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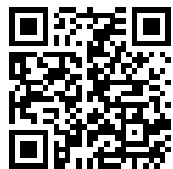
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## THE KARIAN LANGUAGE AND INSCRIPTIONS.

By Professor A. H. SAYCE.

*Read 3rd February, 1885.*

IN 1872 I wrote a Paper on "The Karian Inscriptions," which was subsequently published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (Vol. X, pt. 3, N.S.), and in which I collected all the known inscriptions as well as the words ascribed to the Karian language by Greek and Latin authors. Unfortunately absence from England prevented me from correcting the proofs of my Paper, which consequently abounds with misprints.

One of its chief objects was the decipherment of the Karian alphabet and texts. At the time the Paper was written the Kypriote syllabary was still an unsolved riddle; so that, though Mr. George Smith's successful solution was published before it was printed, or indeed read before the Royal Society of Literature, a certain amount of confidence may be placed in the soundness of my method of decipherment which resulted in maintaining that  $\mathfrak{M}$  (the Kypriote *mi*) had the value of *m*, and in comparing some of the Karian characters with Lykian letters which we now know to have once belonged to the Asianic or Kypriote syllabary. Since the publication of my Paper, however, new and important materials have accumulated for the interpretation of the Karian texts. Prof. C. T. Newton has published the long Greek inscription of Halikarnassos discovered by Mr. Alfred Biliotti, in which a large number of Karian names occur as well as Karian numerals, and these names he has at the same time classified, and, so far as is possible, analysed ("Essays on Art and Archæology," Appendix, 1880). I have myself collected

a considerable number of new inscriptions; indeed, during my visit to Abydos in Upper Egypt in the winter of 1883, I copied no less than thirty-seven, more than double the whole number of inscriptions previously known, while a Karian inscription I found on a scarab now in the possession of Mr. R. P. Greg, clears up the origin of a peculiar style of art met with in Lower Egypt, and throws light on the primitive art of Karia itself. I have, moreover, succeeded in personally examining or procuring casts of nearly all the inscriptions published in my Paper, and have thus been enabled to correct several mistakes made by those from whose copies they were taken. Finally, the progress made in the decipherment of the Kypriote inscriptions, and in our knowledge of the early script of Asia Minor, has thrown much light on the origin and character of the Karian alphabet. In an Appendix to Dr. Schliemann's "Ilios," I have shown that the Kypriote syllabary is but a branch of a system of writing, which I have proposed to call the Asianic syllabary, once in use in Western and Southern Asia Minor, and which was probably derived from the Hittite hieroglyphics—a view which is now accepted by Dr. Deecke. When this syllabary was superseded by the simpler Phoeniko-Greek alphabet, particular characters belonging to it were retained in the local alphabets of Mysia, Lydia, Lykia, Karia, Pamphylia, and Kilikia, in order to denote sounds not represented in the Hellenic alphabet. These local alphabets had doubtless been preceded by local forms or branches of the Asianic syllabary. (See Isaac Taylor: "The Alphabet," Vol. II, pp. 108–23.)

Dr. Lepsius first suggested that the four or five inscriptions in unknown letters which he and his colleagues copied at Abu-Simbel were of Karian origin. At Abu-Simbel they are found in company with Greek *graffiti*, engraved by the mercenaries who accompanied Psammetikhos in his campaign against Ethiopia, and since, according to Hérodotos, the mercenaries consisted partly of Ionian and partly of Karian soldiers, it was reasonable to suppose that the Karians were the authors of the non-Hellenic texts. This conjecture has been confirmed by subsequent discoveries. Similar texts have been found on the site of Memphis, where there was a Karian "camp" or settlement (Hdt., II, 154), and a bronze

Apis in the Bulak Museum bears an inscription in hieroglyphics and what we may now call Karian characters, the hieroglyphic portion of which describes its dedicator as a dragoman. Now in the period after the rise of the XXVIth dynasty the corps of dragomen seems to have consisted of Karians (Hdt., II, 154).

In the Paper to which I have alluded above, I had supposed that a further confirmation of the theory which sees in these inscriptions relics of the Karian language and alphabet was to be found in an inscription discovered in the Gulf of Skopi or Skopæa, and published by Messrs. Forbes and Hoskyns in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (Vol. XII, p. 158, 1843). But I have since come across another and earlier copy of the inscription in Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's "Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante" (1811), p. 189, which differs very considerably from that made by the English explorers. It is true that von Hammer's copies of the Lykian and Kypriote inscriptions show that his eye was not to be trusted when he attempted to reproduce characters which were unknown to him; nevertheless the form of one of the characters he gives,  $\nabla$ , is certainly more correct than that given by Forbes and Hoskyns, and it is a character which belongs to the Pamphylian rather than to the Karian alphabet.

The country known as Karia was shared between the Karians proper and the Kaunians. The latter were a wilder people than their neighbours, and inhabited the district between Karia and Lykia, their capital, Kaunos, being upon a small stream, the Koigez, and including Cyclopean walls. They were not considered to be of the same blood as the Karians, and were accordingly excluded from the ancient temple of the Karian Zeus at Mylasa, which was open and common to the Karians, Lydians, and Mysians, although they spoke the Karian language. Hêrodotos, whose birth at Halikarnassos makes his evidence particularly valuable, regards the Kaunians as aborigines, in spite of their own claim to be Kretan colonists. He rests his view chiefly on the fact that their customs differed not only from those of the Karians, but also from those of all other men (Hdt., I, 172), and

explains the resemblance of the Kaunian and Karian dialects by the supposition that either the Kaunians had assimilated their language to that of the Karians, or the Karians to that of the Kaunians. However that may be, the fact that the temple of Zeus Osogôa at Mylasa was confined to the Karians, Lydians, and Mysians, bears out the assertion of Hêrodotos (I, 172) that these three peoples considered themselves to be brethren. We need have no scruple in rejecting the Kretan legend, reported by Hêrodotos, which identified the Karians with the mythical Leleges, and stated that they had been driven from the islands of the Ægean to the continent by the Dorians and Ionians. The legend was based on the fact that tribes akin to the Karians, and possibly bearing the same name, had once made sea voyages over the Ægean, and inhabited the Kyklades and other neighbouring islands. When Dêlos was purified by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War and its ancient tombs destroyed, Thucydides (I, 8) tells us that more than half the bodies buried in it were found to be those of Karians, as was proved by their armour and mode of burial, and Mr. Theodore Bent seems to have recently discovered primitive tombs of the same people in Antiparos.

In Homer the Karians are distinguished from the Leleges (II. X, 428-9), and appear among the Asiatic allies of the Trojans, under the command of Nastês and Amphimakhos, with the epithet *βαρβαρόφωνοι* attached to them (II. II, 867). The epithet gave needless trouble to the commentators. Apollodôros held that it was used by the Ionians by way of contempt, and Strabo that it was due to some defect in pronunciation which was specially noticed by the Greeks in the case of a people with whom they were brought into close relation. Philip of Theangela, who wrote a history of the Karians and Leleges, controverted the notion that the epithet was due to the peculiarly harsh and uncouth character of the Karian language. Of course it merely meant a language which was unintelligible to the Greeks, the same word being applied to the Persians in the Oracles quoted by Hêrodotos (VIII, 20, IX, 43). In the time of Xerxes, at all events, a Karian was not understood by a Greek (Hdt., VIII, 135).

According to Stephanos of Byzantium, Euphroditos stated

that Karia had once been called Khrysaôris. This statement was no doubt connected with the fact that the Zeus of Labranda was surnamed Khrysaôreus, and that Mylasa, now Melassa, was said to have been founded by Mylassos, son of Khrysaôr. Karios, on the other hand, was made a son of Zeus and Torrêbia by Xanthos, the Lydian historian, and was worshipped, according to Stephanos of Byzantium, in the Lydian district of Torrêbia.

The nett result of the information derived from classical antiquity is that the Karians were allied in blood and language to the Lydians and Mysians; indeed, the very fact that all three peoples joined in a common worship in the temple of Mylasa shows that the languages they spoke could not have differed very materially one from another. With this agrees the further fact that more than one word is given as at once Karian and Lydian. Hardly any remains of the Mysian language have been preserved; a considerable number of Lydian words, however, has been handed down to us, and these seem to have an Indo-European complexion. We may therefore assume, at all events provisionally, that the Karian language belonged to the Aryan family of speech.

The following is a list of the Karian words which may be extracted from the works of classical writers; the greater part has been collected by Prof. de Lagarde (Böttcher) in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*.

1. \**Αλα* "a horse." Steph. Byz. explains the name of the town Alabanda to mean "horse-victory"; from *ala*, "horse," and *banda*, "victory." This is borne out by the name *Ἰππολύ-αλα*, which the same writer says is "the horse of Hyllos," as well as by a passage in Pliny (N. H. V, 29), where the gloss "seu Hippini" ("or the horseman") is attached to the word Ali(n)dienses or Halydienses, the inhabitants of the city of Alinda. In *Hali-karnassos* and *Hali-kakabos* the word *ala* has been assimilated to the Greek *άλι-* (from *ἄλις*). (See under *Κακκάβη*). Blau compares the Kretan *Φάλαννα* (for *Φάλανδα*), which is explained by Steph. Byz. as *Ἰππία*.<sup>1</sup> From the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the river-names Alandros and Halys, and the Lydian Aly-attês, may be connected with *ala*. With Alandros compare Skamandros.

compounds Ala-banda and Hyllu-ala we learn that the defining word in Karian preceded the word it defined, as in the Aryan languages. Alinda seems to have signified "horsy," whence we may infer that the termination *-nda* formed derivative adjectives. The termination was a very common one; thus we find it in the local names Piginda, Kalynda, Mæandros, Telandros, and Telandria, Kadyanda, and Labranda, so called from the Lydian word *λάβρυς*, "a double-headed axe" (Plut. *Quæst. Gr.*, VII, p. 204), which was common to both Lydian and Karian.

2. *Βάνδα*, "victory." See under 1. If *-nda* is a suffix, *ba* ought to denote "conquest," or something similar.

3. *Γέλα*, "king." Stephanos asserts that the city of Souagela, which claimed to possess the tomb of Kar, the brother of Lydos and Mysos, was so called from *σοῦα*, "a tomb," and *γέλα*, "king." The same word is also found in the name of the town Theangela. It is possibly connected with the Lydian *κοαλαδεῖν*, which meant "king" according to Hêsychios. Another Lydian word with the same signification was *πάλμυς*, which is usually compared with the Phrygian *βαλήμυ*, "king." The latter word is found by M. Six and Dr. Deecke in one of the Kypriote *graffiti* I copied at Abydos. If, however, *gela* and *koaladein* are connected, *balén* would probably have to be grouped with them, *gwal* being the root to which they should all be referred.

4. *Γίσσα*, "a stone." This word is not certain, as it comes from the explanation given by Stephanos of the name of the city Monogissa, and unfortunately there is a lacuna in the text immediately before it. On the other hand, that *gissa* was the full form of the word is supported by the statement Stephanos goes on to make, that the Greeks called soft flat stones *γίσσα*, which he seems to imply was borrowed from Karian. At the same time *-ssa* or *-ssos* is a common termination of the names of places in Karian. Thus we find Tymmissos, Themissos, Tnyssos, Dedmasa, Harpasa, Kandasa, Kynbasa, Mylasa, Pedasa, Narkasos, Peigelasos, Halikar-nassos, Hygassos, Iassos, Kryassos, Kybassos, Prinassos, and Sindêssos. Kryassos occurs by the side of Krya, which Pliny

(N. H. V, 28) qualifies with the epithet "fugitivorum," and Tymnêssos by the side of Tymnos.<sup>1</sup> According to Stephanos *τυμνισσός* signified "a rod," since the people of Xanthos called a rod *τυμνία*. In Peigelasos we may have the word *gela*.

5. *Γλοῦς*, "a robber." This is one of the words which is given as common to Karian and Lydian.

6. *Ἰμβραμος* (so resolved by Legarde from the *Ἰμβρακος* and *Ἰμβραμος* of the MSS.), the Karian Hermês. This is given by Stephanos under the name Imbros, and suggests a connection between the Karians and the island of Imbros. In Lydian Adramys is interpreted Hermôn, while *kan-daulês* "dog-choker" (Tzetzes in Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.*, 3, 351) was a title of the Lydian Hermês.

7. *Κακκάβη*, "a (horse's) head." The Karian origin of this word was first pointed out by Blau, *Z. D. M. G.*, XXVII, 4, p. 530 (1873). He compares the name of the town *Ἀλι-κάκαβος* and the Krêtan *Φάλαννα*. See above under 1.

8. *Καπίθη*, a Karian and Lydian measure, containing nearly two quarts (Xenophon, *Anab.*, I, 5, 6).

9. *Κολαβρισμός*, "a Thrakian and Karian dance in full armour." The word, however, need not have been of Karian origin; indeed it could hardly have been both Thrakian and Karian.

10. *Κύβδα*, a Karian weight (Makhôn in Athenæos, XIII, p. 580 D).

11. *Κῶς* (*κῶν*), "a sheep" (Tzetzes *Lykoph.*, 644), written *κόος* in Eustathios (*Hom.*, 318). Hence the Greek *κῶας* and *κῶδιον*.

12. *Δάβρυς*, "a (double-headed) axe." The word is said to be Lydian, but since Labranda, where the Asianic Zeus was worshipped with the double-headed axe in his hand, was a Karian town, it must also have been Karian.

13. *Μάσαρις*, with the variant reading *Μάρσαρις*, the Karian Dionysos. Lagarde compares *Μάσταυρα*, the name

<sup>1</sup> The form Kryassos is supported not only by Plutarch and Stephanos, but also by epigraphic evidence.

of a Lydian city, which was said to have been derived from Mâ who followed Rhea and nursed Dionysos; but Marsyas, the Lydian and Phrygian deity, perhaps makes the form Marsaris preferable.

14. *Νάρασος*, a surname of the Karian Zeus. For the termination see under 4.

15. *Όσογῶα*, a title of Zeus Stratios, worshipped at Mylasa, and according to Professor Newton the equivalent of *Ζηνοποσειδών*. Strabo (XIV, p. 659) gives the word as *Osogô*, Pausanias (*Arkad.*, 10) as *Ogôa*; but inscriptions found at Mylasa show that its real form was *Osogôa*, and that the worship of this particular Zeus was entrusted to the tribe of *Ότορκωνδεῖς*. The Greek rendering of the title would indicate that it meant "belonging to the army." For the final *-a* compare *ala*, *gela*, and *soua*.

16. *Πάναμαρος* and *Πανημέριος*, a surname of the Karian Zeus.

17. *Ψεμβήνοδος*, a title of Zeus.

18. *Σοῦα*, "a tomb." See under 3. I believe I have found the word in the inscriptions (Nos. II, 2, 4), where it is written *sawa*.

19. *Τάβα*, "a rock." This word was apparently also Lydian, since Stephanos states that there were two cities called *Tabæ*: one in Lydia and the other in Karia; the first of which was founded by Marsyas, the brother of Kibyras, who named it from its situation on a rock. The two cities, however, may have been identical, since the Karian town is said by Strabo to have had a mixed population of Phrygians, Pisidians, and other nations. With *Taba* we may compare the names of *Atabyros*, the highest mountain in Rhodes, and the Kilikian *Thêbê*.

20. *Τουσσῦλοι*, "dwarfs." This is a Karian word by which Stephanos explains *Kattouza*, "a Thrakian town in which the dwarfs used to live." Ellis compares the Ossetic *tyüsül*, "little, Armenian *doyn*. The termination is one that meets us in several Karian proper names, such as *Motylos*, *Mausólos*, *Bargylya*, *Samylya*, as well as in the Lydian *Myrsilos*, "the son of Myrsos."

21. *Τυμνισσός*, "a rod." Hence, according to Stephanos, the name of the city Tymnêssos, "for the Xanthians call a rod *τυμνία*." Xanthos, however, was a Lykian city, and *τυμνία* seems to be a Greek word connected with *τύπτω*. That Xanthos had a Greek population settled in it seems evident from its name, since the native name which appears on its coins was Arina. The coins also have *Koprle*, which may have been the name of the district in which Arina stood. Xanthos was primarily the Greek name of the river on which the town was built, and which was called *Sirbê* or *Sirbês* by the natives (Strabo, XIV, p. 951; Steph. Byz. s. v. *Τρεμίλη*; Eustath. ad Il., XII, 907-30).

I can find no other explanations of Karian words in Greek writers with the possible exception of *Κανίβιον*, afterwards called *Κύον* or "Dog's Town" by the Greeks (Steph. Byz. s. v.), with which the Lydian *κυν*, "a dog," in *Κανδαύλης* may be compared. Most of them, it will be observed, can be checked by the proper names which they are called upon to explain, and we may therefore place some confidence in the accuracy of the transcription of them which has come down to us. Those given by Stephanos have probably been derived for the most part from the lost work of Philip of Theangela, who may be presumed to have known something of the language of his country.

The list of words can be supplemented by the proper names, whether personal or local, which belonged to Karia, a large number of which has been furnished by the inscription of Halikarnassos already alluded to. Professor Newton has drawn attention to the importance of this list for a knowledge of the Karian language, and his classification of the names according to their terminations must form the basis of any enquiry into its character.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Essays on Art and Archæology" (1880), pp. 445-9.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PROPER NAMES.

'Ακταίασσις	'Ιμίμας	Πάρπις
'Ακτανυσσώλωσ	'Ισεμέδαρος	Πέδωλδος
*'Αλγανίς	Κάκρας	Πελδήκωσ
'Αλκιδισσις	Καλίβωτης	Περβίλιας
'Ανδάρσης	Κάσβωλλίς	Πίρωμις (comp. Perám)
'Αραΐσσις	Κάσησις	Πισινδηλίς, Suidas
*'Αρβησσις	Κβουδιάσσις	Πιτάκολος (?)
'Αρδύβερος	Κβώδης	Πολύιδος or Πολύιλος
*'Αρδυ(σσ)ίς	Κέλδνασσις	Πονύσσωλος
'Αρίδωλις, Hdt., VII, 195	Κέμπτυς	Σάμασσις
'Αρλισσις	Κοίδωλος	Σαμώνος
'Αρλίωμος	Κονδμάλας	Σαρύσσωλος
*'Αρράνοσ (?)	Κόρβίς	Σάσκωσ
*'Αρρηλίς	Κο*ωλδοσ'	Σάσσωμοσ
'Αρτέμοσ	Κούλδοίς	Σέσκων
'Αρτήμοσ (?)	Κτάβασσις	Σεσώλης
'Αρτύασσις	Κτούβολδοσ	Σιδύλημις
'Αρύασσις	Κυάρδης, Steph.	Σπαρεύδιτοσ
'Αφύασσις	Κυάτρης	Συδύλημις
Βοίωμοσ	Κύτπις	Σύσκοσ
Βόσθων	Κυτρέλημις	Σχινώσιτοσ
Βρύασσις	Κώγλοσ (?)	Τάσθαλοσ
Βρώλωσ	Λατάρης	Τάσθαλοσ
Γύγοσ (Lydian Gygês)	Λύγαμις	Τάσθαλοσ
Δ*δάγγυλοσ (?) ; comp.	Μάτις	Τάσθαλοσ
'Ιδάγγυλοσ	Μαύσσωλοσ	Τένδεσσις
*'Εσβωλίς	Μικίννωσ	Τοίνωβοσ (?)
Θεκυλιώνησ	Μόηνωσ	Τρυώλησ
Θύσσωλοσ	'Οσεασ	Τύμηνησ (cp. Tymnêssos)
Θύσσοσ	Πανάβλημις	*'Υεσκύρεροσ
'Ιβάνωλις, Hdt., v, 37	Παναμύησ	*'Υθέσμησ, (Olympos)
'Ιδάγγυλοσ	{ Πανάασσις	*'Υσσέλδωμοσ
'Ιδύβασ (?)	{ Πανάτις	*'Υσσις
'Ιλύξησ	Παράσκωσ	*'Υσσωίησ
'Ιμβάρηλδοσ	Παραύδιποσ	{*'Υσσωλδοσ
*'Ιμβρασσις } compare	Παραύσσωλοσ	{*'Υσσώλδοσ
*'Ιμβαρσις } Imbramos,		*'Υσσώλλοσ

Names ending in -ωλοσ.

'Ακτανυσσώλωσ	Μαύσσωλοσ	Πονύσσωλοσ
Βρώλωσ	{ Παραύσσωλλοσ	Σαρύσσωλοσ
Θύσσωλοσ (cp. Θύσσοσ)	{ Παραύσωλοσ	*'Υσσώλλοσ
Κοίδωλοσ		

*Names ending in -ωμος.*

Αρλίωμος	Βοίωμος	Σάσσωμος	΄Υσσελδωμος
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*Names ending in -σις, -σιδος.*

΄Ιμβρασσις and ΄Ιμβαρσις	Σάμασσις
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*Names ending in -σις, -σιος.*

Ακταύασσις (cp. Ἐκτανσώλωσ)	΄Αρλισσις ΄Αρτύασσις	΄Ιμβρασσις and ΄Ιμβαρσις
΄Αρβησσις and ΄Αρβησις ΄Αρδυσσις	΄Αρύασσις ΄Αφύασσις	Σάμασσις

*Names ending in -ημις (-ιος).*

Κυτρέλημις	Πανάβλημις	Σιδύλημις	Συδύλημις
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*Names ending in -λις.*

Αρίθωλις ΄Αρρηλις	Εσβωλις ΄Ιβάνωλις	Κάσβωλλις Πισίνδηλις
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To these names may be added that of the Queen Ada, and the three names Ægyptios, Hermapis, and Pirômis, found in the Budrum inscription, and evidently imported from Egypt. Professor Newton further suggests that the following names may also be Karian: Hermakotas, Hermendadis, Hermoundis, Ossybas, Pixodaros, Pormatis, Pybialês, Pyrimatis, Serisalos, and Sesamas.

*Local Names in the Bedrum Inscription.*

΄Αργος	Κότοι	Σράνσος
Δίδη	Κουπρισσις or	Τέρμεροι
Θυασσός (?)	Κυπρισσις	΄Ωνζωσσύασος
Κασαίος	Λυρισσός (cp. Lariss.)	΄Ωσπράνονος
Κεύαρος	Πουνομούοι	

Professor Newton compares the names of tribes and demes at Olymos, such as Σοαωνεῖς (cp. *σοια*, "a tomb"), Κοδούωκα, Κορμοσκωνεῖς, Παρεμβαρδεῖς, to which we may add Μαννιτήης, Ὀγονδεῖς, Μωσσεῖς, and Τέρηρα.

According to inscriptions found at Mylasa, Zeus Osogôa was worshipped by the tribe of Ὀτωρκονδεῖς. This name reminds us of the Trokondas of Pisidian inscriptions, as well as of the Tarkondimotos and Tarkondêmos of Kilikia, which is written Tarkudimê in cuneiform.

The majority of the inscriptions of which copies are given in this Paper are now published for the first time. Indeed, a considerable number of them are *graffiti* which I copied at Abydos, in Upper Egypt, in the winter of 1883-4. In the Paper read before the Royal Society of Literature in 1873 I was able to collect only twelve Karian texts in all; now I have got together fifty-four. Moreover, several of those published in 1873 were taken from faulty or imperfect copies, so that in many cases even the forms of the characters occurring in them were uncertain. The increase of our materials is consequently so great as to justify another attempt at solving the problem of their decipherment.

I. The first Karian inscriptions made known to European scholars were, as I have already said, those published by Lepsius in the *Denkmäler aus Aegypten*, Vol. XII, and engraved on the legs of the colossi of Abu-Simbel in Nubia, along with the *graffiti* of the Phœnician and Greek mercenaries who accompanied Psammetikhos in his campaign against Ethiopia. According to Hêrodotos this would have been Psammetikhos I; but the fact that it is Psammetikhos II and not Psammetikhos I who has left records of his expedition into Nubia, has led Egyptologists to assign to the reign of this king both the Ethiopian campaign and the memorials of the mercenaries at Abu-Simbel. The date of their inscriptions, accordingly, would be B.C. 590.

I visited Abu-Simbel in 1879, and spent some time in examining the Karian *graffiti* with a binocular glass. As I had no ladder or scaffolding with me I was unable to approach very near to them, and there were one or two which I could not read, even in the light of the morning sun. In the case of the others, I satisfied myself of the extreme accuracy of Lepsius's copies. There are seven of them in all; two of these I thought formed only a single inscription when I wrote my Paper for the Royal Society of Literature (in which accordingly I have grouped them together as No. 9), while I omitted two others as too indistinct and fragmentary, one of which I now see to be a repetition of the first part of my No. 9. A photograph of No. 5 is given in the

*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, I, 2, tab. xx. My copy of it agreed exactly with that of Lepsius.

The persons mentioned in the Phœnician *graffiti* are Abd-Ptah, son of Yagor-Eshmun, Amasis (𐤀𐤌𐤎𐤏), Ptahi, Abdas, Abd-Šakon, son of Pet-yekhav, Ger-hêkal, son of Khallum, Cushi ("the Ethiopian"), son of Abd-Paam, and Eshmun-yaton, who states that he ascended the river to the city of Šoharu (𐤑𐤕𐤒). The Greek inscriptions are as follows:—(1). "Elesibios the Teian"; (2). "Têlephos the Ialysian wrote me"; (3). "Pythôn the son of Amœbikhos"; (4). "Pabis the Kolophonian along with Psammatikhos"; (5). "Agesermos"; (5). "Pasidon the son of Hippo . . ."; (6). "Krithis wrote"; (7). "To Homgusob (Ὁμγυσόβ); when the king led the army for the first time here, (I came) with Psamatikhos"; (8). "When King Psamatikhos came to Elephantinê, those who sailed with Psammatikhos the son of Theoklês wrote this. Now they came above Kerkis where the river was rising. And Potasimto commanded the foreigners (ἀλλογλώσσους, see Hdt. II, 154), and Amasis the Egyptians. And Arkhôn the son of Amœbikhos, and Peleqos the son of Eudamos, wrote us." The two last *graffiti* are in the Dorian dialect, and the translation given of the last is that of Blass, excepting only that he reads "Potas son of Imtos," instead of Potasimto. Krall suggests that Potasimto is an Egyptian name, Pota-Sem-tai. It is curious that the only place in Greek literature in which the word ἀλλογλωσσοι occurs is Hdt. II, 154, where it is used of the Karian mercenaries of Egypt.

II. Four Karian inscriptions have come from Memphis. One of these is on a stêlé presented to the Museum of Lausanne by M. Arnold Morel-Fatio, which was first published by M. Lenormant in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1870, pp. 151-2. Through the kindness of Professor Gautier a cast of it has been sent to me, so that I am now able to republish it in facsimile. The name of the person mentioned on it is the same as one which occurs twice at Abu-Simbel. The Karian text is engraved below a sculpture of the three gods Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis, and a somewhat defaced hieroglyphic

inscription, which M. Naville reads, "Said by Osiris the great lord of Roser; let there be given a good burial to the beloved Psamtik . . . Neith, the son of Apries . . . ." The Karian text has apparently nothing to do with the rest of the stêlê, which, like the two next to be mentioned, seems to have been appropriated by the foreigners.

A second stêlê, with a Karian inscription, was in the possession of Sir Charles Nicholson, and was given by him to the Museum at Sydney. When I was preparing my Paper, however, for the Royal Society of Literature, he kindly gave me a squeeze of the tablet, and I accordingly published the text, which was unfortunately spoilt by the engraver. It is now, therefore, given accurately for the first time. The text is written below the sculptured portion of the stêlê, which represents a worshipper standing before a table of offerings, and a seated Osiris, behind whom stands Isis. Above the worshipper is his name Pet-Ast or Petisis, written in hieroglyphics; above Osiris the words, "Said by Osiris the lord of . . ."; and above Isis, "Isis mistress of heaven." Below the sculpture are three lines of hieroglyphics, which Dr. Birch translates as follows: "Act of homage to Osiris who dwells in the West, the Good Being, who has given sepulchral meals of bread and beer, oxen, geese, incense, linen, all things to the worthy Osirian Pet-Asi (Petisis), born of Tat-Osar (Taosiris)."

A third stêlê is in the Bûlak Museum. Professor Maspero was good enough to send me a squeeze of it, as well as his copy of the Karian legend upon it, and I have also spent nearly an hour in the Bûlak Museum examining the doubtful characters on the original stone. Unlike what is the case in the other two tablets, the Karian text runs round the left side and top of this one, and as the hieroglyphics do not record the name of any private person, it would appear that it was made expressly for the Karians to whom it belonged. The tablet is a small one; on the right is the figure of Ptah, on the left that of the defunct, in Egyptian costume, while between them is a table of offerings. Above this are two cartouches containing the names of Ra-hââ-ab Uah-ab-Ra or Apries; over them we have "king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of the sun, like eternity, while underneath

comes, "Ptah giver of life to thee." Perhaps the name of the deceased was compounded with that of Ptah.

The Bûlak Museum also contains a small bronze Apis in the form of a bull, round three sides of the base of which runs a bilingual inscription in Karian and hieroglyphics. The characters are clearly cut, and my copy of them has been compared with the original by Professor Maspero. The hieroglyphics read: "(To) Apis giver of life P'râm the dragoman." M. Maspero tells me that P'râm is not an Egyptian name, though it may be compared with the *Πίρωμος* of the Budrum inscription; at all events it is interesting to find a Karian here describing himself as a dragoman. It bears out the assertion of Hêrodotos (II, 154) quoted above, and proves that the Karians performed the same office in ancient Egypt that the Maltese do to-day.

III. Zagazig—or rather the neighbouring mounds of Bubastis—has produced one Karian inscription, now in the possession of M. de Saint-Ferréol at the Chateau of Uriage (Isère). This was published by M. Lenormant in the "Revue Archéologique," and republished by me in my former Paper. I have not been able to verify M. Lenormant's copy, but it seems accurate.

IV. Much the larger portion of the inscriptions which are now published for the first time come from Abydos in Upper Egypt. I spent some time there last winter copying the *graffiti*—Greek, Phœnician, Kypriote, and Karian—on the temples of Rameses II, and more especially Seti I. It would appear from the scrawls of the Greek visitors that the temple of Seti had been reduced to the same state of semi-ruin and desolation as it is in at present before the age of the XXVIth dynasty, and that at a later period an oracle was established in one of the chambers built by Menepthah. This oracle was worked for the foreigners who had settled in Egypt, and in the Ptolemaic age was supposed to be inspired by Sarapis (as the name is spelt in one of the Greek scrawls). The god revealed the future by means of dreams to those who slept a night in the consecrated room or on the steps of the great staircase that adjoined it. The walls on either side of this staircase are literally covered with *graffiti*, a

large part of which are engraved just on a level with the head of a person who was lying on the steps. Similar *graffiti* are to be found in other parts of the temple, though more sparingly. It is possible that one of the names met with among them, that of Mizaä, belonged to one of the mercenaries who calls himself Mizaäi at Abu-Simbel; in this case some of the *graffiti* may be as old as the Abu-Simbel period. Most of them, however, belong to a later date, and are probably in great measure the records of the dragomen who accompanied the Greeks and possibly the Phœnician travellers in Egypt up the Nile.<sup>1</sup>

V. Two other Karian inscriptions on objects brought from Egypt probably come from Memphis and its neighbourhood. One of these is on a scarab now in the possession of Mr. R. P. Greg. This, as I have said in the Preface to Schliemann's "Troja" (p. xxv), explains the origin of a peculiar class of scarabs met with in Northern Egypt, on which certain curious figures are cut in the rudest possible way, reminding us of nothing so much as the figures on some of the Hissarlik "whorls." The art, if art it can be called, is quite different from that of the "Hittite" cylinders of Cyprus or of the excessively rude seals that are found on the coast of Syria, and even as far west as the Lydian stratum of Sardes. I found the second inscription on the bronze chaton of a ring now in the British Museum. The locality from which it came is unknown.

VI. The inscription copied first by von Hammer-Purgstall, and afterwards by Forbes and Hoskyns in the Gulf of Skopi has already been alluded to. It is found on a tomb in the neighbourhood of a ruined city supposed to be Krya or Kryassos. It will be seen that the alphabet used in it is not quite the same as that of the Karian inscriptions of Egypt, and that it resembles the Pamphylian and Pisidian in its employment of the two characters  $\nabla$  (*vu*) and  $\Omega$ , the first of

<sup>1</sup> In the royal tombs at Thebes there is no trace of Karian characters, though I looked carefully for them; and since none of the Greek *graffiti* in these tombs are older than the Ptolemaic period, it would appear that the tombs were not open to visitors before the age of Alexander, and that by that time the Karians had given up their peculiar mode of writing.

which occurs in the Pisidian inscription of Sillyon, and both on coins of Sidê. As a Greek inscription found by Hoskyns fixes the site of the city of Kaunos at the head of the Bay of Koi-gez to the west of the Gulf of Skopi, Krya would have been within the boundaries of the Kaunians who, according to Hêrodotos, spoke the same language as the Karians, but were not of the same race. The alphabet also may therefore have been somewhat different. At any rate the inscription of Skopi must be regarded as Kaunian rather than as Karian.

Before attempting to decipher the inscriptions, we have first to determine the values of the characters with which they are written. It is clear at first sight that the main part of the letters is derived from the Phœnico-Greek alphabet, but that, as in the case of the Lykian alphabet, certain other characters have been added to express sounds which were unrepresented in the Greek. Now Dr. Deecke, Dr. Isaac Taylor and myself have pointed out that these additional characters have in the case of Lykian been taken from the old Asianic syllabary, a local form of which continued to be used in Cyprus down to a late date.<sup>1</sup> A probability therefore arises that the additional characters in the Karian inscriptions also come from the same source.

One of these is  $\text{M}$ , which in my former Paper I already determined must have the value of *m*, and which is actually identical in form with the Kypriote  $\text{M}$  *mi*. We may then assume that, like other populations in Asia Minor, the Karians once used the Asianic syllabary, but that they afterwards discarded it for the simpler Greek alphabet, retaining only those characters which were needed to denote sounds for which the Greeks had no symbols, or as in the case of the *m(i)*, which served to distinguish the form of one character from that of another.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my Appendix (III) to Schliemann's "Ilios," p. 699, and Isaac Taylor's "Alphabet," II, pp. 108 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> The difference of form between  $\text{M}$  *s* and  $\text{M}$  *was* was not sufficiently great, and accordingly one of the characters which represented a syllable beginning with *m* in the old syllabary was retained, probably on account of its resemblance in shape to the Phœnico-Greek *m*.

The Greek alphabet which we should naturally suppose would have been borrowed would be the Ionic. This is the alphabet which was adopted, as Mr. Ramsay has shown, by the Phrygians and Kappadokians, probably through the channel of the Milesian colony of Sinôpê, at a time when it still possessed the digamma. The Phrygian alphabet contains only two non-Phœnician letters  $\Psi$ , and the equivalent of the Greek  $\phi$ , which has the two forms  $\Phi$  and  $\Uparrow$ , both used with the value of *w* after a guttural.

But the alphabet which was borrowed by the Karians and Lykians alike was not the Ionic. The form of the *g* is that which we find only in the alphabets of Korkyra (and Korinth), Megara, Selinus, the Ozolian Lokrians, Arkadia, Elis, and, in a slightly modified shape, Pamphylia, though we also have a rounded *g* ( $\mathbf{C}$ ) in Lakonia and the Khalkidic colonies. The Karian *s*, moreover, is the *sigma* of Thêra, Mêlos, Krete, Argos, Korinth, Korkyra, Phôkis, and the Akhæan colonies, though the Lykian here parts company from it, and was the form found in the Ionic of Abu-Simbel, Naxos, and Athens, and the Doric of Lakonia and Elis, as well as in Arkadian.<sup>1</sup> The *bêta* of Karian, finally, which is also met with in the older Lykian inscriptions, is a modified form of the Korinthian and Korkyræan letter, and the form itself has been observed on Doric vases. The Hellenic portions of the alphabets of Karia and Lykia must therefore have come from the Dorian colonists in Rhodes and the neighbouring towns on the mainland. In Rhodes, however, as well as in Halikarnassos and the other towns in the vicinity, the Ionic alphabet was in use not only in the age of Hêrodotos, but as early as the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The Doric inscriptions at Abu-Simbel are written in it. Consequently, as we cannot suppose that the Karians and Lykians crossed over to the Peloponnêsos in order to borrow an alphabet, we must conclude that they exchanged their old syllabary for the new letters before 600 B.C., the approximate date of the Abu-Simbel texts.

<sup>1</sup> If we can trust the transcription of No. I, 3, the Karian alphabet also made use of the Ionic *sigma*, though this may have been due in the solitary instance in which it occurs to the influence of the Ionic scribes at Abu-Simbel.

Now among the letters found in the Karian inscriptions there is one of constant occurrence, which, from its position between consonants, must have the value of a vowel. This is **Ð**, to which in my former Paper I assigned the value of the Greek *epsilon*. This determination has since been confirmed in two ways. First of all we find the beginning of the same word written *mi-s* at Memphis (II, 4), and *mi-Ð-s* at Abu-Simbel (I, 1), showing that the character had a sound approaching that of the short *i*. In the second place, M. Six has drawn my attention to a coin, published (but imperfectly) by Fellowes ("Lycian Coins," pl. VII, 5, of which he has taken a cast at Munich. On this there seems to be a bilingual inscription in Lykian and Karian, the Lykian reading the name of the dynast Erbbina **↑PBBENA**, while in the field are the letters **ΘϞ** *Er*. At Abydos (IV, 2 and 3) **Θ** interchanges with *a*. The determination is verified by a fact brought to light by me last winter at Abydos. In the alphabets of Korkyra and Anaktorion **Β** and **β** actually have the value of *e*, and in the mother-alphabet of Korinth **Β**, **β**, and **Σ** appear by the side of **E**. In some of the Lykian inscriptions, moreover, we find **B** taking the place of the ordinary **E**. In my former Paper I had concluded that the Karian **Ð** was the same character as the Dorian and Lykian **β** or **β**, and this conclusion has now been confirmed by an early Ionic inscription I discovered at Abydos, in which the **E** is written **Θ** and **Ϟ**. It is therefore clear that both the Ionic and the Doric alphabets once possessed a form of **E**, from which the Karian **Ð** and the Lykian **β** are derived.

The determination of **Ð** enables us to determine the value of **Ϟ**, another Karian character, which, from its position between consonants, would seem to represent a vowel. In several of the Abydos inscriptions it interchanges with *e* (IV, 16, 17, 18, 19; 24, 25). Like *e*, moreover, it also interchanges with *a* (IV, 2, 3). We must therefore assign to **Ϟ** a value nearly related to *e*, such as *ä*. In form the character is the Phoenician *koph*, which was retained in the alphabets of Kolophôn (at Abu-Simbel), Thêra, Paros, ancient Athens, Argos, Korinth, Syracuse, Arkadia, Ozolian Lokris, and the

Khalkidic and Akhæan colonies, and which is also sometimes found in Lykian inscriptions with the values of *k* and *r*. But I suspect that the Karian letter has another origin, and only accidentally resembles *koph*.

As  $\square$  exists by the side of  $\square$ , both denoting vowels, as we shall see, so I believe  $\Psi$  was formed out of  $\Theta$ , the latter letter being modified like the Argive and Parian  $\Theta \delta$  by the side of  $\Theta$ . It is possible, however, that the Karian  $\Psi$  is really *koph*, with the guttural sound dropped, and the vowel inherent in it alone preserved, just as in the modern dialect of Cairo *koph* is pronounced as a vowel. However this may be, the symbol was used in Karian to express a vocalic sound.

Another vowel was denoted by  $\boxplus$ , which in No. II, 3, interchanges with *a*. It is plainly the Greek  $\eta$ , but is of very rare occurrence.

Two other vowel-sounds are represented by  $\square$  and  $\Psi$ . This is proved by their position between consonants, as well as at the end of a word after a consonant (*e.g.*, No. II. 4), and in IV, 33, 34,  $\square$  apparently interchanges with a character which, as we shall see, has the value of  $\ddot{u}$ . But I have no clue to their exact powers, and assign to them only conjecturally the values respectively of  $\acute{a}$  and  $ai$ . I fancy that  $\Psi$  and  $\boxplus$  are variant forms of  $\Psi$ , and  $\boxminus$  and possibly  $\nabla$  and  $\nabla$  of  $\square$  or  $\square$ . At all events  $\nabla$  exchanges with  $\Psi$  in I, 1 and IV, 4. In a Korkyrean inscription  $\Theta$  is written  $\square$ .

It is easier to assign a value to  $\Phi$  or  $\Theta$ . This occurs between consonants, and at the end of a word after a vowel, and is also reduplicated. In form it is identical with the Greek  $\Phi$ , which is found in all the Greek alphabets, except those of Thêra, Mêlos, and Krete, with the value of *ph*. As we have seen, it is also met with in the Phrygian alphabet, where it has two forms, and the value of *w*. On the other hand, the Lykian character corresponding to it is  $\Psi$ , which, as Schmidt has proved, has the two values of  $\ddot{u}$  and *w*, and which is sometimes reduplicated like the Karian  $\Phi$ . When reduplicated it expresses the sound of  $\ddot{u}w$ , as is shown by the Lykian equivalent of the Greek name  $\Piυβιάλης$ . In IV, 11, 20, 24, 25, it apparently interchanges with *o*.

There is no difficulty in connecting the form of the Lykian character with the second form of the Phrygian one ( $\text{)(}$  or  $\text{)(} = \text{)(}$ ), while the two Phrygian forms show how the form found in Karian and Greek must have originated ( $\text{Φ} = \text{Φ}^1$  or  $\text{Φ}$ ). Now Dr. Isaac Taylor<sup>2</sup> has pointed out that the Lykian  $\text{)(}$  is derived from the Kypriote, or rather Asianic  $\text{)(}$  *va*. This, then, is the source from which the non-Phoenician  $\text{Φ}$  of the Greek alphabet has come, the missing links being supplied by the alphabets of Lykia and Phrygia. The Lykian alphabet will have been borrowed from the Greek before the change of form in the character had been completed, whereas the Karian must have been borrowed at a later time. It is not difficult to understand how a symbol which had originally expressed the sound of *w* should have become the representative of *ph*, when we remember that the Greek  $\sigma\phi\epsilon$  stands for  $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ , and that  $\text{ἴκφος}$  has become  $\text{ἴππος}$ .

Besides  $\text{Φ}$ , Kirchoff calls three other Greek letters,  $\xi$ ,  $\chi$  and  $\psi$ , "non-Phoenician." They are none of them found in the primitive alphabets of Thêra, Mêlos, and Krête, and as  $\phi$  has turned out to be of Asianic origin, it seems probable that the others will do so too. One of them,  $\text{Υ}$  or  $\text{Υ}$  is of frequent occurrence in the Karian texts. It is also met with in Lykian, where it has the value of *kh*. It has the same value in the alphabets of Eubœa, the Khalkidic colonies, Bœôtia, Phôkis, and Lokris, Thessaly, Lakônia, Arkadia, Elis, and the Akhæan colonies. On the other hand, it represents *ps* in the alphabets of Ionia, Megara, Selinus, and probably Korinth. The value in Phrygian is unfortunately unknown, but is probably *ps*. In the alphabets in which  $\text{Υ}$  is *ps*,  $\text{X}$  or  $\text{+}$  is *kh*, and  $\text{Ξ}$  is *x*; where, on the contrary, it is *kh*,  $\text{X}$  is *x*. In Pamphylian, however, *x* is  $\text{Σ}$ , while  $\text{+}$  is *kh*, and  $\text{Υ}$  does not exist.

It is commonly accepted by palæographers that the representation of *ps* by a single symbol was a late invention, and that  $\text{Υ}$  with the value of *ps* was the last new letter

<sup>1</sup> The form  $\text{Φ}$  actually occurs in the Bœotian alphabet. Comp. also at Abydos IV, 8.

<sup>2</sup> "The Alphabet," II, p. 116.

to be added to the Greek alphabet. With this agrees the fact that it has the value of *kh* in Lykian, which, as we have seen, represents the Greek alphabet in an early stage of development. Now in Lykian  $\text{⊕}$  has the value of a strong aspirate, *h*, as Schmidt has made clear. This implies that like  $\text{Ϛ}$  it once represented a sound closely allied to *kh* (or *hh*). In Lykian it was adopted to denote the aspirate, being thus clearly distinguished from  $\text{Ϛ}$  *kh*; in the Greek alphabets, on the other hand, which had no strong aspirate to express, it continued to express the value of *kh*. The result of this was twofold. In some cases  $\text{Ϛ}$  changed its value, and became the symbol of the double consonant *ps*; in others it was  $\text{⊕}$  that changed and became the symbol of the double consonant *ks*. How it came to do so is not difficult to understand. In Lykian the sound of *x* or *ks* is rendered by *kh + s*, and *kh + zz*, not by *k* or *g*; while in a Naxian inscription (Roehl, 407) *x* is represented by *h + s*. It is quite in accordance with the history of writing that a compound sound should come to be denoted by its first element. Why the character was made to represent *p + s* is not so easy to explain. Probably it was confused with  $\text{ϕ}$  in one of its earlier forms, and as *p + s* would be written *ph + s* (like *kh + s* for *k + s*), the initial element was employed for the whole.

The conclusion to be drawn from these foregoing somewhat complicated facts is this. In the Greek alphabet both  $\text{Ϛ}$  and  $\text{Ϙ}$  once represented *kh*, but were subsequently differentiated,  $\text{Ϛ}$  remaining *kh* and  $\text{Ϙ}$  becoming the symbol of *k(s)*, or *h* in Lykian, in one branch, while  $\text{Ϙ}$  remained *kh*, and  $\text{Ϛ}$  took the value of *ps* in another branch. It seems probable, moreover, that the use of  $\text{Ϙ}$  to denote *ks* was subsequent to the development of the Lykian alphabet, where  $\text{⊕}$  *h* is distinguished from  $\text{Ϙ}$  (Kypriote  $\text{Ϙ}$ ) *a(n)*.

Now comes the question: to which branch are we to assign the Karian alphabet? What are the values of  $\text{Ϛ}$  and  $\text{Ϙ}$  or  $\text{Ϙ}$  in Karian? Are they *ps* and *kh*, or *kh* and *x ξ (h)*? On the one hand we find no *ps* in Karian proper names, while the close agreement of the Karian and Lykian

alphabet makes it difficult for us to separate them from one another. On the other hand there is an almost equally close agreement between the alphabets of Karia and old Korinth, while *x* is absent in Karian proper names, and the first word of one of the Abu-Simbel inscriptions (No. I, 7), if read Ps-a-th-kh-e-kh would bear a remarkable resemblance to the Egyptian Psamtik, the Greek Psammetikhos, when we remember that the Karian alphabet does not seem to possess a symbol for *t*, and that a nasal before a consonant (more especially a dental) is not written in Pamphylian, Lykian, and Kypriote. On the whole, however, I find it difficult to resist the force of the general agreement between the Karian and Lykian alphabets, and since neither *ps* nor *x* are found in Karian proper names, I assign to **Υ** and **Χ** the values of *kh* and *h*. The position in which **Χ** is sometimes found (*e.g.*, No. II, 2) shows that it cannot represent *x*, while a comparison between IV, 16, and IV, 18, goes to show that as in Lykian it had the value of *h*. The *h* was no doubt a much stronger one than that heard at any time in Greek.

Dr. Isaac Taylor has endeavoured to trace the Lykian **+** to the Kypriote **ϫ** *ku*, though it bears a closer resemblance to the Kypriote *ko* (**ϫ** at Paphos and on coins). Whether or not this is correct, it is clear that **Υ**, which also appears at Abydos and Abu-Simbel as **Υ**, is the Kypriote *khe* (*kh* at the end of words), which has the form **Υ** at Paphos, Soli, and Khytri, **ϣ** on coins and at Kition, and **ϣ** and **ϣ** at Golgi. I have found **Χ** in a Kypriote *graffito* at Abydos, where it seems to represent a numeral, but its phonetic value is at present unknown.

The resemblance of the Kypriote character which denotes *khe* to that which denotes *se* (**ϣ** and **Υ**) may have influenced the selection of **Υ** to represent *ps*.

The Kypriote **ϣ**, however, is not the parent of the Greek, Lykian, and Karian **Υ**, as Dr. Deecke and myself have supposed. The Kypriote character is represented by another letter in Karian which appears as **⏏**, **⏏** and **⏏** at Abydos, and **⏏** at Memphis. It is the **⏏** *ss* of the coins of Mesymbria in Thrake (5th to 2nd century B.C.), the **⏏** of the Pamphylian coins of Pergê and Aspendos, and, as pointed

'out by Ramsay, the  $\sigma$  ( $\Gamma$ ) of the Greek inscription of Lygdamis published by Professor Newton, were it occurs in the two Karian names *'Θοσσάσσιος* and *Παννάσσιος*. As Dr. Taylor has observed, the Mesymbrian  $\Gamma$  is plainly the Greek *sampi*, which is  $\Omega$  in a MS. of the 2nd century B.C., and was added at the end of the Greek alphabet in order to denote the numeral 900. The Karian *ss* and *s* interchange in several *graffiti* (e.g., I, 3, and IV, 1; IV, 2, and IV, 3).

But the Karian forms of the letter found at Abydos further throw light on the origin of the Greek  $\xi$ , which takes the place of the Phœnician *samech* in the order of the alphabet, and appears as  $\Pi$  in an abecedarium discovered at Formello near Veii, and as  $\mathbb{H}$  at Argos. It is clearly due to a confusion between the Phœnician *samech*  $\mathbb{E}$  and the Asianic  $\mathbb{H}$  *ss*.<sup>1</sup>

Now that the value of  $\Pi$  has been settled as *ss*, it only remains to examine five more Karian letters which do not

<sup>1</sup> The problem presented by the Greek sibilants is still unsolved. From the Phrygian and Kappadokian alphabets we learn that the primitive Ionic alphabet possessed two symbols, each of which had the same value of *s*. These symbols were  $\xi$  or  $\zeta$ , and  $\chi$  or  $\psi$ , which appear at Abu-Simbel as  $\xi$  and  $\chi$  or  $\psi$ . Both forms, according to Hérodotos, were called *sigma*, i.e., *samech*. On the other hand *s* was called *san*, i.e., *shin*, by the Dorians, a name which seems to have come to them through the Ionic dialect, where it would have been *sén*, since in no other way can we explain the change of original *é* into *é*. The Doric forms of *san* are  $\mathbb{M}$  and  $\Sigma$ , the latter not occurring in the earlier inscriptions. These are the only forms met with in Théra, Mélos, and Krête. With the help of the Italian abecedaria, Dr. Taylor has traced  $\mathbb{M}$  to the Semitic *tsaddé*, but the origin of the Ionic form remains a mystery. I can only suggest that  $\xi$ , also written  $\zeta$ , developed out of  $\mathbb{E}$ , just as the Sidonian and Jewish  $\zeta$  developed out of  $\mathbb{E}$ , and as the later Greek cursive  $\xi$  developed out of  $\Sigma$ , while  $\chi$  is an abbreviated form of  $\Sigma$  ( $\Sigma$ ). The latter character could never have come into existence in those alphabets which like the Thærean, Kretan, and Corinthian, preserved the old Phœnician *yod* (*i*) under exactly the same shape. When the Ionian *i* became I,  $\Sigma$  could be modified into Z. If  $\xi$  was originally  $\mathbb{E}$  or *samech*, we should have an explanation of the fact that *sigma* in Ionic took the place of *san*, for which it was used. *Samech* must have been preserved in the alphabets of Théra, Mélos, and Krête as a numeral, but was not needed as a letter, as the Greeks had but one *s*. *Samech*, however, is found in a late Melian inscription, but used with the later value of *x*. *Tsaddé*,  $\mathbb{M}$ , and *shin*, W, must have been confused together at the time the Phœnician alphabet was borrowed by the Greeks, and as there was no sound in Greek corresponding to the Semitic *tsaddé*,  $\mathbb{M}$  became the recognized symbol for *s*.

belong to the Phoeniko-Greek system. About the first of these,  $\text{⋈}$ , there can be little question; it is the Kypriote (or Asianic) *re*. The character  $\text{⋉}$ , again, occurs in Lykian, where Schmidt assigns to it the value of *th*. As we have the ordinary Greek symbol for *th* in Karian, we may give to  $\text{⋉}$  the value of *dh*. A character of rare occurrence is  $\text{⊖}$ , to the value of which I have no clue, and which seems to be a vowel. Another character of rare occurrence is  $\text{⊗}$ , which resembles in shape the Kypriote *le*. As the Karian retains the Asianic *re*, it may also have preserved the Asianic *le*. In Pamphylian the character has the value of  $\xi$ , in Keltiberian of *go*, in Korinthian it is one of the forms of  $\epsilon$ , and it is found in a Lakonian inscription (Röhl, 56) with an unknown power, which may be either  $\xi$  or  $\chi$ . Another Karian character of rare use is  $\text{⤴}$ , which may be the Lykian  $\text{⤴}$ , *é*, or the Kypriote  $\text{⤴}$ , *ti*. A comparison of I, 5, and IV, 6, however, goes to show that it is a vowel, probably *i*, as it follows *ā*. The Lykian character has been traced by Dr. Taylor to the Asianic  $\text{⋈}$ , *a*. It must, however, be remembered that in Phrygian  $\text{⤴}$  is *w*, and in Karian also it may be only another form of  $\text{⤴}$ . The character is also found on the Pamphylian coins of Sidê.

It is doubtful whether  $\text{⤵}$  (No. IV 26) is a variant form of  $\text{⋉}$ , or whether it ought to be compared with the Kypriote  $\text{⤵}$  *no*. In Nos. IV, 33, 34,  $\text{⤶}$  appears to be a variant of  $\text{⤴}$  *f*, but elsewhere (I, 3, II, 3) it is the Greek  $\epsilon$ . As I have already noticed,  $\text{⤷}$  or  $\text{⤸}$  may be a variant of  $\text{⤷}$ . In this case  $\text{⤷}$  (No. IV, 36) will be  $\text{⤷}$ .

In what we may term the Kaunian text of Kryassos we find three additional letters, two of which are not known to the Karian alphabet of Egypt. One of these is  $\text{⤹}$ , *vu*, also met with at Abydos (IV, 24, 25, VI, 1), and in Pamphylian, which is borrowed from the Asianic character of the same form and value. The other is  $\text{⤺}$ , which is merely an open form of  $\text{⤺}$ , though it resembles the Karian *ū* of VI, 2. The third is  $\text{⤻}$ , which has a curious resemblance to the Ionic *omega*, but is really the  $\text{⤻}$  or  $\text{⤻}$  of the Pamphylian coins of Sidê. It is possibly the Kypriote *ko*.

The Karian alphabet offers several peculiarities. While on the one hand it possesses a great number of different vocalic symbols, it yet has no character representing *i*, unless this be  $\uparrow$ . For *m*, again, it has to use *mi*, which indifferently represents both *mi* or *me* and *m*. A comparison of the inscriptions, moreover, will show that the other labials also, *r* and *l*, besides *n*, can be sounded with an inherent short vowel. Thus the same name is written *Me-s-n-b-â* at Memphis, and *M(i)-e-s-n-a-b-ai* at Abu-Simbel. Like Greek and Lykian the Karian alphabet contains aspirated letters. But the strangest thing about it is the general absence of a symbol for *t*. We find the Greek symbol for *th*, and we find also the Lykian symbol for *th*. I have sometimes fancied that this might have represented *t*. But I have been forced to abandon this opinion for two reasons: (1) there was no ground for not adopting the Phoeniko-Greek symbol for *t*, if such a sound actually existed in the language, and (2) the Phoeniko-Greek symbol is once met with (IV, 29). It is possible that  $\Theta$  was pronounced simply *t* as in Theræan; but since we find *Thêbê* by the side of *taba*, "a rock," while the Lydian name *Tylôn* is also written *Thylôn*, it is probable that *t* was generally aspirated.

The divisions between words are usually indicated in Karian by upright lines, points, or short lines above or below the letters. It is rare for these to be omitted as is done in the inscription of Kryassos. The analogy of Kypriote and Pamphylian would lead to the inference that a nasal might be omitted in writing in Karian, especially when followed by a dental.

The period when the Karians abandoned the Asianic syllabary and adopted their later alphabet can be determined only approximately. But the endeavour to do so throws light on the history of the Greek alphabet itself. We have seen that certain letters belonging to the latter,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$ , and *sampi*, which Kirchhoff was content to call non-Phœnician, and to which we may add  $\Theta$  or  $\text{B}$ , are of Asianic origin. They did not exist in the Phœnician alphabet when it was first handed on to the Greeks, but must have been borrowed subsequently by the latter from the nations of Asia Minor.

Hence the Greek alphabets, as we know them, must, with three exceptions, have been formed on the coast of Asia Minor. The three exceptions are the alphabets of Thêra, Mélos, and Krête. Now Thêra and Mélos were old Phœnician settlements, and the conviction has long been growing upon palæographers that certain of the Greek inscriptions of Thêra are the oldest yet discovered. At any rate, the alphabet of the earlier inscriptions of Thêra and Mélos so closely resembles that of the Moabite Stone, as to make it difficult not to believe that it was adopted by the Greeks about the time when the forms of the characters found on the stone were prevalent in Phœnician lands. If so, the Greek alphabet would have been borrowed from the Phœnicians in the 9th century B.C. From the Dorians of Thêra and Mélos it was carried to the Dorians of Krête, unless the latter had independently borrowed it from the Phœnicians in that island, as well as to the Greek settlements on the coast of Asia Minor. Here it adopted the four Asiatic characters which it found in use among the natives. The improved alphabet was possibly created in Rhodes, which was occupied by Dorian colonists.<sup>1</sup>

In Asia Minor the new alphabet divided into two branches, which for the sake of distinction we will term the Eubœan and Ionic. The parent-alphabet was carried into Eubœa and the Khalkidian colonies, and from thence to northern Greece and the Peloponnesos. It dropped  $\beta$ , and retained the value of *kh* for  $\Upsilon$ , but changed  $\times$  into *x*, though, like the Ionic, it

<sup>1</sup> The Phœnician alphabet had been adapted to Greek uses by modifying the values of some of the characters, by disusing certain of the sibilants, and by differentiating two coexistent forms of the *waw*, one of which was used to represent the digamma, while the other was relegated to the end of the alphabet, with the value of *u*. *Upsilon* could not have been borrowed from the Asiatic syllabary, (1) because it was already in use in Thêra and Krête from the earliest times, and (2) because in the Karian and Pamphylian alphabets *u* is distinguished both in form and in value from the Asiatic *vu*. As for the legend which made Thebes the disseminator of the alphabet, it was due to the tradition which made Thebes the seat of a Phœnician colony, and since it was known that the letters of the alphabet were derived from Kadmos, "the eastern," it was natural to connect them with the Kadmeians of Thebes. Dr. Schliemann's exhaustive excavations at Mykenæ, Tiryns, and Orkhomenos, have now proved—hard as it is to prove a negative—that the Greeks of the pre-historic period were unacquainted with any system of writing.





substituted **S** for **M**. The change of **X** into *x* involved the loss of *sampi* or *samech*. Before the migration of the alphabet to Eubœa, however, it had already been carried across the Ægean to Korinth, and had spread from thence among the Korinthian colonies. But whether it was the Ionic alphabet which was carried across, or the still undivided parent-alphabet of both Ionic and Eubœan, depends upon the discovery of **Y** in an early Korinthian or Korkyræan inscription with the value of *ps*. Hitherto this letter has been found only on a Korinthian vase from Campaia, and in one inscription from Korinth itself (Röhl, 20), where it may easily owe its existence to Ionic influence; while in two Korinthian inscriptions (Röhl, 98*a* and 36*a* Add.) it is represented by  $\phi\sigma$ . I am inclined to believe that the original Korinthian alphabet discarded the letter altogether as expressing the same sound as **X**.

For the same reason the Ionic alphabet used it to express *ps*, and rejected *san* (**M**), which was not needed by the side of *sigma*. Before the differentiation of **X** and **Y**, but after the rejection of *san*, the Ionic alphabet passed to Naxos, Paros, Siphnos, Keos, and Athens. Besides being imported into Phrygia and Kappadokia through Sinôpê, at a time when the *digamma* was still preserved in it, the Ionic alphabet passed to Selinus and other Greek colonies in the south of Sicily. Selinus was a colony of Megara which itself used the Ionic alphabet. The other colonies of Sicily, together with those of Italy, employed the Eubœan. When this was introduced into the West **H** still represented *h* and not yet *ê*, while the abecedaria of Formello and Cære show that the *san* as well as the *sigma* was still known. The same fact is also proved by the inscriptions of Phôkis and the Akhæan colonies. In these abecedaria *san* occupies the place of the Phœnician *tsadê*, and *sampi*—probably employed only with a numerical value—occupies that of *samech*. In form it is a compound of the Phœnician *samech* and the Asianic  $\sigma\sigma$ .

To sum up, the Greeks borrowed their alphabet from the Phœnicians in Thêra and Mêlos, probably in the 9th century B.C. It migrated from thence to the Greeks of Asia Minor,

and, perhaps in Rhodes, was enriched with the addition of four (or five) new letters. From Asia Minor it was then carried to Korinth, and probably subsequently to Euboea and the Khalkidic cities. In Asia Minor itself it branched off into two divisions, one Ionic and the other Doric, the latter being practically the same as the old parent-alphabet such as it was before its migration to Korinth. The Doric alphabet was superseded by the Ionic, at all events before the 5th century B.C., but it had previously been borrowed and modified, first by the Karians and then by the Lykians.

In what precedes I have assumed that it was the Greeks who enriched their alphabet with the spoils of the Asianic syllabary. But it is more probable that this was the work of the Karians. When we consider the large number of non-Phoenician letters possessed by the Karian, and the fact that in Karian probably, and in Lykian certainly, the two characters **X** and **Y** represent two distinct aspirated gutturals, *hh* and *kh*, it seems likely that the Karians had adopted the alphabet their Greek neighbours had brought from Thêra or Krête, retaining only those characters of their old syllabary which were needed to express sounds unrepresented in the new alphabet. The Greeks would in their turn have subsequently borrowed from the Karians the four letters *sampi*,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ , and  $\psi$ , as well as **B** by the side of **E**. Milêtos, it must be remembered, is still Karian in the Iliad (II, 868).

However this may be, I cannot leave the question of the alphabet without recurring to a curious fact which I noticed in my former Paper. The so-called Keltiberian alphabet of early Spain is strangely like that of Karia. The same remarkable forms occur in both, while others are found which throw light on Karian and Lykian letters. Thus **N** or **Π**, *i*, explains the Lykian **Ξ**, and **↑**, *vo*, is clearly the Kypriote *vo*, and possibly the Lykian (and Karian) *ê*. Can it be also the Phrygian *w*? In **Ω**, *ko*, we have the Kypriote *ko*, and the **Ω** of Pamphylian (and the inscription of Kryassos), while **†** or **Φ**, *z*, is evidently the Karian *ss*. In **Σ**, *go*, we may have the explanation of the Karian character of similar form, and **X**, *kh*,

supports Dr. Taylor's derivation of the Lykian  $\ddagger$ . In the Turdetanian branch of the Keltiberian alphabet *b* has the Korinthian form  $\mathcal{Z}$ , and *m*  $\mathfrak{M}$  is remarkably like the Karian *mi*. Unfortunately the decipherment of the Keltiberian alphabet is still open to question on several points; but so far as it has gone it has shown that some connection must exist between the ancient alphabets of Spain and those of south-western Asia Minor.

In my former Paper I suggested that the Karian alphabet had been carried by Ionian merchants to Tartessos in Spain, which had been first discovered by the Samians in B.C. 630 according to Hêrodotos (IV, 152), though he had previously asserted (I, 163) that the discovery was made a century later by the Phôkæans. The Keltiberian alphabet was not identical with the Karian, and I should therefore rather suppose now that an alphabet allied to the Karian—that of the Lydians perhaps—was introduced into Spain by sailors from Asia Minor who sailed in Ionian ships. We know that Ionian and Karian mercenaries were sent together to Egypt by Gyges of Lydia, and there is no reason why the Ionians should not have made other distant expeditions in similar company. Some of the characters in the Keltiberian alphabet have been made syllabic by a slight modification of form,  $\Delta$  *d*, for instance, being modified into  $\Delta$ , *du*, and it seems probable that these syllabic characters were suggested by the existence of syllabic characters like *mi* and *re* in the alphabet which was brought to them. The Karian inscriptions read usually from left to right, but occasionally from right to left.

I must now pass on to the little that can be said about the grammatical forms found in the Karian inscriptions. The nominative of nouns might end either in a vowel or in a consonant, though the vocalic ending seems to be the more common.<sup>1</sup> The regular termination of the genitive is *û* (or,

<sup>1</sup> The consonantal ending is probably due to the loss of a final vowel. Thus the full form of *Thovl* (III), *Thovlo*, reappears in the genitive *Thovlo-û* (IV, 7), and the nominative *Meunaidh* (IV, 7) becomes *Meunaido-v-û* in the genitive (IV, 13). So by the side of the nominative *Ávnose* and *Ávnos* we have the genitive *Ávnose-û* (IV, 18).

after a preceding *ü, w*): e.g., *Evavseü* or *Avavssaü*, *Madsü*, *Miguleü*, *Thwloü*, *Hekhuüü*, *Aigethü*. As in Greek this genitive might follow another proper name in the sense of "son of"; thus we have *Mizaä Madsü*, "Mizaä son of Madis," *Evnos Uäkhüü*, or *Evnos Uäkhüä*, and *Ävnose Ekhuüü* as well as *Hekhuä Ävnose*, where the final *-ü* of *Ävnose-ü* has been dropped. That the genitive could precede as well as follow its governing noun is clear from such examples as *Ravmäu Müür* (IV, 35), *Äavaiäthü Umä*, "Umä son of Ä." (II, 2), as well as *Hyllou-ala* and *Ala-banda* by the side of *Soua-gela*.

In place of the simple construction *Mizaä Madsü*, "Mizaä son of Madis," we sometimes find the word *ra* inserted before the name of the father. It therefore must denote "son." Thus we have *Lereüdänsa ra Lávöz ra Aigethü*, and *Mesnabäi ra Sskhá* at Abu-Simbel by the side of *Mesnabä Sskhá-eü-ü* at Memphis. It will be noticed that after *ra* the usual genitival suffix might be omitted.

Perhaps we may see a dative in *slmodo* (II, 3), which may be the Karian name of the Egyptian Apis. Other datives seem to be *Üzákhoe* (VI, 2) and *Yülávuhssoi* (VI, 1). We probably have accusatives in *safa* (II, 4), *khá* (I, 7), and *kha* (II, 4).

In I, 7 we find a termination *-án* which appears to denote a gentilic adjective, *Lairán* and *Naithupán* meaning respectively "of Laira" and "of Naithupa." Possibly Laira is the Greek Leros.

Another adjectival termination, which is not infrequent, is *-he*. This probably is tribal in signification, but it seems also to denote any class to which a person belongs, since in the bilingual inscription (II, 3) *avnokh-he* appears to correspond to the word "dragoman" in the Egyptian text. In II, 1, *Mavnäüw-h(e)* and *Ovuz-he* are coupled together by the word *aid*, which may therefore be the copulative conjunction. *Mavnäüw* may be compared with the Karian tribal name *Mavnvü-της*. We also find *Sraaiü-he* or *Sraaiw-he* (I, 5), *Esov\*-he* (III), and *khuozü-he* (II, 2). The termination is not found in the *graffiti* of Abydos.

It will be seen from the examples just quoted that the adjective followed its substantive.

As Professor Newton has pointed out, Karian numerals appear in the Greek inscription of Budrum (Halikarnassos), where the form  $\text{8}$  takes the place probably of  $\text{X}$ . Professor Newton gives the following list of them<sup>1</sup> :—

A	B	E	KA	NE	$\text{8}$
A□	B□	E□	KΔI	ψ	$\text{8A}$
AIII	B□I	EIII	KHΞ	□	$\text{8B}$
AIIII	BI	(HΔI?)	Λ	□I=	$\text{8C□III}$
AIIII	Δ		ΛΛ□	□II	
AIIIIΞ	ΔI=C	IZ□	ΛA : IIIII=	□III-	£
			ΛIIII	IIII : Ξ	£□IIII=

Perpendicular lines evidently denoted the numerals from 1 to 5; □ seems to have represented 6; and the horizontal lines probably express fractions, though it must be remembered that in Lykian II— is 12. Professor Newton suggests that □ may be the half of □; but it may be also a form of *g*, though we have this in its ordinary form after the fraction (?) in ΔI=C. Perhaps A is 10 (or 20), and B 20 (or 30). I question whether we should not read KHΞ instead of KHΞ.

It is possible that *no* or *nū* in I, 7 is a demonstrative pronoun.

In I, 7, it is highly probable that *mesaira-ekethon* is the third person plural of a verb, and it is also probable that a word which ends in *-eth* in II, 4, is the third person singular. Apparently these are the only two verbal forms which occur in the inscriptions; but compare No. III.

As I have noticed above, *aid* (II. 1) seems to be the copulative conjunction.

<sup>1</sup> "Essays on Art and Archæology," pp. 438-9.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS EXPLAINED.

The Abu-Simbel inscriptions are taken from Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, XII, 98, 99, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 3, 2, 1), corrected by my own copies and the photograph in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (I, 2, XX).

I, 1. Me-e-s-n-a-b-ai r-a Ss-kh-â ss-ai-kh-s-η-s-o-s, "Mesnabai the son of Skhâ . . ." We have the funereal record of this mercenary in No. II, 4, where his name is written Me-s-n-b-â Ss-kh-â. The form of the second letter is due to my copy: that it must be *e* and not *o* is plain both from its form and from its unlikeness to *o* in the last word of the inscription. No. II, 4 shows that after *kh* we must restore |□. The combination *kh-s* is a proof that a single symbol for *x* was unknown to the Karians. With the name Mesnabai compare *Μέσανδρος*, the name of a Karian on a coin (Miounet, VI, 539), as well as the name of the town *Μέσσαβα*. Compare also Meseve or Messeve (I, 3, IV, 1) and Mesnaür (I, 7). *Ra* must mean "son," as pointed out above (p. 142), and may be the same as 'Αρ, which occurs at the beginning of so many Karian names at Budrum.

I, 2. A-na-go (?) -r-e, "Anagore" (?) If this reading is right, we may regard the name as the Greek 'Ανάγορος.

I, 3. Me-ss-ě-v-e h-r Re-â . . s (?) r-h-r-u-s, "Messève . . ." The *r* here seems intended for *a*, and I should be inclined to read the whole *graffito* "Messève Harea . . s aheus." But the latter part of it is very faint and difficult of decipherment in the original. The name is shown to be Messève by IV, 1, where it is written *M-e-s-e-v-e*, which, by the way, settles the values of **⊕** and **⊕**. See the next *graffito*. For the termination *-eve* we may compare *Καυήσιον*, "belonging to a dog" (above), and *Μέσσαβα*.

I, 4. Me-s-n-a-(b-ai). This is the name we have had in No. 1. The *a* here is written like *r*, which goes to show that the reading proposed for the last *graffito* is probably correct.

I, 5. Mi-z-a-ä-i (?) S-r-a-ai-ü-h-e, "Mizaäi the Sräiüan." Mizaäi is written *Mi-z-a-ä* in IV, 6, 9, and 10, from which we may infer that ↑ had, as in Lykian, a vocalic value. With Mizaä compare the Lykian name Mi(n)zo, and for the combination *sr* see the local name Σράνσος in the Budrum inscription. A photograph of the greater part of the *graffito* will be found in the "Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum," I, 2, Tab. XX.

I, 6. This inscription is too mutilated to be legible.

I, 7. Kh-a-dh-h-e-h L-ai-r-â-n A-go(?) -re-o-ai(?) -r  
 N-e-th-u-p-â-n M-e-s-n(?) -a-ü-r L-e-l-e-kh-<sup>ä</sup><sub>a</sub> n-<sup>o</sup><sub>ü</sub> } kh-â  
 me-e-s-ai-r-a e-k-e-th-o-n, "Khadhheh the Lerian (?), Agoresair (?) the Nethupân, (and) Mesnaür the Lelegian, have written this inscription (?)." The parallelism between the terminations of Lairân and Nethupân seems to imply that they are both gentile adjectives, and Lairân irresistibly reminds us of the island of Leros. Lelekhü appears to be certainly "Lelegian." In Lykian we find √ corresponding to a Greek γ in the name of Harpagos. The Leleges were an old Karian population (Il. X, 429, XXI, 86-7), whom Hêrodotos (I, 171) identified with the Karians themselves (see Paus. VII, 2, 8). Milêtos accordingly was called "Lelegian" (Steph. Byz. s. v. *Μίλητος*), and the Karian city of Ninoê, "the city of the Lelegians" (Steph. Byz.). We find *kha* in II, 4, and the sense seems to require a word like "inscription." *Mesaira-ekethon*, which is probably a compound word, must be a verb. The obliterated letters underneath the inscription belong to another *graffito*, since they do not begin at the same place as the name of Khadhheh. For Mesnaür, see IV, 28.

II, 1.—*On a stèle from Memphis, obtained by Sir Charles Nicholson (copied from a squeeze).*

For the sake of convenience I have copied the inscription from the under surface of the squeeze. It ought to be read, however, in the inverse direction, from left to right. Ä-v-e-th-o M-a-v-n-a-ü-w-h. (e) ai-d O-v-u-z-h-e, "Avetho the Maunaüwian and Ovuzian." *Mavnaüw* reminds us of the tribe

of *Maúvνιται* at Olymos. It is difficult to see what meaning *aíd* can have except that of "and," since it couples two adjectives in *-he* together, and is divided from the second of them by only one point instead of two.

II, 2.—*On a stélé from Memphis, now in the Búlak Museum (copied from the original and a squeeze).*

Ā-â-v-ai-â(?) -dh-ü U-m-a Kh-u-o-z-ü-h-e? s-a-v-n. v-o-z-h-e-ä, "Āâvaiâdhüs son Umâ the Khuozüian . . ." The termination in *-ü* so usually marks the genitive case, that I think the first word, and not the second, here represents the name of the father. It may be a variant form of the name "Āvetho" in the preceding inscription. With the termination of *Khuoz* we may compare *Lâvoz* (IV, 22), and *Uvoz* (IV, 37). If what I have marked with a query is not a letter, the following word, *savn*, may be the same as *sava* or *savd*, "a tomb," in II, 4. Compare the name of the tribe *Σοαυεῖς* at Olymos. It may, however, be a misshapen â, like the second *â* in the first word of the inscription. The point between *n* and *v* seems to be merely a flaw in the stone.

II, 3.—*Bilingual inscription on the base of a bronze bull from Memphis, now in the Búlak Museum (copied from the original).*

M-a-v-a-â-e-n a-v-n-o-kh-h-e; M-a-v-ê-â-e-n S-l-m-o-d-o, "Mavaâen the dragoman; Mavêâen to Apis(?)" Such seems from the hieroglyphic text to be the interpretation of the words. As in the case of other foreigners in Egypt, this particular dragoman bore two names, a Karian one *Mavaâen* and an Egyptian one *Prâm*. *Μόηννος* is a Karian name at Budrum. *Słmodo* would be the Karian equivalent of the god *Hapi* or *Apis*. Comp. VII.

II, 4.—*On a stélé now in the Lausanne Museum (copied from a cast).*

Me-s-n-b-a-i Ss-kh-â-e-ä-ü u-e kh-a v-e-<sup>a</sup><sub>d</sub> }-\*  
 \* -u-ko (?) -z-e-th s-a-v-<sup>a</sup><sub>d</sub> } "Mesn(a)bai the son of Sakhâ, this inscription making, has built the tomb (?)" For





Mesnabai the son of Sskhâ; see above, I, 1. As *ra* is not inserted here, the father's name is provided with the usual genitival ending *û*, connected with the final vowel of Sskhâ by the vowels *ea*. The adventitious nature of this suffix seems to be indicated by the space between it and the name to which it is affixed. It is clear that in this inscription  $\Delta$  must denote *a* and not *d*, at all events after *kh*, and I should identify the word *kha* with the *khâ* of I, 7. The last word but one is probably a verb in the third person, since *sava* seems almost certainly to be *σοῦα*, "a tomb." Cf. *savn-vozheâ* in II, 2. Ought we to read here *vu-u-ô-z-e-th*?

III.—From a copy of *M. Fr. Lenormant*.

Th-o-v-l E-so-v-*\**-he W-u-go(?)*-z-e-ü*, "Thovl the Esovian, the son of Wugo(?)ze(?)." Thovl would probably have been written  $\Theta\acute{\omega}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\Theta\acute{\omega}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  in Greek; at all events it affords an example of the termination  $\lambda\text{-}(\omicron\varsigma)$ . Thylon or Tylon was the name of a Lydian according to Pliny, N. H. XXV, 5. The same name is found at Abydos (IV, 7).<sup>1</sup>

IV, 1.—From *Seti's temple, right side of the Couloir des Rois*.

M-e-s-e-v-e, "Meseve." See I, 1.

IV, 2.—*Couloir des Rois, right side*.

M-a-kh-â-ss Ä-v-a-v-ss-a-ü, "Makhas son of Avavssa." Makhas seems to be the Greek name *Μάκης*, or possibly *Μάγας*. It is written M-ä-kh-â(?)*-ss* in the next inscription, where *Ävavssaü* is written E-v-a-v-s-e-ü. The latter name may represent *Ἰασσός*.

IV, 3.—*Couloir des Rois, right side*.

M-ä-kh-â(?)*-ss* E-v-a-v-s-e-ü. See preceding inscription. The second name in this *graffito* was copied by Lenormant.

<sup>1</sup> I suspect that the last word is miscopied for the verbal *vu (?) -u-go (?) -z-e-th* of the preceding inscription. If so, the translation would run "Thovl (o) the Esovian made (this)." Esov may be either Assos or  $\Lambda\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ . In the latter case Thovlo would have come from the Kayster.

IV, 4.—*Couloir des Rois, right side.*

R-a (?) -s . . . . u . . . . a (?) -v-u-e . . . . ä (?) . . . . ü. A comparison with IV, 24, seems to show that the second character is meant for *a*.

IV, 5.—*Couloir des Rois, right side.*

E-r-v-ü-o-z Ai-v-s-l-â Me-g-u-l-e-ü, "Ervüoz Aivslâ the son of Migule." The second character may be intended for *a*, though *r* seems more probable. Compare the name Ἀρύασσις at Budrun, as well as Lâwoz (IV, 22), Uwoz (IV, 37), and Khuoz (II, 2). Megule may be the Greek name Μέγυλλος or perhaps Μίκυλος.

IV, 6.—*Couloir des Rois, left side.*

Mi-z-a-ä M-a-d-s-ü, "Mizaä son of Madsü." See IV, 9, and IV, 10. The name Mizaä occurs at Abu-Simbel (No. I, 5).

IV, 7.—*Couloir des Rois, left side.*

M-e-u-n-ai-dh Th-u-v-l-o-ü, "Meunaidh son of Thuvlo." The fourth letter of the first name looks like *l* in the *graffito*, but No. IV, 13, shows that it must be *n*. Thuvlo is evidently the Thovl of Zagazig (No. III).

IV, 8.—*Couloir des Rois, left side.*

. . . l-e-ä.

IV, 9.—*On the Pylon.*

Mi-z-a-ä M-a-d-s-ü. See No. IV, 6.

IV, 10.—*Chapel of Meneptah I.*

Mi-z-a-ä M-a-d-s-ü. See No. IV, 6. Above the Greek inscription is written the Hellenised Egyptian name ΠΟΤΑΜΩ(N); there is no other *graffito* near. The face is drawn in the Greek style, with straight nose and distorted eye.


IV, 11.—*Chapel of Meneptah.*

U-kh-o-ve U-a-kh-ä-v-mi-g. The proper division of the names is made clear by No. IV, 20, which see. The second *u* may be *h*.

KARIAN INSCRIPTIONS PLATE II.

*Trans. Soc. Etbl. Arch., Vol. IX*

IV.  
Abydes

5. 𐌲𐌳𐌵)𐌳|𐌸𐌵𐌳𐌴𐌱|𐌴𐌺𐌲𐌴𐌳𐌴
6. 𐌲𐌳𐌵𐌳𐌴𐌱𐌴𐌺𐌲𐌴𐌳
7. 𐌵𐌲𐌵𐌴𐌳𐌴  
𐌲𐌲𐌴𐌴𐌴
8. \*𐌲  
𐌲𐌳𐌴\*
9. 𐌲𐌳𐌵𐌳𐌴𐌱𐌴𐌺𐌲𐌴𐌳
10.  𐌲𐌳𐌵𐌳𐌴𐌱𐌴𐌺𐌲𐌴𐌳
11. 𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴
12. \*𐌵𐌲𐌴𐌴𐌴
13. 𐌲𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴
14. 𐌲𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴
15. 𐌲𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴
16. 𐌲𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴
17. <sup>K P E S H 𐌲 𐌴</sup>  
𐌲𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴  
𐌴
18. 𐌲𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴
19. <sup>I 𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴</sup>𐌲 𐌴  
𐌲𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴  
𐌴
20. 𐌲𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴, 𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴
21. \*𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴\*
22. I 𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴
23. 𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴
24. 𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴
25. \*𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴𐌴



'*Ῥγασσός* was the name of a Karian city, and compare Nos. IV, 15, and IV, 16. Can *mig* = "I am"?

IV, 12.—*Chapel of Meneptah.*

A-l-v-th-h-(e?) "Alvthh(e)." The name is perhaps a compound of *ala*, "horse."

IV, 13.—*Great staircase adjoining the chapel of Meneptah, left side.*

M-e-u-n-ai-dh-o-v-ü, "Of Meunaidhov." See No. IV, 7. Before the suffix of the genitive -o(v) appears after the final consonant of the name as in *Thuvlöü* (IV, 7) by the side of *Thovl* (III).

IV, 14.—*On a line with the preceding.*

Kh-mi-v-o- $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{mi} \\ \text{s} \end{matrix} \right\}$ -kh-ü. "Of Khmivoskh," or "Khmivomikh." For the combination *kh-mi* compare No. IV, 38.

IV, 15.—*Below the preceding.*

M-a-\* E-kh-u(?)ä-ü, "Ma . . son of Ekhuä." The father's name appears to be the same as that found in the next inscription.

IV, 16.—*Staircase, left side.*

Ä-v-n-o-s-e E-kh-u-ä-ü, "Avnos, son of Ekhuä." For the father's name see the preceding inscription, as well as IV, 11. The names of Ävnos and his father are written four times at Abydos (Nos. 16, 17, 18, and 19), and an interchange of *e* and *ä* has taken place in them.

IV, 17.—*Staircase, right side.*

Ä-v-n-o-s U-ä-kh-u-ä-(ü). The writer has been uncertain whether to use *e* or *ä* in the first syllable of his name, so has written both. He has dropped the final *e* of his own name, and has made a curious attempt to combine *ä* and *ü* together at the end of his father's. I think the *u* at the beginning of the second name must be intended for *h*, as in No. IV, 18. Ä-o (?) above the *graffito* is the commencement of a name or word which is more fully written in IV, 19.

IV, 18.—*Staircase, right side.*

H-e-kh-u-ä A-v-n-o-s-e-ü, "Hekhua, son of Ävnos." Before the genitive suffix the final *e* of Ävnos(e) reappears. The initial *h* of the son's name is interesting (see IV, 17). The son of Ävnos bore the same name as his grandfather.

IV, 19.—*Above the staircase, right side.*

Ä-o(?) . . . a (?) . . . z  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Ä} \\ \text{E} \end{array} \right\} -v-n-o-s \text{ (H)-ä-kh-u-ä.}$

Nos. 17 and 18 show that the doubtful character is *h*. For the first word or name see No. 17. The genitival ending has been dropped in the father's name.

IV, 20.—*Staircase, right side.*

U-kh-ü-v-e U-a-kh-ä-v-mi-(g) u(?) -th. The character which follows *mi* is shown by No. IV, 11 to be *g*. *Uth* (?) seems, from its termination, to be a verb. In the first name *ü* replaces the *o* of IV, 11.

IV, 21.—*Staircase, right side.*

. . u-kh-ü-d-a-u. . A comparison of this name with Ukhüve makes me doubt whether any letter is lost at the beginning of it, while the upright line at the end seems to denote a full stop.

IV, 22.—*Staircase, left side.*

L-â-ü-o-z, "Lâwoz." With the termination of this name compare Uwoz (IV, 37), Ervüoz (IV, 5), and Khuoz (IV, 2). Lâwoz occurs again in IV, 32. Lêzûe is a name found in a Lykian inscription.

IV, 23.—*Staircase, left side.*

. . a-v-a-e-e. The last character may be intended for Θ.

## IV, 24.

R-a-v(u)-ü-ss-d-e-a-v-e \* kh. "Ravussdeave." The last character is a Phœnician *m*, the beginning of an unfinished Phœnician *graffito*, and the final *kh* seems to have nothing to

IV.  
Abydos.

- 26.  $\Theta \theta \tau \rho \rho \text{H} \Delta \nabla \theta \text{r} \Delta \text{H} \nu \rho \rho$
- 27.  $\rho \theta \nu \kappa \rho \Delta \text{I} \theta \tau \Delta$
- 28.  $\rho \theta \phi \rho \text{N} \text{M} \text{E} \rho$
- 29.  $19 \uparrow \text{Y} \circ \rho \text{E} \text{M} \text{I} \text{C} \text{E} \nu \text{M} \text{O} \text{T}$   
 $\Sigma \nu$
- 30.  $\text{T} \nu \times \theta \circ \rho \nu \rho$
- 31.  $\rho \theta \nu \rho \text{r}$
- 32.  $\Theta \theta \rho \text{D} \rho \text{A} \rho \text{: I} \circ \theta \theta \text{A} \text{: A} \rho \text{: A} \text{M} \nu \square \Delta \phi \text{A} \rho \text{A}$   
 $\text{M} \rho \text{M} \lambda \text{: A} \rho \text{I} \Delta \text{A}$
- 33.  $\square \text{E} \text{A} \text{X}$
- 34.  $\phi \theta \tau \text{A} \text{X}$
- 35.  $\rho \theta \nu \theta \Delta \text{I} \theta \rho \Delta \text{r} \Delta \rho$
- 36.  $(\text{A} \nabla \tau \nu \nu \nu \text{A})$
- 37.  $\Theta \theta \text{M} \theta \text{A} \nu \theta \theta \times \theta \text{N} \text{I} \text{O} \theta \nu$
- 38.  $\text{H} \nu \text{H} \rho \text{X} \Delta \text{H}$

V.....

$\text{E} \text{X} \text{III}$

VI.....



VII Skopi

Copy of von Hammer-Purgstall.

$\Theta \circ \Omega \circ \nu \text{M} \text{A} \theta \text{M}$   
 $\text{A} \nu \theta \Omega \circ \text{A} \nu \Gamma \text{F} \theta$   
 $\text{M} \Gamma \nu \nu \theta \theta \nu \circ \text{F}$   
 $\nu \circ \Gamma \theta \text{A} \nu \text{M}$

Copy of Forbes & Hoskyns.

$\Theta \circ \Omega \circ \nu \text{M} \text{A} \theta \theta$   
 $1 \Psi \theta \Omega \circ \text{A} \nu \Gamma \text{F} \theta$   
 $\text{M} \Gamma \nu \nu \theta \theta \nu \circ \text{F}$   
 $\Psi \circ \Gamma \theta \Delta \text{A} \text{N} \text{I}$



do with the name. For the *vu* see above, p. 136. In the next inscription *o* takes the place of *ū* (as in IV, 11 and 20), and *e* and *ā* interchange as usual. The initial *ra* appears to be the word "son"; cf. the Karian names at Budrum beginning with 'Aρ-.

IV, 25.—*At the head of the staircase.*

R-a-v(u)-o-ss-d-ä-a-v-e.. See the last inscription.

IV, 26.—*Staircase, left side.*

Ä-ä-u-l-a-dh(?) -e Â (?) -a-ss-ä-ai-v-e-ü, "Ääuladhe son of Âassäaive." The sixth letter is probably a variant form of *dh*, and the eighth letter of *ä*.

IV, 27.—*Staircase, right side.*

.. mi-v-e M-ä-kh-u-th<sup>o</sup> } -r. "... mive Mäkhuo(?)r."  
   ü }

Immediately above is a Greek *graffito* containing the name of **MENOKΛΕΣ ΑΜΑΧΕΤΑΟ**. The final letter of the second Karian name may be intended for *a*.

IV, 28.—*Staircase, right side.*

R(?) -e-s-n-ä-ü-o-r.., "R(?)esnäwor." If there is no other character at the end of the word, we should here have another name terminating in *r*. It is possible that we should read "Mesnäwor," as in I, 7.

IV, 29.

T-o-s-u-v-th S-v-ä-o-kh . . . . . u-go(?), "Tosuvth (son of) Sväokh." The last three characters of the first line belong to an alphabet which is quite unknown to me. With the first name compare *τουσούλοι*, "dwarfs," above (p. 119).

IV, 30.—*Outside the staircase.*

... e(?) -n-ä... o-e. ΤΥΧ(H) belongs to a Greek *graffito*.

IV, 31.—*On the 6th column of the façade.*

..... v... ä-kh-e-ä. Compare Hükhuä, IV, 1.

IV, 32.—*In the recess of the central shrine.*

L-e-re-ü-d-â-n-s-a r-a L-(â)-ü-o-z r-a Ai-g-e-th-ü  
 . . . . a-d-z-e-a l-s-e-s, "Lereüdânsa son of Lâwoz, son  
 of Aigeth . . . ." It is possible that the first letter of the last  
 word is intended for *a*; if so we should have *ases* or "Isis,"  
 Egyptian As(t). For Lâwoz see No. IV, 22. This *graffito*  
 was copied, but very imperfectly, by Lenormant.

IV, 33.—*Same place.*

H-a-e-ä, "Haeâ" I fancy that the scribe has made a  
 mistake here and written *ç* instead of *v*. In this case the  
 name would be the same as that in the next inscription.

IV, 34.—*Same place.*

H-a-v-ü. "Havu." I satisfied myself by repeated  
 inspection that there is no lost letter like an *e* between *v* and  
*ü*, but only an accidental flaw in the wall. The *v* has been  
 written twice by mistake. See the preceding inscription.

IV, 35.—*Temple of Ramses II; left wall of the entrance.*

R-a-v-m-ä-ü M-ü-u-r(?), "Ravmä's son Müur (?)."  
 Here the genitive apparently precedes the nominative.

IV, 36.—*Temple of Ramses II; left of the great court.*

N(?) - â(?) - kh-vu-v-ai(?) - l-g. The last letter, however,  
 may be merely the indication of a full stop. This *graffito* is  
 written in a variety of the Karian alphabet, possibly Lydian,  
 and the values of some of the characters are consequently  
 doubtful.

## IV, 37.

This inscription was copied by Lenormant, but I was  
 unable to find it. It has been either destroyed or covered  
 up.—U-ü-o-z N-e-h-ü-th-u-re-.-s-e-ü, "Uwoz the son  
 of Nehüthure . . se." For Uwoz see IV, 22. The missing  
 letter after *re* may be *ü*; see IV, 32.

IV, 38.—*Left of the inner court.*

Kh-mi-h-(e?) . . . , “Khmih . . .” No. IV, 14, makes it clear that the *graffito* must commence with *kh*. The last four characters seem to belong to another inscription.

V. The three characters here given are scratched on a piece of pottery found by Mr. Flinders Petrie at Tel en-Nebîreh, the site of Naukratis, a copy of which he has been kind enough to send me. They seem to read *ē-m-ū*, “of Emys,” though the last character may be a new one. Mys is the name of a Karian in Hdt. VIII, 135.

VI, 1.—*A scarabæoid in the possession of Mr. R. P. Greg.*

I (?)-ü-l-â-vu-h-ss-o-i(?), “Belonging to Yülâvuhssoi.” The termination is the same as in Mizaâi instead of Mizaâ at Abu Simbel (I, 5), and the parallelism with the next inscription shows that it must have been pronounced much like *e*.

The fifth letter must be *vu* rather than *n*. The direction in which the letters are to be read is shown by the final character, for which there was no room in its proper line. *H + ss* was probably pronounced *x*, like *kh + s*.

VI, 2.—*A bronze chaton of a ring in the British Museum.*

Û-z-â-kh-o-e, “Belonging to Ûzâkho.” Can this be the Karian form of Ὀσογῶα?

VII.—*On a rock tomb near the supposed ruins of Kryassos.*

The irregularity of the lines on the right shows that it must be read from left to right.

1. Th-o-ko(?) -o-v(u)-u-s re-th-s
2. a kh \* ko(?) o re ul v \*
3. s-l vu kh o \* â kh \* f
4. kh o f th l a vu s<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here is a comparative transliteration of the two copies :—

Purgstall :—  
 1. th o ko (?) o v u s re th s  
 2. a kh \* ko (?) o re ul f \*  
 3. s l vu kh o \* â (?) u o f  
 4. kh o l th l a vu s

Forbes :—  
 1. \* o ko (?) o n u s r e \* . .  
 2. . . kh \* ko (?) o r e ul f \*  
 3. s i n kh o \* d kh \* f  
 4. kh o f \* d a n s

In my transcription I have followed the copy which gives the fullest forms of the characters, except in the last line, where I have preferred Hammer-Purgstall's *l* to Forbes and Hoskyns' *d*. Purgstall's copy is evidently the most correct, and may be accepted without scruple in the first two lines. The word *sl* we have already met with in the (compound?) *sl-modo*, II, 3. The forms of the characters as a whole remind us of those found in No. IV, 36, but the character I have transcribed *ko* (?) does not occur in Karian, though we find it in the Pamphylian legends on the coins of Sidê. A coin now in the British Museum, and weighing 180 grains, which has probably come from either Pamphylia or Kilikia, bears the legend:  $\Upsilon\text{M}\Xi\text{I}\text{M}\Upsilon\text{C}$ . This reads apparently G-l-s I(n)-s-l, where the *i*(*n*) has the same form as the Lykian character with that value. A similar coin has been published by De Luynes ("Cypriote Coins," pl. II, 14), who erroneously assigns it to Temesa in Kypros. His copy of the legend is:  $\Upsilon\text{M}\Upsilon\text{I}\text{M}\text{I}\text{C}$ . Von Prokesch-Osten has also published a coin (in the *Numismat. Zft.*, 1870, p. 264) which has on the obverse the front half of a lion couchant, and on the reverse a crowned head of Apollo with the symbol  $\Upsilon$ <sup>1</sup> on one side and on the other the legend  $\Upsilon\text{M}\text{I}\Xi\text{M}\text{T}$ .

*A*, *b* and *c* are three *graffiti* in unknown characters which I copied at Abydos, the first two on the left wall, and the third on the right wall of the great staircase.

<sup>1</sup> The symbol, which is well known to numismatists, seems to be derived from one of the symbols held in the hands of the Hittite divinities at Boghaz Keui. The caduceus of the Greek Hermês has the same origin.

In the Pamphylian (?) legends the sides of the *s* should be sloped. M. Six believes it to be *m*. He informs me that there are three copies of the legend, one in the British Museum, one at Berlin, and one at Vienna, the last of which is probably the oldest. It is the one given by von Prokesch-Osten. The copy of De Luynes is incorrect.

In Bezenberger's *Beiträge*, x, pp. 147-202 (1885), Georg Meyer has an article on the Karians, in which he collects all the Karian geographical names that are known.