https://publications.dainst.org

iDAI.publications

ELEKTRONISCHE PUBLIKATIONEN DES
DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS

Dies ist ein digitaler Sonderdruck des Beitrags / This is a digital offprint of the article

Jean-Sébastien Balzat

Names in EPM- in Southern Asia Minor. A Contribution to the Cultural History of Ancient Lycia

aus / from

Chiron

Ausgabe / Issue **44 • 2014**
Seite / Page **253–284**
https://publications.dainst.org/journals/chiron/482/5090 • urn:nbn:de:0048-chiron-2014-44-p253-284-v5090.3

Verantwortliche Redaktion / Publishing editor
Redaktion Chiron | Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Amalienstr. 73 b, 80799 München
Weitere Informationen unter / For further information see **https://publications.dainst.org/journals/chiron**
ISSN der Online-Ausgabe / ISSN of the online edition **2510-5396**
Verlag / Publisher **Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin**

©2017 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0
Email: info@dainst.de / Web: dainst.org

Nutzungsbedingungen: Mit dem Herunterladen erkennen Sie die Nutzungsbedingungen (https://publications.dainst.org/terms-of-use) von iDAI.publications an. Die Nutzung der Inhalte ist ausschließlich privaten Nutzerinnen / Nutzern für den eigenen wissenschaftlichen und sonstigen privaten Gebrauch gestattet. Sämtliche Texte, Bilder und sonstige Inhalte in diesem Dokument unterliegen dem Schutz des Urheberrechts gemäß dem Urheberrechtsgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Inhalte können von Ihnen nur dann genutzt und vervielfältigt werden, wenn Ihnen dies im Einzelfall durch den Rechteinhaber oder die Schrankenregelungen des Urheberrechts gestattet ist. Jede Art der Nutzung zu gewerblichen Zwecken ist untersagt. Zu den Möglichkeiten einer Lizensierung von Nutzungsrechten wenden Sie sich bitte direkt an die verantwortlichen Herausgeberinnen/Herausgeber der entsprechenden Publikationsorgane oder an die Online-Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (info@dainst.de).

Terms of use: By downloading you accept the terms of use (https://publications.dainst.org/terms-of-use) of iDAI.publications. All materials including texts, articles, images and other content contained in this document are subject to the German copyright. The contents are for personal use only and may only be reproduced or made accessible to third parties if you have gained permission from the copyright owner. Any form of commercial use is expressly prohibited. When seeking the granting of licenses of use or permission to reproduce any kind of material please contact the responsible editors of the publications or contact the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (info@dainst.de).

JEAN-SÉBASTIEN BALZAT

Names in *EPM-* in Southern Asia Minor. A Contribution to the Cultural History of Ancient Lycia

A small series of freestanding reliefs known as the Lycian Twelve Gods reliefs has long attracted scholars' attention. These reliefs depict, in a rudimentary style, a row of twelve human figures, most often holding a spear; twelve accompanying dogs/wolves appear in a lower register. The dedications identify these twelve figures as the Δώδεκα Θεοί. A thirteenth divinity, usually in a separate panel, is depicted in the centre of the Twelve Gods, and a fourteenth takes his place between the twelve dogs (for an example see ill. 1). The first cluster of these reliefs (at least 6) was identified by the Austrian Expedition in the late 19th c. in Komba, a small city on the road connecting Central Lycia to the upland plateau of Elmalı (ancient Milyas).[1] L. Robert, who was particularly interested in the rich Anatolian tradition of votive reliefs, recorded 20 reliefs, complete or fragmentary, in 1983 in one of his last articles.[2] A decade later, B. Freyer-Schauenburg produced a comprehensive study of these reliefs, having found 49 examples. Their main interest is the light they shed on local Anatolian cult traditions, but repeated attempts to connect these twelve ‹Lycian› Gods with Hittite and Classical Lycian traditions have thus far remained unconvincing. Like most series of votive reliefs from this part of Anatolia, for example the Club-Wielding reliefs, the Twelve Gods reliefs are dated to the Roman imperial period, the majority probably belonging to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, a time when the epigraphic habit spread extensively, even in remote areas of inland Anatolia.[3] The Twelve Gods reliefs and their rudimentary style exemplify the pattern of rural cult traditions adopting the use of epigraphy and sculpture when these material expressions of cult practice reached social groups previously unaccustomed to them. The consequent poor quality of the script on these

My warmest thanks to R. W. C. Catling, T. Corsten, B. Millis, Ch. Schuler and A. V. Walser for their helpful comments on this paper, and K. Alachouzou and M. Sasanow for their assistance with the illustration and figures. Responsibility for any errors is mine alone.

[1] Petersen – von Luschan 1889, 157. For Komba, see Hellenkemper – Hild 2004, 651.

[2] Robert 1983, 587–93.

[3] For the Club-Wielding reliefs, see Delemen 1999, I.BurdurMus, 255–74 and Coulton, Balboura, 149.

tablets partly explains the difficulty scholars have regularly had in reading some of the dedicatory texts, and non-Greek Anatolian onomastics add an additional factor of complexity. The starting point of this contribution is the discussion of the dedicant's name of one of these reliefs (SEG XXXIII 1174), currently stored in the museum of Manisa (ancient Magnesia ad Sipylum), but said to be from Burdur (in ancient Pisidia).[4]

A. The dedicant's name: Ερμενδαδις

As was shown by Robert, the first editor of the relief discussed here, the monument was dedicated not only to the Twelve Gods, Artemis Κυνηγέτις and the anonymous father of the Twelve Gods, but also to Hermes.[5] In a rather maladroit way, the sculptor/stonecutter began the dedication with the name of the divinity Hermes, writing as close to the left edge of the stone as possible, underneath the figure of the first of the Twelve Gods, carved lower down than his 11 companions, then continuing the dedication higher up (see ill. 1). Erroneously reading the name of the dedicant as Ἑκάτων δίς in line 4, Robert could not make sense of the last line, which he read as Ἑρμῆ: «C'est pour moi une aporie».[6] In revising the text, G. Petzl showed that the dedicant was not Ἑκάτων δίς, since the letters –των of Ἑκάτων belong to the pronoun αὐτῶν of line 3.[7] He also showed that the last line is in fact part of the dedicant's name and proposed several reconstructions for this name: Ενδαδις or Ελδαδις son of Ερμ[- -], or even perhaps Ενδα δίς or Ελδα δίς son of Ερμ[- -].[8]

None of these names (Ενδαδις, Ελδαδις, Ενδα, Ελδα) is otherwise attested, and in fact there exists a superior solution that better fits with the irregular character of the monument. In her collection of the reliefs of the ‹Lycian› Twelve Gods, Freyer-Schauenburg pointed out the distinctive features of this relief in comparison to the others.[9] Clearly, in carving the relief, the sculptor followed the irregular contour of the stone and thus broke the conventional alignment of the two registers of gods and

[4] For the alleged location of the stone, see Robert 1983, 587 n. 2. This new reading has appeared in volume V.B of the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia (2013) and in the meantime has also been independently suggested by Schürr 2013, 214. The material for LGPN V.B was collected up to December 2012.

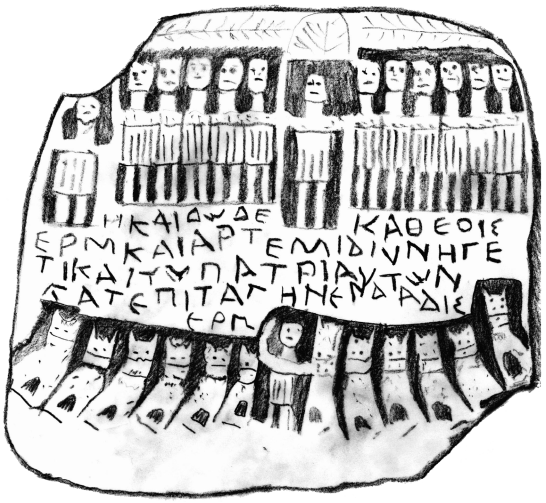
[5] Robert 1983, 587–93 (SEG XXXIII 1174; Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, 6–7, S7). The dedication to Hermes is no longer unique, since a relief of the Twelve Gods dedicated to Artemis Κυνηγέτις and Hermes has recently been published: Sayar 2004, 59–64 with English translation 65–8 (SEG LIV 1393). Unfortunately the reading cannot be verified on the photograph. The two reliefs have in common the dative form of the epithet Κυνηγέτι (see Robert 1983, 592 n. 17).

[6] Robert 1983, 593.

[7] Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, 6–7.

[8] See also Bull. Ép. 1995 no. 542 and Drew-Bear – Labarre 2004, 82 n. 7.

[9] Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, 31 and 70.



Ἑρμῇ καὶ δώδεκα θεοῖς
καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι ⟨Κ⟩υνηγέ-
τι καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν
κατ᾽ ἐπιταγὴν ΕΝΔΑΔΙΣ
ΕΡΜ̣ (?)

dogs/wolves: not only is the first god carved in a separate panel lower down than the rest of the gods but the figure of the last dog is also higher up than the other dogs. This relief is also unique in that the dedication and name of the dedicant occupy the central free space between the two registers, while other reliefs use the free space at the base for the dedicant's name. In this context, I suggest that the sculptor/stonecutter followed the same ascending path in inscribing the dedicant's name as he had done with the name of the divinity Hermes: he started the dedicant's name on line 5 and, coming to the head of the central divinity surrounded by the 12 dogs (see ill. 1), continued inscribing it on line 4 in the free space left above the six dogs on the right. Therefore, and as also suggested by Schürr, the dedicant's name is not to be understood as Ενδαδις son of Ερμ[- -], but is better read as the Anatolian name Ερμενδαδις.

The name Ερμενδαδις has been known since the CIG edition of an inscription of Limyra (CIG 4315f add. p. 1147): τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα κατεσκευάσατο Ερμενδαδις Τεδικτα ἑαυτῶι καὶ τῆι γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς τεκνοῖς. Subsequently, some uncertainty about the correct reading of the name has been voiced.[10] Ph. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington suggested that Ερμενδαδις should instead be read as Ερμενδα δίς (Ερμενδα son of Ερμενδα).[11] In his work on the Anatolian names attested in Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor, L. Zgusta did not rule out the sequence Ερμενδα δίς, since he accepted the possibility that Anatolian names ending in -a, like Ερμενδα, could be male as well as female.[12] However, this assumption should not be pressed in the case of Lycian names. A few names from 5th–4th c. BC bilingual Greek-Lycian inscriptions could perhaps be male names ending in -a, but their interpretation as

[10] This has not been discussed by Schürr 2013.

[11] LBW 1282.

[12] Zgusta, KP, § 355–34 and Zgusta, AP, 31–2.

such is far from certain. For example, the name Σπιγασα from a 5th–4th c. BC bilingual Greek-Lycian inscription is probably a male name given the occurrences of the same name in Lycian texts.[13] However, the interpretation of this one-word Greek inscription is not at all certain since Σπιγασα here could be the genitive case of Σπιγασας.[14] Moreover, since the equivalent male name Ερμα(ν)δας is attested elsewhere and Anatolian names ending in –(ν)δα are clearly more often female than male, *Ερμενδα would more likely be a female name, an impossibility in the inscription from Limyra.[15] Therefore, in his republication of the stone from Limyra (dated to the 3rd c. BC?) M. Wörrle was probably correct to prefer the sequence Ερμενδαδις to that of Ερμενδα δίς.[16] A variant spelling of the name, Ερμανδαδις, has recently appeared in an unpublished inscription from Rhodiapolis.[17]

B. Lycian or Milyan Twelve Gods?

Robert generally believed that all the ‹Lycian› Twelve Gods reliefs originated from a unique cult place at Komba, a city at the entrance to the Elmalı plain (Milyas) as approached from the coast of Lycia, and he assigned the relief discussed here to this city.[18] However, Freyer-Schauenburg has suggested on stylistic grounds that there were at least two different cult places and workshops.[19] A few reliefs lacking an exact provenance have subsequently come to light, and a study by Th. Drew-Bear and G. Labarre has reassessed this aspect of the cult.[20] Returning to Robert's view, Drew-Bear – Labarre strongly supported the assumption that Komba was the main cult place and workshop from where, in antiquity, the reliefs spread to the Milyas, across the plain of Elmalı, perhaps as far as Korkuteli and even Burdur, and

[13] TAM I 70 (bilingual); Zgusta, KP, § 1468–1. The name appears in two other Lycian inscriptions: TAM I 106 translated in Bryce 1986, 82 and TAM I 10 translated in Houwink ten Cate 1961, 89.

[14] For another possible example, see the male name Σαπια in a 4th c. BC bilingual inscription from Korydalla (SEG XXVI 1434), but note Zgusta 1970, 88. The gender and the nominative form of a few names attested in 4th c. BC inscriptions from Limyra are also uncertain: the nominative Εδα, which could be a female name (Wörrle 2012, no. 7), and the datives Ελμιδαναι and Μορναι (Wörrle 2012, no. 4 and the index p. 456).

[15] When no reference for attestations of personal names is provided in this article, the reader can find them in LGPN V.B.

[16] Wörrle 2012, no. 25. Cau 2005, 369 follows Wörrle's reading.

[17] İplikçioğlu 2011, 198.

[18] Robert 1983, 587.

[19] Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, 46–51. The relief Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, 9 no. S 11, found during the survey conducted by F. Kolb in the territory of Kyaneai, was a surface stray find, but in the context of a rural settlement, which was certainly the original context.

[20] New documents: two reliefs now in the Sadberk Hanım Museum (Istanbul): Sayar 2004, 59–64; an anepigraphic fragment of a relief in the Burdur Museum: I.BurdurMus, no. 47 and a relief in the Alp Sarı collection (Ankara): Drew-Bear – Labarre 2004, 81–101.

southwards towards the coast, in Central Lycia.[21] Despite these divergent views, both studies agree that two main areas of the cult, Komba and the Milyas on one hand, and Central Lycia (from Antiphellos to Finike) on the other, are presently recognisable.[22] The ease with which these free-standing reliefs can be transported and their popularity as collectable antiques in modern times may well account for the isolated examples outside these two areas in Burdur, Korkuteli, Levissi/Telmessos and Lindos.[23] Furthermore, their popularity in the antiquities trade may also cast doubt on the provenance of some of the reliefs assigned to coastal locations such as Antiphellos/Kaş and Megiste/Castellorizo and perhaps slightly alters the numeric preponderance of the examples found in Central Lycia.[24] The problem of the exact provenance for this kind of free-standing relief is not restricted to those dedicated to the ‹Lycian› Twelve Gods but also affects, for example, the Club-wielding Rider God reliefs, variously called Kakasbos, Heracles and Maseis. Kakasbos has been long associated with Lycia, based on a series stored at the museum of Fethiye, but it has become widely agreed that Kakasbos was in fact a Kabalian-Milyan divinity.[25]

Likewise, the traditional designation of the Twelve Gods as ‹Lycian› may in fact be a misnomer. The distribution of the Twelve Gods reliefs not only does not cover all Lycia – it is restricted to Central Lycia – but also extends beyond the area that can currently be defined culturally as Lycia. Lycia is the coastal area, cut off by a range of mountains from the plain of Elmalı and the plateau of Seki (ancient Milyas and Kabalis), which witnessed the development of the 5th–4th c. BC Lycian culture with its characteristic funerary monuments and Lycian inscriptions. Therefore the term ‹Lycian› is better and more accurately confined to the geographical area that extends roughly from the gulf of Fethiye with the Xanthos valley to the gulf of Finike, but should not be applied to the plain of Elmalı. What is designated as Lycian of course changes meaning over the long term.[26] As soon as Lycian culture became visible in the

[21] Drew-Bear – Labarre 2004, 84–6. For the rural character of the cult and its possible association with springs, see Schürr 2013, 215–8.

[22] Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, 48.

[23] Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, 47–8 and Drew-Bear – Labarre 2004, 85. Burdur: Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, 6–7 S 7 (but see below), I.BurdurMus, no. 46 (for which Horsley favours a Lycian origin) and no. 47; Korkuteli: Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, 20–1 C 3; Levissi/Telmessos: Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, 5–6 S 6; Lindos: Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, 21 C 4.

[24] On the commercial development of the port of Antiphellos in late 19th c. see Robert, Hellenica X, 213 n. 5. On 19th c. Castellorizo see Pappas 1994, 73–90.

[25] Delemen 1999, 36–7; Coulton, Balboura, 147 and 149–50, from which I take the designation Kabalian-Milyan divinity. This understanding of the origin of the Kakasbos reliefs explains the decision to exclude those assigned to Telmessos in TAM II (1) from LGPN V.B, which is restricted to Lycia. For a similar problem, see İplikçioğlu and Schuler 2011, 48 n. 53. Likewise, scepticism may also be warranted concerning the origin of a recently published dedication stored in the museum of Fethiye: Öztürk – Perk 2009, 103–6.

[26] Hall 1986, 148 and 151.

5th–4th c. BC, Lycian influences are apparent in the northern regions, as indicated by the diffusion of tombs and epigraphy in Lycian.[27] The recently published 2nd c. BC ‹convention› between the Lycians and Termessos-Oinoanda (Kabalis) has also been well contextualised in the conflicts between the Lycians and their northern neighbours for control of the mountains and the upland plateaux.[28] In the Late Hellenistic period, epigraphic evidence shows that the Lycian confederation extended over the Milyas and Kabalis, and Caesar's treaty with the Lycian confederation and the constitution of the Roman province of Lycia in AD 43 confirmed the Lycians' successful expansion at the expense of their northern neighbours.[29] Possibly the cult of the Twelve Gods rooted in the plain of Elmalı subsequently spread to Central Lycia, the only zone of the Lycian coast well connected with the Milyas through the passes at Neisa and Arykanda. Coulton's work rightly urged caution in defining something as ‹Lycian› and advocated recognising a distinction between Kabalian, Milyan and Lycian.[30] In the case of the Twelve Gods, serious consideration must be given to the possibility that they were not a heritage from Classical ‹Lycian› culture. What we have here is a rural cult tradition shared between Central Lycia and part of the Milyas and thus far only attested in the Roman period. Drew-Bear – Labarre thus rightly rejected the connections of the cult of the Twelve Gods with most of the Hittite and Lycian traditions previously proposed by scholars.[31]

C. Distribution of indigenous names derived from the Luwian divinity Arma

The new reading of the dedicant's name in SEG XXXIII 1174 gives a clear indication of the dedicant's origin. It is well known that in Greco-Roman Asia Minor onomastics allow scholars to recognise not only foreign influence (Persian, Thracian or Roman) but also pre-Greek local traditions such as Carian, Pisidian, Lycian, Cilician, etc. In our case, onomastics can be an important element in determining the original location of a stone, since museum epigraphic collections such as those in Manisa or in Burdur sometimes include stones brought from far afield, especially easily transportable objects like the relief discussed here, without records of their original findspots. The dedicant of the Twelve Gods relief under discussion here is certainly not from Lydia. Nor is he likely to have a Pisidian origin. G. H. R. Horsley, the editor of the inscriptions in the museum of Burdur, already cast doubt on the apparent origin of one relief

[27] For Lycian tombs in the Kibyratis, see Gay – Corsten 2006, 47–60 and Coulton, Balboura, 55–8.

[28] Rousset 2010.

[29] SEG LV 1452 (Caesar's treaty) and Şahin – Adak 2007. Kabalians and Milyans had taken an active part in the life of the Lycian confederation by the early 2nd c. AD. See the prosopography of the Lykiarchs in Reitzenstein 2011, nos. 4, 5, 13, 36, 39, 45.1, 56, 61, 80 and 83.

[30] Coulton, Balboura, 10. I purposely abandon the terminology ‹Northern Lycian› often used by modern scholars for the Kabalis and the Milyas.

[31] Drew-Bear – Labarre 2004, 86–97. See also Schürr 2013, 218–20.

of the Twelve Gods and a fragment of another stored there, mainly because most of the known Twelve Gods reliefs are from Central Lycia and the Milyas.[32] In our case too, there is no need to assume that the cult of the Twelve Gods was practised in Pisidia. The name Ερμενδαδις is part of the non-Greek Anatolian onomastic heritage and belongs to the category of names, frequently occurring in Greek inscriptions of southern Anatolia, that were inherited from the Hittite-Luwian onomastic traditions of the second millenium BC and are mainly recognisable in Lycian and Cilician onomastics of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[33] Ερμενδαδις and its variant Ερμανδαδις are names derived from the word ‹moon›, *arma*, in Hittite and Luwian.[34] For a few of the theophoric names built on the name of the Moon and attested in the Greek inscriptions, the Hittite ancestor is known. Thus the indigenous name Αρμαπιας/Ερμαπιας, widespread in Greek inscriptions in Lycia, has its Hittite equivalent in *arma-piyas*, literally meaning «gift of Arma».[35] Αρμο(υ)νανις, Αρμανανις, Ερμενηννις are equivalent to the Hittite *arma-nani*, literally «brother of Arma».[36] Examination of the distribution of the Arma derivatives in Greco-Roman epigraphy shows that they were popular in and around Lycia.[37]

---

[32] I.BurdurMus, no. 46–47.

[33] Houwink ten Cate 1961.

[34] For *arma* in Hittite, see Hittite Etymological Dictionary I, 151–5, Laroche 1966, 290 and Zehnder 2010, 78–9. For the Luwian divinity Arma, see Melchert 2003, 227–8. For the evidence in Lycian, Neumann 1979, 263–5 with Neumann 2007, 70. For the Greek material, see Houwink ten Cate 1961, 131–4 and Zgusta, AP, 119–34. The analysis of the name Ερμενδαδις by Houwink ten Cate 1961, 133 and 145 is problematic. His proposal that the name was composed of *arma* and *tati*, the latter element meaning ‹father› in Luwian, is possible, but the existence of a human name meaning ‹the father of a divinity› is questionable. A connection with the Hittite name Armadatta was also suggested by Laroche 1966, 40 no. 138, but there is no agreement on the Greco-Lycian equivalent of this name (Houwink ten Cate 1961, 133). Houwink ten Cate's reconstruction probably ought to be abandoned for another reason as well: *-tati* appears as the first element in compound names such as Τεδιαρσασις, Τεδικομαδις, Τεδιμονις, etc.; Ερμενδαδις would be the only attested name to have *-tati* as the second element (for the Lycian name *mlẽtederi* [TAM I 122] also taken by Houwink ten Cate as a compound name with *tati*, see now Neumann 2007, 220). For an alternative reconstruction, see the existence of an ‹Animativ-suffix› *-ant-* (Greek *-and-*, *-ad-*, *-ed-*) in Neumann 1979, 264 and Neumann 2007, 70 which would allow a reconstruction such as Ερμ-ανδ/Ερμ-ενδ-αδις.

[35] Laroche 1966, 290.

[36] Melchert 2013, 38.

[37] Laroche 1955, 24; Houwink ten Cate 1961, 201; Zgusta, AP, 119–34. Outside this zone, names derived from Arma are exceptional, and their connection with Arma is not always certain. In Lydia, there is a single 3rd c. BC occurrence of a name considered by Zgusta to be a name derived from Arma: Αρμανανδης in Sardis. For analysis of the Lydian *arm-ta*, see Gérard 2005, 88 n. 555. In LGPN V.A, the name Ἁρμάλος (or Ἀρμάλης) from Amisos (SEG XLII (1992) no. 1131) is Greek: Curbera 2013, 195–6. I leave aside the only name given by Zgusta from Phrygia, since the reading is uncertain (Ερμοῖπατου [gen.]: MAMA I 410). I also leave aside three cases from Roman Samos, (2 Ερμανδειμις and 1 Ερμανδας: IG XII.6 [1], 313; 373; 829) since these names are foreign to Samos and probably illustrate elite mobility during the Late Hellen-

In Caria, the Arma element has been preserved in only three occurrences of the name Ερμαπις, dated to the Classical and Hellenistic period (5th c. to mid 2nd c. BC). This name is a variant of Ερμαπιας, a name well distributed in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia with 32 epigraphic occurrences.[38] That the few occurrences from Caria are limited to the Classical and Hellenistic period is partly explained by the fact that early and profound Hellenization rapidly limited the use of the indigenous onomastic layer in this region.[39] Whether Ερμαπις was a foreign import or belonged to the indigenous Carian onomastic pool, however, remains uncertain.[40] The absence of Arma derivatives from the list of indigenous names attested so far in Carian epigraphy does not bear much weight[41] and could simply be due to the limited number of preserved Carian inscriptions. By way of comparison, Lycian epigraphy provides only a single example of an Arma derivative (*erm̃enẽni*), contrasting strikingly with the high number of this kind of name in the Greek epigraphy of the region.[42]

In Pamphylia, there is one occurrence of the name Ερμαπιας and two of the name Ερμαστα, all three dated to the 2nd and 3rd c. AD. However, these names are unlikely to be native to Pamphylia. Ερμαπιας, son of a [Π]ικρασις, was assigned to Attaleia in LGPN V.B, but, if the restoration [Π]ικρασις is accurate (Zgusta, KP, § 1255–5), both Ερμαπιας and [Π]ικρασις could be related to Lycian onomastics.[43] As Zgusta suggested, the Pamphylian harbour Attaleia, founded by the Attalids c. 150 BC, may have been a pole of attraction for Lycians and Pisidians from the nearby mountains.[44] The two women called Ερμαστα are from a location known by the modern Turkish name Hurma. This was a small settlement on the border between Lycia and Pamphylia that was long believed to be the site of the city of Olbia (as in the Barrington Atlas map 65).[45] As will be shown below, the name Ερμαστα mainly occurs in eastern Lycia, and

istic and Roman periods. On these names, cf. also Schuler – Zimmermann 2012, 610. For an Ερεμαστης attested in Galatia, see Zgusta, KP, § 352; Robert, Hellenica X, 92.

[38] On Ερμαπιας, see Masson 1959, 168–70.

[39] For the limited survival of indigenous onomastics in Caria during the Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period, see Blümel 1994, 84–6 and Bresson 2007, 209–28. See also Robert, Noms indigènes, 82. Compare the chronological distribution of common names such as Πιγρης in Caria and Lycia.

[40] On Ερμαπις in Caria, see also Hornblower 1982, 357 n. 35.

[41] Adiego 2007, 331.

[42] TAM I 121 with Neumann 2007, 71.

[43] [Π]ικρασις would be an orthographic variant of the name Πιγρασις attested in Isauria (Zgusta, KP, § 1255–4). They are likely to derive from the stem *pihra* as Πιγρης, Πιγραμις and Πιγραμος. Πιγρης is well attested in Caria and Lycia, while the diffusion of Πιγραμις and Πιγραμος is so far limited to eastern Lycia. See also the name Αρπιγραμος in Limyra. Built on the same root are four compound names from Cilicia (Ρω(μ)βιγρεμις, Τροκομβιγρεμις, Ταρκυμβιγρεμις, and Κοζαπιγραμις), all dated to the Hellenistic period, and Σουβιγραμις from Isauria (SEG VI 780 and Robert 1937, 396). See Zgusta, AP, 116–8 with the updates in LGPN V.B.

[44] Zgusta, AP, 175.

[45] Inscriptions from Hurma are SEG VI 626 with correction in Adak 2006, 10 (not recorded in SEG) and SEG LII 1414–1421. Individuals from Hurma have been assigned to the territory of

the names of the relatives of these women also fit well in eastern Lycia (Σύρος, Ἄρτεμεις, Ἑρμαῖος, Τροκονδας, Κενδεας).[46] It is clear, therefore, that Arma derivatives are not characteristic of Pamphylian onomastics of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[47] Similarly, in Cilicia Tracheia, a region that Ph. Houwink ten Cate successfully compared with Lycia to reveal the Luwian heritage of southern Anatolia, the diffusion of names derived from Arma is extremely limited in Greek inscriptions. As the region retained a strong indigenous onomastic background during the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods, it is a good point of comparison with Lycia, even if there are significantly fewer individuals recorded in Cilicia Tracheia (3,857) than in Lycia (9,132). The stem *Arm-* is only found in the three occurrences of the name Αρμαρωνζας (1st c. BC – 1st c. AD), while no name with the vocalic variant Ερμ- is thus far attested.[48] Unfortunately, there are no inscriptions in a ‹Cilician› language that would allow an assessment of the extent of Arma derivatives in pre-Hellenistic Cilicia and therefore of their popularity before the switch to inscriptions in Greek.

By contrast, Lycia is clearly exceptional in the diffusion of names derived from the lunar divinity Arma (see list 1).[49] All female compound names with *-arma* as the second element are also from Lycia (see list 2). With the exception of the name Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα, which can be left aside for the moment since it follows a specific pattern of distribution, the vast majority of these names can be located precisely in the Xanthos valley and Central Lycia (the triangle Phellos-Arneai-Limyra), two regions at the heart of Classical Lycian culture.[50] As with the rest of the indigenous onomastic substrate in Lycia, the Arma derivatives continued to be used into the Roman Imperial period: 68 occurrences are dated to the Late Classical/Hellenistic period, 19 to the 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD and 91 to the Roman Imperial period.[51] Despite the fact that some

---

Attaleia in LGPN V.B, since fines are paid to the city of Attaleia in cases of trespass (SEG LII 1421). See Hellenkemper – Hild 2004, 755–7 and Şahin – Adak 2007, 237. See the map in Çevik – Varkivanç – Akyürek 2005, 241 (Hurma=Koruma) and the pictures of Hurma p. 246 and in Şahin – Adak 2007, 242 that illustrate well the connection of the site with the Çandır Valley.

[46] Eastern Lycia includes the Lycian sites on the southern-coast (Rhodiapolis, Korydalla and Gagai) and to the north, follows the limits of the Roman province of Lycia, bordering the territories of Termessos, Attaleia and Olbia. The decision that LGPN V.B includes Trebenna and Onobara in Lycia was geographic, not cultural.

[47] The indigenous onomastics of Pamphylia has preserved very few Anatolian theophoric names: Brixhe 1999, 38–9.

[48] Αρμαρωνζας could be the only ‹polytheophoric› compound among the Arma names: Houwink ten Cate 1961, 133. Ιαζαρμας, Πιγεσαρμας, Τροκοζαρμας, Ροζαρμας in Cilicia are compound names in – sarmas: see Zgusta, KP, 549 and AP, 34–5.

[49] For a new occurrence, not in LGPN (data collected until December 2012), of the name Αρμοας in an inscription dated to the Imperial period, see Staab 2012, 45. His father and brother were called Ἔρμων.

[50] For the limits and subdivisions of Lycia followed in this article, see the introduction of LGPN V.B, xiii.

[51] Undated occurrences of Αρμ-/Ερμ- names in Lycia (excluding Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα): 15; Hell.: 10; 4th–3rd c. BC: 5; 2nd–1st c. BC: 53; 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD: 19; 1st – 3rd c. AD: 65; Imp.:

names are only orthographic variants, in comparison with other regions the diversity and number of names derived from Arma in Lycia is striking. Importantly, this diversity does not seem to decline in the Roman Imperial period, and so implies a certain stability in the use of this group of Anatolian names over the course of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Despite the fact that Lycian epigraphy provides only one Arma derivative (see above), the epigraphic material of the Greco-Roman period compels the conclusion that Arma derivatives were core elements in Lycian indigenous onomastics.

List 1: male names derived from Arma-/Erma- in Lycia

1 Αρμαδαπιμις (Limyra)
5 Αρμαις (Tlos)
1 Αρμαπιας (Limyra)
2 Αρμεδυμνος (Hippoukome)
1 Αρμιδατας (Tlos)
3 Αρμοας (Arsada)
7 Ερμαδαν(ν)ας (Patara, Phellos, Sidyma)
2 Ερμαδαπειμις (Tlos, Xanthos)
1 Ερμαδαπιεμις (Limyra)
2 Ερμαδαπιμις (Antiphellos, Myra)
1 Ερμαδας (Myra)
1 Ερμαδαση (Kyaneai)
3 Ερμαδατας (Arneai, Simena)
1 Ερμαδειρος (Tlos)
2 Ερμαδεννας (Tlos)
3 Ερμαδεσ(σ)α (Idebessos)
5 Ερμαδονεμις (Kyaneai, Xanthos)
8 Ερμαδορτας (Kadyanda, Myra, Xanthos)
6 Ερμακαρταδις (Kyaneai, Myra, Xanthos)
41 Ερμακοτας (across Lycia)
6 Ερμακτας (Isinda, Kyaneai, Phellos)
1 Ερμακτιβιλος (Lycia)
1 Ερμακτυβελις (Tlos)
1 Ερμαμιαμις (Myra)
1 Ερμανανις (Lycia)
1 Ερμανδαδις (Rhodiapolis)
3 Ερμανδας (Patara, Telmessos)
3 Ερμανδειμασις (Kadyanda)
4 Ερμανδειμις (Limyra, Myra, Patara)
1 Ερμανδιμασις (Simena)
1 Ερμανδιμις (Limyra)
1 Ερμανδοας (Myra)
1 Ερμανδοβερις (Phellos)
1 Ερμανδορτας (Tlos)
6 Ερμανδυβερις (Limyra)
2 Ερμαορτας (Sidyma and Xanthos)
32 Ερμαπιας (across Lycia)
5 Ερμασαλας (Kyaneai, Myra, Phellos)
2 Ερμασορτας (Patara)
1 Ερμασσας (Kadyanda?)
1 Ερματοβορις (Tlos)
1 Ερματοεορις (Xanthos)
1 Ερματουγγας (Xanthos)
1 Ερμαυασις (Arsada?)
2 Ερμεδυμνος (Hippoukome)
1 Ερμεκτιβιλις (Xanthos)
1 Ερμενδαδις (Limyra)
1 Ερμενηνιος (Limyra)
4 Ερμενην(ν)ις (Arsada, Patara, Xanthos)
1 Ερμισενβρα (Xanthos)
5 Ερμοας (Patara, Pinara?, Sidyma, Xanthos)
2 Ερμοδαπειμις (Myra)

26. Evidently, this does not imply an increase in the use of indigenous names; the increase is due to the fact that the epigraphic material in Lycia is mainly dated to the period 2nd c. BC – 3rd c. AD, see Schuler 2007, 15.

List 2: female names[52]

1 Αρποαρμα (Kyaneai)
1 Ερινναρμα (Kyaneai)
1 Καιδαρμα (Arykanda)
1 Πινναρμα (Arneai)
1 Πλαδαρμα (Arsada)
2 Σεμριδαρμα (Limyra, Tlos)
1 Τευιδαρμα (Gagai)
1 Τυιδαρμα (Xanthos)

Examination of the distribution of the Arma derivatives in Lycia can be concluded by discussing the female name Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα. As seen above, Arma names from Lycia are concentrated in the Xanthos valley and Central Lycia. In contrast, all the attestations of the name Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα are from: Arykanda (1), Akalissos (3), Idebessos (5), Gödene (anc. Kollyba?) (1), Kitanaura (1), Typallia (2), Trebenna (7) and Onobara (5).[53] These sites are situated in north-eastern Lycia in the foothills of the Bey Dağları, on the line of a road that connected Arykanda to Termessos, via the mountainous pass at Kitanaura and the Çandır Valley (see map).[54] Equally striking is the fact that, in this part of Lycia, indigenous names other than Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα that are built on the element Αρμ-/Ερμ- are much rarer. Apart from two or three individuals in Idebessos with the female name Ερμαδεσ(σ)α, the rest of the names in Αρμ-/Ερμ- are distributed as follows: one Ερμακοτας from Akalissos and two from Idebessos out of 41 occurrences of the name in Lycia; three Ερμαπιας out of 33 occurrences of the name in Lycia. Ερμακοτας and Ερμαπιας are the two most common names derived from Arma; their popularity implies that they are more likely to be found outside the Xanthos valley and Central Lycia. There thus emerges a distinct geographical distribution pattern in Lycia for the names thought to derive from Arma: Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα in north-eastern Lycia and the remaining Arma names in the Xanthos valley and Central Lycia. Combined with the distribution of the Twelve Gods reliefs, the dedicant of the relief studied here, Ερμενδαδις, was probably from Central Lycia.

For the inland regions north of Lycia that will be part of LGPN V.C, i.e. the Kibyratis, Kabalis, Milyas and Pisidia, precise figures based on systematic compilation are not currently available. Nevertheless, in these regions we can predict a high percentage of indigenous names during the Hellenistic period and a strong continuity in the use of indigenous names into the Roman Imperial period, and a rapid survey of the names derived from Arma is possible. In Pisidian Termessos with its large corpus of inscriptions, predominantly dated to the Roman Imperial period, Αρμαστα is a very popular

[52] Perhaps also Ουιδερμα (Typallia).

[53] See also above for the two women with the name Ερμαστα in Hurma, a site close to Onobara and Trebenna.

[54] For the road-system connecting these places, see Şahin – Adak 2007, 203–38.

name with c. 80 occurrences. B. İplikçioğlu has recently published an inscription from a sarcophagus located in the *chora* of Termessos (c. 7 km north-west of the city) whose owner was Αὐρ. Αρμαṣṭα Ἑρμέου Ἀρμανανιος.[55] No other indigenous name derived from Arma, either in Αρμ- or Ερμ-, seems to be preserved in Termessos.[56] For the rest of Pisidia, Zgusta documented a few occurrences of the name Αρμαστα in Isinda, Andeda, Pogla, but again no other names in Αρμ-/Ερμ-.[57] Recent publications have added a few more examples of Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα to those already known to Zgusta. Αρμαστα is attested once at Ariassos and Ερμαστα once at Kremna, although in this last case the origin of the stone may not have been correctly identified.[58] An occurrence of the name Αρμοας (or Οιαρμοας) also appears at Sagalassos in an inscription dated to c. 333–200 BC.[59] This survey, albeit brief, shows that in western Pisidia, particularly in the cities north of Termessos up to Pogla, names in Αρμ-/Ερμ- are mostly limited to occurrences of the name Αρμαστα.[60] Evidently, the presence of the name Αρμαστα and the rarity of other Arma names are features that western Pisidia shares with north-eastern Lycia. The Lycian attestations have, however, a unique particularity. While the variant Αρμαστα is used almost exclusively in western Pisidia and, as we shall see next, in the Kabalis and Milyas, the variant Ερμαστα, attested 21 times in eastern Lycia, plus one Ερμαιστα and one Ερμαστας, largely prevails in eastern Lycia, where there is only one Αρμαστα.[61] There thus seems to be an almost fault-

---

[55] Termessos IV, no. 147. The reading cannot be verified from the photograph.

[56] There is one occurrence of the name Αρματα in Termessos (TAM III [1] 728, 5 with Zgusta, KP, § 97–8), which is likely a mistake or orthographic variant. In Termessos, a similar omission of the sigma appears with the name Προδόκιμος (TAM III [1] 735) for the common Προσδόκιμος. See also Αρματις and Αρμαṣṭ[ι]ς in Zgusta KP, § 97–7 and § 97–9, but the reading of the latter name is uncertain. For omission of sigma before dental stop: Gignac 1976, 130; Threatte 1980, 506; Brixhe ²1987, 114. This survey of the inscriptions from Termessos is based on TAM III (1) and Termessos I–IV.

[57] Perhaps, however, note the uncertain Αρμαστις mentioned in the previous note (SEG XXII 855). Zgusta's references for the name Armasta are: BCH 16, 1892, 424–5 no. 54 (Pogla); SEG XVII 548 (Andeda); ABSA 16, 1909/10, 126 no. 20+ABSA 17, 1910/1911, 214 (Isinda-Termessos); JHS 8, 1887, 256 no. 41 (Pogla).

[58] Ariassos: I.Pisid.Cen., no. 118. Kremna: I.BurdurMus, no. 21. For the study of the geographical distribution of the names appearing in the text from Kremna (Τροκονδας, Οσαεις, Ἑρμαῖος, Ἄρτεμεις, Ἀσ(σ)ύριος, Πία, Ερμαστα, and Ερπιας), see Horsley 1992, 124–9 with Bull. Ép. 1993, no. 95. For the name Πία in a similarly Greco-indigenous context, see Corsten 2007, 141–2. These names would fit particularly well in eastern Lycia, including the rare Ἀσσύριος.

[59] SEG L 1304, 17. The name and its variant Ερμοας are otherwise only attested in Lycia (see LGPN V.B).

[60] I follow the division, passing just east Termessos and Ariassos, of western/eastern Pisidia used by Hall and Coulton in their onomastic study of the allotment list from Balboura: Hall – Coulton 1990, 128.

[61] Brixhe 1991, 79 already pointed out that in Termessos there are many attestations of the name Αρμαστα, but not a single Ερμαστα. Note, however, the Ερμαστα in SEG XVII 556, which is stored in the Antalya museum and said to be from Termessos. There is one occurrence of Ερμ-

less division in the diffusion of the two variants, which perhaps supports the notion that Lycia, including north-eastern Lycia, treated the names beginning in Αρ- differently than its northern neighbours (see below).[62]

Among the direct neighbours of the Lycians, only the Kabalians and Milyans provide a few Arma names in a way that is more widespread, even if still limited.[63] Before discussing the names from these areas, it is important to note that scholars have applied the term ‹Lycian› also to these inland regions north of Lycia, resulting in some ambiguity about its meaning.[64] Zgusta included these two regions in his ‹südphrygisch-lykisches Grenzgebiet›.[65] In publishing the long allotment list from Balboura, a major document for the onomastics of the Kabalis, A. S. Hall and J. J. Coulton abandoned Zgusta's ‹S. Phrygian-Lycian area› designation by dividing it into the Kibyratis (Kibyra, Boubon, Balboura and Oinoanda), the Acıpayam plain (Eriza, Themisonion, and Keretapa/Dioskaisareia) and the Elmalı plain (Nisa, Komba, Choma, and Podalia).[66] More recently, S. Colvin limited his study on Lycian onomastics to coastal Lycia.[67] In contrast, N. Cau applied the term ‹Lycian› not only to coastal Lycia but also to its northern neighbours, although he did divide his study into two parts on the basis of the extension of Classical Lycian culture (5th–4th c. BC). Nevertheless, his decision to treat the Kibyratis and Milyas together with Olympos and Phaselis, both situated on the eastern side of the Lycian peninsula, calls for more justification.[68] Two recent publications, ‹De Lycie en Cabalide› and the ‹Balboura survey›, have demonstrated the historical significance of differentiating coastal Lycia from its northern neighbours.[69] In contrast to Lycia, the Kabalis and the Milyas are zones of upland plateaux (over 1,200 meters) characterised by sparse vegetation, little urbanism and the influence of Pisidian populations.[70] The difference between Lycia and its northern neighbours is also

---

αστα near Tyriaion, and the only example of the name Ερμαστα in Pisidia is from Kremna, but the assignation of the stone to this city is uncertain (see above).

[62] The explication for the distinctive geographical distribution of this vocalic fluctuation remains obscure. However, it is unlikely that the preference for the variant Ερμαστα resulted from a stronger influence of the Hermes derivatives in north-eastern Lycia than in Termessos (see below).

[63] Here the use of the term Kibyratis includes Kibyra, Boubon, Balboura and Oinoanda, while Kabalis covers the territories of Oinoanda, Balboura, Boubon and Tyriaion. The Milyas designates the Elmalı plain and its cities Neisa, Komba, Choma, and Podalia. For the geographical extension of the Milyas, see Hall 1986, 137–57.

[64] See also above about the designation of the Twelve Gods as ‹Lycian›.

[65] Zgusta, KP, 33–5.

[66] Hall – Coulton 1990, 128. The Balboura allotment list is an important document, since the preservation of such a large number of names, the majority of them indigenous, is exceptional for the area at this period.

[67] Colvin 2004, 50–1.

[68] Cau 2005b, 378. For Phaselis and Olympos, see below n. 127.

[69] Rousset 2010 and Coulton, Balboura. See already Hall 1986.

[70] As already described in Robert, Bull. Ép. 1950, 193–6.

visible in their respective naming patterns. As will become clear, there are noticeable differences in the onomastics, both Greek and Anatolian, of the two regions. Moreover, the Hellenization of the name pool made faster progress in the coastal area than on the upland plateaux of Anatolia.[71] In the 2nd c. BC allotment list from Balboura mentioned above, the percentage of indigenous names remains much higher (c. 75 %) than in the territory covered by Classical Lycia at the same time (c. 20 %).[72] Another important document from the 2nd c. BC, the so-called ‹convention› between the Lycians and Termessos near Oinoanda, also reveals a significant difference between Lycians and Kabalians in terms of onomastics.[73] Eleven of the 27 Termessians near Oinoanda have a Greek name (5 are called Ἑρμαῖος), while only 2 of the 12 Lycians have an indigenous name.[74] Consequently, Lycia and its northern neighbours deserve different treatment in terms of their onomastics. List 3 provides the distribution of names in Αρμ-/Ερμ- in this northern zone as found in Zgusta with Cau's updates. It shows that, in contrast to north-eastern Lycia and western Pisidia, the name Αρμαστα coexisted with other Arma names in the Kabalis.[75] Once again it is difficult to determine the extent to which these names were native to the Kabalians or resulted from foreign influence, perhaps precisely from their powerful neighbours, the Lycians and Termessians. Section E will shed light on the presence of these two different onomastic traditions in the Kabalis.

List 3: names derived from Arma-/Erma- in the Kibyratis, Kabalis and Milyas[76]

1 Αρμαπια (Oinoanda)
8 Αρμαστα (Tyriaion, Oinoanda, Balboura, and Soklai [modern Küçük-Söğle])[77]
1 Αρμοασις (Tyriaion)
1 Αρμουνανις (valley of Acıpayam)
2 Αρμαζους (Balboura)
2 Αρμανανις (Balboura)
7 Αρμονανις (Söğüt (Balboura territory) and Tyriaion)
1 Ερμαικοτες (Balboura)
1 Ερμαστα (Tyriaion)

---

[71] For the evolution of the name pool in Pisidia and the Kibyratis, see already Robert 1954, 76–9.

[72] Figures are from Coulton, Balboura, 65 (Balboura) and Colvin 2004, 52–3 (Lycia).

[73] Rousset 2010, 25.

[74] See percentage in Coulton, Balboura, 65 and details in Rousset 2010, 25–31.

[75] That this pattern is also valid for the Milyas is likely but it remains conjectural due to the small quantity of the onomastic material available for this region.

[76] I do not repeat the referencing, which can be easily found in Zgusta, KP, and Cau 2005b, 381–6. See below for the correction of the name Ερμολησιας.

[77] Zgusta assigned to Lycia three of the occurrences of the name Αρμαστα, but TAM II (2) 715–716 are now assigned to the territory of Oinoanda (cf. Rousset 2010, 117) and SEG II 681 has been republished in Bean, JNLyc, no. 44. For the localisation of Soklai (Milyas), see Şahin – Adak 2007, 198.

D. From Arma to Hermes

The examination of the regional distribution of the Arma derivatives leads to a further point in investigating naming practices in Lycia. This class of names offers an interesting insight into how Anatolian onomastics survived when passing into Greek. Varied processes, from the basic morphological adaptation of Anatolian names into Greek declension to complex forms of semantic assimilation, were at work.[78] Such onomastic processes sometimes figure in discussions that attempt to conceive more abstractly how cultures interact.[79] As for the Arma derivatives, scholars have regularly admitted a mutual influence – Brixhe calls it a process of *satellisation* – between indigenous Arma names and Greek names derived from the divinity Hermes.[80] The following discussion has the primary objective of assessing the legitimacy of this assumption by first looking more closely at the phonetic fluctuation of the Arma derivatives (Αρμ-/Ερμ-). Some scholars have assumed that the passage of the Arma derivatives from Αρμ- variants to Ερμ- variants occurred under the direct influence of the Ἑρμ- derivatives. Second, since it has been generally assumed that the success of certain Greek names in some areas was due to the presence of a similar-sounding indigenous name, the onomastic material collected by LGPN V.B will be used to examine the statistical aspect of the question: were Hermes derivatives more frequent in Lycia than elsewhere because of the presence of the Arma names?[81]

Arma derivatives appear with two written variants in Greek inscriptions in southern Asia Minor: Αρμ- and Ερμ-. In Caria and Pamphylia, the variant Ερμ- is the only one attested among the few Arma names recorded there. In the Kabalis, Pisidia and Cilicia, the variant Αρμ- is predominant.[82] In Lycia, the high number of Arma names seems to show an evolution in the use of the two variants. In the handful of inscriptions from the 4th–3rd c. BC, there seems to be no predilection for one variant over the other: LGPN V.B s. v. Αρμαδαπιμις (1), Αρμαπιας (1), Ερμαδαπιεμις (1), Ερμαπιας (28), Ερμενδαδις (2).[83] However, in the Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, the Ερμ- variants largely prevail and only a few names in Αρμ- continue to be used in the Roman period: Αρμαις (1st c. BC to 2nd c. AD), Αρμεδυμνος (1st c. BC?), and

[78] For some of these processes, see Parker 2013, 5–6.

[79] See for example the use of onomastics in Vlassopoulos 2013, 291 and Coşkun 2013, 176–84.

[80] For this association, see, among others, Kretschmer 1896, 361; Heubeck 1959, 32; Robert, Noms indigènes, 38 n. 7; Zgusta, KP, 173; Brixhe 1991, 79 (Bull. Ép. 1994, no. 585); Horsley 1992, 126; Colvin 2004, 61; Schuler 2010a, 557–8; Rousset 2010, 29 n. 69; Coulton, Balboura, 144; LGPN V.A, xv; Parker 2013, 5.

[81] For the role of phonetic similarity in the regional success of some Greek names, see references above n. 80.

[82] The two names in Ερμ- attested in the Kabalis – Ερμακοιτης, a variant of the common name Ερμακοτας, and Ερμαστα – are widespread in Lycia and could be reasonably explained as diffusion from Lycia.

[83] Numbers in brackets are entry numbers in LGPN.

Αρμοας (1st c. BC to Imperial period). Scholars have assumed that one factor in explaining the preference for the Ερμ- variants might be the influence of Hermes derivatives,[84] and that these might have played a role in the consolidation of the variant in Ερμ-, perhaps at an early stage of the process of Hellenization in Lycia. However, such an assumption is not without problems. Certainly Hermes derivatives were, at least at some point, associated with Arma derivatives. Proof of this association lies in the fact that in some families from Lycia names in Ερμ- alternated with Greek names in Ἑρμ- in the 2nd–1st c. BC.[85] In these cases, the difference in aspiration between Ερμ- and Ἑρμ-, even if felt at one time, did not prevent the association. But since it is unlikely that there was any connection between the divinity Arma, which has left no trace in Lycian inscriptions, and Hermes, the association of these theophoric names was almost certainly made on phonetic grounds alone.[86] It is also noteworthy that the father of Αρμαις (1) and the son of Αρμοας (3) were both called Ἁρμόδιος, which shows that there was more than one choice in Greek onomastics for this kind of *satellisation*.[87]

Two observations show that the question might have been more complex than a bare Hellenization of the Arma names. First, the hesitation between a and e at the beginning of the name is not specific to the Arma derivatives and affected a few other indigenous names such as Αρβινας/Ερβιννα or Αρπιας/Ερπιας.[88] This hesitation probably originated in Anatolian phonology; inscriptions in Lycian show that the Lycian phonetic treatment of the Hittite and Luwian vowel ‹a› hesitates between a and e.[89] Lycian vocalism is further complicated by a rule of vocalic assimilation, on which basis Melchert explains the only Arma derivatives so far attested in Lycian: *erm̃enẽni*.[90] In Lycian, ‹e› seems to have been near to a closed ‹a›, which allows the rea-

---

[84] I.Mylasa, no. 882 and Adiego 2007, 331.

[85] See the following individuals in LGPN V.B s. v. Ερμαδαπιμις (1) father of Ἑρμάφιλος – undated; Ερμαδονεμις (5) father of Ἑρμόλυκος – 1st c. BC–1st c. AD; Ερμακαρταδις (2) son of Ἑρμόλαος – Hellenistic; Ερμακοτας (12) son of Ἑρμῶναξ – 2nd c. BC(?); Ερμανδυβερις (3) father of Ἑρμόδημος – ca. 100 AD; Ερμασαλας (1) son of Ἑρμοκράτης – Roman; Ερματοβορις (1) father of Ἑρμοκράτης – 1st c. BC; Ερμοας (2) father of Ἑρμόλαος – 1st c. BC (?). See above n. 49 for Αρμοας and Ἕρμων, sons of Ἕρμων.

[86] For the absence of the attestation of the divinity Arma in Lycian inscriptions, see Neumann 2007, 70.

[87] Note that some individuals with a name in Αρμ- have a relative with a Greek name in Ἑρμ-: LGPN V.B s. v. Αρμεδυμνος (1) is the father of Ἑρμαῖος.

[88] *Erbbina*, the name borne by a famous Lycian dynast, was rendered in Greek by Αρβινας (LGPN V.B s. v. Αρβινας [1]). The female name Ερβιννα (LGPN V.B s. v. Ερβιννα [1]) is attested in an unpublished Greek inscription from Xanthos dated to the Roman imperial period. Whether the origin of the dynast's name is Luwian or Iranian is debated (see Neumann, 66). Perhaps also Ανιτα/Ενιτα.

[89] This is illustrated, for example, by the Lycian genitival suffix: for the Luwian *-aššì*, the Lycian has *-ah*/*-eh* or *-ahe*/*-ehe*: see Brixhe 1976, 13–14; Brixhe 1991, 76; Houwink ten Cate 1961, 197–8.

[90] Melchert 1994, 296–7.

sonable assumption that the orthographic variants of the names derived from the Hittite-Luwian Arma found in the Greek inscriptions of Lycia, Αρμαπιας/Ερμαπιας, Αρμοας/Ερμοας, and Αρμαδαπιμις/Ερμαδαπιμις are to be explained, at least in part, by this Lycian phonetic feature.[91] Second, there seem to be regional variations in the distribution of Arma names. The Αρμ- variant is predominant in the Kabalis, Pisidia and Cilicia, while in Lycia the more common variant is Ερμ-.[92] The occurrences of the name Αρπιας/Ερπιας show a similar pattern of distribution: Αρπιας is attested in Pisidia, while Ερπιας is Lycian with the exception of the Ερπιας in an inscription doubtfully assigned to Kremna.[93] As seen earlier, this pattern of distribution is also valid for the name Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα. It is thus possible that a difference existed in the treatment of some Anatolian names with initial ‹a› between Lycia and its northern neighbours, with the latter favouring the preservation of the vocalic variant Αρ- and Lycia preferring Ερ-. Consequently, the role of Anatolian phonology in this question makes it difficult to disentangle to what extent and at what stage in the history of these names the *satellisation* between names in Αρμ- with the popular Greek root Ἑρμ- was influential. It is not impossible that a connection between Arma names and Hermes names was only made when the Ερμ- variants were already prevalent in Lycia.

The connection between Arma and Hermes derivatives can be pursued further. Scholars have assumed that the popularity of Hermes derivatives in Lycia was partly due to the presence of the Arma derivatives.[94] LGPN V.B now permits some statistical considerations in order to evaluate this assumption. In the following discussion, all names beginning in Ἑρμ- are considered, without consideration of their etymology, which is not always clear-cut; the popularity of a name does not always depend on its ‹real› etymology.[95] The name Ἑρμαῖος holds a specific position in this enquiry.

---

[91] Note that this fluctuation only exceptionally contaminated Greek names derived from the divinity Hermes. In the territory of Termessos an individual is attested with the name Ἁρμότειμος, which is the Greek Ἑρμότειμος (TAM III [1] 893 + SEG LIII 1613; 896; 898; Termessos IV, no. 165; 167; 168; 170; 171 with Zgusta, KP, 95 n. 348).

[92] It is uncertain whether Ερμαπις was native to Caria, but Ερμαπιας and Ερμαστα were certainly not characteristic of Hellenistic and Roman Pamphylia. Among Arma names both Ερμαπι(α)ς and Ερμαστα are frequent names.

[93] Note that Αραπ(ε)ιας attested in Kibyra and Boubon is a variant of Αρπιας (Rousset 2010, 28 n. 68). The name Αρπιας is attested once in LGPN V.B with an unsure origin (Stratonikeia [Caria]), but this name and the names Μολεσις and Κοτης, the relatives of Αρπιας, point to an influence from the Kibyratis and Pisidia. The origin of the Ερπιας listed in Cau 2005b, 386 under Oinoanda is uncertain, since he is the father (?) of a victor of a local game open to all Lycians.

[94] See above n. 80.

[95] For unclear etymology, see for example the series of names derived from the river name Ἕρμος that passes north of Smyrna: Robert, Bull. Ép. 1965, no. 507 with references to the divergent positions of A.-J. Letronne, E. Sittig and F. Bechtel. See also Masson 1988, 175–7; Thonemann 2006, 31–3. Note that the popularity of the names Ἑρμογένης in Lydia (LGPN V.A) is best explained by an association of the name with the river Ἕρμος, while the popularity of the same Ἑρμογένης in Rome is due to an association with the divinity Hermes, who was very popular in the onomastics of the Roman period.

a. The hypothesis of a connection between Ερμ- and Ἑρμ- in Lycia can first be tested by assessing the diversity of derivatives in Ἑρμ-, that is to say the number of different names in Ἑρμ-, in Lycia compared to other regions. The results of this kind of comparison are particularly difficult to interpret, because naming patterns can vary greatly from one place to another one. Theoretically, one would expect more diversity in a city of Classical mainland Greece than in a city such as Roman Termessos, where the process of Hellenization might imply limits in the diversity of Greek names in use.[96] Moreover, since over the course of the Hellenistic and Roman periods there seems to have been a decline in the diversity of Greek names, figures can be biased wherever the onomastic evidence belongs mainly to the Roman period.[97] Bearing these, and other, possible variables in mind, the diversity of names in Ἑρμ- in LGPN V.B can be briefly analysed.[98] Fifteen different names in Ἑρμ- are recorded for Pamphylia (2,981 individuals – 7 % of the total in LGPN V.B); 20 for Cilicia (6,337 – 15 %); 30 for Lycia (9,132 – 20 %); 36 for Caria (26,149 – 58 %). Although there is more early Hellenistic material in Caria than in Lycia, and Caria saw the settlements of Greek populations on a larger scale, which theoretically would favour more diversity in terms of Greek onomastics, the relatively small difference in the number of Ἑρμ- names should probably not be stressed too much. One does not expect a linear growth curve. The smaller the pool of names the smaller the chance that a new name will be found to be already attested in that pool. If Lycia is compared with Mysia or Lydia, two regions relatively close to Lycia in terms of the number of individuals on record (9,470 and 11,272), but where the continuity of indigenous names was much weaker than in Lycia, the number of Ἑρμ- names (25 and 30) does not show a significant difference.[99] Lycia does not seem exceptional in the number of Ἑρμ- derivatives and it seems difficult to establish any strong correlation between the diversity of Ἑρμ- derivatives and the popularity of the Arma names in Lycia.

b. Was this correlation more a matter of quantity than diversity? Table 1 gathers the Greek names in Ἑρμ- attested more than 10 times in one of the LGPN volumes and compares the figures between volumes.

[96] For onomastic habits in Termessos, see van Nijf 2012, 178–85.

[97] The ultimate stage of this supposed trend is the Late Roman Empire with its alleged «monotonous banality of Greek and Latin names, an abundance of names of Christian origin, and an inflow of names alien to classical languages»: Feissel 2012, 6.

[98] The following analysis is limited to LGPN V.B; comparison between the various regions of the Greek world would require a more elaborate model. Numbers of Ἑρμ- names in LGPN volumes are as followed: LGPN I: 84; II: 52; IIIA: 42; IIIB: 37; IV: 41; V.A: 73; V.B: 53.

[99] For the evolution of the indigenous onomastics in Lydia, see Robert, Noms indigènes, 82.

LGPN VOLUME	I	II[100]	IIIA	IIIB	IV	V.A	V.B	TOTAL	Lycia	% Lycians in V.B
INDIVIDUALS	66,489	64, 893	43, 261	43, 456	33, 724	51, 293	44, 745	347,861	9, 132	20%
1) Ἑρμανδρίδας	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	0%
2) Ἑρμόδοκος	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0%
3) Ἑρμαδίων	0	2[101]	9	0	11	4	1	27	0	0%
4) Ἑρμότιμος	3	5	2	0	1	8	11	30	8	73%
5) Ἑρμησιάναξ[102]	3	0	0	0	0	14	13	30	1	8%
6) Ἑρμοκρέων/ῶν	18+5	2	0	0	0	4	2	31	0	0%
7) Ἑρμόφιλος	4	8	0	0	4	16	10	42	0	0%
8) Ἑρμόλυκος	3	10	0	0	1	1	37	52	35	95%
9) Ἑρμάφιλος	10	9	1	2	15	9	10	56	8	80%
10) Ἑρμοκλῆς	9	16	2	1	2	14	14	58	2	14%
11) Ἑρμαΐσκος	4	12	3	7	1	9	25	61	5	20%
12) Ἑρμέρως	9	10	24	1	9	7	11	71	0	0%
13) Ἑρμόφαντος	11	3	1	0	1	3	55	74	6	11%
14) Ἑρμαγόρας/ης	13+1	16	1	1	4+3	28+1	20	88	17	85%
15) Ἑρμῶναξ	12	11	4	0	5	16	47	95	16	34%
16) Ἑρμόλαος	5	11	2	4	3	56	27	108	7	26%
17) Ἕρμας[103]	11	6	27	10	15	28	31	128	9	29%
18) Ἑρμόδωρος	8	33	8	9	25	43	18	144	2	11%
19) Ἑρμείας	7	129	6	2	4	25	22	195	3	13%
20) Ἕρμιππος	15	23	1	3	9	122	22	195	2	9%
21) Ἕρμων	43	42	24	34	21	22	41	227	8	19%
22) Ἑρμοκράτης/εις	35	19	12	6+2	7	78	80+3	242	31	37%
23) Ἑρμαῖος	32	29	20	10[104]	4	12	202	309	166	82%
24) Ἑρμῆς	33	31	98	10	72	84	84	414	33	39%
25) Ἑρμίας	89	74	25	30	22	105	186	531	11	8%
26) Ἑρμογένης/εις	55	76	31	21+4	48	364	126	725	28	22%
TOTAL	460	560	301	157	287	1073	1109	3947	402	36%

Table 1: Popular male names derived from Ἑρμ-[105]

[100] The figures for Attica include the online addenda available on the LGPN website.

[101] Ἑρμηδίων.

[102] See Bechtel 1917, 163: was this personal name derived from a festival of Ἑρμήσια?

[103] See Robert, Noms indigènes, 38–9 and n. 7 for a possible confusion with the Hittite Armas.

[104] Note the Boiotian Ἑρμάιος with 69 occurrences.

[105] Unless otherwise indicated, dialectal forms or orthographic variants are ignored.

One preliminary caveat is that theophoric names are usually more frequent in Asia Minor than in the rest of the Greek world so far covered by LGPN.[106] This fact explains why LGPN V.A and V.B gather 55 % of the names in Ἑρμ- collected in LGPN I–V.B, even though these volumes represent only 28 % of the individuals recorded.[107] Between LGPN V.A and V.B, some names show a substantial difference in terms of frequency: Ἑρμαῖος and Ἑρμίας are more common in LGPN V.B, Ἕρμιππος, Ἑρμογένης in LGPN V.A – partly due to the association with the river Ἕρμος, while many others show a more equal frequency pattern between the two volumes. Totalling the names in Ἑρμ- from LGPN V.B shows that Lycia represents 36 % of the total of the Ἑρμ- names (402/1109 individuals). Since individuals from Lycia represent only 20 % of the total of individuals recorded in LGPN V.B., these figures a priori confirm the popularity of names in Ἑρμ- in the region. A closer examination, however, provides nuance to this conclusion.[108] Among the 15 least common names (1 to 100 occurrences), only 4 names have a very high frequency in Lycia by comparison with the rest of the regions treated in LGPN V.B: Ἑρμότιμος (73 %), Ἑρμάφιλος (80 %), Ἑρμαγόρας (85 %), and Ἑρμόλυκος (95 %). The popularity of the rare Ἑρμόλυκος in Lycia is due to either an association, probably purely phonetic, between -λυκος and Lycia, or a reference to one of the two mythological figures called Lykos and associated with Lycia.[109] But given the low frequency of the other three names, in these cases the high percentage could simply be a matter of chance. The majority of the names from this category (1 to 100 occurrences) are rarely over 20 %, or are altogether absent, in Lycia: Ἑρμησιάναξ (8 %), Ἑρμόφιλος (0 %), Ἑρμοκλῆς (14 %), Ἑρμαΐσκος (20 %), Ἑρμέρως (0 %), Ἑρμόφαντος (11 %), Ἑρμῶναξ (34 %). The 11 names with more than 101 occurrences also present an irregular pattern (see table 1). In fact, among them, only Ἑρμαῖος is clearly exceptional. Not only is this name much more frequent in Lycia than in any of the other regions treated in LGPN – half of the total of the occurrences of Ἑρμαῖος so far recorded by LGPN (166/309) are from Lycia – but by itself it represents more than a third of all Ἑρμ- names in Lycia (166/402). Moreover, the uneven spread of the name across Lycia is striking. Out of the 166 occurrences in Lycia, 110 are from eastern Lycia (66 %), with 50 in Trebenna, Onobara and Typallia, the

[106] LGPN V.A, xxvi.

[107] The figure for Ἑρμῆς in LGPN III.A is biased by the number of names from south Italy. Ἑρμῆς is one of the most popular Greek names in Rome, and only a very few of the examples in LGPN are not from the Roman Imperial period. For divine names given to humans, see Parker 2000 pp. 57–9.

[108] Few in number, Ἑρμανδρίδας, Ἑρμόδοκος, and Ἑρμοκρέων/ῶν are almost exclusively attested in the Hellenistic period and almost exclusively in LGPN I. These names seem to have gone out of fashion in the Roman period. Note that LGPN I has the highest number of different Ἑρμ- names (see above n. 98).

[109] For these two mythological figures, see Bryce 1986, 248. Letronne 1851, 73–4 derives the name Ἑρμόλυκος from the names of two rivers, the Hermos and one of the many rivers called Lykos.

communities closest to Termessos.[110] In fact, like the female name Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα, Ἑρμαῖος is particularly frequent not only in north-eastern Lycia, but also in western Pisidia and the Kabalis. An evaluation of Ἑρμαῖος in inland Anatolia is difficult at this stage, because the name is spread throughout the Greek East and the necessary quantitative analysis is not possible without the compilation of LGPN V.C. Nevertheless, preliminary observations already show that Ἑρμαῖος is the most common Greek name in the overrepresented, and mainly Roman, onomastics of Termessos with over 300 occurrences.[111] It is also one of the commonest names in the Balboura list in the 2nd c. BC and was also frequently used for the rare Oinoandians we know at this period.[112] Interestingly, Ἑρμαῖος was popular in the Kabalis by the 2nd c. BC at the latest.[113]

E. The distribution of the ERM- names and population movements

Two distinct distribution patterns can be recognised among *ERM-* names in and around Lycia. The female name Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα and the high frequency of the Greek name Ἑρμαῖος are not characteristic of the Xanthos valley or Central Lycia during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but they are especially well-documented in north-eastern Lycia, western Pisidia and the Kabalis. In fact, a similar pattern applies to other indigenous names, especially the popular Τροκονδας and Μολης.[114] Zgusta gives a reasonably accurate account of their distribution in Anatolia, which LGPN V.B

---

[110] Eastern Lycia represents 25 % of the total of the individuals from Lycia.

[111] See the index of TAM III (1) and Termessos I–IV. Note that many occurrences of the name Ἑρμαῖος are deduced from the abbreviation Ἑρ(μαῖος) in the inscriptions of Termessos.

[112] Hall – Coulton 1990, 123 and Rousset 2010, 29.

[113] The popularity of some names, such as Θόας, Μελέαγρος, Κάστωρ, etc. among the elites of Balboura, seems to come later and may well represent another stage of Hellenization: Hall – Coulton 1990, 139 and Coulton, Balboura, 142–4.

[114] Houwink ten Cate 1961, 202; Hall – Coulton 1990, 134–5; Rousset 2010, 27–8. Note that the onomastics of Pogla shows strong similarities with that of Termessos: see Ramsay 1888, 13 and the epigraphic material in Ramsay 1888, 10–14; Bérard 1892, 421–5 no. 48–54 and SEG XIX 834–845. Horsley 1992, 125–8 has analysed the distribution of the names Τροκονδας, Ἑρμαῖος and Ερμαστα. His analysis does not contradict the pattern described here, but the term ‹Lycia› in Horsley covers not only Classical Lycia, but also the Kibyratis and Milyas, which makes his evaluation of the diffusion of names unclear. On Μολης, see also Robert, Noms indigènes, 353–60 who argued that the Μολης attested in MAMA IV 364 was a descendant of the Lycians established at Apollonia in Phrygia. One problem with this assumption is the identity of these Lycians at Apollonia (for the title of the city ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀπολλωνιατῶν Λυκίων Θρᾳκῶν κολωνῶν: Le Roy 2000, 264–6). The designation ‹Lycian› could refer to the territory covered by the *koinon* of the Lycians in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods and therefore include more than Classical Lycia. Although the names Μολας, Μολεσις, Μολλισις are attested in Lycian epigraphy (Cau 2005a, 365), Μολης is not characteristic of Hellenistic and Roman Lycia. The high frequency of Μολης in eastern Lycia is more likely due to Pisidian influence after the foundation of Termessos, and is not a direct heritage from Lycian onomastic traditions.

has partly updated.[115] The few occurrences of the names Τροκονδας and Μολης outside Pisidia, eastern Lycia, and the Kibyratis are mainly from western Pamphylia.[116] These are perhaps relics of Luwian traditions in Pamphylia, but could also easily be explained as a later external influence from Pisidian or eastern Lycian neighbours. Houwink ten Cate thought that the geographical onomastic unit formed by these names was to be associated with the Solymoi, a people mentioned by Homer.[117] Hall – Coulton suggested a more plausible explanation for this onomastic unit in their publication of the Balboura allotment list (2nd c. BC), arguing that the names of the lot holders (more than 180, many with patronymics) hint at the origins of the city population.[118] Since the most common names in this list, Αρτιμης (x19?), Ἑρμαῖος (x17), Τροκονδας (x16?), Μολης (x15?) are also particularly well represented in Termessos, they take the onomastics as a strong argument in support of Termessians' involvement in the foundation of Balboura, which they date to a Pisidian expansion westward ca. 200 BC.[119] More recently, D. Rousset has argued in the same way that in the so-called ‹convention› of the 2nd c. BC between the Lycians and Termessos near Oinoanda the names of the representatives of the Oinoandians, figuring the same most common names as in the Balboura list, fit well with the foundation myth that attributed the origin of the city to Termessos.[120] This means that the diffusion of these common names, Ἑρμαῖος, Τροκονδας and Μολης, in the Kabalis might have been relatively recent. To this list we can now confidently add the female name Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα.

The high frequency of this same group of names in the mountainous part of north-eastern ‹Lycia› is also almost certainly a consequence of Termessos' proximity. Zgusta in his ‹Kleinasiastische Personennamen› rightly included most of eastern Lycia together with Lycia proper, but he placed Trebenna and Onobara in Pisidia.[121] The

[115] Zgusta, KP § 1512–31; 946–1. For Τροκονδας, 58 of the 81 occurrences of the name in Lycia (LGPN V.B) are from eastern Lycia (72 %). There are 99 occurrences of the name Μολης in Lycia (LGPN V.B), of which 88 are from eastern Lycia. Ἑρμαῖος, Τροκονδας and Μολης are the most common names in eastern Lycia (see table 4 in LGPN V.B, xxxvii.). The index of TAM III (1) shows that these names are also common in Termessos by giving over 130 occurrences of the name Τροκονδας, 82 of the name Μολης and more than 300 for the name Ἑρμαῖος. See also figures in Hall – Coulton 1990, 134–5. For the Kibyratis, they give 7 occurrences of the name Τροκονδας and 10 occurrences of the name Μολης, to which add Cau's updates. They give 15 occurrences of the name Μολης in western Pisidia (outside Termessos).

[116] LGPN V.B: Μολης has 1 occurrence in Cilicia, 7 in Pamphylia; Τροκονδας has 1 in Caria, 1 in Cilicia and 17 in Pamphylia, mainly western Pamphylia.

[117] Houwink ten Cate 1961, 190 n. 2 and 202. The authenticity of the Solymoi has been wisely questioned by Coulton 2008, 17–25.

[118] Hall – Coulton 1990, 122–39.

[119] Hall – Coulton 1990, 147–52. The Balboura list records ca. 320 individuals and 163 different names.

[120] Coulton, Balboura, 64–5; Rousset 2010, 30–1. See also on Boubon, Kokkinia 2008, 24. I leave aside the knotty question of the names Αρτ(ε)ιμ-.

[121] B. İplikçioğlu's epigraphical exploration of north-eastern Lycia has greatly enriched the onomastic material of that region.

onomastics of Hellenistic and Roman eastern Lycia was indeed characterised by the influence of three population groups: not only Lycians and colonial Greeks, but also Pisidians/Termessians. On the south-eastern coast, Rhodiapolis, Korydalla and Gagai were Lycian settlements in the 5th and 4th c. BC.[122] However, Lycian epigraphy and funerary monuments do not extend much to the north of Rhodiapolis.[123] From there Pisidian influence can be felt in funerary architecture.[124] The foundation of a powerful Pisidian stronghold at Termessos, which occurred sometime before Alexander's conquest, is likely to have had a significant impact in eastern Lycia. Although the onomastics of Termessos and north-eastern Lycia dates almost exclusively to the Roman period, one may reasonably wonder whether the onomastic connections between them are not better explained by the possibility that cities of north-eastern Lycia such as Kitanaura, Typallia, Trebenna and Onobara, were founded by Termessians sometime in the Hellenistic period.[125] With regard to the Rhodian colony of Phaselis, Termessos was certainly a dangerous neighbour; Arrian says that Pisidians threatened the Greek colony in the late 4th c. BC.[126] It is probable that, in order to reach Phaselis, Termessians used the mountainous axis, orientated north-south and stretching from the Çandır valley to Cape Chelidonia. As the names on the Hellenistic coins of Phaselis demonstrate, the onomastics of its elites remained predominantly Greek during the 3rd and 2nd c. BC, but other elements in the population of this colony might have already used indigenous names at this early date.[127]

---

[122] For the Rhodian colonisation associated with these sites, see Adak 2007, 41–4.

[123] For the extension of Lycian culture in eastern Lycia, see Adak 2007, 43–4.

[124] Zimmermann 1992, 5. See also Çevik 2008, 193–4, 197 (Trebenna), 204 (Kitanaura).

[125] Termessos continued to exercise political influence on these cities even when the Roman province of Lycia included all eastern Lycia: Şahin – Adak 2007, 219–20. For example, the people of Typallia bore the ethnic Τερμησσεὺς ἀπὸ Τυπαλλίων, implying close political links between the two communities: SEG LI 1839 with Şahin – Adak 2007, 231 and Schuler 2010b, 400. In LGPN V.B, the inclusion of Trebenna and Onobara was due more to their proximity to the sea than to their onomastics: see the introduction to LGPN V.B, xiii. Particularly interesting for the understanding of the links between the communities of north-eastern Lycia and Termessos is a series of documents regarding wars and banditry that affected that part of the Taurus in the Imperial period (SEG XLIV 1113 and Mitchell 1999, 155–73).

[126] Arr., Anab. i 24. 6.

[127] Adak 2013 has argued on the basis of the onomastic material of Phaselis that (p. 76), «the high number of Anatolian names found in imperial Phaselis cannot be explained in terms of temporary fashion (…). The widespread presence of these names shows a change in the ethnic structure. Obviously there was a decline in the Greek population and the indigenous population from the mountains moved to Phaselis to settle there». See consequently in the introduction of the same volume p. 8–9 «the old Greek inhabitants [of Phaselis] were decimated, to be replaced by Lycians from the west and Solymoi from the hills» as a result of Phaselis' involvement in piratical activities in the 1st c. BC. In total, I have counted 35 individuals out of 258 with an indigenous name in the onomastics of Phaselis (see LGPN V.B, xxv). I do not include the few *Lallnamen* in this account (Αμμια, Αφφαρους, Αφφια, Τατιον). It is true that the individuals with indigenous names are mainly attested in the Roman imperial period. However, the total

If it is reasonable to assume that the onomastic unit defined by the distribution of names such as Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα, Ἑρμαῖος, Τροκονδας and Μολης resulted from a Termessian influence in the demography of the Kabalis and north-eastern Lycia during the Hellenistic period, it remains to elucidate what can be learned from the remaining Arma derivatives attested in the Greek inscriptions mainly from the Xanthos valley and Central Lycia. The distribution of these Arma names in the heartland of Lycia points to an earlier stage in the history of southern Anatolia. Along with others, Arma names have been recognised as Luwian and have played an important role in attesting the presence of a Luwian population in southern Anatolia.[128] Because of their geographical isolation, Lycia and Cilicia Tracheia, more than anywhere else in southern Anatolia, have preserved the onomastic traditions of their pre-Hellenistic ancestors.[129] In contrast to these regions, the coastal strips of Pamphylia and Cilicia Pedias were certainly more accessible to new settlers, and to some degree substantiated in their onomastics.[130] But even between Lycia and Cilicia Tracheia remarkable differences exist in the distribution pattern of Anatolian names. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the Arma names, with the exception of the female name Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα, are concentrated in Lycia in the Xanthos valley and Central Lycia.[131] In the

number of individuals attested for Roman Phaselis is so small that it certainly does not provide enough material to document such a dramatic change in the population structure of the city. Moreover, most indigenous names come from a handful of inscriptions: three honorific inscriptions for public figures (TAM II [3] 1200; 1202; 1204); three honorific inscriptions for victors (SEG LV 1474; TAM II [3] 1206; 1207); four funerary inscriptions (TAM II [3] 1210; 1211; 1212; 1215). Evidently, many of these bearers of indigenous names belonged to a single family, which seems to have been epigraphically very visible. Note also that the 81 magistrates known from its Hellenistic coinage (3rd–2nd c. BC) are Greek with the exception of a Τρεβημις, which shows that the elite of the city was not completely unopened to Anatolian onomastics as early as in the 2nd c. BC. Adak (p. 77) argues that the Roman reprisals also affected Olympos, the neighbour of Phaselis, and that P. Servilius Vatia plundered and decimated the population of that city as well. However, a rapid examination of the onomastics of Olympos, incomparably richer than that of Phaselis (with the sole material that is published in TAM II [3] 947–1168 – more than 120 funerary inscriptions and mainly dated to the Roman period, the total of individuals raises to ca. 1,000 individuals – unsurprisingly), shows that Olympos has the regular onomastics that we find in Lycia in the Greco-Roman period: ca. 11 % indigenous names, ca. 5 % Lallnamen, ca. 3 % Latin names, with the rest (ca. 80 %) being Greek names. The Roman intervention did not result in a widespread exchange of population in that part of Lycia. For the onomastics of Olympos, see also the general observations by L. Robert in Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes (IVe section). Sciences historiques et philologiques. Annuaire 1962/3, 56. As for the Solymoi, the author seems unaware of Coulton 2008.

[128] So Luwian onomastic elements are attested in what will become Lycia, the Milyas, the Kabalis, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycaonia and Cilicia in Classical times. See Houwink ten Cate 1961, 188–97. Melchert 2003, 101; Brixhe 1965, 618 n. 60.

[129] Houwink ten Cate 1961, 1–2.

[130] See introduction LGPN V.B, xiv–xx; xxxiii–xxxiv.

[131] The presence of a few Arma names in the Kabalis and Milyas could be due either to Lycian extension into this zone or to an onomastic tradition shared by the Lycians and one of the ethnic

same period in Cilicia Tracheia, although the Luwian onomastic traditions are otherwise well attested, it is striking that the Arma names are only represented by the single theophoric Αρμαρωνζας. Arma derivatives had a different reception among Lycians and Cilicians. One possibility is that Arma names were popularized only by the Lycians or their ancestors.[132] Even if the idea that Arma names merely disappeared in Cilicia during the transition to Greek cannot be ruled out entirely, it is possible that this is a regional onomastic tradition particular to the Lycians and their direct ancestors. Scholars have gone a step further and assumed, on the basis of the high number of names derived from Arma in Greek inscriptions from Lycia, that a Luwian cult of the Moon-god was prevalent in that region.[133]

F. Conclusion

This examination of the geographical distribution of the theophoric names derived from the Moon-divinity Arma in southern Asia Minor has paid particular attention to clarifying the cultural borders between Classical Lycia and her northern neighbours.[134] The transitional region called by Zgusta ‹südphrygisch-lykisches Übergangsgebiet›, more or less equivalent to what scholars have often called ‹northern Lycia›, ought not to be confused with Lycia in terms of onomastics. Westward Termessian expansion might have dramatically altered the onomastic landscape of the *haut-plateaux* of the Kabalis and the Milyas, while the geographical isolation of Lycia maintained stronger pre-Hellenic traditions. Termessian influence has also been recognised in eastern Lycia, where three distinct population groups characterised the onomastic pool: the establishment of Rhodian colonists in the archaic period, the growth of Lycian culture in the 5th–4th c. BC and the foundation of Termessos sometime before Alexander the Great. This study has also shown that the reception of the Hittite-Luwian Arma tradition varied greatly across the different regions of southern Asia Minor. Geographical determinants, population movements and differing degrees of Hellenization are variables that have been brought to the fore in order to

groups that could have constituted the Kabalian population of the Hellenistic period. For Lycian extension in the Kibyratis, Kabalis and Milyas in 5th–4th c. BC, see Gay – Corsten 2006, 56–8 and Coulton, Balboura, 55–8.

[132] For the predecessors of the Lycians, see Melchert 2003, 107–24.

[133] It is incorrect to assume on the basis of the Greek onomastic material that the Luwian divinity Arma was worshipped in Pamphylia, Cilicia, Caria and Lycia as in Melchert 2003, 228. Houwink ten Cate 1961, 132 and, before him, Laroche 1955, 24 already correctly limited the distribution of the Arma derivatives to Lycia. For a possible joint cult of Arma-Tarhunt in Caria, see Adiego – Debord – Varinlioğlu 2005, 615–7 and Adiego 2007, 331 and 355. The predecessors of the Cilicians could have developed their own cult of the Moon, under another name. See for example the development of the Moon-God of Harran in the eastern parts of the Luwian domain: Melchert 2003, 228 and 273.

[134] One of the desiderata that Zgusta expressed in the conclusion of his Kleinasiastische Personennamen was further clarification about geographical limits p. 562.

account for the variations and evolutions in the indigenous component of the regional onomastic landscapes of Hellenistic and Roman southern Asia Minor. Ultimately, however, the interpretation of this Luwian onomastic tradition encounters the problem of the general lack of good evidence for the pre-Hellenic onomastics in these regions. This is particularly problematic when interpreting the geographical distribution of the name Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα, which clearly does not fit with the rest of the Arma names. Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα completes a list of common names such as Ἑρμαῖος, Τροκονδας and Μολης, that are distributed especially across the Kabalis, western Pisidia and north-eastern Lycia. How can the isolation of the name Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα in contrast to the other Arma names be best understood? Brixhe has argued that in Termessos the connection of the indigenous names derived from Arma with the Greek names derived from Ἑρμῆς increased the popularity of the Hermes derivatives, especially Ἑρμαῖος, and led to the «collapse» of the indigenous names in Αρμ-/Ερμ- with the exception of the name Αρμαστα.[135] In other words, while Arma names would have kept a rich diversity in Lycia, only a single remainder, this time female (Αρμαστα), and a male Greek counter-part (Ἑρμαῖος) survived in the Pisidian/Termessian context. Hellenization would have favoured a process of homogenisation in Termessian onomastics. A comparison with the theophoric names derived from the most important Luwian god, the Storm-god Tarhunt, perhaps suggests another solution.[136] Zgusta's map (with LGPN V.B updates) shows that the Tarhunt names (Τροκονδας, Ταρκονδιμοτος, Ταρκυαρις, Τροκοαρβασις, Τροκοζαρμας, etc.) are well distributed along the southern coast of Asia Minor from Lycia to Cilicia.[137] Nevertheless, there is a striking contrast between Cicilia and the remaining regions. Compound names with the element Tarhun(nt)- are somewhat exceptional outside Cicilia.[138] On the other hand, Τροκονδας, the divine name itself, is hardly attested in Cilicia but has a notable frequency in eastern Lycia, the Kabalis and western Pisidia. Evidently, the preservation of various traditions of Luwian theophoric names in Cilicia and Lycia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods resulted from their deeper isolation, but there was also clearly a certain degree of regionalism in pre-Hellenic onomastic traditions. Arma theophoric names are Lycian, while Tarhunt theophoric names are Cilician.[139] Iron Age southern Asia Minor was not occupied by one single Luwian population sharing the same onomastic traditions. It is therefore not certain

[135] Brixhe 1991, 79.

[136] For Tarhunt, see Melchert 2003, 220–4. The name of the god name is attested in Carian (Adiego 2007, 332) and Lycian epigraphy (Neumann 2007, 378).

[137] Zgusta, AP, 103–13 with map no. 17. In Caria, only a single occurrence of the name Τροκονδας illustrates the Tarhunt names (Gephyra 9, 2012, 117 no. 4), but it is unlikely that the people attested in this inscription are from Stratonikeia.

[138] Houwink ten Cate 1961, 126–8, 201 with the entries beginning in Ταρκ-, Τρακ-, Τρεκ-, Τροκ- in LGPN V.B.

[139] Houwink ten Cate took this as an argument for the permanence of the worship of Tarhunt in Hellenistic Cilicia.

that theophoric compound names derived from Arma were popular among ancestors of the Termessians and the Pisidians more generally, raising the possibility that Αρμαστα/Ερμαστα is perhaps *not* a name derived from the Hittite-Luwian Arma. However, Τροκονδας and perhaps Ἑρμαῖος, if the latter is the Greek equivalent of the divine name Arma, might indicate that the predecessors of the Termessians were more inclined to use theonyms than theophoric compound names.

Lexicon of Greek Personal Names
University of Oxford
66 St. Giles'
Oxford OX1 3LU
England

Appendix: note on Tyriaion no. 67

Cau 2005b 381 note 13 suggested that the name Ερμολησιας (Tyriaion no. 67, ll. 2–3) should be interpreted as a name derived from the Luwian divinity Arma. Without doubt, however, this name ought to be emended. The name Κερμολασιας appears twice in the long list of lot holders from Balboura, a list that has particularly enriched our knowledge of the onomastics of Kabalis.[140] The drawing of the early CIG edition of Tyriaion no. 67 (CIG 4381B) shows traces of a letter (kappa?) before the beginning of the name Ερμολησιας in line 2, while in line 3 of the CIG edition Φερ[- -] was read. The photograph of the squeeze given in the Tyriaion volume (pl. XXII no. 67) confirms the existence before Ερμολησιας of a letter that seems to be kappa; kappa also appears to be clearly discernible at the beginning of line 3. Therefore, read the text as follows (Κερμολησιας and Κερμολασιας are orthographic variants of the same name):

Αρτειμα
Κ̣ερμολησ̣ιου
Κ̣ερμολησιαν Αρτει-
μου Κενδαιβου Μ̣ιανομου
κ̣αὶ Αβ̣αν τὴν μητέρα

The name in line 1 also poses some difficulty. Naour's squeeze shows no trace of a *sigma* after Αρτειμα. However, since the relevant indigenous male name is Αρτ(ε)ιμας/ης, Bean supplied a final *sigma* in his edition of the text.[141] Naour, on the other hand, preferred to see in Αρτειμα a female name, which fits with his interpre-

[140] Hall – Coulton 1990, 113–14 face C, ll. 29–30 and 37.
[141] Bean 1956, 152–3.

tation of the monument: the woman called Αρτειμα erected the monument for her parents and was depicted on one of the group of three rock-cut reliefs that this inscription accompanied (see the commentary in Tyriaon no. 66–68).[142]

Bibliography

Adak, M. 2006. Olbia in Pamphylien. Die epigraphische Evidenz, Gephyra 3, 1–28.
Adak, M. 2007. Die dorische und äolische Kolonisation des lykisch-pamphylischen Grenzraumes im Lichte der Epigraphik, in: Ch. Schuler (ed.), Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien. Eine Zwischen Bilanz Akten des int. Kolloquiums München, 24.–26. Februar 2005, 41–9.
Adak, M. 2013. Names, Ethnicity and Acculturation in the Pamphylian-Lycian Borderland, in: R. Parker (ed.), Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia, 63–78.
Adiego, I.-J. – P. Debord – E. Varinlioğlu, 2005. La stèle caro-grecque d'Hyllarima (Carie), REA 107, 601–53.
Adiego, I.-J. 2007. The Carian Language.
Bean, G. E. 1956. Notes and inscriptions from Cibyratis and Caralitis, ABSA 51, 136–56.
Bechtel, F. 1917. Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit.
Bérard, V. 1892. Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure, BCH 16, 417–446.
Blümel, W. 1994. Über die chronologische und geographische Verteilung einheimischer Personennamen in griechischen Inschriften aus Karien, in: M. E. Giannotta et al. (eds.), La decifrazione del Cario. Atti del 1° Simposio Internazionale. Roma, 3–4 maggio 1993, 65–86.
Bresson, A. 2007. Les Cariens ou la mauvaise conscience du barbare, in: G. Urso (ed.), Tra Oriente e Occidente. Indigeni, Greci e Romani in Asia Minore. Atti del convegno internazionale, Cividale del Friuli, 28–30 settembre 2006, 209–28.
Brixhe, C. 1965. Sur un corpus des noms indigènes d'Asie Mineure. À propos d'un livre récent de L. Zgusta, REG 78, 610–9.
Brixhe, C. 1976. Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie. Documents et grammaire.
Brixhe, C. [2]1987. Essai sur le grec anatolien au début de notre ère.
Brixhe, C. 1991. Étymologie populaire et onomastique en pays bilingue, RPh 65/1, 78–9.
Brixhe, C. 1999. Réflexion sur l'onomastique personnelle d'une vieille terre coloniale: la Pamphylie, in: C. Dobias-Lalou (ed.), Des dialectes grecs aux lois de Gortyne, 33–45.
Bryce, T. R. 1986. The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources.
Cau, N. 2005a. Onomastica licia, in: Studi Ellenistici, vol. XVI, 2005, 345–376.
Cau, N. 2005b. Nuovi antroponimi indigeni nelle iscrizioni greche della Licia di età ellenistico-romana, II, in: Studi Ellenistici, vol. XVI, 2005, 377–421.
Çevik, N. – B. Varkivanç – E. Akyürek. 2005. Trebenna. Tarihi, Arkeolojisi ve Dogasi. Its History, Archaeology and Natural Environment.
Çevik, N. 2008. Northeast Lycia. The New Evidence – Results from the past ten years from the Bey Mountains Surface Surveys, Adalya 11, 189–233.
Colvin, S. 2004, Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia, in: S. Colvin (ed.), The Greco-Roman East. Politics, Culture, Society, 45–84.
Corsten, T. 2007. Prosopographische und onomastische Notizen III, Gephyra 4, 133–44.
Coşkun, A. 2013. Romanisierung und keltisches Substrat im hadrianischen Ankyra, ZPE 185, 171–184.
Coulton, J. J. 2008. Homer and the Solymians, in: D. Kurtz et al. (eds.), Essays in Classical Archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou 1977–2007, 17–25.

[142] Cf. also Cau 2005b, 382.

Coulton, Balboura = J. J. Coulton et al., The Balboura survey and settlement in highland Southwest Anatolia, vol. 1, Balboura and the history of highland settlement, 2012.
Curbera, J. 2013. Resources for Naming: Problematic Names of Asia Minor, in: R. Parker (ed.), Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia.
Delemen, İ. 1999. Anatolian Rider-gods: a Study of Stone Finds from the Regions of Lycia, Pisidia, Isauria, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Lydia and Caria in the Late Roman period.
Drew-Bear, Th. – G. Labarre. 2004. Une dédicace aux Douze Dieux lyciens et la question de leur origine, in: G. Labarre (ed.), Les cultes locaux dans les mondes grec et romain. Actes du colloque de Lyon 7–8 juin 2001, 81–101.
Feissel, D. 2012. Inscriptions of Early Byzantium and the Continuity of Ancient Onomastics, in: J. Davies – J. Wilkes (eds.), Epigraphy and the historical sciences, 1–14.
Freyer-Schauenburg, B. mit Beiträgen zu den Inschriften von G. Petzl. 1994. Die lykischen Zwölfgötter-Reliefs.
Gay, K. A. – T. Corsten. 2006. Lycian tombs in the Kibyratis and the extent of Lycian culture, AS 56, 47–60.
Gérard, R. 2005. Phonétique et morphologie de la langue lydienne.
Gignac, F. Th. 1976. A Grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, vol. 1, Phonology.
Hall A. S. 1986. R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies No. 9: The Milyadeis and Their Territory, AS 36, 137–57.
Hall A. S. – J. J. Coulton. 1990. A Hellenistic Allotment List from Balboura in the Kibyratis, Chiron 20, 109–58.
Hellenkemper, H. – F. Hild. 2004. Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8. Lykien und Pamphylien.
Heubeck, A. 1959. Lydiaka. Untersuschungen zu Schrift, Sprache und Götternamen der Lyder.
Hittite Etymological Dictionary = J. Puhvel (ed.), Hittite Etymological Dictionnary, 1984–.
Hornblower, S. 1982. Mausolus.
Horsley, G. H. R. 1992. The Mysteries of Artemis Ephesia, AS 42, 119–150.
Houwink ten Cate, Ph. H. J. 1961. The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera During the Hellenistic Period.
İplikçioğlu, B. 2011. Epigraphic-Historical Geography Surveys in East Lycia-West Pamphylia in 2010, AnMed. Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri 9, 198–99.
İplikçioğlu, B. – Ch. Schuler. 2011. Ein Tempel für die Dioskuren und Helena. Eine neue Bauinschrift aus Bozhüyük bei Elmalı im lykischen Hochland, AAWW 146/2, 39–60.
Kokkinia, C. (ed.). 2008. Boubon. The Inscriptions and Archaeological Remains. A Survey 2004–2006.
Kretschmer, P. 1896. Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache.
Laroche, E. 1955. Divinités lunaires d'Anatolie, RHR, 148/1 1–24.
Laroche E. 1966. Les noms des Hittites.
Le Roy, C. 2000. Pisidiens en Lycie et Lyciens en Pisidie, in: C. Işık (ed.), Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens und des ägäischen Bereiches. Festschrift für Baki Öğün zum 75. Geburtstag, 255–66.
Letronne, A.-J. 1851. Mémoire sur l'utilité que l'on peut retirer de l'étude des noms propres grecs, pour l'histoire et l'archéologie, in: Mémoires de l'institut national de France, Académie des inscriptions et des belles-lettres 19/1, 1–126.
Masson, O. 1959. Notes d'anthroponymie grecque et asianique, Beitr. z. Nam. 10, 158–70 (= O. Masson, Onomastica Graeca Selecta, C. Dobias – L. Dubois [eds.], vol. I [1990], 19–30).
Masson, O. 1988. Noms grecs du type Ἀρκολέων «Ours-lion», in: ΗΔΙΣΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΔΕΙΠΝΟΝ, Logopédies, Mélanges J. Taillard, 171–7 (= O. Masson, Onomastica Graeca Selecta, C. Dobias – L. Dubois [eds.], vol. I [1990], 617–23).

Melchert, H. C. 1994. Anatolian historical phonology.
Melchert, H. C. (ed.). 2003. The Luwians.
Melchert, H. C. 2013. Naming Practices in Western Anatolia, in: R. Parker (ed.), Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia, 31–49.
Mitchell, S. 1999. Native rebellion in the Pisidian Taurus, in: K. Hopwood (ed.), Organised crime in antiquity, 155–73.
Neumann G. 1979, Namen und Epiklesen lykischer Götter, in: Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche, 259–71.
Neumann, G. 2007. Glossar des Lykischen.
Öztürk, H. S. – H. Perk. 2009. A Votive Offering to Meter Tymenaia, Adalya 12, 103–6.
Pappas, N. G. 1994. Castellorizo. An Illustrated History of the Island and its Conquerors.
Parker, R. 2000. Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion, in: S. Hornblower – E. Matthews (eds.), Greek Personal Names. Their Value as Evidence, 53–79.
Parker, R. 2013. Introduction, in: R. Parker (ed.), Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia, 2013, 1–14.
Petersen, E. – F. von Luschan. 1889. Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis.
Ramsay, W. M. 1888. Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the Border Lands (II). AJA 4, 6–21.
Reitzenstein, D. 2011. Die lykischen Bundespriester. Repräsentation der kaiserzeitlichen Elite Lykiens.
Robert, L. 1937. Études anatoliennes.
Robert, Hellenica = L. Robert, Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques, 12 vol., 1940–1965.
Robert, L. 1954. La Carie, t. II, Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs.
Robert, Noms indigènes = L. Robert, Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine, 1963.
Robert, L. 1983. Documents d'Asie mineure, BCH 107/1, 497–599 (= L. Robert, Documents d'Asie mineure [BEFAR 239 bis], 1987, 341–443).
Rousset D. 2010. De Lycie en Cabalide. La convention entre les Lyciens et Termessos près d'Oinoanda.
Şahin S. – M. Adak. 2007. Stadiasmus Patarensis. Itinera Romana Provinciae Lyciae.
Sayar, M. 2004. Oniki Tanrıya Adanmış İki Stel, Palmet 5, 59–68.
Schuler, Ch. 2007. Einführung: Zum Stand der griechischen Epigraphik in Lykien. Mit einer Bibliographie, in: Ch. Schuler (ed.), Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien. Eine Zwischenbilanz. Akten des int. Kolloquiums München, 24.–26. Februar 2005, 9–26.
Schuler, Ch. 2010. Griechische Personennamen in Lykien. Einige Fallstudien, in: R. W. V. Catling – F. Marchand (eds.), Onomatologos. Studies in Greek Personal Names presented to Elaine Matthews, 552–66.
Schuler, Ch. 2010b. Sympolitien in Lykien und Karien, in: R. van Bremen – J.-M. Carbon (eds.), Hellenistic Karia, 393–413.
Schuler, Ch. – K. Zimmermann. 2012. Neue Inschriften aus Patara I: Zur Elite der Stadt in Hellenismus und früher Kaiserzeit, Chiron 42, 567–626.
Schürr, D. 2013. Beobachtungen zu den Zwölfgötter-Reliefs in Lykien, Adalya 16, 213–23.
Staab, G. 2012. Grabsteine aus Lykien mit neuen metrischen Inschriften, EA 45, 38–54.
Thonemann, P. 2006. Neilomandros. A contribution to the history of Greek personal names, Chiron 36, 11–43.
Threatte, L. 1980. The grammar of Attic inscriptions, vol. I, Phonology.
Tyriaion = Ch. Naour, Tyriaion en Cabalide: épigraphie et géographie historique, 1982.
van Nijf, O. 2012. Being Termessian: local knowledge and identity politics in a Pisidian city, in: T. Whitmarsh (ed.), Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World, 163–188.

Vlassopoulos, K. 2013. Greeks and Barbarians.
Wörrle, M. 2012. Die griechischen Sepulkralinschriften von Limyra, in: J. Borchhardt – A. Pekridou-Gorecki (eds.), Limyra. Studien zu Kunst und Epigraphik in den Nekropolen der Antike, 411–457.
Zehnder, T. 2010. Die hethitischen Frauennamen. Katalog und Interpretation.
Zimmermann, M. 1992. Untersuchungen zur historischen Landeskunde Zentrallykiens.
Zgusta, KP = L. Zgusta, Kleinasiastische Personennamen, 1964.
Zgusta, AP = L. Zgusta, Anatolische Personennamensippen, 1964.
Zgusta, L. 1970. Neue Beiträge zur Kleinasiatischen Anthroponymie.

Burdur
Sagalassos
Kremna
Acıpayam
Pogla
Andeda
Ariassos
Kibyra
Korkutelil
Isinda
Söğüt
Boubon
Balboura
Tyriaion
Termessos
Antalya
KABALIS
Trebenna
Hurma
Oinoanda
Seki
Typallia
Onobara
ÇANDIR VALLEY
Elmalı
Soklai
Kitanaura
MILYAS
BEY DAĞLARI
Fethiyel
Telmessos
Kollyba?
Idebessos
Komba
Akalissos
Phaselis
Arykanda
XANTHOS VALLEY
Neisa
Rhodiapolis
Olympos
CENTRAL LYCIA
Korydalla
Finike
Gagai
Patara
Kaş/Antiphellos
Megiste

Map of Lycia