"HERMIT CRABS," OR NEW WINE IN OLD BOTTLES: ANATOLIAN AND HELLENIC CONNECTIONS FROM HOMER AND BEFORE TO ANTIOCHUS I OF COMMAGENE AND AFTER

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THE LETTER *KUB* 26.91[1]

Early in August 2003, two press conferences were held at Manfred Korfmann's ongoing excavation in Troy, featuring presentations by the Hittitologist Frank Starke of a new interpretation of the Hittite letter *KUB* 26.91, as sent from the king of Ahhiyawa to the Hittite king rather than the other way around, and sundry other claims. After seeing the press releases of 7 and 9 August 2003 thanks to Peter Kuniholm, I discussed the matter at length over e-mail with Craig Melchert, and I am convinced that in his conclusion of the author and direction of the letter Starke was quite right, but that many of his further suggestions are highly unlikely, in particular, Starke's view that the writer of the letter spoke Greek rather than Hittite as his native language, and his forcible reading of a name Kagamunas as *Katamun=as, then identifying the latter with the Greek name Kadmos, and concluding that the letter must have originated in Thebes, and that Thebes was perhaps the "capital" of Ahhiyawa. Starke's conclusions, both the good and the shaky, are now unfortunately presented as "hard facts" by the distinguished Homerist Joachim Latacz, first in the second press release above and now in his newly revised book *Troy and Homer* (2004). The work has the merit of making these issues public; we await Starke's own publication.

As Sarah Morris reminded me, the late Oliver Gurney, in a posthumously published article, was in fact the first to state categorically and in print (2002, 135) that the letter *KUB* 26.91 "must have been written by the King of Ahhiyawa to the Hittite King rather than the reverse." Gurney (2002, 135 n. 13) also quoted a private communication received in 1981 from Sommer's student the late Prof. Annelies Kammenhuber proposing a restoration of the opening formula of the letter (i 1) as

[A-NA ᴰUTU-ŠI QI-BI-MA UM-MA LUGA]L KUR Aḫ-ḫi-ya-w[a-a]
[To my Sun say: thus the Kin]g of Ahhiyawā

It would appear to fit the space perfectly. Kammenhuber rightly preferred LUGA]L to Sommer's E]N, as the same is argued for by her student A. Hagenbuchner (1989, 320). The letter continues, after a fragmentary three-line paragraph probably beginning the customary historical preamble, and containing reference to an outbreak of hostilities (*kurur ištarna … kišat*), with another paragraph beginning:

I 5   pa-]ra-an-ni MU.KAM-ti-mu ŠEŠ-YA ḫa-at-r[a-a-i]š[
  6   t]u-e-el-wa :gur-ša-wa-ra ku-e [
  7   ᴰU ÌR-an-ni am-mu-uk pa-iš LUGAL ᴷᵁᴿA-a[š-šu-wa

The year before (?) my brother had written [...]
"Your islands which [...]
the Storm God gave to me in vassalage. The King of Aššuwa [...

We owe to Starke in a study of a quarter-century ago (1981) the interpretation of Luwian *guršawara*, unknown in Sommer's time, as "islands" (see now Starke 1990, 535–36; Melchert, 1999, 113). What islands these were naturally invites further speculation. Lemnos, Imbros and Samothrace have been suggested. But more importantly, as Gurney states (2002, 135–36), "The reference to the Storm God surely proves that the quoted words [particle -*wa*, line 6 C.W.] were written by the Hittite King." Therefore the text through line 5 was written by the king of Ahhiyawa, and the letter is, with Gurney, "his protest at the claim by the Hittite King to the islands which had hitherto belonged to him."

Whether or not "this could be the origin of all the Hittite troubles in the West" (so Gurney), the letter as we have it attests and makes reference to correspondence, alliances and diplomatic marriages (*peran ḫamakta*, with Starke), and hostilities involving three sovereign(state)s:

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Ahhiyawa ──────────────────── Hatti
          └──── Assuwa ────┘
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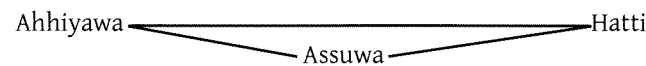
The Mycenaean Greek tablets make oblique reference to Assuwa [Aswa] in the personal and divine names *A-si-wi-jo* (KN, PY, MY) and *Po-ti-ni-ja A-si-wi-ja* (PY), Homeric PN Aswios, probably brought with refugees from the defeat of the As(su)wa coalition by Tuthaliya in the fifteenth century. Probably the same Tuthaliya is mentioned in our letter from the Ahhiyawan king (i 8) to the Hittite king, a cuneiform tablet that might argue for the presence of an Anatolian scribal school as part of the royal palace bureaucracy of Ahhiyawa itself. Mycenologists, archaeologists and philologists alike must take account of these testimonia of contemporary international contact and their implications; at the very least they should try to locate the LUGAL KUR Aḫ-ḫi-ya-wa-a. The "King of the land of Ahhiyawa" is real, and if Thebes for example cannot so far be proved to be his royal seat, it cannot so far be disproved either. Recall only the extraordinary collection of lapis lazuli cylinder seals found at Thebes; Porada (1981/1982) suggested the Kassite Babylonian examples might have been a gift of the Assyrian king Tukulti-ninurta I (contemporary and foe of Tudhaliya IV) to the king of Ahhiyawa. The collection includes also a number of Cypriot seals and one Hittite, inscribed with a Luwian name in hieroglyphs, as read by Güterbock.

A SYRO-HITTITE CONCEPT AND ITS CONTINUATION:
LYCIAN FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE AND HOMERIC FORMULA

"The *sikkānu*-Stele in Late Bronze Age Syria" was the subject of a paper presented by Matthew Rutz (University of Pennsylvania) to the American Oriental Society in San Diego in March 2004. Syrian *sikkānu* may be a derivative of *sakānu*, Canaanite variant of Akkadian *šakānu* "to set up, set in place" though the etymology is contested. In Ugarit Rutz compares the *skn* offered to Dagan by Tharriyeli (*RŠ* 6.02) and examples are known from thirteenth-century Emar and Ekalte as well. For Hittite compare the ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫuwaši*-stone, with its pseudo-sumerogram ᴺᴬ⁴ZI.KIN from the Semitic (Haas 1994, 507–9). In contrast to scholars who view these "*baityloi*" as either "sacred" or "secular," Rutz offers a unitary function as *public visual representations of institutional authority*, from which can be derived the varying functions of the stelae as funerary₃ monument, boundary marker curse and the like. This important cultural feature common to the southern Anatolian and West Semitic areal might well, with the Finnish archeologist Sanno Aro, have influenced Archaic Greek funerary art and architecture, specifically the stelae and (inscribed) statues.

Yet, the most notable and striking development of this cultural feature in the first millennium BC is found in Lycia: the funerary pillars treated by Deltour-Levie (1982). These tombs atop pillars, often on platforms,

appear to be a purely Lycian creation (Deltour-Levie 1982, 200). Our preserved stone monuments date from the sixth to fourth centuries, and include the famous Xanthos stele (430–410); but architecturally the practice of stone mortise and tenon joints presupposes earlier wooden structures, later replaced by stone for durability (*ibid.* 201, following Mellink 1976).

It is noteworthy that these characteristically Lycian structures are themselves continued apparently to this day in Turkish folk architecture of the same region (Elmalı): stone and timber pillars with platforms for beehives to protect them from varmints (see Zahle [1975] and especially Mellink [1976]). These are thus the last *Nachwuchs* of our Syro-Hittite cultural feature three and a half millennia earlier.

Now, the funerary pillars must have been a salient and highly visible feature of Lycian culture already in the Archaic period, earlier than our attested monuments themselves, for they were apparently familiar enough to Ionian aoidoi to allow the generation of a Homeric formula "with tomb and pillar," τύμβωι τε στήληι τε, restricted to Lycian context: the death of Sarpedon (Myl. Zrppedu[n-?] TL 44d, 6 [Xanthos stele]), in *Il.* 16.456–7 = 673–75.

ἔνθα ἑ ταρχύσουσι κασίγνητοί τε ἔται τε
τύμβωι τε στήληι τε· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.
There his brothers and his kinsmen will give him burial
With tomb and pillar; for such is the privilege of the dead.

I have preferred "tomb" for τύμβωι to the more common "tumulus," since Lycian tombs are typically atop the pillars, which are not typically erected on tumuli.

Everything in this passage is Anatolian. In ταρχύω we have to deal "not only with a Lycian custom but with a Lycian word," as stated by Blümel (1925). Kretschmer (1939, 104) made more precise the meaning, "wie einen Gott bestatten" (Hittite *Tarḫu-*, Lycian *Trqq-*, base of the designation of the Storm-God), comparing such Homeric phrases as θεὸν ὡς τιμήσουσι, and the Hittite phrase DINGIRᴸᴵᴹ *kiš-* "become a god" = "die" of the king. The etymology, accepted by Chantraine, can stand, *pace* R. Janko, *Il. Comm. ad* Π 456.

Homeric στήλη in our formula is derived from the verb στέλλω "set out, make ready, fit out." Its formation recalls that of the Syrian *sikkānu*-stele, from the verb "to set up, set in place," and as such the word itself might be further evidence that the Greek institution of the στήλη might be a borrowing from Syro-Hittite tradition.

Lycian *sttala* by its phonological form must be a relatively late borrowing. But the real word for "stele, pillar, upright monument" in Lycian and other Anatolian languages is a different one.

HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN *TASA(N)-ZA*, LYDIAN *TAŚÊN*, LYCIAN *KUMEZIJẼ ΘΘẼ*

The South and West Anatolian word for "upright pillar, stele, altar, funerary monument, memorial, boundary marker" – essentially the same semantic range as that of Semitic *sikkānu* – is found most clearly in Hieroglyphic Luwian *tasa(n)-za*, Lydian *taśêv*, Lycian *kumezijẽ θθẽ*, with their documentation. With the exception of the Palaic they were all seen by Eichner (1983).

Hieroglyphic Luwian *tasa(n)-za*. Hawkins (2000) discusses the word and gives its four attestations: ("256") *tà-sá-za* [acc.sg.neut.] KULULU 2 § 6 (mid-eighth century "for him may the black gods of Santas [(DEUS *sà-ta-si-i-zi* (DEUS)*pa⁷+ra/i-wa/i-i-zi-i*] attack [*a(n)ta* "CRUS"-*tu*] the memorial"; KARKAMIS A 6 § 28 (late-ninth to early-eighth century) *ta-sà* [acc.sg.neut.]=*pa=wa ta-si* [dat. sg.] NEG₃+*i* CUM-*ni* ARHA *tà-ia* "or whether he shall take away a stele for a stele," CEKKE § 15 (mid-eighth century) *a=wa* FINES-*ha+ra/i-ia ta-sa*[acc.pl.neut.] *ha-zi-mi-na* "we engrave(d?) frontier stelae." The formation is clearly that of a thematic neuter *tas-a(n)*, with determiner *tasa(n)-za*, plural *tas-a*.

Lydian may attest a noun *taśêv* in a poorly preserved bilingual Lydian-Greek inscription (no. 40) on a column drum from the temple of Athena at Pergamon (now in Berlin). For the reading I remain *pace* Gusmani

(1986) with Buckler's 1924 reading *tasẽv*, regarded as possible if not certain and accepted by Neumann (1967), the more so since the stress on the second syllable (Eichner 1985) is confirmed by Lycian. See however now Schürr (1999). If correct, this paragraph is moot.

Palaic may attest a derivative in the word *taš-ūra* (loc. sg.) "on the sacrificial table/stand," as suggested by Melchert (1994, 191). But the semantics of the formation are unclear, and Pal. *taš-* (if to the root "stand"?) might be wholly unrelated to the nouns *tasa(n)-za*, *tasẽv* (?), *θθẽ*. I remain sceptical.

Lycian attests the noun (nom.-acc. sg. neut.) *θθẽ* twice in the trilingual from the Letoon, N 320 lines 7, 16 (mid-fourth century). Eichner (1983, 59) first explained the history of the form: Common Anatolian **tasóm* > Pre-Lycian **tasẽ* > **tesẽ* by umlaut, whence **tehẽ*, syncopated to **t'hẽ*, whence *θθẽ* by rule. Compare CLuw. *tāta/i-* "father," HLuw. *tata/i-*, Lyc. *tede/i-*, genitive-adjective *teθθi* < **ted'hi* < **tedehi* = Milyan *tedesi*. For the forms and the rules see Melchert (1994, *passim*; 2004).

The two attestations on the trilingual stele are the following: (7) *m̃eitẽ : kumezijẽ : θθẽ* : "(the Xanthians and περίοικοι) built a sacred *kumezijẽ* (ἱερός) *monument* (for the divinities X. and A.)." The Greek version has ἱδρύσασθαι βωμόν "raise an altar" and the Aramaic just *krp' l-mᶜbd* "o make a cult," with *krp'* an apparent Iranian loanword **karpa-* cognate with Vedic *kálpa-* "rite." (16–17) *sẽ-ñteñte-km̃mẽ : seyẽti : θθẽ : sttati-teli* : "and however much (is) inside (the temenos), and (the place) whereon the monument stands (are the property of X. and A.)." The Greek and Aramaic diverge somewhat: (15) καὶ ὅσον πρὸς τωῖ ἀγρωῖ καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα "whatever appertains to the land, and the buildings." The Aramaic simply says (10) *w' yty by[t]* "and there is a property ('house')."

The *s > h* sound change is a feature of "normal" Lycian A, while it is not found in Milyan, Lycian B, nor in the Anatolian "Luvoid" languages of the Southeast in the first millennium. In Cilicia, the personal name Τεδι-νηνις corresponds to Τεδε-νη[νις] found in Lycia, and presupposes a southeastern Anatolian ("Luvoid") *tede/i-* "father" and *ñene/i-* "brother," as in Lycian. By the same token, we may assume in this language a thematic stem **tese/i-* minus the *s > h* rule, and minus the syncope of the unstressed vowel. This word indeed exists; but in the Greek of Commagene in southeastern Anatolia. The word is ἱεροθέσιον, to which we now turn.

GREEK ΙΕΡΟΘΕΣΙΟΝ (ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΜΟΥ) AND (ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΝΘΑ ΘΕΣΙΝ)

Greek ἱεροθέσιον is the self-designation of the colossal sculptural and architectural complex and funerary monument of Antiochus I of Commagene (reigned ca. 69–ca. 36 BC) atop Nemrud Dağı in the Anti-Taurus range. It is "the outstanding landmark of the upper Euphrates River valley," (Sanders 1996, 91, to which I make global reference).

Antiochus's description of his monumental complex appears in lines 21–23 of the Nomos inscriptions: τόνδε χῶρον ἱερὸν ἁπάντων κοινὸν ἀναδεῖξαι θεῶν ἐνθρόνισμα προειλάμην "I chose to make this holy place a common consecrated seat of all the gods." It offers a fine example of the rhetoric of Antiochus's text. The hapax ἐνθρόνισμα presumably makes reference to the colossal seated deities on the East and West terraces.

The land of Commagene appears as Kummuh in first-millennium Assyrian sources. The kings of Kummuh bore or affected Hittite royal names in the Iron Age: Suppiluliuma and his son Hattusili are attested both in Hieroglyphic Luwian and Assyrian sources, the latter garbled to Ushpilulume, as is the last king Muttallu (= Muwattalli), deposed in 708 BC when the Assyrians conquered the country and deported the population to Babylonia (Hawkins 2000, 330–33). The land was probably the Kummaha of second-millennium Hittite sources as early as ca. 1500 (*IBoT* 1.36 iii 36).

The funerary complexes of Nemrud Dağı and others are all of Commagenian dynasts: Antiochus I, his

father Mithradates I Callinicus and his grandfather Samos II. These complexes, where the word ἱεροθέσιον is uniquely attested and is clearly what they were called, have been aptly described by Joseph A. Greene, of Harvard's Semitic Museum as "Hellenistic architectural confections that combine aspects of mausoleums, royal sculpture gardens, dynastic monuments and political advertisements." He speculated that *hierothesion* could contain to some earlier, prehellenistic cultural feature "which only accidentally became fixed in an archeologically recognizable form owing to the outsized ego of the short-lived Commagenian dynasty, which built these monuments?" The foregoing discussion in this paper has clearly confirmed the correctness of his insight: *hiero-thes-ion* contains the word for "stele, memorial," which appears as HLuw. *tasa(n)-za*, Lyd. *tasẽv*, Lyc. *θθẽ* preceded by the adjective, which translates Lyc. (etc.) *kumezije-* "sacred, holy."

The word ἱεροθέσιον is found four times at Nemrud Dağı: note Nomos insc. 125 ἱεροθεσίωι σώματος ἐμοῦ "at the sacred tomb of my body." It is clear that for Antiochus ἱεροθέσιον designated both the totality of the mountaintop monument, colossal statues and all, and his own last resting place, the manmade tumulus proper.

While the other inscriptions attesting the word are texts of Antiochus I, internal evidence indicates that this word was the designation of the similar sanctuary complexes and tombs of his father and grandfather. Thus ἱεροθέσιον must have been current in the Greek of Commagene for such royal burial places by at least the second century BC (cf. Ramsey 2003).

Now the term "hermit crab" was coined by J. Heath (1998) for a process of linguistic change involving "formal renewal of morphology by phonologically mediated affix substitution." The process is not confined to morphology but extends to semantics, lexicon and syntax, as in our case of composition. The semantics of the Commagenean Anatolian noun phrase equivalent of Lycian *kumezijẽ θθẽ* "sacred **tese-*" "colonized" the phonetically similar Greek word θέσι-ς and brought about the creation of the compound ἱεροθέσιον. In just the same way the semantics of the imperfective Hittite *-ške-*, Luwian *-za-*, and its place in the Anatolian tense/aspect system, "colonized" the phonetically similar Greek morpheme -σκε- and brought about the creation of the augmentless imperfects and aorists in -εσκε- of East Ionic (see Puhvel 1991; Watkins 2001).

As Martin West reminds me, according to Buck-Petersen (1945) there are a dozen other words in late Greek in -θέσιον. All are transparent purely Greek creations, via several channels, but the presence of even just a few of them in the language at the time would surely have eased the creation and naturalization of ἱεροθέσιον.

It would appear that the "colonized" compound came first, qua SACRED + θεσι- = **tese-*. Only some centuries afterward could the Anatolian Greek simplex θέσις be extracted from the compound and come to be used simply for "burial place, grave." The pentameter line 2 of SEG 30.1479 reads ζῶν ἵ]ν' ἔχω φανερ[ὴν] σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν "so that living I may have a visible burial place for my body," which eerily echoes Antiochus's ἱεροθεσίωι σώματος ἐμοῦ and the other examples of the collocation noted above.

SOME PRECISIONS ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF GREEK ΘΕΟΣ

The Anatolian words Hieroglyphic Luwian *tasa(n)-za*, Lydian *tasẽv*, Lycian *θθẽ* were etymologically related to Greek θεός "god" by Craig Melchert in lectures at Harvard University in the middle 1990s. My only contribution is to add ἱεροθέσιον to the dossier, and to insist that Greek θεός "god" < θεσό- (with Armenian *dik'*) and Anatolian **tas-ó-* make an essentially exact equation. The point of departure is an Indo-European apophonic root noun **dʰeh₁s-/*dʰh₁s-* designating the sacred, Latin *fās*. (Whether this is an enlargement of the root **dʰeh₁-* is probable but uncertain.) With the secondary suffix **-nó-* we find both full grade of the base in Oscan *fíísnú* and zero-grade in Latin *fānum* < **fas-no-*, as well as full grade before **-tó-* in Latin *fēstus*. And with possessive secondary suffix **-ó-* (Schindler) and zero grade of the base we have a possessive

adjective $*d^hh_1s$-ó- "having the sacred." So Melchert (1994, 191; qua $*d^hh_es$-ó-). Hajnal (1995) prefers full grade $*d^heh_1s$-ó-, which eliminates the equation with θεός. This adjective was substantivized in the neuter in Anatolian as "sacred thing," whence "sacred structure," like Greek ἱερόν. In Greek or Greco-Armenian it was substantivized in the masculine to designate the "god" as "sacred being."

For the association between "sacred structure" and "god" recall my etymology (Watkins 1974, 102 n.) of "god" in Germanic: neuter *guđa^m < *Gu-tó-m via "heaped-up earth, barrow, *kurgan*," Homeric χυτὴ γαῖα and the numinous presence therein.

The editor of *Nemrud Daği*, Donald Sanders, cited a number of instances in excavator Theresa Goell's notes of "lingering Hittite traditions" in Commagene. In most of these, "Hittite" is to be understood as "Neo-Hittite" or just Hieroglyphic Luwian. I submit that the Greek word *hierothesion* itself is in this sense yet another "lingering Hittite tradition," and a not insignificant one.

NOTES

It is a pleasant duty to thank for their input all those with whom I have discussed aspects of this paper, not only Peter Kuniholm, but also Gary Beckman, Walter Burkert, Corinne Crawford, Ana Galjanić, Joseph A. Greene, John Huehnergard, Stephanie Jamison, Joshua Katz, Charles de Lamberterie, Craig Melchert, Sarah Morris, Norbert Oettinger, Hayden Pelliccia, Elise Ramsey, Matthew Rutz and Martin West.

1   Bo 1485 in F. Sommer (1932, ch. IX).

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