# Rhodian Funerary Epigrams at Gagai (Lycia)

*Fatih Onur*

IN THE LATE 1990s and early 2000s, a team of researchers (including the author) led by the late Prof. Sencer Şahin began to survey western Pamphylia and eastern Lycia. During the 2001–2003 excursions in the southeastern part of Lycia, the team was informed of some rock-cut tombs about 3.5 km northeast of Gagai, on the slopes of Andızlıtaş Hill, which is believed to have been in ancient times a military outpost with a tower.[1] Three rock-cut tombs were recorded at this site, two of which have inscriptions. Unfortunately, their texts could not be published, although they were photographed and recorded in the survey notes and mentioned in several publications.[2] After studying these old records in the archives, the site was revisited to make up-to-date observations.

[1] M. Adak and C. Güzelyürek, *Olympos, Çıralı, Adrasan Gezi Rehberi* (Istanbul 2003) 111–112; N. Çevik and S. Bulut, "The Rediscovery of GAGAE / '*GAXE*' in the South-east Corner of Lycia. New Finds from the Total Surface Surveys," *Adalya* 11 (2008) 63–98, at 5 and 13.

[2] M. Adak and N. Tüner, "Neue Inschriften aus Olympos und seinem Territorium I," *Gephyra* 1 (2004) 53–65, at 54–55; M. Adak, "Die dorische und äolische Kolonisation des lykisch-pamphylischen Grenzraumes im Lichte der Epigraphik und der historischen Geographie," in Ch. Schuler (ed.), *Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien. Eine Zwischenblanz* (Munich 2007) 42; M. Adak, "Die rhodische Herrschaft in Lykien und die rechtliche Stellung der Städte Xanthos, Phaselis und Melanippion," *Historia* 56 (2007) 251–279, at 268; M. Adak, "Names, Ethnicity and Acculturation in the Pamphylian-Lycian Borderland," in R. Parker (ed.), *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia* (Oxford 2013) 63–78, at 65–66.

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*Figure* 1: Location of Andızlıtaş Hill in southeastern Lycia
Base Map: Google Terrain



*Figure* 2: The rock-cut tombs

The tombs are carved into a large rock outcrop on the western side of the hill. The site appears to have been a necropolis (see n.1 above), the extent of which cannot be determined as the land was used for agricultural purposes, and there are several piles of stones that have been collected or removed from the land. These piles may have belonged to other tombs, such as the one in which inscription no. 3 was found.

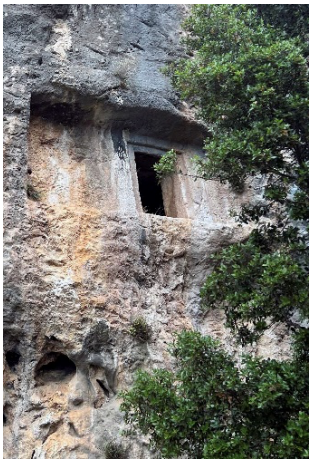


*Figure* 3: Tomb to the north, inscr. no. 1

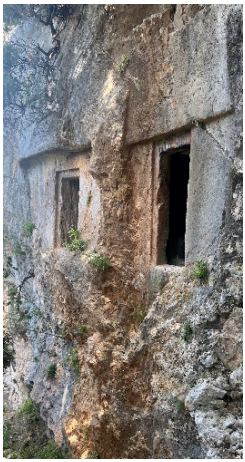


*Figure* 4: The tombs to the south, inscr. no. 2 on the right



*Figure* 5: Inscription no. 1



*Figure* 6: Inscription no. 1

*The inscriptions*

1. Timodamos' funerary inscription

It is in an inaccessible location at a high altitude. It was therefore impossible to take the necessary measurements.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ΤΙΜΟΔΑΜΩΤΟΔΕΜ | Τιμοδάμω τόδε μ- |
| | ΝΑΜΑΓΑΤΗΡΔΕΞΗ | νῶμα, πατὴρ δὲ Ξή- |
| | ΝΥΛΟϵΑΥΤΩ ΞΗΝΥ | νυλος αὐτῶ· [v] Ξήνυ- |
| 4 | ΛΕΧΑΙΡΕΙΑΡΕΥΘΕΟ | λε χαῖρε ἰαρεῦ, θεο- |
| | ΙΔΕΤΟΙΟΛΒΙΑΕΔΩΚ | ὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια ἔδωκ- |
| | ΑΝ | αν. |

In hexametric verses:

Τιμοδάμω τόδε μνῶμα, πατὴρ δὲ Ξήνυλος αὐτῶ·
Ξήνυλε χαῖρε ἰαρεῦ, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια ἔδωκαν.

This monument belongs to Timodamos, and Xenylos is his father; oh, priest Xenylos, rejoice! The gods have given you rich gifts.

1: Τιμοδάμω: -ω for Ionic-Attic -ου- to indicate the long closed o-sound -oo-/-ō-. Τιμόδαμος was a common name throughout the Mediterranean, but it is not otherwise known in inscriptions from Lycia and Pamphylia, although a Lycian with the name Τιμόδαμος is recorded in an inscription from Cos.[3] The name is known from several regions of Asia Minor, mostly in its Attic/Ionic form Τιμόδημος (see *LGPN* Va-b s.v. Τιμόδαμος/Τιμόδημος). The name does not fit the metre since the alpha is long. μνῶμα = μνῆμα; αὐτῶ = αὐτοῦ.

2–4: Ξήνυλος is a transformation of the name Ξένυλλος with its rare variants Ξενύλος, Ξείνυλλα, etc., which can be found in many places in the Mediterranean except Asia Minor (see *LGPN* s.v.). The poet seems to have artificially changed the normal form Ξένυλλος and suggests a metrical elongation of the first syllable -ε- > -η- (here written -η- for a long closed e-sound -εε-/-ε̄-, which in Attic is written -ει- (analogous to Att. -ου- here -ω-) and removes the lengthening by position by omitting a lambda.

[3] *IG* XII.4 2313: Κτήσων | Τιμοδάμου | Λύκιος.

4: ἰαρεῦ = ἱερεῦ; τοι = σοι.

4–6: A very similar version is found in the words of Penelope's slave Dolios to Odysseus when he returned to Ithaca: θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν (Hom. *Od*. 24.402).

Unusually, it is not the deceased who is greeted, but the bereaved father, whose happiness is praised in his own son's funerary inscription.

2. Hagesagathos'? funerary inscription

Located a few metres south of no. 1, next to the uninscribed tomb to the south on the same rock. It was possible to measure only the letters, which average 5 cm.

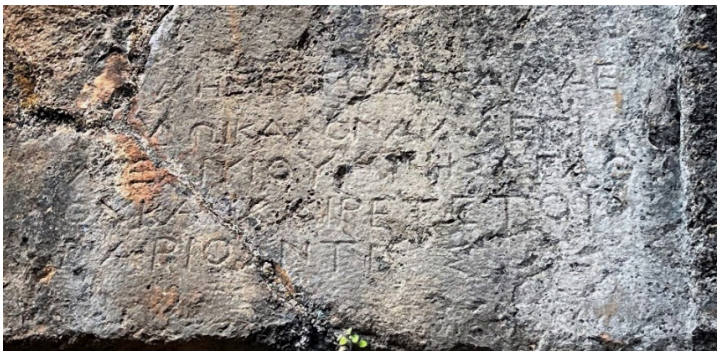


*Figure* 7: Inscription 2

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ΜΗΥΙΩΙΤΟΔΕϹΑΜΑΕ | Μὴ υἱῷι τόδε σᾶμα ἐ- |
| | ΜΩΙΚΑΛΟΝΑΛΛΕΠΙ | μῷι καλὸν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπί- |
| | ΛΕΞΑΙΥΙΟΥΑΓΗϹΑΓΑΘ | λεξαι υἱοῦ Ἀγησαγάθ- |
| 4 | ΟΥΚΑ ΙΧΑΙΡΕΤΕΤΟΙ | ου καὶ χαίρετε τοὶ |
| | ΠΑΡΙΟΝΤΕ Ϲ | παριόντες |

In hexametric verses:

μὴ υἱῷι τόδε σᾶμα ἐμῷι καλὸν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπίλεξαι
υἱοῦ Ἀγησαγάθου καὶ χαίρετε τοὶ παριόντες.

Do not attribute this beautiful tomb to my son,
but to the son of Hagesagathos! Farewell, you who pass by.

The interpretation of the epigram is highly uncertain. If it is related to the first poem, then Xenyllos would have erected

another commemorative inscription for the biological son of Hagesagathos, for a reason we can only speculate about.

1–2 μὴ υἱῶι: hiatus; for the metrical license cf. *Od.* 22.159 ἦ υἱός. σᾶμα = σῆμα. σᾶμα ἐμῶι: for hiatus before ἐμ- cf. *Il.* 19.194 δῶρα ἐμῆς and passim in *Od.*

3–4 υἱοῦ Ἀγησαγάθου: The genitive is a grammatical ambiguity, unless υἱοῦ was intentionally written here instead of the dative υἱῶι due to dialect. Feminine Ἀγησαγάθα is known from Rhodian Peraia (see *LGPN* s.v.); here Ἀγησάγαθος is the first evidence of the masculine form. The first letter of the fourth line may appear to be theta, but not only does this not make sense in the context, but theta is carved in the form of a circle with a dot in it (⊙; see the last letter of 3), not in the form of a circle with a line in the middle (Θ). It is remarkable that this long name was perfectly integrated into the metre.

3. Philodora's funerary inscription

Found in 2024 during a return visit to the site, in the rubble of the later terrace walls on the plain in front of the rock with the tombs mentioned above. Lower left part of a funerary stele. H. 23 cm, w. 26, d. 12; line h. 1.5; dowel thickness 11.5.



*Figure* 8: Inscription 3, fragmentary funerary stele

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . . . A – – – – – – – | ..... |
| Φιλόδωρα – – – – – – | Philodora ..... |
| [ο]ὐκ ἐτέλεσ[σεν – – –] | did not complete (her life etc.) ... |

3: ο]ὐκ ἐτέλεσ[σεν, examples of which can be found in Attica and Asia Minor from several periods,[4] shows that this text was also an epigram.

The letter forms of the first two epitaphs, which exhibit the characteristics of the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, after the long vowels were introduced in the fourth century B.C., point to a date in the late-fourth/third century: thus the open-bar sigma (ϟ), theta with a dot in the centre of the circle (ʘ), wide pi with a short right arm (ᒥ), mu with diagonal hastas (ᙢ), nu with a slightly higher right hasta (ᑎ), simple omega with flat feet (ᘯ). The similar characteristics of the sigma (ϟ) and omega (ᘯ) of the third inscription also point to a similar date; it may well have been in Doric dialect, like the other two.

One metre south of the stele is a broken round stone in which is a dowel hole. The size of the hole is 18 x 12 with a depth of 9 cm. The stele was obviously erected on top of this dowel hole, for the dimensions match well, in addition to their find-spots next to each other. The stone is among many others that seem to have once formed Philodora's tomb.

*On the Rhodian traces in the region*

The nature of the Rhodian expeditions to southeastern Lycia, now the area from Kumluca to Beldibi, sometime in the seventh century B.C. has long been discussed. Although ancient literary sources give us a general picture with some details, inscriptions in the Doric dialect found in several places in this region are evidence of this historical event.[5] The earliest inscriptions directly

[4] *IG* II² 13532.5; *Milet* VI.2 756.5; *I.Smyrna* 513.8; *MAMA* I 301.6, 382.16; Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia* 15.3; *SEG* XXVIII 799.5.

[5] On the places in the region that were subjected to Rhodian colonization see B. İplikçioğlu, *Die Inschriften von Korydalla* (*TAM* II².1: Vienna 2021) 2–3 n. 16. For a detailed description of the evidence for the Rhodian influence and

attesting to Rhodian settlers in this region are the funerary inscriptions published here, though two Doric votive offerings to Athena Polias from Phaselis (n.9 below) seem earlier.

There are several literary references to the Rhodian colonists, who are said to have sailed to this part of Lycia and founded several cities. The foundation of Phaselis by the Lindians, which is considered the earliest example of Rhodian colonisation in the eastern part of the peninsula, is generally dated to the early seventh century,[6] i.e. the first phase of the 'Second Colonisation Period'. The Lindian Chronicle records that this invasion led to a clash with the Solymi:[7] it appears that the Phaselitans dedicated the arms of the Solymians, who were evidently vanquished by the Lindian settlers during a confrontation that took place upon their arrival in the area.[8] This implies that the territory upon which Phaselis was founded was originally inhabited by the Solymians before it came under the control of the Lindians. Two votive inscriptions found in Phaselis and dating from the Classical period bear witness to the cult of Athena Polias, which would have been established immediately after the conquest, which

Doric dialect in the region see Adak in *Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien* 41–46 and a in *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia* 65–66; see also D. A. Baranov, "'Greeks in the Land of Apollo: Displaying the Process of the Dorian and Aeolian Colonization of Lycia in the Epigraphy, Archeology and Narrative Sources," *Via in tempore. History and Political Science* 49 (2022) 29–43 (in Russian).

[6] For references see N. Tüner Önen, "Ideas concerning the Historical Identity and the Connections of the City of Phaselis an Eastern Mediterranean Port," *Mediterranean Journal of Humanities* 1 (2012) 205–212, at 206–207; cf. Adak, in *Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien* 41 and *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia* 65.

[7] *I.Lindos* 2 col. C.6–10 (XXIV): Φασηλῖται κράνη καὶ δρέπανα, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Φασηλῖται ἀπὸ Σολύμων τᾶι Ἀθαναίαι τᾶι Λινδίαι, Λακίου τοῦ οἰκιστᾶ ἀγευμένου," ⟨ὡ⟩ς ἀποφαίνεται Ξεναγόρας ἐν τᾶι α′ τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξιος ("Phaselitans, helmets and sickle-swords, on which was inscribed 'Phaselitans, from the Solymoi, to Athena Lindia, when the colonizer Lakios was the leader', as Xenagoras shows in Book 1 of his *Chronical Compilation*).

[8] Cf. C. Higbie, *The Lindian Chronicle and the Greek Creation of their Past* (Oxford 2003) 104 and 228.

was judged to have been achieved with the help of the goddess.[9] The Lindian Chronicle also records that Kleoboulos, the tyrant of Lindos in the early sixth century, organised a successful campaign against the Lycians, after which the soldiers dedicated eight shields and a golden crown to Athena Lindia.[10] Bresson suggests that since the Lindians had founded Phaselis in the previous century, then the results of this second expedition were the foundations of Gagai, Korydalla, and Rhodia Polis.[11]

The new funerary inscriptions can be associated with the later aftermath of this expedition. There is no doubt that there were already settled people when the Rhodians arrived in this area in the sixth century, for several pottery finds in Gagai and Rhodia Polis attest to the circulation of Early Bronze Age vases similar to those from Karataş Semahöyük and Bademağacı Höyük,[12] but it is not known whether these were small, dispersed fishing and farming communities or people living under an organised administrative system.

[9] The first has been known for a long time: *TAM* II 1184; D. J. Blackman, "The Inscriptions," in J. Schäfer (ed.), *Phaselis. Beiträge zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Häfen* (*IstMitt* Beih. 24 [1981]) 139; N. Tüner, *Phaselis Antik Kenti ve Teritoryumu* (diss. Antalya 2008) 304–305. The second has been found recently: N. Tüner Önen and F. Yılmaz, "A New Athena Polias Votive Inscription from the Phaselis Acropolis," *Adalya* 18 (2015) 121–131.

[10] *I.Lindos* 2 col. C.1–5 (XXIII): τοὶ μετὰ Κλευβούλου στρατεύσαντες εἰς Λυκίαν ἀσπίδας ὀκτὼ καὶ τῶι ἀγάλματι στεφάναν χρυσέαν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἐν τᾶ⟨ι⟩ α′ τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξιος, Πολύζαλος ἐν τᾶι δ′ τᾶν ἱστοριᾶν ("As Timokritos mentions in Book 1 of his *Chronical Compilation* and Polyzalos in Book 4 of his *Historiae*, those who marched with Kleoboulos into Lycia: eight shields and a golden crown for the statue"). For comments see Higbie, *Lindian Chronicle* 102–104.

[11] A. Bresson, "Rhodes and Lycia in Hellenistic Times," in V. Gabrielsen et al. (eds.), *Hellenistic Rhodes. Politics, Culture, and Society* (Aarhus 1999) 98–131, at 102.

[12] Çevik and Bulut, *Adalya* 11 (2008) 82; N. Çevik et al., "Rhodiapolis Kazıları 2007 / Excavations at Rhodiapolis in 2007," *ANMED* 6 (2008) 63–69, at 65–66; Çevik et al., "Rhodiapolis, as a Unique Example of Lycian Urbanism," *Adalya* 13 (2010) 29–63, at 30.

According to traditions, the place where the Rhodians went ashore took the name of Gagai. The *Etymologicum Magnum*, compiled in twelfth century, contains this account of the foundation of Gagai by the Rhodians:

> Gagai. A city of Lycia. It is said that when the Rhodians demanded as much land from the Lycians as they could settle, they called out "ga, ga!" ("land, land!") in their ancestral Doric dialect. This is why the city was given this name. Or Nemios, one of the generals of Rhodes, after defeating pirates consisting of Lycians and Cilicians, came near the land one night in winter. When the ship was in danger, the people on board shouted "ga, ga!" ("land, land!") in their own Doric dialect and pulled the ship to the shore and they were saved. After sunrise, they built a city in this place and named it Gagai after the aforementioned call.[13]

According to Stephanos of Byzantion, Hekataios of Miletos stated that Korydalla, immediately adjacent to Rhodia Polis, was a Rhodian city,[14] suggesting that Rhodian interaction in the region predates the sixth century. On the other hand, Photios quotes Theopompos of Chios as writing about how Rhodia in Lycia was named after the daughter of Mopsos and how Pamphylia was colonised.[15] The place Theopompos gives as Rhodia

[13] *Etym.Magn.* 219.6–16: Γάγαι· Πόλις Λυκίας. Εἴρηται ὅτι Ῥόδιοι, Λυκίους αἰτοῦντες τόπον ἐν ᾧ κατοικήσουσιν, ἐβόων Γᾶ γᾶ, τῇ πατρῴᾳ φωνῇ δωρίζοντες· καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ ὄνομα ἐτέθη τῇ πόλει. Ἢ ὅτι Νέμιος στρατηγῶν Ῥοδίων, καὶ τοὺς Λυκίων καὶ Κιλίκων λῃστεύοντας κατὰ θάλασσαν νικήσας, νυκτὸς χειμῶνι περιέπεσε· καὶ κινδυνευούσης τῆς νεώς, τῶν ἐμπλεόντων ἀναβοησάντων τῇ Δωρίδι φωνῇ Γᾶ γᾶ, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιφθέγματος προσέσχον καὶ ἐσώθησαν. Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης, κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἔκτισε πόλιν, καὶ ὠνόμασεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς λεχθείσης φωνῆς, Γάγαι.

[14] Steph. Byz. 376.15–16 (100–101 Billerbeck; *FGrHist* 1 F 246): Κορύδαλλα· πόλις Ῥοδίων. Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Κορυδαλλεῖς ("Korydalla, city of the Rhodians. Hekataios <mentioned in his work> *Asia*. Ethnic form: Korydalleis").

[15] Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 176, 120b.8–12 (*FGrHist* 115 F 103.15–16): καὶ περὶ Μόψου τοῦ μάντεως καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων Ῥόδης καὶ Μηλιάδος καὶ Παμφυλίας, ἐξ ὧν ἥ τε Μοψουεστία καὶ ἡ ἐν Λυκίᾳ Ῥοδία καὶ ἡ Παμφυλία χώρα τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔλαβον· τίνα τε τρόπον ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἡ Παμφυλία κατῳκίσθη ("He also <men-

may have been taken as Rhodia Polis, but as a territorial name it may also refer to the colonisation area of Rhodes. Kolb and Tietz suggest that the formation of Rhodia Polis into a polis may be due to the Rhodians.[16] Besides the name of Rhodia Polis, that of its nearest neighbour, Korydalla, is related to the Greek word κορυδαλλ-ή/-ίς/-ός, "lark."[17]

However, although ancient sources suggest that Rhodia Polis and Korydalla were founded as Rhodian colonies, no evidence of direct Rhodian influence has yet been recovered from these sites. In general, there are no known archaeological remains from the colonisation period that have survived to the present day, but these rock tombs belonged to the descendants of these first Rhodian settlers. The earliest archaeological remains in Rhodia Polis, the largest excavated city in this region, date to the Hellenistic period.[18] But in a philological aspect, it has been suggested that the place name Wedrẽi[19] on some Lycian coins minted between 390 and 370 B.C. and Wedre- on the Xanthian obelisk from around 400 may be Rhodia Polis, possibly associated with the word wedri, meaning "city," i.e. "polis," which appears in Lycian inscriptions at Rhodia Polis and in an inscription at Antiphellos.[20] However, Müseler emphasises that this

tions> the oracle Mopsos and his daughters Rhode, Melias and Pamphylia, after whom Mopsuestia, Rhodia in Lycia, and the region of Pamphylia were named; he <describes> how Pamphylia was colonised by the Hellenes").

[16] F. Kolb and W. Tietz, "Zagaba: Münzprägung und politische Geographie in Zentrallykien," *Chiron* 31 (2001) 347–416, at 394. Bresson, in *Hellenistic Rhodes* 102, also states that the Rhodians may have played a role in the Hellenic influence in the region.

[17] On the name of Korydalla see L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg 1984) 292 §591; İplikçioğlu, *Inschriften von Korydalla* 2–3 and n.17.

[18] G. Huber, "Rhodiapolis. Beziehungen zwischen Bauforschung und Epigraphik," *AAWW* 141 (2006) 5–24, at 6–7.

[19] For the coins see W. Müseler, *Lykische Münzen in europäischen Privatsammlungen. Gephyra Monografi Serisi* (Istanbul 2016) 174–175 viii, 9–18, and 182 (pl.).

[20] O. Mørkholm and G. Neumann, *Die lykischen Münzlegenden* (Göttingen

cannot be certain.[21] On the other hand, the fact that the main goddess of Rhodia Polis was Athena Polias, just as in the cities like Phaselis and Melanippion with Rhodian connections, points to a Rhodian connection in religious terms, and the goddess expressions *malijahi wedrẽñnehi*, *mali wedrẽñni*, *malija wedrẽñni* in Lycian inscriptions in the city mean "urban Maliya" and appear as a literal translation of the Hellenic "Athena Polias."[22] Adak suggests that Melanippion may also have been of Rhodian origin, basing this possibility on the testimony of Hekataios, who presented it as Pamphylian, and on the Greek name of the city and the fact of Athena as its chief goddess.[23]

It is accepted that the period of Lycian domination of the region is related to the expansion policy of Pericles of Limyra in the first half of the fourth century,[24] and none of the Lycian

1978) 21; J. Borchhardt, "Dynasten und Beamte in Lykien während der persischen und attischen Herrschaft," in R. Dittmann et al. (eds.), *Variatio delectat. Iran und der Westen. Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer* (Münster 2000) 73–140, at 119; Kolb and Tietz, *Chiron* 31 (2001) 392–395; G. Neumann and J. Tischler, *Glossar des Lykischen* (Wiesbaden 2007) 421.

[21] Müseler, *Lykische Münzen* 5–6.

[22] For discussions and references on Athena Polias as the chief goddess of Rhodia Polis see B. İplikçioğlu, "Ein neues Ehrendekret der Rhodiapoliten aus dem Jahr 194 v. Chr.," *AAWW* 147 (2012) 39–57, at 46 nn.27 and 29. On the location of the temple see İ. Kızgut, "Rhodiapolis Kazıları ve Çevresi Araştırmaları 2010," *ANMED* 9 (2011) 94–99, at 97, and "Rhodiapolis Kazıları ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları 2011," *ANMED* 10 (2012) 93–98, at 93. See also the recent discoveries of Helios and Athena cult altars: E. Akalın, "Rhodiapolis Kazıları 2015 / Rhodiapolis Excavations 2015," *ANMED* 14 (2016) 362–365, at 364–365.

[23] Adak, in *Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien* 42–43. That the chief goddess of the city was Athena is attested by a Hellenistic inscription found in Melanippion, published by Adak, *Historia* 56 (2007) 251–279.

[24] M. Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Landeskunde Zentrallykiens* (Bonn 1992) 29; F. Kolb,"Geschichte Lykiens im Altertum," in *Lykien* (Mainz 1992) 9–31, at 15; J. Borchhardt, "Zur Politik der Dynasten Trbbênimi und Perikle von Zemuri," *Lykia* 3 (1997) 1–23, at 2; M. Seyer and R. Tekoğlu, "Das Felsgrab des *Stamaha* in Ostlykien – ein Zeugnis für die Ostpolitik des

inscriptions in this region[25] date to an earlier period. However, according to Carruba and Vismara, a coin of Gagai from 430–420 B.C. with the Lycian inscription *Gaχe* shows that the use of Lycian began before Pericles and that the term *gagai* is derived from the ancient Anatolian word *hahha*. [26] However, it is also curious that Athena was depicted on the obverse of the same coin. It is clear from Lycian inscriptions both at Rhodia Polis and near Korydalla, Gagai, and Olympos that Rhodian col-

*Perikle* von Limyra?" *Die Sprache* 48 (2009) 217–226, at 223–224; S. Şahin, *Stadiasmus Patarensis. Itinera Romana Provinciae Lyciae. Lykia Eyaleti Roma Yolları* (Istanbul 2014) 390.

[25] For Lycian inscriptions at Rhodia Polis see *TAM* I 149–150. For the Lycian-Old Greek bilingual inscription found at Korydalla see F. J. Tritsch and A. Dönmez, "Finding a Colossal Head of Apollo and Other Discoveries in the Ancient Cities of Lycia," *The Illustrated London News* (21 March 1953) 448–449; F. J. Tritsch, "The Lycian Bilingual in Stoichedon from Korydalla," *Kadmos* 15 (1976) 158–167; G. E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey: An Archaeological Guide* (London 1978) 146; G. Neumann, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901* (Vienna 1979) 14–15; İplikçioğlu, *Inschriften von Korydalla* 30 no. 1.13. For the Lycian inscription found at Asartaş, about 6 km west of Olympos, see Ş. R. Tekoğlu, "Three New Lycian Inscriptions from Tlos and Asartaş," *Die Sprache* 43 (2002) 104–114, at 107–108, figs. 7–8. For a Lycian funerary inscription found in the near northwest of the ruins of Gagai, within the Beykonak (former Gagaz) neighbourhood of Kumluca, see Seyer and Tekoğlu, *Die Sprache* 48 (2009) 220–222; see also Kolb and Tietz, *Chiron* 31 (2001) 394, and B. İşler and Ş. R. Tekoğlu, "Rock-Cut Tombs and Two Lycian Inscriptions from Karabel-Çamdağı," *Adalya* 24 (2021) 43–59, at 48–49. Bresson, in *Hellenistic Rhodes* 102, states that the Rhodian presence here does not reflect a real colonization; see also Çevik et al., *Adalya* 13 (2010) 31.

[26] O. Carruba and N. Vismara, "Una emissione arcaica della città die Gagae," *Athenaeum* 90 (2002) 75–88, at 76–78, state that the term 'Gagai' traces its roots back to the ancient Anatolian language, specifically from the word *hahha*. In Greek script, it was likely transcribed as *gaχe* due to the constraints of the script. The Lycian language does not feature words beginning with *g*, except for those indicating influence from Persian titles. The meaning of *gaχe* possibly translates to 'wither', and similar terms are found in Akkadian and Hittite as city names. In the Pala language, it signifies 'cook' or 'fire'. The relationship between syllables starting with *g* and *χ* suggests that 'Gagai' may have evolved from *gaχe*, originating from the ancient Anatolian *hahha*.

onists or their influence did not stay in power in this part of the region (present-day Kumluca) for long, though the latest known inscriptions in Doric dialect are probably the treaty between Phaselis and Tenedos found in Beldibi-Hayıtlıgöl (ancient Tenedos), which can be dated to the second-first century B.C., or the Artemis Kitaneurissa votive found on Mount Musa in Olympus.[27] It is known that Rhodian administration in Lycia was never long-lasting or successful, but cultural and economic influences were always active through the centuries.

Although it appears to have been a short-lived rule, these new funerary epigrams shed a little more light on the lives of the Rhodian settlers here, which could be only partially revealed by the data known prior to this new evidence. These new inscriptions not only provide information about their own period, but also indicate that there must have been several generations of settlers before them, since these tombs seem to be the stable products of an enduring tradition—probably learned from the Lycians, although they are much simpler in appearance than the traditional Lycian rock-cut tombs—and, with the presence of a priest and the use of literary poetic language, they bear the traces of a community that had already augmented its civil and religious structures with an intellectual cast.[28]

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Akdeniz University
Department of Ancient
Languages & Cultures
Antalya, Türkiye
fatihonur@akdeniz.edu.tr

[27] For the most recent publication on the Tenedos inscription see F. Onur, "The Western Shores of the Pamphylian Gulf: Tenedos, 'Olbia and others' Revisited," *Phaselis* 9 (2023) 15–40, at 18–23. For the dedication to Artemis Kitaneurissa on Mount Musa see Adak and Tüner, *Gephyra* 1 (2004) 53–55.

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