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Erkan Dündar, Florian Réveilhac

A pithos with Lycian inscription from Patara

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Abstract: The excavations at the Tepecik settlement, which is situated East of Patara's city center directly overlooking the ancient harbor, furnishes new and important data regarding the city's largely unknown and much debated administrative organization in the 6th century BC. This evidence is based preliminarily on a pithos fragment found in the tower house's eastern side, dated to ca. 500 BC, and bearing an inscription made *ante cocturam* in Lycian script. This graffito, which is one of the oldest inscriptions of the Lycian corpus, is incomplete but has eight legible letters that allow its reconstruction: it probably corresponds to the official title [*pd*]*ḍẽnehm̃mi* "ruler, commissioner", attested in two other Lycian inscriptions. The graffito could indicate that the pithos was to be stored in the house of this official.

Keywords: Lycia, Patara, Lycian epigraphy, pottery, dynastic period.

The ancient city of Patara in southwestern Asia Minor and its natural harbor have been locations of human settlement sites since earliest historical times. Excavations carried out in the city in recent years have yielded significant new data not only for Patara, but for the history of wider Lycia.

The excavations at the Tepecik settlement, which is situated east of Patara's city center directly overlooking the ancient harbor, established the possibility that a "tower house" existed at Patara by the 6th century BC at the latest (figs.

Article note: We are grateful to Havva İşkan, director of the Patara excavations, for permission to study the material discussed in this article. We must also thank Markus Egetmeyer for his valuable comments and suggestions, as well as Nicholas K. Rauh for his attention to the proofreading of the paper. The opinions expressed in this paper remain our own. All figures are by Erkan Dündar.

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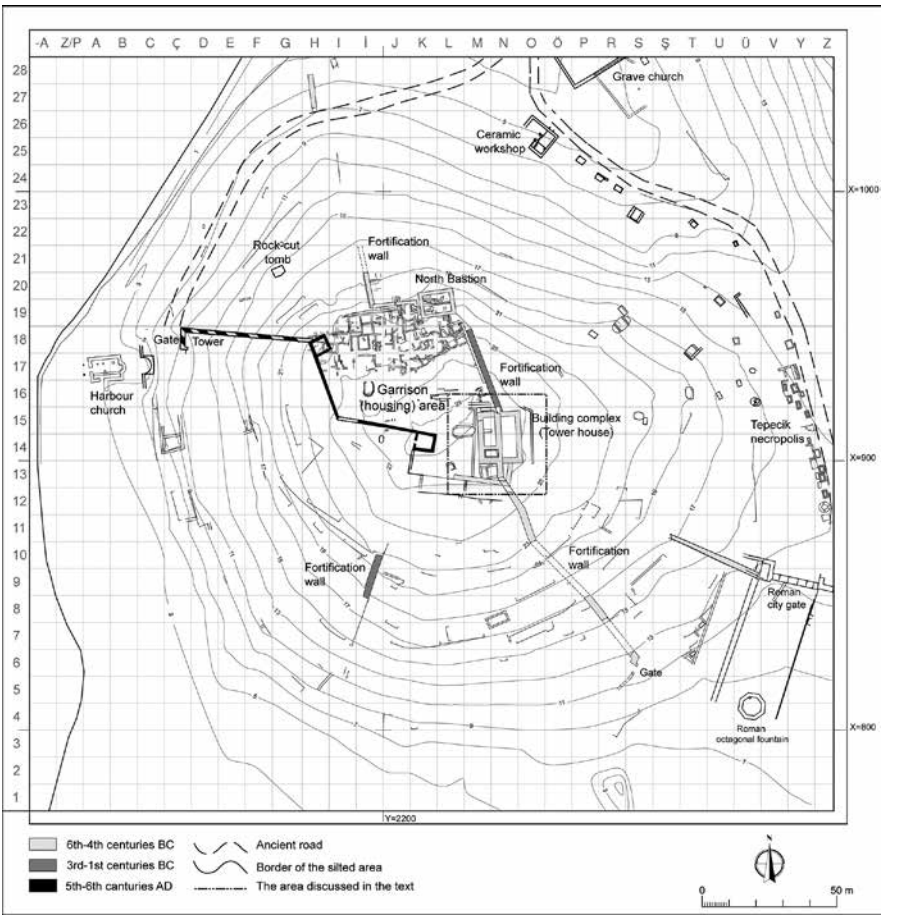

Fig. 1: Plan of the Tepecik Settlement

1–2).[1] Published in a preliminary report in 2010,[2] our investigation indicates that the building underwent several additions and renovations and remained in use until the early years of the 4th century BC.[3] The structure occupied a spot that dominated the harbor as well as the road offering the main approach to the city

1 The structures that seem most closely related to this building, unique in its dimensions to date, are in the region of Lycia at Avşar Tepesi (Zagaba) (see Thomsen 2002: 76–78) and, in the region of Caria, the Fortress of Alâzeytin (Syangela) (see Radt 1970: 27). These buildings date from the 6th and 5th centuries BC.

2 Işın 2010.

3 Dündar 2019; Dündar – Koçak 2021: 129–131.

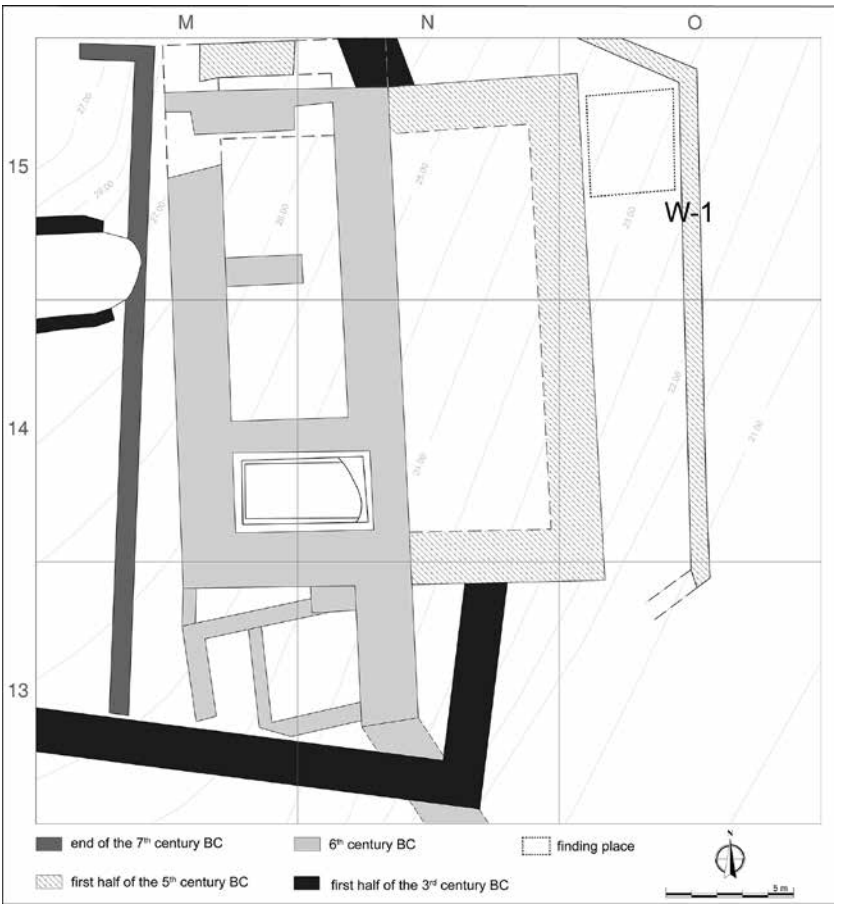

Fig. 2: Architectural phases of quadrants between 13-15/M-O

from the north. During the excavations a pithos fragment bearing an inscription in Lycian script was found on the building's eastern façade. The discovery of this inscribed pithos beside the tower house furnishes new and important data regarding the city's largely unknown and much debated administrative organization in the 6th century BC.

Excavation and stratigraphy

Before turning to the main focus of this study – the details of the inscribed pithos fragment – the archaeological context of the pithos find needs to be established.

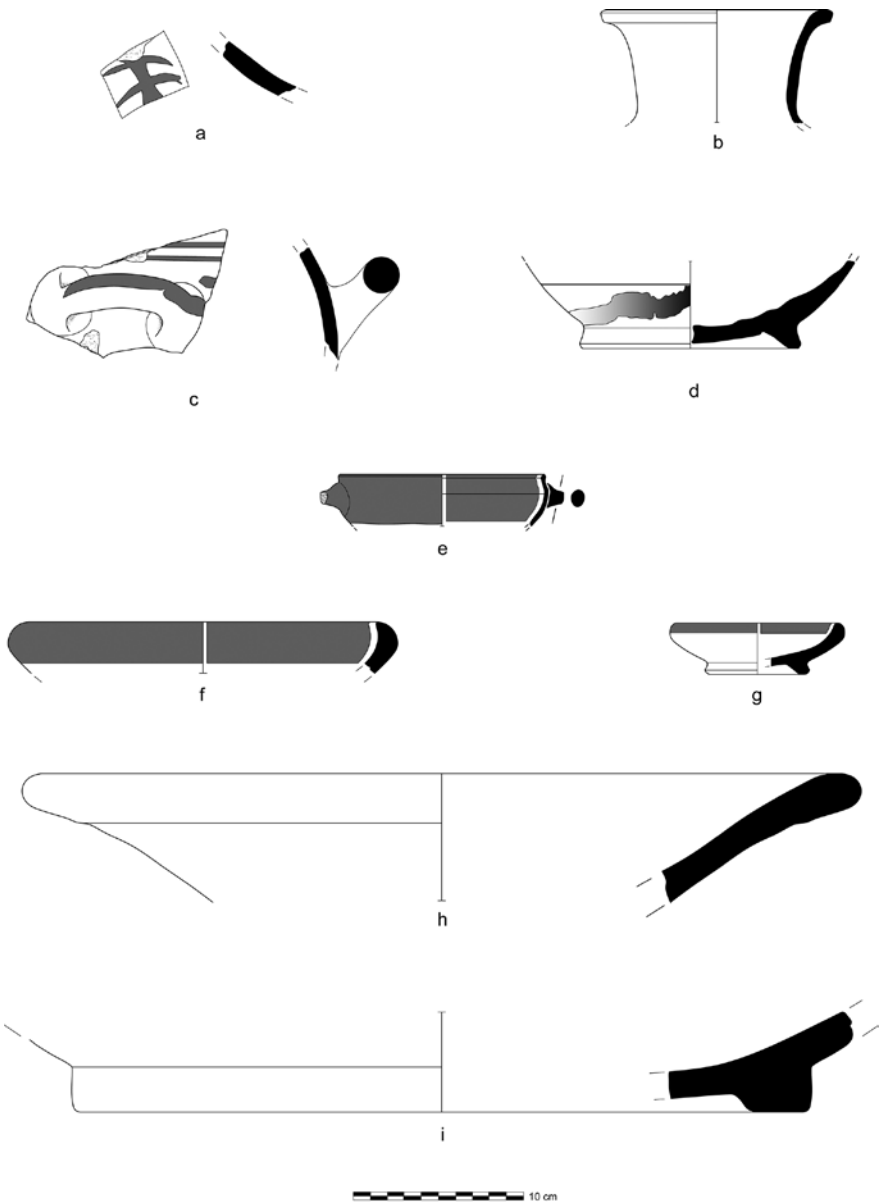

Fig. 3: Ceramic finds from the finding complex. (a) a piece of hydria, (b) mouth fragment of pitcher, (c) body and handle piece of a hydria, (d) maybe part of the base and body of a hydria, (e) plate fragment, (f) black-slipped plate, (g) plate fragment, (h) basin fragment, (i) fragment of the base of a mortar.

A building complex, which we are identifying as a "tower house", emerged during the excavations carried out in the eastern part of the Tepecik settlement's upper plain (quadrants between 13-15/M-O) in 2003–2004 and 2006–2007.[4] The building is believed to have been used as a dynastic residence; its initial phase has been dated to the 6th century BC based on the available ceramic and architectural evidence.[5]

More specifically, the pithos fragment was found during excavation of trench O-15.[6] The pithos was unearthed east of the terrace wall associated with the Tower House's third phase,[7] dated to the 490s or 480s BC. It was situated in a rocky area at the eastern part of the terrace wall (quadrant N-15) and western part of W-1 that bisects the trench O-15 down the middle along a north/south axis (fig. 2). Found with it were lekane, hydria, plate, and black-slipped ceramic fragments. The specimen of earliest date in the layer is the stem fragment of a hydria, shown in fig. 3a. Noteworthy is a band of scalloped decoration that is probably a continuation of a handle ornamentation. A similar decoration is visible on a hydria from Ephesos, dated to the 7th century BC.[8] A hydria from Xanthos with an identical decoration has been published and posited as a Samian production.[9] The pitcher, with an everted rim shown in fig. 3b, is very similar to a fragment of a pitcher mouth found at Ephesos, likewise dated to the 7th century BC.[10] Specimens closely resembling the body and handle of the hydria, shown in fig. 3c, emerge in numerous settlements during the 6th century BC.[11] The painted decoration on the horizontal handle and the horizontal bands on the body of the Patarean example are common features for this century.[12] Figure 3d may also be a fragment of the base and body of a hydria. A haphazardly painted band is seen on the lower section

4 For the previous excavations, see Işın 2005: 61–62; Işın – Işık 2009: 338–339, 347–348, figs. 1–3; Işın 2010: 93–104.

5 Işın 2010: 102. As a result of the studies carried out in the area in the following years, it is thought that the building in question may have been used for defense rather than residential use. On the subject, see Dündar – Koçak 2021: 129–131.

6 Ex. Inv. PTR'07-1125, O-15. Diam. base 36 cm; h. 4.9 cm; th. 1.6 cm. (Ceramic) Body 2.5 YR 6/4 light reddish brown, slip (interior) 2.5 Y 5/1 gley; (exterior) gley 2 4/10B dark bluish gray.

7 Dündar – Polat-Becks 2014: 274, 285–286, figs. 8–9. In previous studies, the wall in question was dated to the middle of the 5th century BC, see Işın 2010: 101.

8 Miller 2019: 371, pl. 191, no. 2302.

9 Metzger 1972: 56, pl. 12, no. 57; for more examples from Xanthos, see Yener-Marksteiner 2007: 79, 81, fig. 3, no. 2.

10 Miller 2019: 239, pl. 122, no. 1471.

11 Sparkes – Talcott 1970: 347, pl. 70, no. 1579; Uzun 2007: 74–98; Schattner 2007: 130–131, fig. 44, Hy A1; Miller 2019: 68, pl. 36, no. 386.

12 Gebauer 2007: 54, 61, pl. 3, no. 38.

of this fragment. A similar specimen found at Ephesos has been dated to the 7th century BC;[13] however, specimens published in Athens[14] and Salamis[15] have been dated to the 6th century BC. A similar specimen recovered from the excavations at Tlos, north of the Xanthos Valley in Lycia, has been dated to the 6th century BC at the latest.[16] Turning to the plate shown in fig. 3e, it is of medium depth with a wide, slightly outwardly turned rim, and is black slipped on both its inner and outer surfaces. Similar ceramic ware has been assigned an Ionian provenance and dated to the second half of the 6th century BC.[17] Figure 3f depicts a plate that is entirely black slipped. Examples with similar profiles are known from several Anatolian settlements. Specimens found at Samos have been dated to the first half of the 6th century BC,[18] those at Pergamon to the 6th century BC, and those at Ephesos more generally between the mid-7th and the late 6th centuries BC.[19] In contrast to this, the example displayed in fig. 3g is slipped only along the edge of its rim with the remainder of the form left fabric colored. Similar plates are frequently encountered in Ionia: those found at Didyma and Ephesos are dated from the second half of the 7th century to the 6th century BC,[20] while those at Pergamon are dated more narrowly to the 6th century BC.[21] A specimen from the Keramos Necropolis in Caria that closely resembles the one from Patara has likewise been assigned to the 6th century BC.[22] The basin seen in fig. 3h is an example of the coarse, everyday pottery most frequently encountered in Western Asia Minor and the Eastern Aegean during the 7th and 6th centuries BC. Specimens matching this typology have been found at settlements such as Samos,[23] Ephesos,[24] Tlos,[25] Xanthos,[26] and Tarsus.[27] A fragment of the base of a mortar is shown in fig. 3i. Similar

13 Miller 2019: 131, pl. 69, no. 791.
14 Sparkes – Talcott 1970: 337, pl. 61, no. 1455.
15 Calvet – Yon 1977: 20, pl. 12, no. 130.
16 Sezgin 2017: 672, pl. 191, no. 1654 (3246).
17 Calvet – Yon 1977: 17, pl. 9, no. 34; Gjerstad 1977: 31, pl. 13, no. 1; Aytaçlar 2019: 468, 479, fig. 5, AVR 1.
18 Isler 1978: 149, fig. 13, no. 516.
19 Miller 2019: 249, 377, 387, 393, pls. 128, 196, 201, 206, nos. 1533, 2339, 2402, 2440–2442.
20 Schattner 2007: 386, fig. 106, Sch B1; Miller 2019: 377, pl. 196, no. 2338.
21 Radt 1992: 183, 185, no. (4)2.
22 Aytaçlar 2019: 468, 479, fig. 3 ATB 3.
23 Vierneisel – Walter 1959: 25, pl. 61, no. 2; Isler 1978: 159, pl. 19, nos. 597–598.
24 Kerschner 1997: 121–122, pl. 4, no. 2; Miller 2019: 148, pl. 80, no. 894.
25 Sezgin 2017: 617, pl. 168, no. 1438 (2920).
26 Lemaître 2007: 128–129, fig. 11, no. 1.
27 Hanfmann 1963: 276, fig. 143, no. 1328.

specimens from excavations at Troy[28] and the Athenian Agora[29] have been dated to the closing years of the 6th century BC. The finds of latest date in the Patarean deposit have been dated, accordingly, to the closing years of the 6th century BC, with the overall timeframe of the deposit spanning approximately two centuries.

Description of the pithos fragment

The pithos fragment, the upper portion of which survives to the shoulder, has a square, crude, outward turning mouth and a short neck with inward profile. Below the neck the form bows out towards the shoulder with a gently sloping profile. One band of painted decoration is found on the lip of the rim, another one below the rim's outward turning profile, and two more bands are visible at the shoulder. The painted bands are executed in black (5 YR 2.5/1). Between the painted bands on the neck is a frieze consisting of a horizontal wavy line band (figs. 4–5). Exhibiting crude workmanship, the pithos is made of well-fired clay, rough in texture, with visible lime and pebble inclusions, and a reddish brown fabric (5 YR 5/4). The exterior surface of the pithos is slipped to a yellowish red hue (5 YR 5/6), while the interior surface is a pale brown (7.5 YR 6/4). The Lycian inscription is located at the turn between the neck and the shoulder and was etched onto the leather-hard surface of the jar prior to firing.

The inscription indicates that the pithos was a local product. Apart from the context furnished above, its date can be surmised only from its ornamentation. Even its profile is unique. The most important detail in this regard is the horizontal wavy line band on the neck. During the Archaic period, horizontal wavy line bands were employed on ceramic ware over a broad geographic area.[30] Ionian potters commonly employed this decorative motif. Although this sort of decorative pattern occurs on ceramic ware as early as the Protogeometric Period[31], it became commonplace around the end of the 8th century BC.[32] As the development of geometric decorative motifs progressed, the plain or often wavy line banded motif gradually replaced the previously more popular concentric circle motif by

28 Chabot-Aslan 2002: 124, pl. 25, no. 232.

29 Sparkes – Talcott 1970: 369, pl. 90, fig. 16, no. 1891.

30 Technau 1929: 29–37, figs. 22–28. For examples in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Lehmann 2000: 83–113.

31 Desborough 1952: pl. 4, no. 904.

32 For similar decoration schemes on ceramics of the Late Geometric Period, see Dugas – Rhomaios 1934: pls. 3–4, nos. 5–11; Brann 1962: 34, 41 pl. 5, no. 88; Özgünel 1979: 108–109, nos. 17–18, 22, pls. 14 a–b, 15 a; Bulba 2010: 170–172, 196, pls. 4–7, 30, nos. B5, B12, B15–16, B23, Kr37.

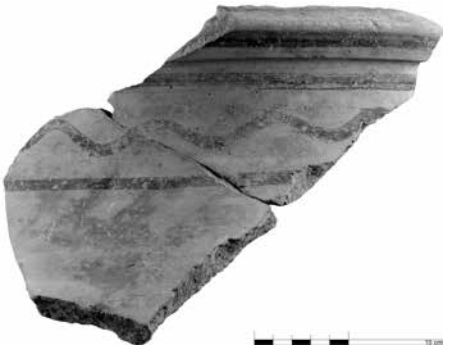

Fig. 4: The pithos

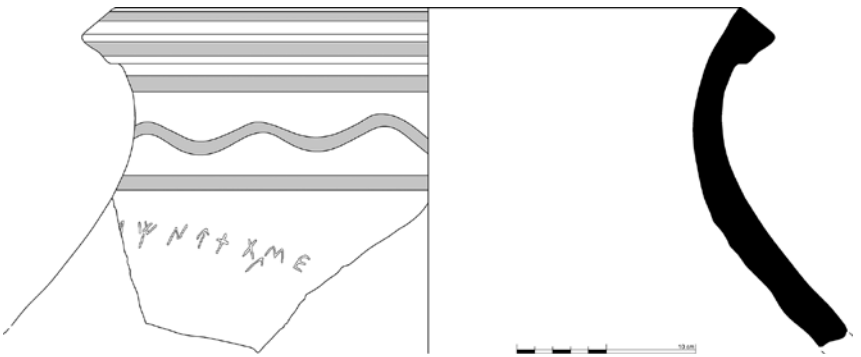

Fig. 5: Drawing of the pithos

the 7th century BC. Although the earliest examples identified so far appear to have originated in Athens and Samos, by the 7th century BC the Anatolian settlements of Klazomenai and Miletos, as well as others in Cilicia (Tarsus? and Kelenderis?), began to generate the horizontal wavy line banded decoration.[33] Given the 300-year longevity of this motif (from the late 8th century to the late 5th century BC), scholars have suggested that it likely underwent a process of refinement. In his published classification, for example, K. Uzun argues that the early 7th century BC examples tend to exhibit a crude, clumsy pattern.[34] By the 6th century BC, a wide variety of horizontal wavy line banded styles become visible.

33 For Attic samples, see Brann 1962: 34; for Samos, see Furtwängler 1980: 209 fig. 19; for Klazomenai, see Uzun 2007: 294–304; for Tarsus, see Uzun 2007: 307–308; for Kelenderis, see Arslan 2010: 74.

34 Uzun 2007: 272 fig. 202 B2–3, Ch. For other examples, see Brann 1962: pl. 5, nos. 88–90.

Although for the most part the horizontal wavy line bands were executed on the broad area of the shoulder, by the late 6th century BC, they appear at other places on ceramic forms. In addition, detectable changes occur in the design of the horizontal wavy line bands: the lines tend to become sharper and the wave pattern becomes more U-shaped or zigzag in style.[35]

In short, horizontal wavy line decorated ceramic wares occurred within a common timeframe across Ionia, Cilicia, the Black Sea, and Athens. In Lycia, the most significant piece of data concerning the production of this ceramic group is the pithos that is the subject of this article. Nonetheless, large numbers of wavy line decorated wares have been recovered at settlements such as Xanthos,[36] Kyaneai,[37] Limyra,[38] and Patara.[39] H. Metzger pointed to Western Asia Minor as the likely production region of the wavy line decorated wares he recovered at Xanthos, the great majority of which were hydriai.[40]

In view of its unique form and the Lycian text inscribed on its shoulder, the pithos fragment bearing the horizontal wavy line banded decoration on its shoulder that was unearthed east of the Tower House on the Tepecik settlement at Patara dates to ca. 500 BC and is of local or regional production. Despite its local production, the design of the pithos was influenced by a banded or horizontal wavy line banded motif that was relatively commonplace with Ionian, Carian, and Lycian ceramic wares by the 6th century BC.[41] Locally produced ceramic wares with similar decorative motifs were also produced in the same era in Cilicia.[42] The key issue that remains concerns the content of the inscription and the likely reason for its placement on the pithos.

Dating of the graffito

The graffito, made *ante cocturam* as evidenced by the wood marks on the clay (fig. 6), is contemporary with the manufacture of the pithos, i.e. the end of the 6th century BC. In other words, this graffito is probably to be considered one of

35 Uzun 2007: 178–180 figs. 127–128. Also see Jacopi 1929: 80, fig. 70, pl. 3, no. 46.5; Cook 1958/1959: pl. 4b.
36 Metzger 1972: 50–51, pls. 12, 15–16; Yener-Marksteiner 2007: 79–83, figs. 2–4.
37 Rückert 2003: 17, fig. 11.
38 Mader 2003: 32–35; Gebauer 2007: 52–55, fig. 1, pls. 3–5, nos. 35–40, 55–57; Gebauer 2010: 123–130, figs. 1–5, 8–9, 12.
39 Dündar 2015: 201, 213, fig. 5.
40 Metzger 1972: 48.
41 Bulba 2010: pls. 18, 30, K62, Kr37.
42 Arslan 2010.



Fig. 6: The graffito sample, made *ante cocturam* as evidenced by the wood marks on the pithos.



Fig. 7: The graffito

the earliest inscriptions in Lycian alphabet, since the oldest evidence in Lycian until now is thought to be the *Pinike* graffito (*N* 313a), found in Xanthos on the fragment of an olpe and dated around 500 BC by Metzger.[43] The first monetary legends in Lycian alphabet also appear at the same time, with the coins issued by the dynast Kuprlli around 480–440 BC, but also other coins from the beginning of the 5th century BC mentioning other dynasts (e.g. Θibãnuwa, Ẽkuwẽmi) or cities (e.g. Wehñte [Phellos], Aperlai).[44]

43 Metzger 1972: 164. However, since this graffito is *post cocturam*, its dating cannot be assured. *Pinike* is most likely an adaptation of a Greek personal name: Φοῖνιξ, for Metzger (*ibid.*), Ἐπίνικος, for Neumann (1979: 30), with aphaeresis effect, which is trivial in Lycian (cf. Ἀπολλωνίδης → *Pulenjda-* or Ἀθηναγόρας → *Tẽnagure/Tẽnegure*).

44 Bryce 1986: 51; Mørkholm – Zahle 1972: 75–77 (Kuprlli); Kolb – Tietz 2001: 358–359 (Θibãnuwa), 355–358 (Aperlai and Wehñte).

Reading, palaeography, and transcription

The graffito has eight legible letters, the first of which is incomplete (fig. 7). The average letter height is 2.5 cm, the highest being the 𐊆, with 3.4 cm, and the lowest the 𐊇, with 1.5 cm. The average letter width is 1.7 cm, the widest being the 𐊍, with 2.1 cm, and the narrowest, the 𐊊, with 1.3 cm. The average spacing between each letter is 1.4 cm.

Albeit incomplete, the first letter is quite clear, since it has two strokes that meet at the top: theoretically, this could be a 𐊀 <*a*>, but the next letter being 𐊆 <*ẽ*>, the letter is more likely to be the consonantal sign 𐊄 <*d*>.

The second letter is the nasal vowel 𐊆 <*ẽ*>. As is well known, unlike the Carian alphabet, the Lycian one has a very limited number of variants, which do not correspond to local characteristics.[45] As regards <*ẽ*>, one can recognize here the canonical form 𐊆, typical of the "Harpagian alphabet", according to the appellation proposed by I.-X. Adiego, used in particular on the Xanthos Stele,[46] alongside later variants such as 𐊇 or 𐊈.[47]

The third letter is the nasal consonant 𐊐 <*n*>, which is more ancient comparing to the other variant 𐊉.[48] The use of older variants is here consistent with the high dating of the graffito.

The fourth letter is the vocalic sign 𐊊 <*e*>.

The fifth letter is the cross-shaped sign + <*h*>, which notes the aspirate: it has a conspicuous vertical stroke and a horizontal stroke, which is almost erased but whose very slight traces can be seen. The small oblique line on the left is an accidental chip on the clay.

The sixth letter is 𐊗 <*m̃*>, corresponding to a syllabic nasal.

The seventh letter is the 𐊍 <*m*>. At the lower level, between 𐊗 and 𐊍, there is a long oblique stroke on the left and a very short oblique hasta running from top to bottom on the right. However, such a sign does not correspond to any known letter of the Lycian alphabet. Moreover, unlike the other characters, there seems to be no trace of the wooden stick on the fresh clay in the drawing; it must therefore be considered an accidental mark formed on the pithos.

Although the eighth and last letter seems to be more erased than the others, the sign 𐊇 <*i*> is clearly identifiable, even if the three horizontal strokes are a little less apparent.

It is therefore quite easy to read and transcribe the graffito as follows:

45 Adiego 2015: 13.
46 Adiego 2015: 15–20.
47 See Bryce 1976 for the detail of the variants.
48 Adiego 2015: 23.

]Δ̣ϒ̌ᴺ↑+ΧᴹΕ
]*ḍẽnehm̃mi*

Restitution and meaning of the word

Thanks to its eight letters, the inscription offers a plausible restitution. Indeed, from]*ḍẽnehm̃mi*, it is reasonable to reconstruct [*pd*]*ḍẽnehm̃mi*, by restoring two letters. The word *pddẽnehm̃me/i-* happens to be attested in the Lycian corpus from two different occurrences, the older one from an epitaph and the later from the Trilingual of the Létôon with a Greek counterpart.

In line 1 of Limyra's epitaph *TL* 106, the subject group of the verb *sijẽni* is *sbi:◊:aza: θurtta: miñtehi: pddẽneh*{*:*}*m̃mi*, thus consisting of a personal name, *sbi◊aza*,[49] followed by two appositions, *θurtta* "uncle (?)" (probably used here as a kind of sobriquet) and the title *miñtehi pddẽnehm̃mi* "*pddẽnehm̃me/i-* of the *mindis*", the *mindis* denoting a local assembly, an organisation in charge of the graves[50] or, as recently argued by R. Oreshko, "all adult (male) population of a polis".[51]

Pddẽnehm̃me/i- also occurs in the Trilingual of the Létôon, lines 3–4:

1 *ẽke : trm̃misñ : xssaθrapazate : pig-*
2 *esere : katamlah : tideimi : s=ẽ=ñne=ñ-*
3 *te=pddẽ=hadẽ : trm̃mile : pddẽnehm̃m-*
4 *is : ijeru : se=natrbbijẽmi : se(j)=arñ-*
5 *na : asaxlazu : erttimeli :*

When Pigesere, son of Katamla, began to rule Lycia as satrap, and he installed as rulers before the Lycians Ijera and Natrbbijemi, and as governor for Xanthos Erttimeli …

1 Ἐπεὶ Λυκίας ξαδράπης ἐγένετο Π-
2 ιξώδαρος Ἑκατόμνω ὑός, κατέστη-
3 σε ἄρχοντας Λυκίας Ἱέρωνα καὶ Ἀ-
4 πολλόδοτον καὶ Ξάνθου ἐπιμελη-
5 τὴν Ἀρτεμηλιν

49 Also known in the variant *sbikaza* (*TL* 10 and 70.2), adapted as Σπιγασα in the Greek version of the latter.
50 For this meaning, see in particular Schürr 2016: 712.
51 Oreshko 2019: 105–117.

When Pixôdaros, son of Hekatomnôs, became satrap of Lycia, he installed as rulers of Lycia Hiero and Apollodotos and as governor of Xanthos Artemelis …

Formally, the Lycian term is a compound, *pddẽ(n)-ehm̃me/i-*, literally meaning "fore-sitter", corresponding to the participle of a compound verb formed by the univerbation of the preposition *pddẽ* "before" and **eh-* "to sit", not attested as such, but related to Hittite *eš-* "to sit".[52] The Greek counterpart of *pddẽnehm̃me/i-*, which is formally equivalent to Latin *prae-sidens* and German *Vor-sitzender*, is ἄρχων "ruler" in the Trilingual, where it seems to refer to a foreign official commissioned to govern a territory in the name of the Carian satrap. In *TL* 106, by contrast, the full title is *miñtehi pddẽnehm̃me/i-*, which can be translated "commissioner/president (?) of the *mindis*". Thus, *pddẽnehm̃me/i-* is an official title, probably covering various specific functions according to time and place, but always corresponding to a function of authority.

Pddẽnehm̃mi is grammatically ambiguous, as it can theoretically correspond to a nominative singular (cf. *TL* 106.1), an accusative singular (cf. *tideimi*, *TL* 26.4; 106.4; *N* 320.10–11), a dative singular (cf. *tideimi*, *passim*), or even a nominative plural (cf. *tideimi*, *TL* 107a.1). In the case of this graffito, the nominative singular is the most plausible inflectional form.

Conclusion

The pre-firing inscriptions generally correspond to potters' signatures, to the potential capacity of the pots, or to their function, even though one can find rare examples of owner's names.[53] In this case, the graffito could in theory represent the signature of a potter, whose name was based on a title. Indeed, some Anatolian personal names result from the conversion of titles, e.g. Τευινασου (gen.) ← *tewinaza-*[54] or Pisidian Γδεβετις (gen.), cf. Lycian *xñtawate/i-* "ruler, king", Luwian /hantawatt(i)-/ "ruler, king".[55] Although it is impossible to be assertive

52 Melchert 2018: 3. This analysis is more plausible than making *pddẽnehm̃me/i-* the participle of *pddẽ=ha* (cf. *N* 320.3), as previously defended by Melchert 1989: 39, Hajnal 1995: 37–41, Melchert 2004: 22 et al.

53 See, for example, an example of a graffito *ante cocturam* on a vase with the owner's name in Sicilia in Manganaro 1999: 45, no. 25 (= *SEG* 49, 1296).

54 Nom. Τευινασας or -ος: Limyra, 3rd century BC (*SEG* 45, 1810). See Réveilhac 2018: 496–497.

55 König 1936: 28 and n. 3; Melchert 2013: 35 (spelling Γδβετι-, though); and, lastly, Simon 2017: 32. One may add similar examples in Greek, such as Ἀστύνομος, Ἄρχων, Προστάτης etc. (Bechtel 1917: 514–515), which all reflect official titles, or even Σατραπίδης in Thasos (*IG* XII 8, 344), based on an official Persian function.

about this incomplete graffito, the ceramics' context of appearance suggests a more plausible alternative. Found in front of a 6th-century building, the pithos may have been made especially for the local governor's storehouse, in such a way that [*pd*]*ḍẽnehm̃mi* would not so much indicate a private owner[56] as the place of the storage location for the pithos, namely the house of the *pddẽnehm̃me/i-*, regardless of who occupied the position. This would therefore mean that there used to be a *pddẽnehm̃me/i-* in Patara, whose exact status is unclear –"ruler", "commissioner"? –, but probably of lesser importance than the *xñtawate/i-*. It was in any case a function of authority, perhaps exercised on behalf of a dynast.

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N = Neumann 1979.
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56 On painted Greek pottery, for example, the rare inscriptions indicating the private owner "are usually added after the firing" (Cook 1997: 246).

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