

LYCIA, MILYA, SOLYMOI A new Anatolian language

In my article on «Pisidian»¹ I tried to find how many languages were spoken in Pisidia, and one might ask also how many languages were spoken in Lycia. All scholars are agreed, I believe, that the main language spoken in Lycia at the time the Greeks came in contact with the people was Lycian, or in that language *Tr̄m̄mili*. But in eastern Lycia were several cities, Olympos, Idebessos, and Phaselis. The names found at Phaselis show that it must have been a colony of the Kilikians. Olympos and Idebessos show close anthroponymic links with Termessos farther to the north. And Termessos has generally been considered Pisidian as far back as Artemidoros. But the Termessians themselves worshipped the god of the Solymoi, and were, according to Strabo (13.4.16) themselves Solymoi. But who were the Solymoi? That is what Strabo wished to know some two thousand years ago. Research, mainly by Strabo, brought forth the following opinions: the Solymoi were the same as the Milya, the same as the Kabaleis, the Pisidians, the Isaurians, and the Lycians. The only definite conclusion reached in the end was that they were different from the Lycians and Pamphylians.

Perhaps the most significant bit of folklore in this is that Μιλύη was the sister and wife of Solymos, eponymous founder of the Solymoi. This is the only way the ancients had of expressing their view of the relationship of peoples. The fewer generations from the source, the closer the relationship. In this case the Milyai and the Solymoi would be very close indeed.

In connection with this problem we may consider the Xanthos stele, the longest and historically the most important inscription found in Lycia. Although attempts have been made to read it or parts of it, Deeters expressed the view of scholars with a conservative outlook when he stated that only a few sentences can

¹ *American Journal of Philology* 71 (1950), 239-270.

be made out². Even that is something of an overstatement. We can only get some idea of what the subject is and recognize a word now and then. It has been known for a long time that the inscription was in Trmmili or Lycian and some other language or dialect. Imbert wished to call the other speech Milyan, but lately scholars have called it dialect B.

Because of the slow progress made in interpreting this important inscription it occurred to me recently that the subject matter was probably much the same in dialects A and B, and that if one could find parallel passages, it might be possible to translate A into B or B into A, even though we did not yet know what either meant. The time might come when we would know the one or the other and then we should make more rapid progress than by working on the one alone.

Lycian or dialect A begins on the south side, runs over the east side and to the middle of the north side where 12 lines of a Greek hexameter occur, and then Lycian B begins.

It is wrong to call these dialects A and B, however. They are different, though very likely related, languages. I began finding words here and there in the two versions that were the same and in similar sequence, as one would expect if the versions were parallel.

But I ran into a difficulty. Dialect B was supposed to finish up the north side and then cover the whole of the west side. But I was not finding any or only rather doubtful comparisons in the last part. I had noticed that whereas Lycian has *se*, known to mean «and», dialect B had *sebe*. The word *se* is of very frequent occurrence in Lycian. During the moment I was puzzled over not finding further evidence of parallel texts, I noticed that while the first part of the «Dialect B» text had *sebe* about as frequently as Dialect A has *se* «and», *sebe* only occurred infrequently on the whole west face. The probable significance of this was at once apparent. The Xanthos stele contained inscriptions not in three languages or dialects, Greek and Lycian A and B, but four. For the moment, I called the inscription with *se* «and» Lycian, the one on the north side following the Greek hexameter where *sebe* occurs about

² Pauly-Wissowa, «Lykia, Sprache».

equally frequently I called «Sebe,» and the west-side inscription where *sebe* occurs infrequently «Little Sebe».

The inscriptions in the three Lycian languages or dialects are of very unequal length, Lycian 138 lines, Sebe 34, Little Sebe 71. But the Lycian inscription is very badly damaged on both margins while both Sebe inscriptions are much better preserved and may some day throw light on the damaged Lycian version. Moreover in considering the parallelism of texts the very lengthiness of the Lycian text makes it difficult to find similar words to those in the Sebe texts. I present such evidence of parallelism as I have found in the three texts:

S. and E. sides	W. side	N. side (last part)
Lycian	Milya	Solymoi
(<i>Se</i>)	(Little <i>Sebe</i>)	(<i>Sebe</i>)
	<i>sebe</i> (8th word)	<i>sebe</i> (5th word)
	<i>slātu</i> (10th word)	<i>slati</i> (10th word)
	<i>albrã-nace</i> (l. 4)	<i>laßra</i> (l. 4)
	<i>trqq-ñtasa</i> (l. 4)	<i>trqqiz</i> (l. 4)
	<i>uweti</i> (l. 7)	<i>uweti</i> (l. 7)
<i>Kerig(ah)</i> (l. 30)	<i>Keriga-sa</i> (l. 8)	<i>Keriga</i> (l. 6)
<i>mrbb-êne-di</i> (38)		<i>mrßßdi</i> (6)
<i>trm̄mile</i> (35, 36)	<i>trm̄mile cupr(l)lese</i> (11)	<i>trm̄miliya</i> — ³ <i>cuplle...</i> (7)
<i>tupeliyã</i> (38)		<i>tuplel-eimi</i> (9)
	<i>lelebedi</i> (15)	<i>lelebedi</i> (10)
<i>waksse</i> (49)		<i>waksi</i> (11)
<i>Hericle</i> (50)	<i>Ericle-be</i> (17)	
<i>kbide</i> (51)		<i>kbide</i> (15)
<i>turakssi</i> (54)		<i>turakssa[d]i</i> (16-17)
<i>Humrkkã</i> (55)		<i>Umr̄ggazñ</i> (18)
	<i>Keriga[z]</i> (19)	<i>Keriga</i> (19)
	<i>t[risu]</i> — <i>tbisu</i> (20-21)	<i>trisu</i> — <i>tbisu</i> (20)
	<i>trm̄mile-be</i> (25)	<i>trm̄miliz</i> (21)
<i>tuburehi</i> (E 15)	<i>uplesiz</i> — <i>tubu[r]iz</i>	
	(31-32)	<i>tuburiz upleziz</i> (26)

³ A dash denotes an intervening word.

	<i>mede</i> (35)	<i>mede</i> (28)
	<i>albã-pe</i> (38)	<i>alβa-nalak</i> (29)
<i>wedre</i> (E 30)	<i>-uwedri</i> (54)	
	<i>kuzr-uwāta</i> (56)	<i>kuzr-ñtas</i> (30)

While not all the correspondences are listed in this correlation of lines, yet I believe it is apparent that the two Sebe languages are closer to each other than to Lycian, and yet would not be mutually intelligible, i.e., they would have to be considered as languages and not dialects⁴. Kalinka thought that «Dialect B» was an older form of speech, preserving *s* which had become *h* in Lycian, and Imbert called it Milyish. I think both ideas were excellent. But since we find two languages instead of one dialect, I would call them Solymoi and Milya. But which was which? Since the ruler of Xanthos was displaying the learning of his court by inscribing a Greek hexameter, much as the courts of Europe once used French, what would be more natural than to follow this with a further display by inscribing a short document in the extinct language of the ancient but «glorious Solymoi», just as the monarchs of Europe once employed Latin?

This was followed by an inscription in Milya, still used in the mountainous region and hence of greater utility, and the inscription of greater length⁵. The town of the Milyai was said to have been Arykanda, and they were also said to be about Baris.

⁴ I have not, of course, presented above all the evidence of the differences between the two languages. Beside the extensive use of *sebe* «and» in one, but its very restricted use in the other Sebe language, we may observe that *sbirte*, the first word in the Sebe inscription occurs twice more in that shortest of native inscriptions on the Xanthos stele, but not at all in any other inscription in Lycia. And the third word, *saba-di*, in the Sebe inscription, as well as *saba-ca* later in the same inscription, occur only there. The words *qetbeleima*, *-mis* occur only in Sebe. This and other differences in vocabulary give some idea of why so few parallels were found. Of course there are differences in subject matter dictated by space, local appeal, and individual choice. I have never seen a bilingual or a quadrilingual where one version was a precise translation of the other.

⁵ The Solymoi inscription on the lower part of the north face of the Xanthos stele will probably be easier to «break» than the longer Milya inscription on the west face. For the Solymoi parallels with the Milya and Trmmili inscriptions are concentrated in a smaller space. Inscription no. 55 of Antiphellos is also in Solymoi and should be of some help in solving the Solymoi text of the Xanthos stele.

We began this essay noting the resemblance of names at Olympos and Idebessos in eastern Lycia to those of Termessos, and the probable relationship of the language at Termessos to Solymoi. I find a great many of the roots of Termessos names in the Sebe languages; because of the limited Solymoi vocabulary and the close relationship of the two Sebe languages to each other, I have considered the two Sebe languages together here.

But the Sebe languages and those of Olympos, Idebessos, and Termessos, and Pisidian not only have so many roots in common but have some phonetic similarities, so that I do not wish to classify the languages on such a basis alone but leave the matter for later investigation of the morphology of these languages before trying to determine possible genetic relationship.

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