñtepi* : *xñtawata* : *appte teri* “when Alexander levied(?) tax, when he took Lycia under (his) rule”. Right at this point, unfortunately, the inscription becomes fragmentary and difficult to read, as is clearly illustrated by the three handcopies with different readings in Kalinka’s TL p. 27. Because of *telēzijē* as a clear (nom.-)accusative singular in TL 104b,4, however, the attestations in the two subsequent lines 29, 10 and 11 are likely to be the same form. The meaning assigned to the verb *tebe-* depends mainly on our historical knowledge of this period in which the Lycian king Perikles clashed with his Persian overlords.¹¹

On the so-called Payawa sarcophagus, edited by Kalinka as TL 40 and recently treated by Laroche, another battle scene, as well as what is usually taken to be an audience, are depicted. After the state-

⁹ The handcopy by E. Kalinka, TL p. 76, seems to have only T at the beginning of line 3 so that an emendation is necessary.

¹⁰ Thus with Houwink ten Cate, LPG 14, 104 and 222, following Sundwall. Although maybe attractive from a contextual point view, taking *Mpara* as an abbreviation of *Arttumpara* (thus A. Keen apud Melchert, LL 100) runs counter to Lycian abbreviation custom according to which abbreviations always run from left to right; moreover, this would be an isolated example of abbreviation outside the numismatic material.

¹¹ See Houwink ten Cate, LPG 10–13, Bryce, *The Lycians* 111–114. The meaning “besiege” is given by Melchert, LL 68, who tentatively compares Hittite *ištapp-* “to stop up, block”.

ment “Payawa, *manaxine*, built this structure”, the text continues on the southern short side (TL 40c):

(1) *Pajawa* : Ed[] (2) *tideimi* : A.[]- (3) *rah* : *telēzij[ehi]* (4) *qla* : *Trm̄mis*? [] (5) *uwete* : *teri* : *sē*? [] (6) *ijetē*.

On the basis of [*te*]lēzijehi *qla* (44b,13) and *telēzijehi qlā* (44c,12; see immediately below) Torp¹² plausibly restored the same form in 40c,3, thus satisfactorily filling the break at the end of the line. If the *s* of *Trm̄mis* is real¹³, this is, again with Torp, likely to be restored to *Trm̄mis[ñ* “Lycia” which then has to be object of the verb ending in (-)*uwete* at the beginning of the next line. The restoration of only one letter (*ñ*) after *Trm̄mis*[- and probably a word divider (:) does not really favour a simple restoration to *t*]uwete, but nothing better seems available.¹⁴ This leaves us with *Pajawa* and *qla* as the most likely subject and dat.-loc. singular respectively¹⁵ and results in the tentative translation: “When Payawa, son of Ed[- . . .], [plac]ed(?) Lycia in the precinct/district(?) of A[- . . . 16]’s *t*. and [. . . -]ed it/ him.” The word *qla* clearly denoting some authoritative instance, this can be interpreted as placing(?) Lycia “under the authority” of A[- . . .]’s *t*.

On the adjacent west side of the sarcophagus (TL 40d) the form *telēzi* is attested:

(1) *ebeiija* : [*xr*]uwata : *meije pijetē* : Wat[*aprd*]data : *xssadrapa* : *pa[rzz]a* : *pddē* : *telēzi* : *epatte* : *Trm̄mili se* : *ma*[] .

¹² Lykische Beiträge V 6–7 (correcting his earlier view in Lykische Beiträge II 10–11); the restoration is taken over by Melchert, LL 69. Laroche, FdX 5, 137–138, leaves the word unrestored and does not refer to Torp.

¹³ The photo in FdX 5, Planche 44 seems to support this.

¹⁴ Possible verbs in -*uwa*le- are *eruwe*- “?” , *puwe*- “inscribe”, *qanuwe*- “(cause to) destroy” and *xuwa*- “?”; for the last one see Carruba, Sprache 24 (1978) 176 n. 41.

¹⁵ Melchert, LL lists both *Pajawa* (p. 106) and *qla* (p. 60) – the latter with a question mark – as a nominative for this passage.

¹⁶ Carruba, Sprache 24 (1978) 176, restored A[*laxssant*]rah, which is definitely too long; a restoration to A[*rtump*]arah which he thinks equally possible (l.c. n. 41), is followed by R. Schmitt, Iranisches Personennamenbuch V 4, 18. These are the only two among the attested Lycian names starting with A- and ending in -*ra*-.

The drawing of the west side in A. H. Smith, *The Nereid Monument and Later Lycian Sculptures in the British Museum*¹⁷ clearly shows that the inscription did not continue after the break at the end. This implies that after *ma*[ca. 10 signs at the most can be restored so that the conjunction *se* is more likely to connect parts of the sentence rather than to introduce a new sentence.¹⁸ The regular dat.-loc. to (neuter) *-ije*-stems ends in *-i*:¹⁹ cf. nom.-acc. *isbazijē* (part of a tomb) – dat.-loc. *isbazi*, or the dat.-loc. *ehbi* “his, her” next to the nom.-acc. sing. ntr. *ehbijē*. Therefore, *telēzi* could be the dat.-loc. belonging to the nom.-acc. *telēzijē*. Laroche took *telēzi* as a (nom.-) acc. sing. and thus as a variant form of *telēzije*.²⁰ He also derived *epatte* as a 3rd sing. preterite from the verb *ap-* “to take, seize” with *pddē* as a temporal conjunction (“après qu’(??) il eut pris le *telēzi* lycien”).²¹ The interpretation of *epatte* as a variant form of *aptte* “he took” is rightly rejected by Melchert, LL 16, who considers it, however, a 3rd sing. preterite as well. If we do so, this entails two asyndetically joined sentences which, admittedly, seem to be relatively rare in Lycian: “This [*xr*]*uwata* Autophradates, the Persian satrap, has given to him (and) he . . . -ed *pddē* for the Lycian *t*. and the *ma*[. . . ”²²

Finally, the two genetical adjective forms *telēzije*hi both specify the noun *qla-* “court(yard), (sacred) precinct”, in the Xanthos pillar TL 44. The first of these appears in a largely unintelligible context

¹⁷ Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities (London 1900), IV 2, Plate XI; the photo in FdX 5, Planche 43, 2 confirms this.

¹⁸ For this function of *se* as opposed to *me* see Houwink ten Cate, LPG 73, and Laroche, FdX 6, 92.

¹⁹ Cf. Houwink ten Cate, LPG 54, Meriggi, Schizzo grammaticale 289; the accusatives in *-ijē* are now best regarded as neuter singulars.

²⁰ FdX 5, 139, FdX 6, 87; cf. also Meriggi, Declinazione 2, 252 (“caso dubbio (N. o D.?)”). Melchert, LL 69, lists it as a dat.-loc.

²¹ For *pddē* as a conjunction see Meriggi, Fs Hirt 2, 276 (“nach”), Laroche, FdX 5, 139 (“après que(??)”).

²² R. Gusmani, Fs Laroche 135, compares the noun *pddē* to Hittite *pitta* “that which one is entitled to, rightful share” (cf. D. Sühnhausen, StMed. 5, 58–63, supporting H. G. Güterbock’s [ZA 8 (1934) 230–231] original proposal “von Rechts wegen Zukommendes”; see further F. Starke, StBoT 31, 458 n. 1666). This meaning fits the passages TL 84,7 and N 320,37 (see the discussion by Gusmani, o.c. 129–136) remarkably well; it might also make sense in TL 40 d,2: “This [*xr*]*uwata* Autophradates, the Persian satrap, has given to him (and) he . . . -ed to the Lycian *t*. and the *ma*[. . . that which they are entitled to.” However, the *tenuis* in Hittite (the word is consistently written with *-tt-*) is hard to reconcile with the *-dd-* in Lycian.

(b,13). The other, c,12, is important as it seems to mention a battle (*erbbedi*, abl. sing.) in the same sentence, thus giving some support to the possible military meaning of *telēzije-*:

(11) *se mē Kizzaprñna : Widr-* (12) *ñnah sEwerijamāna telēzijehi : qlā* (13) *Arñnas : kehixñta : erbbedi ñtube : ter[.]*

“Tissaphernes, (son) of Hydarnes, and Hieramenes . . . -ed(?) the *t.*-precinct (and) Xanthos at/for the *k.*(?) through battle . . .”

Since it seems fairly certain that *Kizzaprñna* and *Ewerijamāna* form the subject of the sentence, it is less likely that *Arñnas* would be a nom. sing. of the *s*-stem adjective *Arñnas-* “Xanthian” as Melchert, LL 6, tentatively suggests. It may be the acc. of the plurale tantum of the city name itself, asyndetically coordinated with (*telēzijehi*) *qlā*. Because *kehixñta* would be unparalleled as a verb²³ with *-ñta* instead of an expected *-ñte*, it could be either a (nom.-)acc. neuter plural (again in asyndeton) or a dat.-loc. singular/plural. We are then left with *ñtube* as a possible verb form as per Melchert, LL 83. It is unclear whether *ter[.]* belongs to this sentence or forms the beginning of the next one; in both cases *ter[.]* might be the conjunction “where” vel sim.²⁴

On the whole, the interpretation of *telēzije-* as a military term mainly depends on the historical interpretation of TL 104, possibly supported by the iconographic evidence of battle scenes on TL 104 and 40 and the “battle” mentioned in TL 44c,13.

3. Whereas Carruba’s proposal to analyze *telēzije-* as a noun derived through a *-zi*-suffix from a Luwian stem *ku(wa)la-n-* does not seem to fit the suggested meaning of some official²⁵, Laroche’s description of the term as indicating a profession suggests that, without explicitly saying so, he had in mind the well-known suffix *-aza* designating professions or a status of certain individuals.²⁶ We now can fit *telēzije-* into series like:

²³ Thus Meriggi, Fs Pedersen 512.

²⁴ Melchert, LL 83, interprets (*ñt-*)*ube* as a 3. sing. pres.

²⁵ For the ethnic suffix *-zi-* see Neumann, HbOr 380, and compare the *-zzi-* suffix in *brzzi* and *przzi*. The *-zi*-suffix described by Neumann as deverbative and denoting localities of some sort is uncertain: for *erawazi* see below, whereas *isbazi* might be analyzed the same way.

²⁶ Cf. Houwink ten Cate, LPG 63, Neumann, HbOr 380, and Laroche, FdX 6, 98–100.

(verb >)	adj./noun >	-(a)za- >	-(a)zije-
	<i>arawa-</i> “free(dom)”	<i>arawaza-</i> “freeman”	<i>a/erawazije-</i> “(of a freeman, subst. >) property, domain, monument” ²⁷
	(Cluw. <i>kummaḷ(a)-</i> “pure, sacred”)	<i>kumaza-</i> “priest”	<i>kumezije-</i> “sacred, (subst. >) sacred precinct”
<i>mar-</i> “to order, judge”	<i>mara-</i> “law”	<i>maraza-</i> “judge”	<i>marazije-</i> “(of a judge, subst. >) court”
<i>zxxa-</i> “to fight”		<i>zxxaza-</i> “warrior”	<i>zxxazije-</i> “of a warrior”
Thus:	<i>*telē-</i>	<i>(*)telēza-</i>	<i>telēzije-</i>

If this analysis is correct, the clearly denominal suffix should be cited as *-(a)za* or even *-za*.

4. We can now turn to the etymology again. In volume 21 (1982) of this journal²⁸, Massimo Poetto was finally able to settle the question of the reading of the Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian word for “army” as *kuḡalan(a)-*.²⁹ With this he confirmed a proposal originally made by Helmuth Bossert³⁰ but discarded later in favor of **kuḡatna-*. Recently this stem has been studied by Frank Starke who distinguishes an original neuter *n*-stem *ku(ḡa)lan-*, which is occasionally found Hittitized into an *a*-stem *kulana-*, and an *a*-stem *ku(ḡa)la-*.³¹ It is immediately obvious that our reconstructed **telē-* matches Luwian *ku(ḡa)lan-* exactly.³² Consequently, we may posit for *telēzije-*

²⁷ Cf. Melchert, LL 5.

²⁸ “Ancora sulla parola per ‘esercito’ in Luvio”, *Kadmos* 21 (1982) 101–103; see also id., *Athenaeum* 61 (1983) 528–529.

²⁹ So too Melchert, CLL 114, “army”; the additional meaning “Heerlager, army camp” given by F. Starke, *StBoT* 31, 234, is not supported by the material available.

³⁰ *Sprache* 4 (1958) 115–126.

³¹ *StBoT* 31, 234–237.

³² Carruba’s reconstruction (see above 1.) was thus basically right from a purely phonological point of view but not from a semantic one, something which Lebrun may have wanted to bring out implicitly. The Luwian stems *ku(ḡa)li-* “to turn” and *kulani-* “bring to (a successful) end” have to be kept distinct from *ku(ḡa)lan-* “army (camp)”, cf. Bossert, *Sprache* 4 (1958) 120, Starke, *StBoT* 31, 236–237, and Melchert, CLL 106 and 114. The EMIRGAZI forms of *kuḡali-* “to turn” mentioned by Starke, o.c. 237 with n. 810a, and allegedly written with the logogram EXERCITUS, are now read differently by David Hawkins (forthcoming).

through **telē-* “army” and (*)*telēza-* “army man > commander, soldier” a meaning “of a commander, military”. The supposed basic noun **telē-* “army” is not attested; if, however, some of the instances of *tere-/tere-* indeed mean “army (division)” as both Laroche and Carruba³³ have argued, the latter noun may have replaced **telē-*. We may have a direct attestation for *telēza-* in the dat.-loc. *telēzi* in TL 40d discussed above: because the entire monument centres around the person of Payawa and because he is the recipient of the *xruwata*, a translation with *telēzi* as “commander” seems preferable to “army camp”: “he (i.e. Autophradates) . . . -ed *pddē* to the Lycian commander and *ma[. . .]*”³⁴

Among the above mentioned examples of *-ije*-adjectives derived from *-(a)za*-nouns there is a clear tendency to become substantivized, especially in the nom.-acc. plural neuter (*arawazija* “domain, monument”, *kumezija* “sacred precinct”, *marazija* “judicial court”). For the singular this seems equally possible; witness e.g. *adaijē* “sum of *ade*”.³⁵ Since the substantivized *-ije-* adjectives seem to denote localities of some sort, *telēzijē* could specifically mean the “(military) headquarters” which seems to fit all the above passages except for 40d. From the substantivized adjective *telēzije-* we, finally, find a genetival adjective *telēzijehi-* like *er|ewezijehedi* from *arawazije-/erewezije-*.

Consequently, we may now insert in the Lycian lexicon the following two entries:

<i>telēza-</i> “commander”	DSg	<i>telēzi</i>	40d,2
<i>telēzije-</i> “headquarters”			
	N-ASg	<i>telēzijē</i>	29,10, 11; 104b,4
GenAdj.	ASg	<i>telēzijehi</i>	44c,12
	DSg	<i>telēzij[ehi]</i>	40c,3
	?	<i>[te]lēzijehi</i>	44b,13.

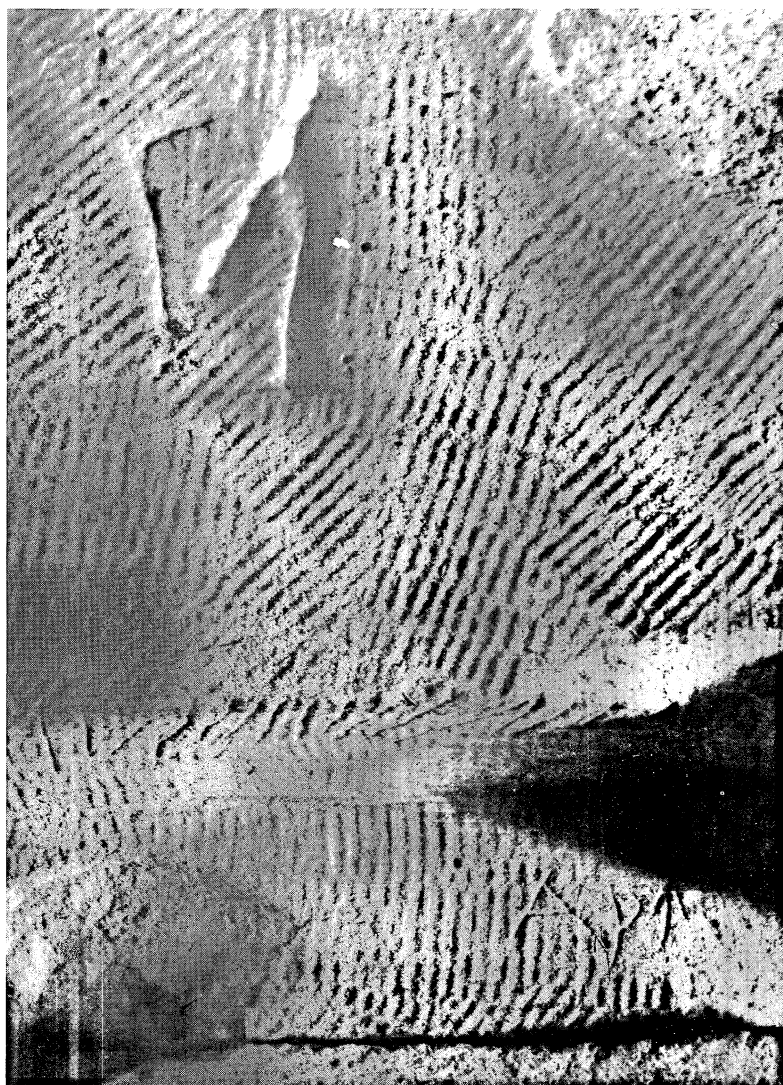
³³ Laroche, BSL 62 (1967, = Comparaison du Louvite et du Lycien III) 57–59, Carruba, Sprache 24 (1978) 165–166; cf. also Meriggi, Declinazione 2, 266–267, and Bossert, Sprache 4 (1958) 125.

³⁴ If the word *manaxine*, in TL 40a immediately following the name *Pajawa*, is a title as Neumann, Sprache 20 (1974) 110, suggests, the same stem may be restored here, too: “to the Lycian commander and prince/governor(?)” vel sim.

³⁵ Cf. Melchert, LL 1; the same may hold good for *zzatijē* “offering” vel sim., and *urublijē* “?”. The nom.-acc. sing. ntr. *kumezijē* is best taken attributively to *θθē* with H. Eichner, Or. 52 (1983, = Fs Kammenhuber) 59–62.

Abbreviations

- Bryce, *The Lycians* = T. R. Bryce, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, Copenhagen 1986
- BSL = *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, Paris
- FdX = *Fouilles de Xanthos*, Paris
- FsHirt = H. Arntz (ed.), *Germanen und Indogermanen. Volkstum, Sprache, Heimat, Kultur. Festschrift für Hermann Hirt*, Heidelberg 1936
- FsLaroche = *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, Paris 1979
- FsPedersen = *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen à l'occasion de son soixantedixième anniversaire*, Aarhus 1937
- Houwink ten Cate, LPG = Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period*, Leiden 1965
- Laroche, DLL = E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de Langue Louvite*, Paris 1959
- Melchert, CLL = H. C. Melchert, *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*, Chapel Hill 1993
- , LL = –, *Lycian Lexicon*, Chapel Hill 1993²
- Meriggi, *Declinazione* = P. Meriggi, *La declinazione del Licio* 1 (= AANL VI 4, 410–450), 2 (= AANL XXXIII 5–6, 243–268), Roma 1928, 1978 [1979]
- , *Schizzo grammaticale* = –, *Schizzo grammaticale dell'Anatolico*, Roma 1980
- Neumann, HbOr. = G. Neumann, "Lykisch", in: *Altkleinasiatische Sprachen* (= *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abt. 2. Bd. 1. u. 2. Abschnitt, Lf. 2), Leiden 1969
- Or. = *Orientalia*, Roma
- Starke, StBoT 31 = F. Starke, *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschriftluwischen Nomens* (= *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* Heft 31), Wiesbaden 1990
- Surenhagen, StMed 5 = D. Surenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge aus hethitischer Sicht* (= *Studia Mediterranea* Heft 5), Pavia 1985
- TL = E. Kalinka, *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti* (= *Tituli Asiae Minoris I*), Wien 1901.



Pl. 1 Inscription from the Royal Tomb at Sveshtari (Bulgaria)



Pl. 2 Inscription from the Royal Tomb at Sveshtari (Bulgaria)