



## Lycian *Wexssere*, *Waxssepddimi* and related forms

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**Abstract:** In this paper, I address the problem of the Lycian coin legends attributed to two dynasts of the same name – *Wexssere* I and *Wexssere* II – on the basis of some very recent re-readings and novelties published by Koray Konuk. Now we actually have different forms (*wexssere*, *waxssebllimi*, *waxssepddimi*, *uxssepddimi*), that seem to be chaotically distributed. The present paper proposes to consider *Waxssebllimi* to be older than *Waxssepddimi* and *Uxssepddimi*, and to analyze it as a foreign name, possibly Carian, later adapted to Lycian as *Waxssepddimi-Uxssepddimi*; thus, *contra* Konuk, I suggest that these names may refer to the same person. As for the relationship of *waxssebllimi-waxssepddimi-uxssepddimi* with *wexssere*, the existence of an apparent interchangeability between the two can be attributed either to a double denomination practice or to the fact that *wexssere* was a place name, not a personal name. By accepting either hypothesis, the alleged chaotic distribution disappears and much simpler models of dynastic sequence can be envisaged. Although the interpretation of *wexssere* as a place name seems much more attractive, it cannot be accepted definitively at present due to certain numismatic objections.

**Keywords:** Lycian, Carian, Lycian coins, Anatolian languages, *Wexssere* coins

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1. Recently, Koray Konuk published a paper entitled “On some new Lycian coin types” in which he offers some very novel information about an old and as yet unresolved problem of Lycian onomastics: the set of (real and alleged) names such as *wexssere*, *waxssepddimi* or *waxsse rddimi*, *ddimiu*, *waxssebe*.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the emergence of new coin types and the re-reading of other previously known but erroneously interpreted ones, Konuk’s extremely valuable contribution helps to correct some earlier misreadings. However, his article also opens up some challenging new questions, and the aim of my paper is to deal with some of these problems.

To begin with, I will try to summarize the current state of the art. The history of the research is so complex and sinuous that it would merit a paper of its own, and I hope that my summary is not excessively confused or elliptical:

(1) In Mørkholm – Neumann 1977, which remains the principal reference work for coin epigraphy in Lycian, the following forms are presented:

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<sup>1</sup> Konuk 2016.

- a) *wexssere* (M 132a, M 133a, M 207a, M 236)
- b) *wex* (M 207c)
- c) *wexs* (M 132b)
- d) *wexss* (M 207b)
- e) *waxsser ddimi* (M 237)
- f) *waxsse* (M 133b)
- g) *waxssebe* (M 208)
- h) *ddimiu* (M 235)

(2) In the Xanthos Stele, a name *waxssepddimi* is mentioned (TL 44a, 49). The context points to a Lycian dynast defeated by Kherēi and Kheriga:



FIG. 1. *Waxssepddimi* (TL 44a, 49).

(3) In numismatic studies, the names appearing on coins have been treated as the avatars of a unique onomastic form: a proper name generally transcribed as *Wekhssere* (less often *Vekhssere*; henceforth transcribed *Wexssere* according to the standard transliteration of Lycian). Given that the name *Wexssere* appeared both in coins that were typologically similar to the coinage of the dynast Kuprlli (around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) and in coins of a more recent date (the first decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC), Jenkins suggested the existence of two dynasts named *Wexssere*.<sup>2</sup> This proposal has been accepted by numismatic scholars, the sole discrepancy being the precise attribution of the different coin types to *Wexssere I* or *Wexssere II*.<sup>3</sup>

(4) The appearance of a new coin type, published by Özüdoğru<sup>4</sup> containing a name *uxssepddimi* (misread there as *[wa]xssepddimi*)<sup>5</sup> is the starting point of Konuk's study. Konuk also examines other coins, some entirely new, others already known but misinterpreted, and the picture changes dramatically:

- a) *waxsser ddimi* must be read *waxssepddimi*. It is therefore exactly the same name as in TL 44a, 49.
- b) *waxssebe* must be read *waxssebl* and it is in fact the abbreviation of a name that we can read completely in two new coin types: *waxsseblimi*.
- c) *ddimiu* does not exist: it is a misreading of *uxssepddimi*.

(5) In conclusion, we now have the following names:

- a) *wexssere*, abbreviated as *wex*, *wexs*, *wexss*.
- b) *waxsseblimi*, abbreviated as *waxssebl*.
- c) *waxssepddimi*, possibly abbreviated as *waxsse* in M 133b.
- d) *uxssepddimi*.

<sup>2</sup> Jenkins 1959, 33.

<sup>3</sup> For further detailed information, see Vismara 1989a, 27–33.

<sup>4</sup> Özüdoğru 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Correct reading by Konuk *apud* Schürr 2012, 139 and now in Konuk 2016.





**FIG. 4.** Reverse of Babelon 1910, n° 442 (BNF). Source: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534848z/> (last accessed 11 October 2021).

2.2. The other note is a further consequence of the newly attested form *uxssepddimi*. The symbol  $\frac{V}{O}$  appears in different Lycian coin types. We find it on a coin with the legend *wexssere*, on another with the legend *waxsse*, and also on coins minted in the city of Zagaba.

For the origin of this symbol, several hypotheses have been formulated: according to Vismara,<sup>11</sup> it is the result of a combination of the diskeles – a symbol that she links to the dynast Wexssere II – with the letter  $\Psi x$ , initial of *xñtawata* ‘king, ruler’ [sic].<sup>12</sup> For Kolb and Tietz<sup>13</sup> it is rather a compromise between a symbol  $\frac{V}{O}$  found in Tlos (cf. the abovementioned coin of *Waxssepdđimi*, Babelon 1910, n° 442, where it appears) and the Lycian letter  $\Psi x$ , which could be the initial of Xeriga, the name of the well-known Xanthian dynast, who for these authors may be an ancestor of the local dynast.

Now, it is tempting to see in the symbol  $\frac{V}{O}$  the three initial letters of the name *uxssepddimi*,  $O \Psi \varsigma$  (*uxs*). This is particularly visible on some coins minted in Zagaba, as the following images show:



**FIG. 5.** Lycian coin from Zagaba with the symbol  $\frac{V}{O}$  (Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Auction 309, Lot 232, 7 May 2015. Source: <http://www.coinhirsch.de/AUDaten/309-310/WWWOut/00232-WWW.jpg> (last accessed 11 October 2021).

Of course, this origin does not necessarily invalidate the explanations that associate it with the diskeles or with symbols like the one which appears on the coin from Tlos ( $\frac{V}{O}$ ). We may be dealing with a “visual paretyymology” according to which a symbol has been reinterpreted and remade by bringing it closer to the shape of the initial letter of a name. But in purely descriptive terms, this symbol, from a Lycian perspective, could easily be read as the combination of *u*, *x*, and *s*, the initial letters of the name *uxsepddimi*.

3. After these two marginal notes, it is time for a linguistic analysis of the forms *uxsepddimi*, *waxsepddimi* and *waxseblłimi* and their mutual connections. This question is not discussed in

<sup>11</sup> Vismara 1996, 10.

<sup>12</sup> An idea based on Carruba’s proposal that the letter *x* represents the same word on other coin types (cf. Carruba *apud* Vismara 1996, 222). To be precise, *xñtawata* means ‘kingship, rulership’, the Lycian word for ‘king, ruler’ being *xñtawat(i)-*, see Melchert 2004, ss.vv.

<sup>13</sup> Kolb – Tietz 2001, 383.



**FIG. 6.** Lycian coin from Zagaba with the symbol  $\Psi$  (Third Stater, 3.16 g, Nomos Webauction 2, Lot 128, 14 June 2015. Source: <https://nomosag.com/source/images/webauctions/2/image00128.jpg> (last accessed 11 October 2021).

Konuk's article. In fact, Konuk, assuming more or less explicitly the obvious formal connection between the three names, considers that each one *must* represent a different ruler because they are different names. In my opinion, this is not an inference that should be taken for granted.

**3.1.** The relationship between *waxssepddimi* and *uxssepddimi* is easy to explain. Here we find the typical alternation  $(u)wa-/u-$ , clearly attested in Lycian and in other Anatolian dialects, cf. particularly Lycian *wawa-* / *uwa-* 'cow' and Cuneiform Luwian *unattiš* beside *wanattiš* 'woman',<sup>14</sup> which show the alternation in absolute initial position, as *waxssepddimi* / *uxssepddimi*. This alternation is a ubiquitous phenomenon in Anatolian dialects, and has still not been satisfactorily explained in its entirety; perhaps it conceals different phonological processes that should be analyzed separately. In any case, it accounts perfectly for the pairing *waxssepddimi-uxssepddimi*.

**3.2.** More complex is the relationship between *waxssepddimi* and *waxseblimi*. It is clear that we must look for a unified explanation, as they are phonologically very close; the only differences are *b* vs. *p* and *ll* vs. *dd*.

If we accept the chronology established by Vismara,<sup>15</sup> *waxseblimi* is older than *waxssepddimi*. This chronological ordering may be linked to the fact that a spelling *waxseblimi* is less usual than *waxseppddimi* in Lycian. Whereas *-pddi-* shows a group *-pdd-* that is well attested in Lycian in the stem *pdde/pdda-* 'place', *-bll-* appears only in this name.

A possible explanation for the existence of two variants – an older one with an unusual consonantal group and a more recent one with a group that coincides with the initial cluster of a well-known Lycian stem – goes as follows: we are dealing with a foreign name that underwent a process of adaptation. Thus, we have a very attractive possible connection: the name could be Carian. Let us develop this hypothesis:

*waxseblimi/waxssepddimi* gives the impression of being a compound name, as are many Anatolian indigenous personal names.<sup>16</sup> It can be segmented as *waxsse-* + *-blimi/pddimi*. According to Neumann,<sup>17</sup> *waxsse-* can be compared with the Milyan stem *waxsa-/waxssa-* of unknown meaning, and with a series of personal names attested in Greek sources, such as *Ουαζαῖς* (Isauria),<sup>18</sup> *Ουαζαμοας*, *Ουαζαμως* (Isauria-Cilicia).<sup>19</sup> The stem appears in Carian names as well: note particularly *uksmu/wksmu*, *uksi*, *uqsi*. Carian *Εζαμης* may also belong here.

<sup>14</sup> Melchert 1994, 276.

<sup>15</sup> Vismara 1989a.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Melchert 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Neumann 2007, 416.

<sup>18</sup> KPN §1141-1.

<sup>19</sup> KPN §1141-2-3.

Of greater interest in the present discussion is the second element. The use in Lycian of *ll* and later *dd* could be an attempt to reflect the known Carian sound λ, which appears in Greek as -λδ- or -λλ-. As I have suggested elsewhere,<sup>20</sup> I am now convinced that Carian λ was biphonemic, representing two sounds, a sequence of /ll/ or /ld/ – but, in any case, a sequence of lateral-dental sounds which in Greek and Lycian tended to be interpreted as somewhere between /d/ and /l/. Possibly this type of articulation was not just present in Carian geminate λ, but in the simple Carian sound *l* as well. This would explain the case of the name which appears in the Letoon trilingual as Κεσινδηλις in Greek and *xesñtedi* in Lycian. Instead of the resort to a graphic mistake,<sup>21</sup> perhaps *xesñtedi*-, Κεσινδηλις represents a Carian name, comparable to the Carian name Πισινδηλις,<sup>22</sup> and the vacillation -*d*/-*l*- is a consequence of its Carian origin.

If Lycian -*ll*/-*dd*- represents Carian λ (= Greek -λδ-/-λλ-), -*bllimi*/-*pddimi* must be directly compared with the Carian name in Greek sources Πελδεμυς,<sup>23</sup> for which we could quite safely reconstruct a Carian \**pλmi*- as the original form. If, as in other cases, initial \**p* comes from a voiced labial \**b* (cf. *piks*- vs. \**biks*-), a Carian \**uks*+*bλmi* may be behind Lycian *waxssebllimi*.

The form *waxsseppdimi*, attested later than *waxxsebllimi*, may be a further adaptation of the name, where the existence in Lycian of a *pdde*- stem could favor a sort of paronymological approach.

If this Carian interpretation of the name is accepted, we can go further, although in a very speculative way, regarding a particular feature of coins with the name *waxssebllimi*: in all these coins, a symbol Y appears. This can hardly be a Lycian letter, but it could very well be the Carian letter for *u*, the possible initial of the original Carian name (cf. *uksmu*, *uksi*, *uqsi*, mentioned above).

4. Now, it may be interesting to assess briefly the implications of the emergence of these three forms – *waxssebllimi*, *waxsepddimi*, *uxsepddimi* – in the world of the Lycian coin legends. In my view, it is nothing less than an earthquake. Previously, numismatics scholars had drawn a very simple and placid picture: there was a unique name form, Wexssere, which was borne by two different dynasts (Wexssere I and Wexssere II).

The author who has worked on the Wexsseres in the greatest detail is Novella Vismara. This Italian scholar devoted a monograph to all the coinages that she attributed to Wexssere I<sup>24</sup> and in other studies, she has also uncovered important information on Wexssere II.<sup>25</sup>

For Vismara, most of the (real or alleged) *wexssere* coin types must be assigned to Wexssere I. In Vismara 1989a, she establishes 13 different types of Wexssere I coinages on formal grounds and also fixes a certain chronological evolution:

- a) Types I–VI, characterized by the presence of an animal on the obverse and a triskeles on the reverse, and showing clear affinities to Kuprlli and Teθθiweiβi coinages, belong to the first phase of the reign of Wexssere I, to be dated between 455/50–440 BC.
- b) Types VII–XIII, bearing various divine figures, are attributed by Vismara to a “second stage” of Wexssere I’s reign, between 440–435/30 BC.
- c) As for the coin type “Obv. Athena / Rev. two facing lions” (cf. §2.1. above), Vismara has some doubts and confines it to an Appendix (“type C”). She misreads *waxsepddimi* as *wexss*

<sup>20</sup> Adiego 2019.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Neumann 2007, 121.

<sup>22</sup> KPN §1268; cf. Blümel 1992, 23, who opportunely recalls Lycian Κεσινδηλις.

<sup>23</sup> Blümel 1992, 19.

<sup>24</sup> Vismara 1989a.

<sup>25</sup> Vismara 1989b; 1996.

*ddimi (sic!)* and suggests a transitional stage between Wexssere I and his successor, a certain Ddimiu(s) (who, as we have seen above, never existed).

To sum up, according to Vismara, all these coins were minted in the name of a dynast Wexssere I, particularly active in Patara and probably present also in Tlos, who ruled from 455/50 to 435/30 BC and whose reign could be divided in two parts. In the first part, until 440 BC, he seems to have been under the shadow of Kuprlli, but in the second he seems to have been independent, and perhaps showed pro-Athenian inclinations and expansionist ambitions. Vismara situates the end of his rule, and possibly also of his life, immediately after the defeat of the Athenian general Melesander's military campaign in Lycia (430/429 BC).

As for Wexssere II, he appears to be represented in some late types, such as “Obv. lion's head / Rev. head of Athena”, or “Obv. lion's scalp / Rev. triskeles”, with the legends *wexssere* (abbreviated *wexss*, *wex*) and *waxsse*. The symbol  $\frac{\Psi}{\Theta}$ , here identified as *u-x-s*, was also considered by Vismara as an emblem of Wexssere II; therefore, some highly characteristic coins from Zagaba would also have been minted under this dynast.

**4.1.** Now, the picture is enormously more complex: if we accept that the abbreviated forms in *wex/wexs/wexss* always represent *wexssere*, and that the few examples of *waxsse* must represent a name *waxseblimi* or *waxsepddimi*; and if we accept, as Konuk does, that *waxsepddimi*, *waxseblimi* and *uxsepddimi* cannot be variants of the name of the same person, after applying these premises to the entire corpus of the “Wexssere I and II coinages”, and following Vismara's typological classification, we arrive at the following panorama:

(1) Among the coin types of the alleged first stage of Wexssere I's rule (types I–VI, with animal representations plus triskeles, similar to Kuprlli's coinages), dated between 455/50–440 BC, we have:

- 1A. A ruler *Waxsseblimi*, responsible for Vismara's type II (“Obv. a mule / Rev. triskeles”).
- 1B. A ruler *Wexssere*, whose name appears complete in coins of types III and VI, and incomplete in types I, IV, V.

(2) As for the coin types of the second stage of Wexssere I's reign (types VII–XIII, and possibly also type C), characterized by the presence of divine figures and dated 440–430 BC, we have:<sup>26</sup>

- 2A. A ruler *Wexssere*, whose name appears complete in types VII–VIII, XI, XIII and incomplete in types IX–X.
- 2B. A ruler *Waxsseblimi*, who appears in the new coin type “Bearded Hermes / triskeles”.
- 2C. A ruler *Waxsepddimi*, who appears in type XIII.
- 2D. A ruler *Uxsepddimi*, who appears in type XIII.

(3) The type “Obv. Athena / Rev. two facing lions” presents a ruler *Waxsepddimi*.

(4) On the coin types attributed to Wexssere II, dated around 380 BC, we find:

- 4A. A ruler *Wexssere*.
- 4B. A ruler *Waxsse* ( ), a probably abbreviated form of *Waxsepddimi* (or *Waxsseblimi*?).
- 4C. The use of the symbol *u-x-s*, interpretable as the abbreviation of a ruler's name *Uxsepddimi*.

<sup>26</sup> Type XII is ambiguous, as it only has a letter w.

So, the combination of *wexssere* and the new forms offers a very puzzling picture. If we assume with Konuk<sup>27</sup> that *Waxsseblimi*, *Waxsepddimi* and *Uxssepddimi* cannot represent the same individual, if we accept that for chronological reasons *Wexssere* 1B, *Wexssere* 2A and *Wexssere* 4A must represent more than one dynast, and if we make the assumption that 4B is representing a name *Waxsepddimi* (or *Waxsseblimi*) that for chronological reasons cannot be the same as one of the individuals bearing this name in groups 1, 2 and 3, we must conclude that the following dynasts existed:

- a) at least one *Waxsseblimi*,
- b) at least two *Wexssere*,
- c) one or two *Waxsepddimi*,
- d) one *Uxssepddimi*,
- e) one *Waxsse* ( ),

i.e., at least six or seven different dynasts with similar or identical alternating names in a time span of around seventy years. It is theoretically possible, but this amount of identical and similar names borne by different rulers in a short chronological period is rather unlikely.

4.2. Of course, we can try to reduce this inflation of Lycian dynasts with names beginning with *waxss-*, *wexss-*, *uxss-*. Perhaps the most convincing option is to accept the possibility that forms such as *Waxsseblimi*, *Waxsepddimi* and *Uxssepddimi* could represent one and the same person on some coinages. *Pace* Konuk, the formal variant does not necessarily mean that we are dealing with different individuals. We know other examples of different spellings of the same name for the same person, such as M 217a *tēnegure* / M 217b *tēnagure*. Above I defended the possibility that *Waxsseblimi* was of foreign origin (Carian?) and that *Waxsepddimi* was a “lycianized” form of the name, adopted by a dynast during his rule for political or other reasons. I will come back to this point below (§4.6).

Another option that seems less convincing to me would be to imagine that in some cases the abbreviation *wexss/wexs/wex* may represent a metaphonic variant *\*waxsseblimi* or *\*waxsepddimi*, and/or that in others, *waxsse* could abbreviate the metaphonic variant *\*waxssere*. Note the above-mentioned example of *tēnegure/tēnagure*. However, this is an *ad hoc* explanation that contrasts with the systematic spellings of *wexssere* (and *wex/wexs/wexss* on the types of coins on which we have both the incomplete and complete form) and also of *waxsepddimi*, *waxsseblimi* (abbreviated *waxssebl*). Moreover, the effects of this assumption would be very limited, as it would only properly affect the case of 4A (*wexssere*)-4B (*waxsse*). For the rest of possibly different dynasts, there is evidence based on complete forms of the names.

4.3. But despite this open possibility of reducing the number of different dynasts, there is a more serious problem with the picture resulting from the new readings: the problem of the exact relationship between *waxsepddimi-waxsseblimi-uxsepddimi* on the one hand, and *wexssere* on the other. We find four different situations where *wexssere* seems to coexist with one (or two) of the other names:

(1) Vismara points out that her type I is very close to type II. Both coin types not only share the presence of a symbol  $\frac{\vee}{\sigma}$ , but are also very similar from the point of view of their weight and their typology. But on the coins of type I, we have the legend *wexs*, which suggests *Wexssere*, whereas the coins of type II bear the name *waxsseblimi*!<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Konuk 2016.

<sup>28</sup> There may even be an alternation inside the coinage of type II. Vismara 1989a offers two exemplars: (3) a 1/3 of stater with the legend *wexssebe* (*sic!*) and (4) a 1/12(?) of stater with the legend *wex*. Exemplar 3 is Babelon 1910 n° 442 and it is now read *waxssebl* (*cf.* above). This misreading by Vismara casts doubt on the correct reading of 4. The photograph is of poor quality and I have not been able to obtain a better image or check the original.

(2) The new coin published by Konuk,<sup>29</sup> a bearded Hermes with winged petasos on the obverse and a triskeles on the reverse, belongs typologically to Vismara's types VII–XIII, the “second phase” of the rule of Wexssere I (440–430 BC), more precisely to the types with divine figure and triskeles (VII–VIII, X). Significantly, Konuk notes that the aspect of Hermes is more archaic here than in type XIII, which situates this coinage closer to the early days of this “second phase”, i.e., around 440 BC, and it reaffirms the use of triskeles as a characteristic of this early second phase, soon to be replaced by the use of two divine figures (type XIII). However, once again, the new coin shows a name *waxssebllimi*, while types VII and VIII are coined in the name of *wexssere*, and X in the name of *wexss*.

(3) Type XIII (Athena-Hermes) is particularly puzzling: we have four different legend types:

- a) *wexssere*,
- b) *waxssepddimi*,
- c) *uxssepddimi*,
- d) *uxssepddimi – pttara*.

The most striking thing is that the issue with the legend *waxssepddimi* shows the same obverse die as some different issues with the legend *wexssere* (see the two tables at the end of this chapter). The obverse die is more damaged in the *waxssepddimi* exemplar than in the *wexssere* ones, indicating that the *wexssere*-issues were coined previously.<sup>30</sup> The coins with *uxssepddimi* and *uxssepddimi-pttara* apparently do not share dies with the other types, but they are typologically identical to the others (Obverse: Head of Athena with Attic helmet looking right with a dotted circular border / Reverse: Head of (unbearded) Hermes with winged petasos looking right). So these issues are closely interrelated, and should be assigned to a similar authority inside narrow chronological limits.

(4) In the case of 4A and 4B, once again we find an identical type of coin (Obverse: lion's scalp / Reverse: triskeles); but in one case the legend is *wexssere*, and in the other *waxsse*. In the center of the triskeles, in both cases, the symbol  $\frac{\forall}{\circ}$  is present.

4.4. These four situations, taken together, give an impression of *interchangeability* between *wexssere* and the other three dynast names. It is true that in the first and the last cases we could resort to metaphony, because one of the two contrasting forms appears in an abbreviated form; but as I have pointed out above, this seems an excessively easy and *ad hoc* solution, not supported by clear evidence.

If we are speaking of interchangeability, I can imagine two possible explanations:

(1) The first is to assume a sort of “double denomination”, so that *wexssere* would be an alternative name for dynasts named Waxssebllimi-Waxssepddimi-Uxssepddimi. The possible Carian origin of this later name – as suggested above – could explain the need for the use of a name *wexssere* which – we ought to envisage – would be more genuinely Lycian. This solution would greatly simplify the picture: we could make the two Wexsseres of Vismara with a Waxssebllimi-Waxssepddimi and a Uxssepddimi-Waxssepddimi roughly coincide, or assume three or even four dynasts, but not six or seven, as the picture traced above suggested. But this solution is not totally persuasive: why would these different dynasts use a double denomination? How can we explain why one or another form was used on identical or very similar coins? If *waxssepddimi* is an approach to a Lycian interpretation of the name, as I have proposed, the case for a double

<sup>29</sup> Konuk 2016.

<sup>30</sup> Konuk 2016, 22.

denomination seems even weaker. Finally, the Xanthos stele guarantees that the Lycian name of the dynast was Waxsepddimi.

(2) The second solution simplifies matters much as the first one does, but it is much more attractive, although not without its difficulties. The ubiquitous name *wexssere*, attested from the times of Kuprlli to the late coinages of the first decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, was not a personal name but a *place name*. Thus, the alleged dynasts named Wexssere disappear and we must deal only with the group Waxseblimi, Waxsepddimi, Uxsepddimi. The three different situations traced above, where these later names alternate with Wexssere, could be easily explained if we assume that we are dealing with dynasts of a city named Wexssere, and that, as with other coin types, some coins show the name of the dynast and others the name of the city.

I am not able to propose a clear identification of this possible Lycian place name with the Lycian cities known in classical sources. I had envisaged the idea of identifying this supposed Wexssere with Lycian Araxa due to their (rather distant) similarity, but this is only a very speculative possibility.

4.5. The existence of a place name Wexssere provides a more logical and consistent picture:

- a) Types I and II, and the new type of bearded Hermes, would be the coinage of a dynast Waxseblimi from Wexssere.
- b) Types III to XII, where the legend Wexssere appears (either complete or abbreviated) would have been minted in this city, probably (but not necessarily) by Waxseblimi.
- c) We could also give a consistent explanation of the complex type XIII (Athena/Hermes), where we find Waxssere, Waxsepddimi and Uxsepddimi (the latter also accompanied by the place name Patara in one issue), and extend this explanation to the *waxsepddimi* type C (Athena/Facing lions, most probably coined in Tlos) and to the *waxsepddimi* of TL 44, 49. In my opinion, he could be one and the same dynast, who minted coins in the cities of Wexssere, Patara and Tlos.

There is no chronological reason why this dynast Waxsepddimi-Uxsepddimi should not also be the one attested earlier as Waxseblimi. In fact, I wonder if the modifications of the name can be related to the extension of his power: Waxsepddimi could be a deliberate lycianization adopted when he extended his power from Wexssere to Tlos, and Uxsepddimi the local form the name adopted in Patara.

It is not difficult to link Waxsepddimi's expansion to other Lycian cities to the fact that, according to TL 44, 49, he was defeated by the Xanthian ruler Xerēi: either he attempted to extend his political power to Xanthos, or the rulers of this city perceived him as a danger. Given that the defeat of Waxsepddimi is apparently explained in the context of the failed military campaign of the Athenian general Melesander,<sup>31</sup> it is an attractive hypothesis to imagine that Waxsepddimi acted as an ally of Melesander and shared his fate.<sup>32</sup>

d) Finally, the coins attributed by Vismara to Wexssere II seem to point to another dynast, a *Waxse(ppddimi?)*, attested only in an abbreviated form and also by means of his apparent symbol, *u-x-s* (*cf.* above) in coinages dated at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. This dynast seems to be attested in Wexssere and also in Zagaba; he is unlikely to have been the Waxsepddimi who ruled Tlos and Patara and was defeated by Xerēi. The name appears in an issue with a lion's scalp in the obverse, and issues of this sort, according to Vismara, must be dated after 382 BC, ca. fifty years after Waxsepddimi's defeat. It is true that we could

<sup>31</sup> Melesander's campaign as narrated in the Xanthos stele (see Cau 1999).

<sup>32</sup> Vismara 1989a seems to assume this implicitly for 'her' Wexssere I, who then would coincide chronologically and politically with 'our' Waxseblimi-Waxsepddimi-Uxsepddimi.

lower the date of Waxseppddimi's defeat by assuming that it did not take place immediately after Melesander's, but we have a clear *terminus ante quem* in the following exploit narrated in TL 44, the mention of the Ionian war of 412–404 BC, and the chronological gap would continue to be considerable. Note also that for this ruler we do not have a complete version of the name: both *waxsse* and *u-x-s* could, in theory, be the initial sounds of a different name.

The zone of influence of this ruler depends on the exact localization not only of Wexssere but also of Zagaba – a very controversial question. It is also surprising to find a coin<sup>33</sup> on which the symbol  $\frac{\forall}{\circ} u-x-s$  appears together with the name *perikle*. How should this be interpreted? Joint rule by a dynast Uxs( )/Waxsse( ) and Perikle? The survival of a symbol without any actual value? A third possibility is more attractive but enormously speculative: following Keen's suggestion<sup>34</sup> that Perikle could have had a Lycian name and that he adopted his Greek name in the latter phase, might the joint use of *u-x-s* and *perikle* on a coin indicate that Uxs(seppddimi?) was his Lycian name?

**4.6.** To sum up, by assuming that Wexssere was a place name, not a personal name, we obtain two dynasts, who would coincide chronologically with the ones previously known as Wexssere I and Wexssere II:

a) A ruler of the city of Wexssere, originally called Waxsseblimi, who began to issue coins around 450 BC, and who, towards the end of his reign, coinciding with the extension of his power to Tlos and Patara, lycianized his name as Waxseppddimi (Uxsseppddimi in Patara). He was defeated by Xerēi around 430 BC or at a later date, but in any case during the last decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

b) A ruler of Wexssere called Waxsse( ), probably Waxseppddimi, known also for his symbol  $\frac{\forall}{\circ} u-x-s$ , who also issued coins in the city of Zagaba; he is unlikely to have been the same individual as the preceding one since his activity must be dated around 380 BC.

Of course, this is only one of the possible models resulting from the assumption that *wexssere* was a place name, not a personal name. It is the model that seems the simplest to me, but other different distributions of the coin types between two (or even three) dynasts are equally feasible. In any case, the hypothesis that *wexssere* was a place name allows us to avoid the chaotic picture traced above in §4.1.

**4.7.** However, this solution, apparently more suitable than previous proposals, poses serious difficulties from the point of view of the orthodoxy of Lycian numismatics. Since Mørkholm,<sup>35</sup> it has been widely accepted that the existence of two different weight standards (one light, other heavy) in Lycian coins has a clear, undisputable geographical distribution: the light standard (8.10–8.60 g for the stater<sup>36</sup>), also known as the “Attic standard”, was used in the western part of Lycia (Telmessos, Kadyanda, and the cities in the valley of the Xanthos river); the heavy standard (9.50–10.00 g), also called “Lycian standard”, was used in the eastern part. For instance, the coins of Xanthos follow the light standard; the coins of Antiphellos or Limyra the heavy one. If we assume that *wexssere* is a place name, this dogma is clearly violated. We have *wexssere*-coins with *both* standards: the light standard is used in the *wexssere*-coins of our Waxsseblimi-Waxseppddimi-Uxsseppddimi (Vismara's Wexssere I), and the heavy one in the coin with the legend *wexssere* of our Waxsse( ) (Vismara's Wexssere II). Given that, according to Mørkholm, there is a clear-cut

<sup>33</sup> Vismara 1989b, n. 213.

<sup>34</sup> Keen 1998, 155.

<sup>35</sup> Mørkholm 1964.

<sup>36</sup> According to Mørkholm 1964.

geographical distribution of classes of weight, *wexssere* could not be a geographical name referring to a place where both weight standards were used.

It is true that Mørkholm's model of rigid geographical distribution of weight standards has been challenged by some authors like Spier<sup>37</sup> and more recently Vismara,<sup>38</sup> who points out that there are no "physical" (i.e., orographic, climatic, and so on) reasons for the presence of one or another standard. The reason must be basically political. In fact, the light standard was clearly copied from the Attic model: its presence in western Lycia was therefore a consequence of the relationships of cities of the valley of Xanthos, and their zone of influence, with Athens during a part of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Vismara even affirms that we must admit that some mints issued coins of both weights, so we cannot state a one-to-one relationship between cities and weights. She offers some examples to support this statement, in a clear challenge to Mørkholm's geographical model of the distribution of weights.

If we assume this less rigid vision of the facts, we could imagine that a city called *Wexssere*, possibly situated in the zone of influence of the extension of the Atticized lighter standard, adopted this weight in its coin issues of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, but also issued its later coinages of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in the heavier, typically Lycian standard. Nevertheless, the interpretation of *wexssere* as a place name, however attractive and illuminating it may be, must be left open as it depends decisively on the judgement of numismatic scholars.

5. In conclusion, the new and renewed materials in Konuk 2016 has challenged the standard vision of the coinages traditionally attributed to dynasts bearing the name *Wexssere*. Now we must deal with different forms (*wexssere*, *waxssebllimi*, *waxssepddimi*, *uxssepddimi*), which seem to be chaotically distributed along the period between the first issues (around 450 BC) and the last ones (around 380 BC). My aim was to propose a simpler and more consistent picture. Firstly, I formulated the hypothesis that *waxssebllimi* was a foreign name, perhaps of Carian origin, and *waxssepddimi* (with its rather banal variant *uxssepddimi*) an attempt at a better adaptation to Lycian. I have also assumed that the formal variation of the name does not necessarily imply that each form must correspond to a different individual: one and the same dynast could bear one or another form at different points in his career, particularly given that there seems to exist a chronological evolution from *waxssebllimi* to *waxssepddimi*. Finally, I stated that there are clear examples of interchangeability between *wexssere* on the one hand and *waxssebllimi-waxssepddimi-uxssepddimi* on the other, which in my opinion must be due to one of two reasons: either (1) there was a practice of double denomination, so that *wexssere* was an alternative name to the *waxssepddimi* group; or (2) *waxssere* was actually a place name, and it alternates with the other forms because the latter designated dynast(s) of this place name. Either of these explanations would allow us to clarify the picture, and, combined with other assumptions, they can lead to a model identical to Vismara's two dynasts. However, it is not clear which of the two reasons is correct. A double denomination of this type is not supported by further evidence and does not appear to be justified. The interpretation of *wexssere* as a place name is much more attractive, and it identifies interchangeability as the common practice of issuing coins either in the name of the city or in the name of the dynast. However, the use of two different weight standards by the same city violates the standard vision of coinage in Lycia, which rigidly links the differences of weight to the geographical location of the minting city. Consequently, it is preferable to leave the question open for further enquiries.

<sup>37</sup> Spier 1987.

<sup>38</sup> Vismara 2005.

### Afterthought: A further note on *-bllimi-/pddimi-*

An intriguing consequence of the alternation *-bll-/pdd-* in the (possibly Carian) name *waxssebllimi / waxsepddimi*, is that if one does a simple exercise of transcribing the sequences in question in Carian alphabet, one obtains the following picture:

Lycian		Carian
-BΛΛ -		*-ΛΛ<<-
-bll-		*-pdd-
-ΓΔΔ-		*- ΓΔΔ-
-pdd-		*-bll-

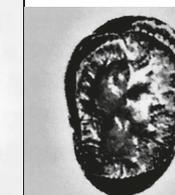
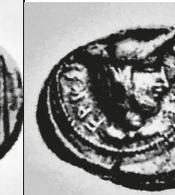
This strange crossing relation can be merely a matter of chance, but if not, it opens the way to further research, as it would call for a graphic or phonological explanation.

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**TABLE 1.** Coinages of Wexssere-Waxsseppdimi-Uxssepddimi with Athena-Hermes (Vismara’s Type XIII) – Coinage of Wexssere-Waxsseppdimi. Vismara 72: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534847j/>; “new”: Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auction: 422 Lot:90 (26.04.2018), <https://images.auex.de/img/5//86/00090Q00.JPG>; Vismara 74–75: Vismara 1989a, 98 Vismara 76: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534849c/> (last accessed 11 October 2021).

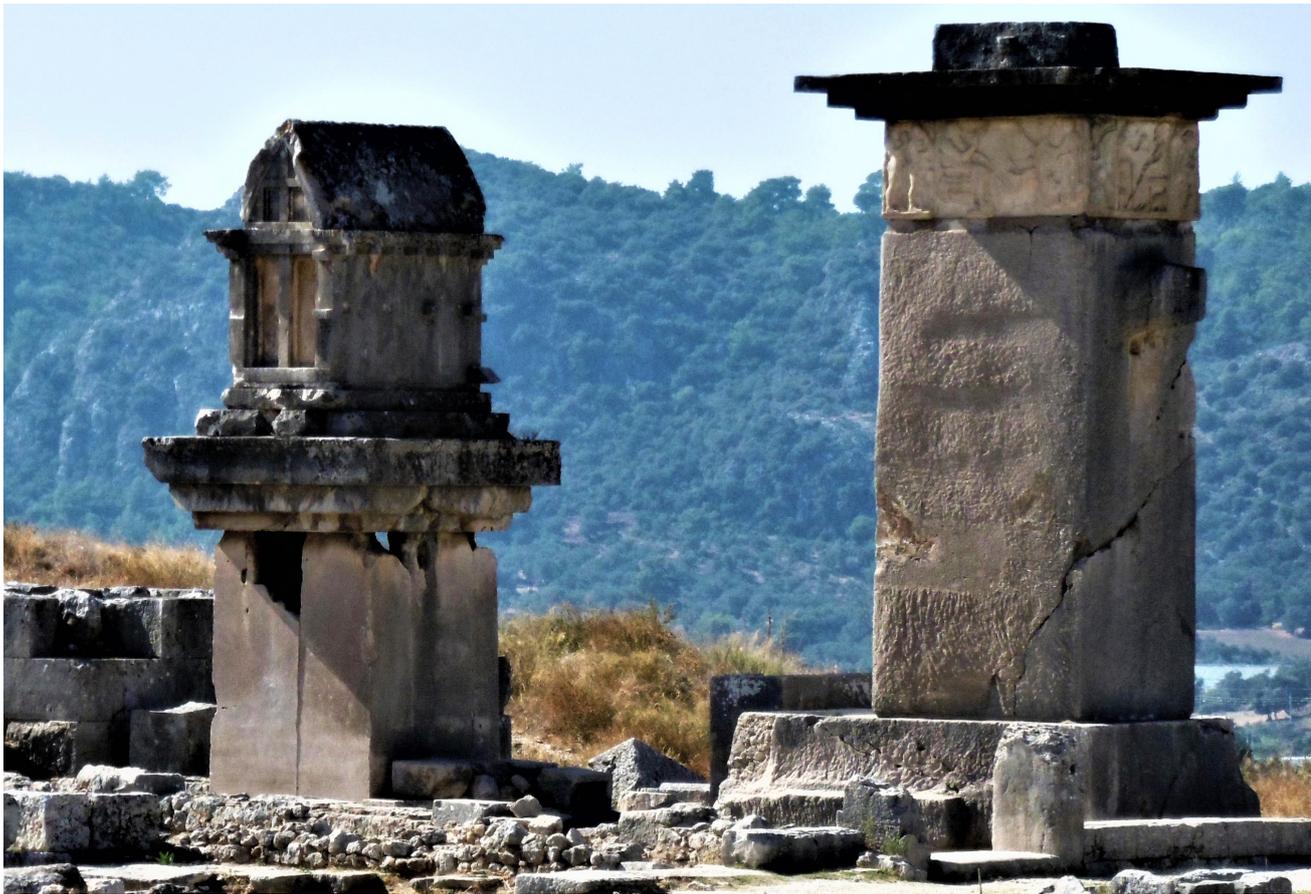
OBV-1					OBV-2
					
	73		74	75	
					
wexssere ←	wexssere →	wexssere →	wexssere ←	waxsseppdimi	wexssere
8.36 g	8.30 g	8.56 g	7.93 g	8.36 g	8.05 g
Vismara 72	Vismara 73	new	Vismara 74	Vismara 75	Vismara 76
REV-1	REV-2		REV-1	REV-3	REV-4

**TABLE 2.** Coinages of Wexssere-Waxsseppdimi-Uxssepddimi with Athena-Hermes (Vismara’s Type XIII) – Coinage of Uxssepddimi-Pttara. New-1: Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger. Auction 407/408, Lot 768, 07.11.2012, <https://images.auex.de/img/5//67/00768Q00.JPG>; New-2: Roma Numismatics Ltd. Auction IX, Lot 373, 22.03.2015, <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=1411632>; New-3: UBS Gold & Numismatics. Auction 59, Lot 5790, 27.01.2004, <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=160594>; Babelon 420: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534845q/> (last accessed 11 October 2021).

OBV-1			
			
			
uxsseppdimi pttara	uxsseppdimi pttara	uxsseppdimi pttara	uxsseppdimi (“ddimiu”)
8.27 g	8.37 g	8.00 g	8.07 g
new	new	new	Babelon 420
REV-1	REV-2		



# HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW



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HUNGARIAN  
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**ON THE COVER:**

The pillared sarcophagus and the Harpy Tomb, Xanthos  
*Photo: Diether Schürr.*

# HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW



VOLUME 2, ISSUE 1  
2021



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Institute of Archaeological Sciences  
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# HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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## Vorwort

Zsolt Simon\*

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Die Erforschung der altanatolischen Sprachen findet an der Schnittstelle zwischen Altorientalistik und Indogermanistik statt und in beiden Disziplinen gehört dieser Sprachzweig zweifellos zu den Bereichen, in denen die Forschung besonders intensiv voranschreitet.

Dies zeigen auch die Entwicklungen der letzten Jahrzehnte, innerhalb derer sich die luwische Philologie von einem Nischenthema der Hethitologie zu einer der wichtigsten Teildisziplinen der Altanatolistik entwickelt hat.

Im Schatten des Luwischen, das seine Popularität innerhalb der Forschungsgemeinschaft u.a. auch spektakulären Inschriftenfunden verdankt, steht jedoch die ebenfalls schnell voranschreitende Erforschung seiner Schwestersprache, des Lykischen (und seiner Varietäten). Um den Austausch über die zahlreichen neuen Ergebnisse zu diesem Thema innerhalb eines angemessenen Forums zu fördern und der Forschung weitere Impulse zu geben, wurde dem Lykischen im Rahmen des Wörterbuchprojekts „*The Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages*“ am Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München ein zweitägiger internationaler Workshop („*Current Research on Lycian*“, 16.-17. Februar 2017) gewidmet.

Erfreulicherweise traf unsere Einladung auf positive Resonanz und der Workshop wurde durch viele interessante Beiträge von führenden Expertinnen und Experten des Lykischen und auch aus der jüngeren Generation der Wissenschaft bereichert.

Diese Ausgabe der *Hungarian Assyriological Review* enthält die überarbeitete Fassung eines Großteils der Vorträge dieses Workshops (einige Vorträge wurden bzw. werden aus unterschiedlichen Gründen an anderen Stellen veröffentlicht). Wie in der Altanatolistik üblich, besprechen die Beiträge nicht nur sprachwissenschaftliche Probleme, sondern befassen sich auch mit verwandten Fragestellungen u.a. der alten Geschichte, der Prosopographie, der historischen Geographie und der Numismatik. Daher hoffen wir, dass dieser Band nicht nur innerhalb der historischen Sprachwissenschaften, sondern auch für Interessierte aus benachbarten Disziplinen eine interessante Lektüre bieten kann. Ein vielversprechender Dialog ergibt sich zudem aus dem Umstand, dass einige im Band angesprochene Forschungsthemen gleich von mehreren Autoren aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven behandelt werden.

Schließlich möchte ich meinen aufrichtigen Dank für diejenigen ausdrücken, ohne die der Workshop und dieser Band nicht hätten zustande kommen können. Hier ist zunächst die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft zu nennen, die durch die Finanzierung des *eDiAna*-Wörterbuchprojekts den dazugehörigen Workshop überhaupt erst ermöglicht hat. Für die Unterstützung bei der reibungslosen Organisation des Workshops danke ich außerdem meinen Kolleginnen Anja Busse und Tatiana Frühwirt sowie insbesondere der ehemaligen Institutssekretärin Regine Reichenbach. Des Weiteren bin ich meinen Mitherausgebern des *Hungarian Assyriological Review* dankbar, die freundlicherweise bereit waren, die Ergebnisse des Workshops in unserer Zeitschrift zu veröffentlichen. Nicht zuletzt gilt mein Dank allen Vortragenden und den Autorinnen und Autoren dieses Bandes, insbesondere für ihre Geduld während der langen Vorbereitungszeit vor der Veröffentlichung.

