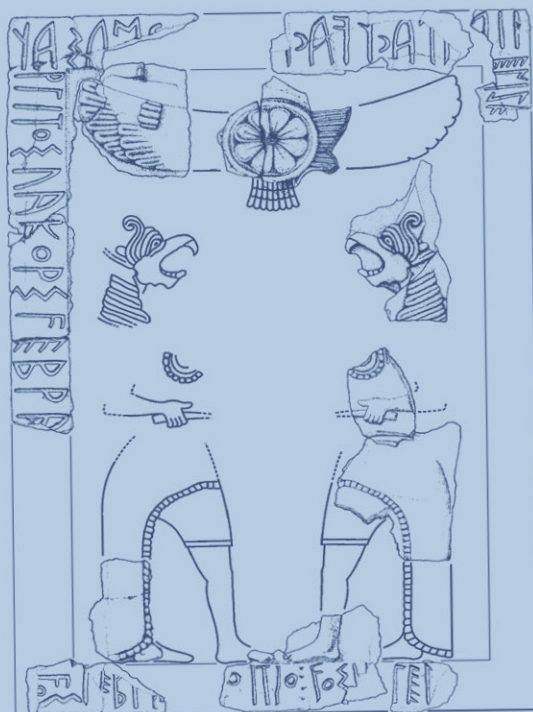


Phrygian linguistics and epigraphy: new insights

Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach
Ignasi-Xavier Adiego (eds.)



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Possible assemblage of relief elements of a sandstone inscribed block found at Kerkenes Dağ.
Courtesy of Geoffrey D. Summers

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Foreword

These are good times for research on Phrygian. More scholars than ever are focusing on this language and many novelties (including new inscriptions and innovative interpretations) are emerging relatively frequently. It is a pleasure to introduce a book that bears witness to this effervescence, even if it means that different answers are given to the very same problem. There are still some important questions to be resolved in the study of this ancient, fragmentary language, but the discussion among researchers from different backgrounds is bound to improve the ways in which we approach the inscriptions and their context. The experience in other fragmentary languages, together with the knowledge of the languages also attested in Anatolia (including the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European languages, Greek and Aramaic) can help us to make some solid steps forward in Phrygian, without leaving aside for a moment the indispensable contribution of archaeology.

At the same time as we celebrate the emergence of these new scholars, we must mourn the recent loss of Claude Brixhe. Phrygian studies are indebted to Brixhe for following the steps made by Michel Lejeune and for applying a scientific approach to his work. His systematic readings and editions of Old Phrygian inscriptions are still an indispensable source for studies today, while his “*Prolégomenes au corpus néo-phrygien*” laid the foundations for a methodology to read and study New Phrygian texts. We acknowledge his sensitivity and his devotion to

the diffusion of Phrygian at a time when the scientific community was less aware than it is today of the relevance of linguistic diversity and contact in Antiquity.

Our discipline recently suffered a second blow, the death of Alexandru Avram. Coming from the field of Greek epigraphy, Avram published a first edition of the altar from Nakoleia, containing four Greek epigrams and one in Phrygian, an Old Phrygian graffito from Dorylaion and a classification of Phrygian personal names. As he had agreed to submit a paper for this book, his absence is noted very keenly here. We devote this publication to the memory of both scholars as a signal of gratitude and of our commitment to continuing their work.

Despite the limitations of the Phrygian corpus, it continues to grow and we do not know what might appear in the future after the completion of the archaeological projects currently underway at several sites in the former Phrygian cultural territories. Since the publication of *The Phrygian Language* (2020), more than ten inscriptions have been described, including the text on the idol-shaped stele from the territory of Nakoleia, a new inscription engraved on stone and some new graffiti from Gordion and Dorylaion, another New Phrygian curse from Senirkent-Yasıören and, for the first time, some coins containing an Old Phrygian legend. Moreover, it has been suggested that some alphabetic seal legends from the Borowski Collection were written in Phrygian. Finally, the publication in the near future of some other Phrygian texts has been announced: some graffiti from Daskyleion, among other fragments in Lydian, and two graffiti from the acropolis of Tiejion (an interesting new site for the Phrygian epigraphy).

In fact, the first chapter of this book is devoted to one of these novelties. “The Ata Touch: a second coin legend in Phrygian” continues the research done with the coin legend *Iman* (see *Kadmos* 60, 2021, 99-115) and offers the name of another possible Phrygian dynast, *Ata*. Both legends document two hitherto unknown local rulers in an unclear area. In any case, the features of both series of coins show that they came from the same city. While coins with legends written in other languages from Anatolia during the late Iron Age (Greek, Aramaic, Lycian, Lydian, Carian and Sydetic) are quite well known, no coin legends had been found in Phrygian until now. Despite the fragmentary nature of the evidence, this new Phrygian epigraphic typology invites researchers to explore late Phrygian history further.

Milena Anfosso provides the second chapter: “Remarks on the Neo-Phrygian Funerary Curse Apodosis με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε Τη τιττετικμενος ειτου”. In her thorough account of the most important New Phrygian formula, she reconsiders the relation with its Hieroglyphic Luwian parallel (KARKAMIŠ A3, l. 4) and rules out the possibility that the latter text was a model for the Phrygian text. However, in

the paper she suggests a solar nature for the Phrygian god Ti- and develops a comparison with the solar Luwian god Tiwat-, while the Phrygian god Bas is connected to the sphere of fertility, like Tarhunzas for the Luwians. Thus, the chapter provides an innovative approach to the study of the Phrygian divinities.

The contribution by Anna Elisabeth Hämmig, “A “new” Neo-Phrygian curse formula”, also focuses on the New Phrygian texts. She compares three inscriptions and, after offering an improved reading of them, identifies a new Phrygian imperative formula containing the hitherto unnoticed verbal stem $\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon/o-$. Consequently, some traditional segmentations and ‘ghost words’ are shown to be invalid and must be excluded from the lexical repertoires.

María Paz de Hoz, with her paper “Greek–Phrygian contact and sociolinguistic context in the Neo-Phrygian corpus” provides an overview of the relation between the two coexisting languages. Based on Brixhe’s prior work and her own wide experience in Greek epigraphy (mainly from Lydia and Phrygia), she analyses the spheres in which Phrygian was still alive during Roman times. She also offers a historical framework for this bilingualism and identifies some Phrygian interferences in Greek.

The following chapter, by Obrador-Cursach, is devoted to “the gods of the Phrygian inscriptions”. The author attempts to offer researchers a complete catalogue of gods attested in the Phrygian corpus. This study aims to help scholars from other fields to understand the contents of the inscriptions and what they might tell us about the religion of the Phrygians. The paper also offers some comments on divine epithets attested through Greek inscriptions found in Phrygia and its surrounding territories.

Zsolt Simon is the author of the last chapter, “*Sipis* – yet another Phrygian name in the Neo-Hittite world? With commentaries on some recent discoveries of Phrygians in Hieroglyphic Luwian texts”. Following his previous work on the identification of the Luwian name *Kurtiyas* as a borrowing from the Phrygian *Gordios* / *Gordias*, he suggests that Luwian *Sipis* is another Phrygian onomastic borrowing, in the light of the names $\Sigma\alpha\beta\tau\varsigma$ and $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\beta\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ attested in Greek inscriptions from Phrygia. He also argues against the identification of Luwian $Pa+ra^x/i-za/zu^2-ta_x$ with the ethnonym of the Phrygians and rejects a Phrygian origin for Luwian *Hartapus* and other alleged identifications between names of both corpora. The whole chapter is an excellent update on the onomastic interactions between Phrygian and Luwian.

All in all, the book offers a range of approaches to Phrygian-related issues. Promoting the diversity of starting points and focuses is the way to improve our

knowledge and to reach a better vision of the Phrygian language and the people who once spoke and wrote it.

To conclude, we thank the scholars who have contributed to this volume and make easy our work and extend our gratitude to those who for various reasons were not able to participate.

Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach and Ignasi-Xavier Adiego
Maó & Barcelona, October 2022

The Ata Touch: a second coin legend in Phrygian*

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In a recent paper (Adiego and Obrador-Cursach 2021), we identified an uncatalogued series of ten coins (very small in size) as containing a Phrygian name as legend: *iman* (e.g., Fig. 1). For the first time, Phrygian was identified as a language used in minting.¹ These tiny coins (*tetartemoria*, i.e., ¼ of an obol, between 0.14 g and 0.19 g, and 5-7 mm.) show on the obverse a helmeted head of Athena facing right and on the reverse a bird of prey, probably a falcon or hawk, facing left, bordered by a square of pellets within an incuse square where the legend also appears. Despite the lack of any archaeological context, their features let us conclude that these coins were issued by an unknown dynast called *Iman* during the Achaemenid period. A more difficult task is to establish the city where these coins might have been minted. Some catalogues of the auction houses featuring these coins have classified them as Lycian. Although this is wrong, certain similarities with Lycian coins may suggest that they were minted in a southwestern Phrygian city such as Kelainai. Moreover, together with the ten coins reading *Iman*, five anepigraphic coins were also considered to share the same origin, since they reproduce the same iconography (see, e.g., Fig. 2).

* This paper was written under the framework of the research project *Los dialectos lívicos del grupo anatolio: escritura, gramática, onomástica, léxico* (PGC2018-098037-B-C21) financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness.

1. In fact, it was surprising that, unlike the other languages attested in Anatolia during the Achaemenid Period and despite its productivity in other contexts, Phrygian did not provide any coins.



Fig. 1. Savoca Numismatik, 92nd Blue Auction, Lot 850 (19-12-2020)
“Greek. Dynasts of Lycia. Uncertain mint. Uncertain Dynast circa 400-300 BC. Tetrastemonion AR 6 mm., 0,18 g.”.



Fig. 2. Numismatik Naumann GmbH, Auction 44, Lot 507 (07.08.2016).
“Achaemenid Empire. Uncertain (4th century BC). Fraction (1/32 Siglos?). Obv: Male head right, wearing bashlyk. Rev: Eagle standing left within pelleted linear border; all within incuse square. Weight: 0.14 g. Diameter: 7 mm.”.

Since our previous study, we have identified two other coins clearly related to the series previously gathered together. Their iconography is very similar to *Iman*-coins: the obverse shows a head of Athena with crested helmet, and the reverse a bird of prey bordered by a square of pellets within an incuse square where a legend can be read. However, there are two notable differences between the *Iman*-series

and these two new coins: here the bird of prey is facing right, not left, and the legend, consisting of three letters, does not read *iman* (Fig. 3 and 4).



Fig 3: Numismatik Naumann. Auction 77, Lot 271 (05.05.2019)

“Dynasts of Lycia. Uncertain dynast (Circa 4th century BC). Hemiobol. Obv: Helmeted head of Athena right. Rev: Bird (eagle?) standing right within a pelleted square border; all within an incuse square. CNG E-318, lot 245; Numismatik Naumann 71, lot 124 (as Uncertain). Very rare. Condition: Nearly very fine. Weight: 0.18 g, Diameter: 6 mm.”.



Fig. 4. Leu Numismatik. Web Auction 16, Lot 1011 (22.05.2021)

“Greek. LYDIA. Uncertain. Aia..., circa 450–400 BC. Tetartemorion (Silver, 7 mm, 0.31 g, 11 h). Head of Athena to right, wearing crested Attic helmet. Rev. AIA ('aia' in Lydian) Eagle standing right with closed wings; all within a dotted square within an incuse square. Cf. CNG E-Auction 318 (2014), 245 var. (anepigraphic) and corr. ('dynasts of Lycia'). Naumann 77 (2019), 271 corr. (as 'dynasts of Lycia' and legend not noted). Peus 427

(2020), 321 var. (hemitartemoron with eagle to left and a longer legend) and corr. (legend misread as 'lykisch oder aramäisch'). Extremely rare and of great interest. Lightly toned and beautifully struck, a very charming coin. Minor edge crack, otherwise, very fine condition.

This beautiful little coin offers, for the first time, a clear reading of the legend on this issue, which was previously either overlooked or misread. In the light of the discovery of small silver coins from western Asia Minor with Lydian legends (see the very interesting coin of Ifes in *Leu Web Auction 15* (2021), 502), there can be little doubt that 'AIA' on the reverse of our coin is not Greek, but composed of the Lydian letters AIA. This is likely the beginning of a personal name Aia... rather than an ethnic, but we do not know much about Lydian names and thus cannot expand this idea with any certainty. It is worth noting, however, that foreign names are often absorbed when cultures intermix (which is why this cataloguer's first name is 'scandinavized' Latin, even though he was not born either in Scandinavia or in Italy); thus, as a wild guess, Aia... perhaps even bore the Greek name Aias (modern Ajax)".

The first coin is attributed to a "Lycian dynast", as was the case of some Iman coins, and no reading of the legend is offered. Conversely, the second exemplar is accompanied by an unusually long note, in which the coin is classified as coming from Lydia. Other attributions are ruled out, and the text is read as AIA and explicitly taken as Lydian. The onomastic speculations that follow are rather curious but in principle not unreasonable, and a Lydian attribution is also a possibility, as we will see below.

Leaving aside the two specimens with a legend, there are some others of anepigraphic character that also show a right-facing bird of prey, in parallel to the existence of anepigraphic issues of Iman. Here are the four anepigraphic exemplars we noticed (Fig. 5, 6, 7 and 8):



Fig. 5. CNG E-Auction 318, Lot 245 (15.01.2014)

“Dynasts of Lycia. Uncertain dynast. Circa 4th century BC. AR Hemiobol (6mm, 0.25 g, 6h). Helmeted head of Athena right / Eagle standing right within a pelletted square within an incuse square. Unpublished in the standard references. Near EF”.



Fig. 6. Numismatik Naumann. Auktion 71, Lot 124 (04.11.2018)

“Southern Asia Minor. Uncertain. Tetartemorion (Circa 5th–4th centuries BC).

Obv: Head right, (wearing helmet or bashlyk/satrapal headdress?). Rev: Bird standing right within a pelletted square border; all within an incuse square. Cf. CNG E-400, lot 300 (bird left); cf. CNG E-385, lot 276 (same). Very rare. Condition: Very fine. Weight: 0.12 g. Diameter: 6 mm.”.



Fig. 7. Numismatik Naumann. Auction 79, Lot 195 (07.07.2019)

“Dynasts of Lycia. Uncertain dynast (Circa 4th century BC). Hemiobol.

Obv: Helmeted head of Athena right. Rev: Bird (eagle?) standing right within pelleted square border; all within incuse square. CNG E-318, lot 245; Numismatik Naumann 71, lot 124 (as Uncertain). Condition: Very fine. Weight: 0.20 g. Diameter: 7 mm.”.



Fig. 8. Leu Numismatik. Web Auction 19, Lot 1584 (26.02.2022)

“Asia Minor. Uncertain. Late 5th to 4th century BC. Tetartermion (Silver, 7 mm, 0.19 g, 12 h). Male head to right, wearing bashlyk (?). Rev. Eagle with closed wings standing right within linear square within incuse square. Cf. CNG E-Auction 418 (2018), 367 (eagle to right and with legend). SNG Kayhan -. Rosen -. Klein -. Very fine”.

Turning to the two exemplars with a legend, a first problem is the exact reading of the three letters that appear in the reverse, to the right of the bird of prey. The copious note accompanying the most recently auctioned coin gives a reading <AIA> as certain. However, both an attentive study of this coin and a comparison

with the other exemplar (for which no reading is given in the auction note) makes this reading debatable. The first controversial detail is the stroke at the top of the alleged <I>: in Leu's coin, it seems to be part of the body of the bird, but actually this protuberance does not make any sense; and a look at Naumann's coin shows that it is an independent line that most probably belongs to the shape of the letter. In Leu's coin, the erosion has deleted the separation between the figure and the sign, but on the other coin the separation is evident. A second problem is that in Naumann's coin an oblique stroke seems to descend from the top, giving the letter an appearance of l. However, the resulting letter, a l with a further horizontal (or slightly curved) stroke at the top is a rather strange form. Moreover, and more importantly, in Leu's coin there is no trace of this oblique stroke at all, and there is not even room for it. Unfortunately, the only available photo of Naumann's exemplar is too blurred to be able to give a definitive opinion, but we think that this oblique stroke is in fact an intrusive mark, alien to the original shape of the letter. Therefore, this letter probably consisted of a vertical stroke with a perpendicular stroke at the top, that is, a T, and the reading of the complete legend would be *ata*.

Based only on the name *ata*, an attribution of the coin legend to Lydian would be perfectly possible: the name is attested in Lydian inscriptions from Sardis in dative-locative case *atal* (LW 30, l. 2) and in possessive *ataliś* (nominative common, LW 5, l.1), *atalid* (nominative-accusative neuter, LW 26, l. 2). The name is also attested in Lydia in Greek sources under the form *Ataç*: it appears several times in the list of the Sardian citizens condemned in Ephesos for sacrilege (*SEG* XXXVI 1101, cf. Zgusta *KPN* 105 § 119-2).

That said, the name also appears in Phrygia and in zones in contact with Phrygia or under Phrygian influence. It is well attested in Old Phrygian (see Obrador-Cursach 2020, 186–187), where it is documented repeatedly on pottery with a nominative form *ata* (if not an abbreviation), as in the coin legend (G-107, G-118, G-224a, G-234, HP-111). Other attestations of the form in the Phrygian corpus are *atai* W-10 (sg. dat.), *atas* G-128, *atas* Dd-101 (sg. nom.) and, less clearly, [-?]-*aṭaṣ* G-119, G-221. The most problematic attestation is the recently discovered inscription on an idol-shaped Stele (W-14, Tamsü Polat, Polat and Lubotsky 2020), where *atas* at the top is followed by *iman* at the central part (Fig. 9), both in nominative: *atas | iman meu ter|mos tekiye | ton dagoy*.²

2. The first editors read *tekise* for *tekiye*, a reading proposed by R. Oreshko (in personal communication 17/09/2021). Note that *iman* occurs after another personal name in M-03 [---(b)?] *abas iman akio*[---].



Fig. 9. The idol-shaped stele recently found in the territory of Nakoleia. Drawing by R. Tamsü Polat and Y. Polat (Tamsü Polat, Polat and Lubotsky 2020, 67 Fig. 5)

In Greek sources, the name appears as *Αταç* once in Eastern Phrygia and once in Apollonia-Sozopolis – in a contact zone between Pisidia and Phrygia – but it is particularly well attested as *Αταç*.³ *LGPN V-c* offers seven attestations in Phrygia proper, 10 in Eastern Phrygia, one in “Phrygia (S.E.)-Pisidia (N.)”. It also appears in Kibyratis-Kabalis (five examples), an area located between Lycia and the south of Phrygia (called “S. PHR.-LYK” in Zgusta *KPN*), and in Pisidia (22 examples), in Galatia (five), in Lykaonia (three), in Pamphylia (two) and in Cilicia (one). This distribution is interesting, because the apparent character of *Αταç* as a Lallname

3. It is known that the Phrygian alphabet, used for Old Phrygian, does not note geminates (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 31). So Old Phrygian *atas* may render *Αταç*.

may suggest a more widespread presence across Asia Minor, like other Lallnamen. In fact, it does not appear either in Caria or in Lycia or in Lydia, and its attestation in Cilicia is anecdotal. The name occupies the Phrygian-Pisidian space with ramifications in Galatia, Lykaonia, Pamphylia and Kibyris-Kabalis. Certainly, the question merits a more detailed study because we also have other names attested in Asia Minor, such as Αττης, Αττας, or the female forms Αττα, Αττη, with different distributions and whose connection to Αττας / Ατας should be clarified.

Are we dealing with the rather Lydian name Ατας or with the Phrygian-Pisidian name Αττας? We think that the clear affinities of these coins with those of *Iman* favour an identification of this coinage as Phrygian and in the Phrygian language. Interestingly, both names, *Iman* and *Ata*, are well attested in Old Phrygian and can now be identified in two very close coinages. Therefore, we can imagine that these issues characterized by a helmeted Athena and a bird of prey come from two different dynasts, *Iman* and *Atta*, of the same Phrygian city.

Research into Phrygian coinage is in its infancy. But even bearing in mind the little we know, these coins fill in a blank in the textual records: they attest to the existence of two Phrygian dynasts ruling a city possibly not far from Lycia (given the affinities with the coins minted there) during the Achaemenid period. Any other information about these two personalities is elusive for now. Despite being relatively common names, one can hardly identify *Iman* and *Ata* dynasts with any other homonymous person attested in the Old Phrygian corpus. Even the striking affinity between the iconography of the coins and the alabaster hawk from Gordion containing the inscription G-136, where *iman* is clearly read, may be a simple parallel rather than two artifacts of the same person (cf. Adiego and Obrador-Cursach 2021: 110–112). Both *Iman* and *Ata* seem to have been prestigious names born by Phrygian elites from different cities before the Macedonian conquest. We must conclude, again, with the hope that new evidence will emerge in the future to shed light on this series of coins and their historical context.

APPENDIX: New specimens of Iman coins and a possible third ruler

After the publication of Adiego and Obrador-Cursach (2021), we have identified three more specimens with Iman's name and two other coins with the same iconography, one anepigraphic, the other with illegible legend (Figs. 13 and 14 below).⁴ Here, we gather them with the original auction notes (where erroneous or inaccurate descriptions are included, as in the previously known cases).



Fig. 10. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Electronic Auction 493, Lot 43 (09.06.2021)

“Levantine Region, Uncertain. 5th-4th centuries BC. AR Fraction (6.5mm, 0.20 g, 3h). Head right, wearing crested helmet / Eagle (or falcon?) standing left; pseudo-legend to left; all in dotted square within incuse square. Triton XVIII, lot 769; otherwise, unpublished in the standard references. Toned, some porosity. VF. Very rare. From the Klasma Asami Collection”.

Coin of Fig. 10 shows clear affinities with Adiego and Obrador-Cursach (2021), Coin 5. Both specimens share the beginning of the Phrygian legend below the bird's beak and the “broken” form of A, but they seem to be from different reverse dies (the observe die could be the same).⁵

4. The coin auctioned by Obolos, Web Auction 19, Lot 419 (08.05.2021), “Cilicia. Uncertain. Mid 5th century BC. Tetartemorion (Silver, 6 mm, 0.17 g, 1 h)...” is actually the same specimen as Adiego and Obrador-Cursach (2021), coin 2, although the photography accompanying the auction note is different.

5. The Triton auction note described the obverse head of the coin in Fig. 10 as wearing a bashlyk, but the type was off-center on that example and affected the perception of the actual form of a crested helmet (as seen in the rest of the specimens presented here).



Fig. 11. Bucephalus Numismatic. Auction 5, Lot 554 (29.04.2022)

“CILICIA. Uncertain. (Mid 5th century BC). AR Tetartemorion. Obv: Head of Athena or a beardless local hero to right, with a lozenge-shaped archaic eye, wearing an undecorated Attic helmet with crest. Rev: Uncertain legend Raven standing to left within a pelleted rectangular border; the whole within a shallow incuse square. Obolos E-19 Lot 419. Unpublished. Possibly the second specimen known! Condition: VF. Weight: 0.17 g. Diameter: 6.30 mm.”.



Fig. 12. Leu Numismatik. Web auction 19, Lot 1586 (26.02.2022)

“Asia Minor. Uncertain. 5th to 4th centuries BC. Tetartemorion (Silver, 6 mm, 0.16 g, 1 h). Head to right. Rev. Bird with closed wings standing left; to left, uncertain legend. Cf. CNG E-Auction 403 (2017), 224 (obverse of comparable style, but differing reverse). Very rare and interesting. Very fine”.

The most characteristic feature of the coins shown in Figs. 11 and 12 is the fact that the bird is shown with its head facing forward, not in profile (the face is no longer visible in fig. 12 due to wear but the shape of the head is clear). This feature is shared also with Adiego and Obrador-Cursach (2021), Coin 6 (where the head facing forward was not identified also due to wear). In fact, coin of Fig. 12 is most probably from the same reverse and obverse as Coin 6.



Fig. 13. Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 16, Lot 1085 (22.05.2021)

“WESTERN ASIA MINOR, Uncertain. 5th century BC. Tetartemorion (Silver, 7 mm, 0.19 g, 6 h). Male head to right, wearing crested helmet. Rev. Eagle standing left within pelleted square within incuse square. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 15 (2021), 657. Naumann 44 (2016), 507. Savoca 79 (2020), 304. Some weakness and with minor die breaks on the reverse, otherwise, very fine. From the collection of Dr. P. Vogl”.



Fig. 14. DEMOS, Auction 2, Lot 245 (05.06.2021)

“Lycia. Uncertain Dynast circa 400–300 BC. AR Tetartemorion. Head of Athena right. Rev: Eagle standing left within pelleted square within incuse square, unclear legend, Winsemann-Falghera (Vismara II) -; 0,12 gr, 7 mm.”.

Finally, a new type of coin appeared (Fig. 15), sharing iconography with Iman and Ata coins, but with a further variation: in this coin, both the head of Athena and the bird of prey are facing left. The only specimen we know bears a legend, but unfortunately it is illegible. Since the remainder of the legend seems to differ from Iman and Ata, we wonder whether this coin attest a third Phrygian ruler:



Fig. 15. Savoca Numismatik, 95th Silver Auction, Lot 95 (14.02.2021)

“Greek. Asia Minor. Uncertain mint of Southern Asia Minor circa 500–300 BC. Tetar-

temorion AR 6 mm, 0,19 g Head left / Bird standing left, uncertain legend to left, all in dotted square within incuse square. very fine Cf. CNG E-403, lot 224 (head to right)".⁶

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6. CNG E-403, lot 224 is Adiego and Obrador-Cursach (2021), Coin 4.

Remarks on the Neo-Phrygian Funerary Curse $\text{Apodosis } \mu\epsilon \delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon \text{Τη τιττετικμενος ειτου}$ ¹

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§ 1. *Introduction*

Alexander Lubotsky (1998: 420), followed by Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (2019: 147–9; 2020: 143; 2021: 3), noticed an interesting similarity between a passage from the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription KARKAMIŠ A3, l. 4 (Hawkins 2000: 108–12), datable to the late 10th/early 9th century BCE:

1. This paper was inspired by a conversation with the late Alexandru Avram, Professor of History at Le Mans University, who was one of the members of the jury on the occasion of my dissertation (Anfosso 2019a) defense at Sorbonne University, Paris. He tragically passed away in August 2021 while he was leading archeological excavations at Histria, in Romania. He published on subjects as varied as Greek colonization, the institutional and religious history of Greek cities, and epigraphy of the Black Sea and of Asia Minor (including in Phrygian). Thus, I would like to dedicate this paper to his memory. He was such a generous scholar: I learned so much from him and he always warmly supported my research. Many thanks to Petra Goedegebuure, Craig Melchert, and Philomen Probert for their enthusiastic feedback on this paper on the occasion of the 32nd UCLA Indo-European Conference (Los Angeles, November 5–7, 2021). Jonny Zeller and Anahita Hoose must be thanked for proofreading the English text. All the translations from Hieroglyphic Luwian are taken from Hawkins 2000; all the translations from Greek and Phrygian are mine, except when differently specified. The usual disclaimers apply.

*wa/i-sá- *a|DEUS-na-za |CAPUT-tá-za-ha |*336-na-na²|
|(DEUS)TONITRUS-tá-ti-i |(LOQUI)ta-tara/i-ia-mi-sa i-zi-ia-ru,*

“and let him be accursed by Tarhunzas in the sight of/before gods and men,”

and a phrase attested by more than forty Neo-Phrygian inscriptions from the 2nd and the 3rd centuries CE (see Appendix I: Haas 1966 nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, 12, 14, 25, 26, 39, 44, 45, 50, 51, 53, 56, 57, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 75, 77, 80, 85, 87, 92, 94, 97, 101, 102, 108, 112, 114, 120, 123, 127, 131). For the sake of simplicity, the phrase can be reconstructed as follows despite the spelling variations:

με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε τιε τι[τ]τετικμενος ειτου,

“let him become accursed by Ti-³ among gods and men”.

Both sentences are apodoses of curses built with so-called “indeterminate” relative clauses (Yates 2014: 5–6), where the relative pronoun in the protasis refers to an indefinite entity, i.e.: “Whichever X does something bad to [inscribed object] (protasis), [divinity] shall do something bad to X (apodosis)”.

The parallel between the Hieroglyphic Luwian and the Neo-Phrygian curse apodoses has been commented on as an astonishing example of phraseological continuity between the Luwian and the Phrygian civilizations (Lubotsky 1998: 420). More precisely, the Neo-Phrygian formula has been defined as “a calque of a Luwian imprecative apodosis” (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 143), since both curses:

- a) Present the antithetic pairing “gods and men;”
- b) Invoke, according to Alexander Lubotsky (1998: 420; 2004: 230–231) and Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (2019: 147–149; 2021: 3), the same divinity: Tarhunzas and Ti-.

2. Federico Giusfredi must be thanked for pointing out that the Luwian postposition is in fact *336-na-na instead of *366-na-na quoted elsewhere because of the typo in the main text of KAR-KAMIŠ A3, l. 4 as found in Hawkins (2000: 110). However, the postposition is correctly noted as *336-na-na in the commentary (Hawkins 2000: 112): “*336-na-na: still an unexplained form, first sign logographic or phonetic?”

3. The nominative of the theonym is still unattested, which is why I prefer Ti- as a transcription.

It is true that contacts between the Phrygians and the Luwians are historically documented in the Tabalic region. Towards the end of the 8th century BCE, the Phrygian king Midas ruled a powerful kingdom which extended southwards to the Cilician plain, and westwards as far as the Aegean sea. His territorial and military aspirations brought him into conflict with the Assyrians under king Sargon II (722–705 BCE), and inevitably the Luwian region of Tabal became contested territory between the two kings⁴ (see D’alfonso 2012). The Phrygian presence of a King Midas in Tuwana/Tyana is attested by some fragments of a basalt stele bearing the Paleo-Phrygian inscriptions T-01, T-02, T-03 (more specifically, T-02b, l. 3: [- - -] *oitumen* † *miḏa*[- - -]; see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 505–507, with references). In light of a Phrygian graffito discovered on a Luwian orthostat, at least one Phrygian must have been to Karkamiš as well during the last quarter of the 8th century BCE (Börker-Klähn 1994: 198).

However, the Hieroglyphic Luwian curse can be dated between to the 10th and the 9th century BCE, whereas the Neo-Phrygian curses are all attested between the 2nd and the 3rd centuries CE. Considering the remarkable temporal distance separating the Hieroglyphic Luwian and the Phrygian inscriptions in question, Alexandru Avram (per personal communication) could not avoid questioning the assumption of a direct Luwian-Phrygian filiation. Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (2021: 49), although supporting this hypothesis, also rightly observed: “We do not know how this formula survived until the Roman Imperial period”.

On the basis of these remarks, I will analyze this parallel in detail in order to better evaluate the extent of continuity between the Hieroglyphic Luwian and the Neo-Phrygian curse apodoses in question (see Fig. 1).

4. Midas’ campaigns against the Assyrian kingdom are recorded in the chronicles of Sargon II, where the Phrygian king is called *Ḫitā šār māṭ Muški*, “Mitā, king of the land of the Muški”. In these texts, he is accused of being behind conspiracies of two tributary states of the Assyrians (in 718 BCE with Kiakki of Šinuḫtu, and in 717 BCE with Pisiri of Karkamiš), and he is said to have conquered the cities of Ḫarrua and Ušanis, and influenced Tabal. These hostilities continued until almost 709 BCE, when he sent gifts to Sargon II as a tribute on his own initiative. On the equivalence Midas/Mita, see Wittke 2004.

Luw.	10th/early 9th century BCE	<i>wa/i- sá-</i>	DEUS-<i>na-za</i> CAPUT-<i>tá-za-ha</i>	*336-<i>na- na</i>	(DEUS) TONITRUS- <i>tá-ti-i</i>	(LOQUI)t <i>a-tara/i-ia- mi-sa</i>	<i>i-zi-ia-ru</i>
Phr.	2nd–3rd centuries CE	(τος)	δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε	με	τιε	τι[τ]τετικμ ενοσ	ειτου
Eng.		him	gods and men	among (με)/in the sight of, before (*336- <i>na- na</i>)	by Tarhunzas/Ti -	accursed	be made
Fig. 1. Comparative table.							

More specifically, I will focus on:

- a) Με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε / *336-*na-na*|DEUS-*na-za* |CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* |(§2);
- b) Τιε / (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-ti-i* |(§3);
- c) The Anatolian Greek counterparts of the Neo-Phrygian funerary curse apodoses (§4).

I will eventually draw the necessary conclusions in the final section of the paper (§5).

§ 2. Με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε / *336-*na-na*|DEUS-*na-za* |CAPUT-*tá-za-ha*

In both the Luwian and the Neo-Phrygian curses, it is possible to isolate the binomial expression “[among/before/in the sight of] gods and men”. According to Yaakov Malkiel’s definition (1959: 113), a *binomial* can be described as “the sequence of two words pertaining to the same form-class, placed on an identical level of syntactic hierarchy, and ordinarily connected by some kind of lexical link”. As I have already had the occasion to explain (Anfosso 2019b: 6–9; in press), whenever language is meant to produce specific effects on the world, i.e., it has a *performative* function (as in the case of curses, spells, incantations, etc.), several rhetorical devices are put in place in order to increase its power. Examples include formulaic language⁵, repetitions, accumulations of elements, code-switching, etc. Building binomial expressions is one of the most common rhetorical devices in curses (or in performative utterances in general), as it slows down the pace of the sentence, conferring a more solemn rhythm. Thus, the presence of binomials in both the Luwian and the Neo-Phrygian curses is unsurprising.

As for the Neo-Phrygian binomial, δεως, ‘gods’, and ζεμελωσ, ‘men’, are in the same case, i.e., Dat.Pl., they depend on the same preposition με < PIE **me* (LIPP: 494, s.v., cf. Greek μετά), and they are connected by the copulative enclitic conjunction κε < PIE **kʰe*, ‘and’. As for the Luwian one, the morphology is exactly the same: DEUS-*na-za* (*massan-(i)-anza*), ‘gods’, and CAPUT-*tá-za* (CAPUT-*t(i)anza*), ‘men’, are both in the same case, i.e., Dat.Pl., they depend on the same

5. By *formula*, I mean a set of words which appears to be prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from a specific repertoire at the time of use (Wood 2015: 1–17). Formulaic language is a device commonly used to increase the power of performative utterances.

postposition *336-*na-na* (*336-*nan*), and they are connected by the connective particle *-ha* (cf. the Hittite conjunction *-a*).

At first sight, the correspondence between the Luwian and the Neo-Phrygian binomials could seem very impressive. However, the pairing “deities and humans” evoked in both the Neo-Phrygian binomial *με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε* and in the Luwian binomial *336-*na-na* |DEUS-*na-za* |CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* | to convey the “universality” of the curse derives directly from the common Indo-European heritage (West 2007: 124–125). According to Indo-Europeans, there was a primary opposition between the superior beings of Heaven, the deities, PIE **d̥i-éu-* (IEW, s.v.; NIL: 70–1), and the humble creatures of Earth, the humans, PIE *(*d̥*^h)**éǵ^h-m-e/on-* (IEW, s.v.; NIL: 87)⁶.

Binomials featuring “gods and men” to express the concept of “universality” can be found, e.g., in Vedic, Greek, Italic, and Celtic:

- a) In *Rig-Veda* 4.54.3, it is possible to read: *devésu* (< **deiṽoisu*) *ca Savitar mánuṣeṣu ca* | *tvám no átra suvatād ánāgasah*, “O Savitar, thou shalt impel (i.e., in the future) sinless us among both gods and men here”. Another passage in 7.46.2 describes Rudra concerned about the fate of both “human and celestial races,” *kṣámyasya jánmanas* [...] *divyásya*.
- b) In Greek, commonly in Homer and Hesiod, Zeus is addressed as “father of men and gods,” *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (see, e.g., *Iliad* 1.544; 4.235, etc.). Interestingly enough, the binomial expression involving “gods and men” in relationship to a divinity was perceived as eminently Phrygian by the Greeks already in 414 BCE, as Aristophanes made this ironic reference to the Phrygian mother goddess *Matar* in *Birds* 876:

IE. καὶ στρουθῶ μεγάλη Μητρί
 θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων— (876)
ΠΙ. Δέσποινα Κυβέλη, στρουθε, μήτηρ Κλεοκρίτου.

Priest And [let’s pray] to the ostrich the Great Mother
 of gods and men —

6. The preservation of the Indo-European roots in Phrygian is remarkable: Neo-Phrygian Dat. Pl. *δεως*, ‘gods’ < PIE **d̥h₁so-*; Neo-Phrygian Dat. Pl. *ζεμελωσ*, ‘men’ *(*d̥*^h)**éǵ^hem-elo-* (with palatalization before a front vowel in Phrygian), cf. Greek *χθαμαλός* ‘low, located at ground level’ (but also, even if with another inflectional theme, Latin *humilis*, ‘low, humble’).

Pisthetairos To our lady Cybele, ostrich, mother of Cleocritos.

- c) As for Latin, Quintus Ennius (239–169 BCE) uses the formula *diuomque hominumque* several times in the *Annales* (Skutsch 1985), and not only to translate the Homeric phrase πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε with reference to Jupiter: see, e.g., *Annales* 6.203, *Tum cum corde suo diuom pater atque hominum rex | effatur*; 8.284, *multorum ueterum leges diuomque hominumque*; fragments, 591 *hominoque diuomque pater, rex*; 592 *patrem diuomque hominumque*.
- d) A Latin-Gaulish bilingual inscription (RIG 2/1, 26–37, E-2) carved on a boundary stone dating back to the 2nd century BCE found at Vercelli designates the land of a certain Acisius as follows in the Gaulish version: *TEUOX-TONION, dēwo-χdonio-* (lines 11–12). Michel Lejeune (1977: 602–606) analyzed this *dvandva* compound adjective applied to *atom* or *atoš*, ‘field’ as “divine and terrestrial, mortal,” therefore “field of gods and men,” translated in the corresponding Latin inscription by the expression *communem deis et hominibus [scil. campum]*.

In light of this brief overview, given the widespread usage of binomial expressions involving “gods and men” in the Indo-European world (and beyond: see, e.g., the Babylonian Moon-god *Sin*, who is called “begetter of gods and men,” and the Ugaritic god *El*, who is “father of the sons of El [i.e., of all the gods], and father of mankind”), the argument of their presence in both the Luwian and the Phrygian curses loses some of its weight in terms of a direct derivation from Luwian to Phrygian, but it appears more like a common heritage.

Moreover, despite the orthographic variations, the Neo-Phrygian phrasing $\mu\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\epsilon$ $\zeta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\epsilon$ is attested several times in the Neo-Phrygian corpus (see, e.g., Haas 1966 nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 25, 39, 40, 63, 73, 93, 96, 112, 118, 121, 128), thus proving to be a constitutive element of the formulaic language that characterizes this kind of texts. On the other hand, the Luwian phrasing *336-*na-na*|*DEUS-na-za* |*CAPUT-tá-za-ha* is a hapax in the entire Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus, although other formulations including “gods and men” to express the concept of “universality” are present: see, e.g., the inscription MARAS 1, §1 h (Hawkins 2000: 263): *DEUS-na-ti* (LITUUS)*á-za-mi-sà* *CAPUT-ta-ti* ¹(LITUUS)¹ *u-ni-mi-sa* |*FINES-ha-ti*||*AUDIRE-mi-sà* *REX-ti-sá*, “the king (*scil.* Halparuntiyas III, king of Gurgum, end of the 9th century BCE) loved by gods, known by men, famed abroad”. Thus, because of its unique occurrence, Luwian *336-*na-na*|*DEUS-na-za*

|CAPUT-*tá-za-ha*, contrarily to Neo-Phrygian με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε, does not seem to be part of a formulaic repertoire, and it is unlikely that it could have been transmitted as such.

§ 3. ΤΙΕ / (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-ti-i* |

Concerning the invocation to Luwian Tarhunzas and Neo-Phrygian Ti-, a more thorough analysis of the context is required in order to evaluate their supposed equivalence.

The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription KARKAMIŠ A3 makes a continuous text with the inscription KARKAMIŠ A2. They are inscribed on a pair of basalt orthostat slabs in the form of door-jambs for the right and left sides of the entrance of a temple dedicated to the Storm-god Tarhunzas (Hawkins 2000: 108), dating back to the late 10th/early 9th century BCE (Payne 2012: 66). In KARKAMIŠ A2, Katuwas, ruler of Karkamiš, states his personal relationship with Tarhunzas and narrates how he built the temple as a thank offering for the Storm-god’s favors. As a consequence, KARKAMIŠ A3 contains a curse forbidding the removal of the artisans donated by Katuwas to the temple of Tarhunzas. I deem it useful to report the most interesting passages of KARKAMIŠ A3 (see Hawkins 2000: 108–112; Payne 2012: 74–75):

<p>(A3) 1. §16 <i>za-ti-pa-wa/i</i> <i>kar-ka-mi-si-za</i>(URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-<i>ti-i</i> <i>ka-tu-wa/i-sa</i> REGIO-<i>ni-ia-si</i> DOMINUS-<i>ia-sa</i> REL- <i>i-zi</i> (“*273”) <i>wa/i+ra/i-pa-si</i> DOMINUS-<i>ia-zi-i pi-ia-tá</i></p>	<p>“Those who were masters craftsmen Katuwas the Country-Lord gave to this Karkamišean Tarhunzas.</p>
<p>2. §17 [...]</p>	<p>[...]</p>
<p>§18 POST+<i>RA/I-wa/i-sà-ti-pa-wa/i-ma-'</i> REL- <i>i-sa</i> POST-<i>ni</i> <i>a-tá</i> CRUS-<i>i</i> </p>	<p>In future whoever goes after them</p>
<p>3. §19 [...]</p>	<p>[...]</p>
<p>§20 <i>wa/i-tà-tá- *a</i> <i>za-a-ti-i</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS-<i>ti-i</i> <i>ARHA</i> CAPERE-<i>i</i></p>	<p>and takes them away from this Karkamišean Tarhunzas,</p>

§21 <i>pa-pa-wa/i- *a za-a-sa</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>sa</i> (LOQUI) <i>tá-tara/i-ia-tu</i>	him may this Karkamišean Tarhunzas curse!
§22 <i>wa/i-sa-*a ku-ma-na sa-ti-*a pa-la-sa-ti-i</i>	When he shall be ‘off the path’,
4. §23 <i>a-wa/i</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>sa</i> (DEUS) <i>ku+AVIS-pa-sa</i> (“FRONS”) <i>ha-tá</i> NEG ₃ - <i>sa</i> LITUUS + <i>na-ti-i</i>	let him not behold the faces of Tarhunzas and Kubaba,
§24 <i>wa/i-sá-*a DEUS-na-za</i> CAPUT- <i>tá-za-ha</i> *336- <i>na-na</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>tá-ti-i</i> (LOQUI) <i>ta-tara/i-ia-mi-</i> <i>sa i-zi-ia-ru</i>	and let him be accursed by Tarhunzas in the sight of/before gods and men!”

The protective curse states that the craftsmen donated by Katuwas to Tarhunzas’ temple must never work for another master, whatever the social status of the aspiring master might be (“a libation priest, a baker, a king, or another country-lord,” see §17 and §19). In case of appropriation of the craftsmen, the culprit will not be able to behold the face of either Kubaba or Tarhunzas in the netherworld (§23). If the mention of the goddess is unsurprising, since she is the most important divinity of Karkamiš⁷, the mention of Tarhunzas is even more obvious, considering the special connection between Katuwas and the Storm-god pointed out in the inscription, and the fact that the curse is carved on one of the orthostats of his temple at Karkamiš⁸.

In this respect, the invocation to Tarhunzas in the protective curse is contingent, since it is *his* temple: if the building was dedicated to another divinity, Tarhunzas would not be invoked. Conversely, the presence of Ti- in a great number of Neo-Phrygian funerary curse apodoses⁹ suggests that Ti- had a precise role in

7. Kubaba had been the city goddess of Karkamiš from at least the Old Babylonian period. She had been adopted into the Hittite pantheon when king Suppiluliuma I (1375–1322 BCE) conquered Karkamiš and made it a vice-regal kingdom. Then, she achieved high prominence in northern Syria and southwestern Anatolia, reflecting the persistence of Hurrian elements in these regions.

8. As specified in §16, we are dealing with a local manifestation of Tarhunzas, “Tarhunzas of Karkamiš,” exactly like Tarhunzas of Arzawa or of Kuwaliya mentioned elsewhere (Hutter 2003: 221).

9. See Appendix I: Haas (1966) nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, 12, 14, 25, 26, 39, 44, 45, 50, 51, 53, 56, 57, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 75, 77, 80, 85, 87, 92, 94, 97, 101, 102, 108, 112, 114, 120, 123, 127, 131.

the funerary cursing process. He was asked for the punishment of the offender, that is, *revenge*, and he could not be substituted with another deity.

Funerary inscriptions are present in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus (Hawkins 2000; for a list of the inscriptions with figures, see Bonatz 2000: 66–72) and they are concentrated in a very precise area, i.e., in the surroundings of the Syrian border, more specifically in Tabal, Tuwana, Karkamiš, etc., where the Semitic influence was very strong. On this respect, I recall that the tradition of protecting the tomb of the deceased by means of funerary curses is inherently connected to inhumation practices and that the earliest funerary curses are attested in a Hamito-Semitic environment, i.e., by ancient Egyptian tombs of the fourth dynasty, around 2600 BCE (Assmann 1992: 56–65, with references).

The deities invoked in the few preserved Hieroglyphic Luwian funerary curses vary. On the funerary stele of Uwawas (TILSEVET, Hawkins 2000: 178–180, 8th century BCE), we only read that unspecified “gods” shall litigate against whosoever tramples on said stele (§6–7). The same curse can be found (§4-5) in the funerary inscription of Zitis (KARKAMIŠ A18 h, Hawkins 2000: 180–181, 8th century BCE). The stele of Kupapiyas, wife of Taitas (SHEIZAR, Hawkins 2000: 416–419, doubtful dating, possibly from the 9th to the 7th century BCE) invokes a certain “Queen of the Land” (probably Kubaba). Finally, in the funerary inscription of Paunis (KULULU 2, Hawkins 2000: 487–490, mid-8th century BCE), Santa (a warrior god; see Hutter 2003: 228) and the *Marwainzi*-deities, “the dark ones” (§6-7), are summoned to attack the violator’s memorial and set their seal on his house. Thus, in the Luwian tradition, there was not a deity specifically connected to funerary curses, as was the case in the Phrygian tradition.

However, there was a Luwian divinity specifically connected to the act of cursing, although not necessarily in a funerary context: *Tiwat-*, the Sun-god. In the Luwian imaginary, *Tiwat-* can easily curse the evildoers since on his daily journey across the sky he sees everything men do (Hutter 2003: 226). The involvement of *Tiwat-* in the act of cursing was so firmly rooted in the perception of the speakers that a denominative verb was derived from his theonym: *tiwatani-(ti)-*, ‘to swear by the Sun-god, to utter a curse’ (Watkins 1993: 470; Melchert 1993: 230; Rieken 2017: 242–243; Sasseville 2020: 278), with a formation parallel to that of the Oscan verb *deiua-*, ‘swear’, participle *deiuatedu<n>s*, ‘having sworn’ (Fortson 2010: 189). The verb is attested several times within rituals, which allows us to recon-

struct its paradigm pretty well¹⁰ (Melchert 1993: 230). A substantive *tiwatani(ya)*-derived from the verb *tiwatani-*, and referring to the action of ‘swearing by the Sun-god, uttering a curse’, meaning therefore simply ‘curse’, exists as well, although it is attested only in Hittite contexts¹¹ (Sasseville 2020: 278).

It should be noted that Ti- is not the only Phrygian divinity mentioned in the Neo-Phrygian funerary inscriptions. Indeed, a divinity called *Bas*, whose etymology has been reconstructed by Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (2017: 311) as “the shining one” (< PIE **b^heh*, ‘shine’, LIV²: 68–69, s.v.) comes in the second place in the Neo-Phrygian corpus¹² (see Haas 1966 nos. 33, 36, 48, 86, 99, 111, 128). Interestingly enough, the first attestation of *Bas* seems to be in the Paleo-Phrygian inscription T-02b carved on the basalt stele from Tuwana/Tyana that I mentioned in 1.5: [- - -]η ÷ *batan* ÷ e-[- - -] (l. 5). Unfortunately, the inscription is very damaged and, as far as our knowledge of Phrygian goes, we cannot translate it. Ti- and *Bas* are mentioned together in several inscriptions (see Appendix II: Haas 1966 no. 33 = Obrador-Cursach 2020: 597 no. 62.2; Haas 1966 no. 36 = Obrador-Cursach 2020: 599–600 no. 62.5; Haas 1966 no. 64 = Obrador-Cursach 2020: 589–590 no. 56.3). Let us focus on the following ones:

a) Haas 1966 no. 86 (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 535 no. 8.1, with references). This inscription, carved on a bomos of white marble, broken on top and worn at the edges, was found at Güney, in a pile of building material (MAMA I: 212, no. 405):

ιος νι σεμουν κ[νου]-
 μανι κακουν αδδ[α]-
 κετ αινι μανκης, βα[ς]
 ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ]
 ατ τη κε τιττετικμ[ε]-
 νος ειτου.

“Whoever does harm to this tomb or to this stele, **let Bas not bring bread to him**, and **let him become accursed by Ti-**”.

b) Haas 1966 no. 99 (= Obrador-Cursach 2020: 533 no. 7.1, with references). This inscription was “copied in or before 1934 by Süleyman Gökçe at Erten Yayla,

10. Pres.3Sg. *ti-wa-da-ni-it-ti* (VBoT 111,6), Pres.3Pl. *ti-wa-da-ni-in-ti* (KBo XII 89 iii 9), Pret.1Sg. < *ti-wa-ta-ni-ah-ha* (XVIII 3 Vo 24), Pret.3Sg. *ti-wa-ta-ni-ya-at-ta* (39 i 23; KBo XXII 254 Vo 9*), Ptc. *ti-wa-ta-ni-ya-am-ma-ti* (58 ii 3).

11. Gen. Sg. *ti-wa-ta-ni-ia-as* (KBo 41.210 obv. 12'), Dat. Sg. [*ti-wa-t*]a-ni-ia (KBo 54.99+ iii 35).

12. Actually, the Mother Goddess *Matar* is the second most invoked divinity in the entire Phrygian corpus, but she is attested only by Paleo-Phrygian inscriptions (see, e.g., Brixhe and Lejeune 1984: B-01, B-08, M-01c, M-01d I, M-01d II, M-01e, W-01a, W-01b, W-04, W-05b, W-06; usually her name is followed by an epithet).

in front of the Kale. [...] The stone has since disappeared” (MAMA VII: XXVIII, no. (c)):

ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕΙ ΚΑ-
ΚΕ ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ, ΤΙΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ
ΑΣ ΤΙΑΝ ΕΙΤΟΥ, ΜΕ ΚΕ ΟΙ
ΤΟΤΟΣΣΕΙΤΙ ΒΑΣ ΒΕΚΟΣ.

“Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him become accursed by Ti-, and **let Bas not give bread to him**”.

In light of these inscriptions, it looks like Ti- and Bas have two specific and different functions:

- a) First, Ti-, must “universally curse” the violators of the tombs;
- b) Then, Bas must “not bring bread” to them, i.e., he must make their fields infertile, following the interpretation by Hämmig 2019: 294, subsequently accepted by Obrador-Cursach 2020, *contra* Obrador-Cursach 2019. As already posited by Otto Haas (1966: 236–237), *με* is here a *Prohibitivpartikel* comparable with Sanskrit *mā*, Avestan *mā*, Greek μή, Armenian *mi*, and Tocharian A and B *mā*, all derived from PIE **meh₁*¹³, and it is always found in apodoses where the verb is in the subjunctive mode (*με βερε[τ]* < PIE **b^her-* (LIV²: 76–77, s.v.); *με...τοτοσσειτι* < **deh₃-* (LIV²: 105–106, s.v.)). *βεκος*¹⁴ is the well-known Phrygian word for ‘bread’ (as found in Hipponax, fr. 125 West = 124 Degani, and Herodotus, 2.2).

Thus, Bas seems to be a Weather- or Storm-god connected to the success or failure of the harvest. Among the Luwians, *Tarhunzas* was the god in charge of the various manifestations of the weather, especially thunder, lightning, rain, clouds, and storms. It was Tarhunzas who decided whether there would be fertile fields and good harvests, or drought and famine (Hutter 2003: 224). His close connection with grapes and grain lives on to the first millennium, as can be seen in many reliefs from the region of Tabal, above all in the monumental İvriz relief datable to

13. The reason why the common Phrygian shift PIE **ē / *eh₁* > *ā* did not operate here remains unclear; see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 63, with references.

14. Probably derived from PIE **b^heg-* (LIV²: 66–67, s.v.), ‘to break’, comparable with Armenian *beknem* (Martirosyan 2010: 174–5), or alternatively from PIE **b^heh₁*. (IEW 113), with the same enlargement -g- found, e.g., in Greek φάγω, ‘bake’ (Lubotsky 2004: 233).

the late 8th century BCE (see Fig. 2a and Fig. 2b). The relief pictures the king Warpalawas of Tuwana/Tyana on a stone platform in a gesture of worship towards the Storm-god Tarhunzas. Ripe stalks of wheat emanating from his feet and grape clusters in his hands indicate that he brings about fertility (Weeden 2018: 343–345).



Fig. 2a. Picture of the İvriz Relief, Aydıncık, Konya Province, Turkey.



Fig. 2b. Drawing of the İvriz Relief (Hawkins 2000, plate 295).

The same concept is expressed, e.g., in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription SULTANHAL (Hawkins 2000: 463–472), also from the region of Tabal. The inscription contains the dedication of a stele to Tarhunzas by Sarwatiwaras, vassal of Wasusarmas of Tabal (740–730 BCE). Following Tarhunzas' acceptance of the offerings, (plausibly) rain will descend from the sky, and corn and vines will grow up from the soil.¹⁵ The phrasing *ma-na(-)wa/i-su-na-tà* (Neut.Pl.) in SULTANHAL

15. For other examples of the topos of abundance coming down from the sky and up from the earth, see ALEPPO 2 (Hawkins 2000: 235–238), §§ 15-16; AKSARAY (Hawkins 2000: 475–478), §§2–3.

§14 clearly denotes something positive, but what does it mean exactly? Craig Melchert (per personal communication) had already supposed that *manawa sunada* (divided thus) referred to beneficial rains, in the sense of “invigorating outpourings”. Elisabeth Rieken (2019; forthcoming) arrived independently at a similar conclusion, as part of her larger finding that Luwian *mannu-* (and much else in “Luwic”) is related to the PIE root of ‘man, male’ (cf. Sanskrit/Avestan *mánu-*, Slavic *mъž*, Proto-Germanic **manūz*, etc., see IEW s.v. *manu-s* oder *monu-s*). The only point of debate on the semantic side is whether one should suppose “fecundating outpourings” (with the standard image of a male heaven that fecundates a female earth) or just “invigorating,” as Craig Melchert supposed before Elisabeth Rieken’s convincing broader connections. In any case, what matters here is the idea of Luwian Tarhunzas as a fructifying deity.

<p>§14 <i>wa/i-ta</i> (“CAELUM”) <i>ti-pa-sa-ri+i</i> <i>ma-na(-)wa/i-su-na-tà</i> INFRA-<i>ta</i> “PES”-<i>wa/ i+ra/i</i></p>	<p>“and from the sky <i>ma-na(-)wa/i-su-na-tà</i> will come down in great quantities,</p>
<p>§15 (“TERRA”) <i>ta-sà-REL+ra/i-ri+i-pa-wa/i-ta-’ pà²+ra/i-wa/i-li-sá</i> SUPER+<i>ra/ i-’</i> “PES₂”(-) <i>tà-i</i> <i>wa/i-ia-ni-sá-ha</i> </p>	<p>and from the earth corn will come up, and the vine”.</p>

It is important to remember that the coexistence of the categories of an omniscient Sun-god who can spot and curse evildoers from the sky and of a Storm-god who brings rainy seasons and, consequently, soil fertility, was already attested in the Mesopotamian religion. For the Sumerians, *Utu* – in Akkadian, *Šamaš* – was the Sun-god who, holding the power of light, incarnated the natural foe of darkness and its deeds. This prerogative translated into an aspiration for justice and equity. *Utu* was the judge of gods and men, presiding in the morning in courts where demons and other evildoers were sued by their human victims, and at night he settled dispute among the dead of the netherworld (Jacobsen 1976: 134). As explained by Charles Steitler (2017: 31), Hittite scribes continue to use the Sumerogram ^dUTU to represent any one of the various types of solar deities.¹⁶ On the other hand, *Utu*’s

16. A more precise identification of ^dUTU must be based on a number of factors such as the language of the text in which it occurs (i.e., Hittite, Hattic, Luwian, Palaic, Hurrian, Akkadian, or

brother, *Iškur* – in Akkadian, *Hadad* – was a god of rain and thundershowers. He was called “King of abundance,” “King of verdure,” and “King of making grass and herbs grow long”. *Iškur*’s early non-human forms were those of the bull and the lion since their roars were heard in the thunder. Humanized, he appeared as a warrior driving his thundering chariot across the skies, throwing hailstones and raindrops out of it (Jacobsen 1976: 135).

The function of Bas in the Phrygian pantheon, as inferable from the Neo-Phrygian funerary curses, is that of a so-called Weather- or Storm-god, and it can be considered equivalent to Tarhunzas’ in the Luwian pantheon, above all in the Tabalic region. On the other hand, the function of Ti-, as deducible from the Neo-Phrygian funerary curses, is more akin to that of a Sun-god with an omniscient knowledge, which allowed him to instantly detect and curse all tomb violators. From this perspective, his role is somehow equivalent to Tiwat-’s one in the Luwian pantheon. The number of funerary curses in the name of Ti- attests the importance of said god in the Phrygian pantheon to the extent that we could consider him a “father god” – although that is never explicitly stated in the inscriptions. As Calvert Watkins (1995: 8) pointed out, the most ancient inherited Indo-European juncture attested for a “father god” referred indeed to the Luwian Sun-god Tiwat-: *tātiš* ^D*Tiwaz* (see, e.g., KBo 9.143 iii 10; KUB 35.107 iii 10), ‘father Tiwat-’ (to be compared with Greek Ζεῦ πάτερ, Latin *Iu-ppiter*, Vedic *dyaus pitá*, and Hittite *Attaš Šiuš*, written with Sumerograms as ^DUTU-*uš*).

The parallel between Tiwat- and Ti- can be successfully defended also on etymological grounds, since they both derive from the PIE root **d̥i-éu-*, meaning ‘sky’ (NIL: 70–71, s.v.). As for Anatolian, Kazuhiko Yoshida (2000: 182), supported by Craig Melchert (2019), persuasively argued that Hittite *šiwatt-* ‘day’, Luwian *Tiwat-* ‘Sun-god’, and Palaic *Tiyaz*, ‘Sun-god’, all continue an original amphikinetic paradigm **d̥i-éu-ot-*, **d̥i-ut-*, leveled already in Proto-Anatolian to **d̥i-éu-ot-*, **d̥i-éu-ot-*. From this, Luwian generalized the strong stem, leading to [*tiwad-*] with a “lenited” or voiced stem-final stop (also rhotacized in Iron Age Luwian to [*tiwar-*]). Hittite, on the other hand, generalized the weak stem, where raising of the unaccented short **e* led to **d̥jiwot-*, and affrication, deaffrication, and devoicing produced via **dzjiwot-* and **zjiwot* attested *ši-i-wa-at-t°* with “unlenited” or voiceless stem-final stop. Concerning Phrygian, Alexander Lubotsky (2004: 229–230) first identified the i-stem theonym *Ti-* in the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions (see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 358–359, with references). The

Sumerian) and the relationship of ^DUTU with other deities mentioned in the text, or the religious milieu associated with it.

nom. is not attested. The acc. form $\tau\alpha\nu$ goes back to PIE $*d̥iém$ (comparable to Greek Ζῆν, Δία, Δίφα), the gen. form $\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ to PIE $*diuós$, with the common drop of $*u$ before the vowel $*o$ (comparable to Greek Διός, Διφός), the dat. forms $\tau\iota$, $\tau\iota\epsilon$, $\tau\eta$ to PIE $*diuēi$, with drop of $*u$ as leveling from the other cases. As for the initial sound change PIE $*d$ (voiced stop) > Phrygian $[t]$ (voiceless stop), the devoicing of PIE voiced stops is a common development in Phrygian (see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 70–74).

Concerning the temptation to identify Neo-Phrygian Ti- with Greek Zeus tout court, we must be very careful. This parallel can be successfully assessed only on *etymological grounds*, i.e., both theonyms derive from PIE $*d̥i-éu-$. There are two important elements to keep in mind when comparing these divinities on a *functional/structural level*:

- a) Martin West (1997: 114–116) underlined that, in Greek mythology, Zeus has taken over the functions of a Storm-god, although his original Indo-European identity was as “the god of the bright sky, not the god of weather and storms”. The Homeric epithets and attributes relating to this role of Zeus indicate some assimilation to Near-Eastern Storm-gods: see, e.g., ὑψιβρεμέτης (*Iliad* 1.354, 12.68; *Odyssey* 5.4; Hesiod, *Works and Day* 8), ‘high-thundering’, like the Sumerian Storm-god Iškur;¹⁷ ἀστεροπητής (*Iliad* 1.580, Hesiod, *Theogony* 390), ‘lightener’ and νεφεληγερέτης (*Iliad* 1.511), ‘cloud-gatherer’, like the Akkadian Storm-god Hadad, celebrated as *bēl birqi*, ‘lord of lightning’ and as *šākin upē*, ‘establisher of clouds’ (Seux 1976: 305–307, 311).
- b) Christian Marek (2016: 509), from his side, recalled that in Anatolia under the Roman rule, “in many places an Artemis or a Zeus was not brought in by Greeks but was instead an indigenous divinity. Non-Greek names were still in use, surnames (*epikleses*), or the qualities that are attributed to them or can be inferred from images reveal their Non-Greek character and indicate the level to which they should be assigned”. So, literally, in most cases, these divinities are Greek only in name.

17. “Lion of heaven, noble bull [...] / At your roar the great mountain Enlil lowers his head / At your bellow Ninlil trembles” (ANET 578).

§ 4. *The Anatolian Greek counterparts of the Neo-Phrygian funerary curse apodoses*

At this point, it might be worthwhile to compare the apodoses of the Neo-Phrygian funerary imprecations in question with their Greek counterparts, since funerary curses were written mostly in Greek in Anatolia under the Roman rule. In order to collect at least some clues concerning the mysterious identity of the divinity mentioned in the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, let us turn to Johan Strubbe's corpus APAI EΠITYMΒIOI (1997).

As noticed for the first time by Otto Haas (1966: 92), an imprecative apodosis featuring a binomial that includes “gods and men” to express the “universality” of the curse can be found only in two contemporary Anatolian Greek inscriptions from the 2nd or the 3rd century CE:

a) Strubbe 1997 no. 32 (= Robert 1962: 331), an inscription found in a house at Seferihisar, near ancient Teos (Ionia):

[...] καὶ γενήσεται παρὰ
θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐπικατά-
ρατος καὶ ὀλέθριος.

“[...] and let him become in the
sight of gods and men accursed
and in danger of death”.

b) Strubbe 1997 no. 126 (= Robert 1962: 330–331, plate XXIV no. 3), an inscription from Yesilyuva, in the ancient region of Diokaisarea:

[...], θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώ-
πων κεχολωμένων τύ-
χοιτο.

“[...]may he become the object
of the rage of god and men”.

We can affirm without any doubt that these two inscriptions, albeit in Greek, are the result of the same culture that fueled the production of the inscriptions in the Phrygian epichoric language under the Roman rule. Thus, they can be considered indirect translations of Phrygian models. Geography confirms this hypothesis. The Paleo-Phrygian inscription HP-101 (Brixhe 2004: 103–106 = Obrador-Cursach 2020: 519) on a clay spindle whorl found in a höyük from Çamönü (ancient Karasonya, northern Lydia) attests, if not a regular Phrygian presence, at least a Phrygian influence in the area already during the Paleo-Phrygian period, as Seferihisar and Çamönü are very close (less than 50 km far away from each other). On the other hand, the inscription from Yesilyuva is in the Neo-Phrygian area not too far from Uluborlu, where the Neo-Phrygian inscription

Haas 1966 no. 25 = Obrador-Cursach 2020: 566 no. 35.1 has been found. However, contrarily to the Neo-Phrygian funerary inscriptions, the mention of a specific divinity in charge of the cursing of the culprit among gods and men in case of violation of the tomb is absent.

Actually, a god and/or several gods are explicitly invoked to inflict the punishment on the wrongdoer in only one-third of the Anatolian Greek funerary imprecations. Most of the time they are just anonymous θεοί, but they can also be called by their name. About thirty different gods are mentioned in the texts, and some of them appear only once or twice.¹⁸ The most popular gods in the Anatolian Greek inscriptions are the καταχθόνιοι θεοί, the “gods of the underworld,” and sometimes they are mentioned together with the οὐράνιοι θεοί, the “heavenly gods”. In second place come the lunar gods, more specifically *Men* and *Selene*, and the related goddess *Hecate* with her *Erinyes*. They were commonly invoked in black magic, more specifically in the frame of so-called *defixiones* or *katadesmoi* (Gager 1992: 12–13). Quite astonishingly, it is the Sun-god *Helios* who ranks third in Strubbe’s corpus.

According to Wolfgang Fauth (1995: xvii–xxi, with references), *Helios* was not a popular deity in Greek mythology. He was always treated with reverence in early Greece but received little cultic attention. Then, *Apollo* began to gradually take over the role of Sun-god around the 5th century BCE. The transition was complete by the Hellenistic period, which resulted in *Apollo* and *Helios* becoming almost synonymous. The cult of *Helios* was somehow relegated to Dorian locations, more specifically Corinth and the island of Rhodes, where *Helios* — subject in fact of the original “colossus of Rhodes” — was the chief god and had an important festival, the *Halieia*. Thus, the resurgence and popularity of *Helios* in Anatolia under the Roman rule in connection with funerary curses cannot be overlooked. Indeed, as shown by Louis Robert (1965: 271–273), the invocation “Ἡελιε βλέπε!” (“*Helios*, look out!”), is one of the most powerful formulae used to invoke the wrath of the gods on the violator of a tomb.

18. This might be due to the fact that the gods summoned were foreigners, such as, e.g., as in the case of the unique mention of θεοὶ Περσῶν, “the gods of the Persians,” at Acipayam in Pisidia (Strubbe 1997 no. 127). Another possibility was that the imprecation was set up in an intellectual milieu which diverged from popular belief. The curse engraved in 170 CE by the anonymous Second Sophistic rhetor from Neokaisareia (who studied in Athens under Herodes Atticus) constitutes a good example since he mentions, uniquely in the corpus, Zeus Olympios (Strubbe 1997 no. 155).

19. See also the Christian derivative +βλέπε+ in, e.g., MAMA I 403.

Helios was indeed an all-seeing god: already in Homer, *Odyssey* 12.323, he is described as ὅς παντ' ἔφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἑπακούει, “the one who sees and hear all,” a verse echoed in the Second Sophistic rhetor’s funerary inscription as Ἡλίου τε τοῦ πάντα ἔφορῶντος, “and Helios who sees all” (Strubbe 1997 no. 155, 170 CE), but he can also be simply called παντε[πό]πτης Ἡλιο[ς] (see, e.g., SEG XXXVII no. 1036, on a boundary stone from Esençiftliği datable to between the 2nd and the 3rd century CE). Like the Sumerian Utu and the Babylonian Šamaš, he could see everything that happened on earth, even hidden crimes, as were the violations of the tombs. Therefore, he could be summoned as an executor of revenge, capable of restoring justice. The wish that the offender of the tomb shall not be concealed from the god Helios and suffer the same fate as the deceased can be found in an imprecation from Parion in Mysia (Strubbe 1997 no. 6): μὴ λάθῃ τὸν Ἡλίον ἀλλὰ πάθῃ ἅ καὶ αὐτῆ, “may he not stay hidden from Helios, but may he suffer what she [has suffered]”. The same urge for vengeance fuels the epitaph of a supposedly murdered child near Germa in Galatia (RECAM II, no. 110): ὅς τούτῳ γλύκῳ φέν-/γος ἀφείλετο, Ἡλιε Τειτάν, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀντιλάβοιτο χάριν, “May the one who took away the sweet light from him receive, Helios Teitan, the same favor in return”.

Several gravestones in Strubbe’s Anatolian Greek funerary corpus present a very interesting iconographic trait: the motif of human raised hands²⁰ with open palms (see Fig. 3), as explained by the expression χειρας ἀεί[ρω] in, e.g., an inscription from central Mysia invoking the messengers of Helios, Hosios and Dikaios²¹ (Strubbe 1997 no. 19, datable to between the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE). The motif of raised hands is frequent on the tombs of children and young persons or, more in general, anybody who could not have died because of natural death, but was supposed to have been killed in a criminal way or by means

20. The motif of raised hands might remind of the (downward-pointing) hands and (upright) heads on the hieroglyphic Luwian inscription KARKAMIS A1a (Hawkins 2000: 87–91). In both the Luwian and the Anatolian Greek inscriptions, these body parts have something to do with the curses, but their function is totally different. The inscription KARKAMIS A1a interrupts the “Long Wall of Sculpture”, which represents a procession of triumphant warriors: some of them lead naked prisoners or hold severed hands. Thus, the isolated hands and heads can be interpreted as severed body parts in connection with the “trophy” brought by Suhis to Tarhunzas after the victorious military responses that followed Hatamanas’ desecration. It is possible to infer that, in the context of the Luwian inscription, the severed hands and heads represent both warnings and evidences of punishment. Conversely, in the Anatolian Greek inscriptions the raised hands are not severed, they are just a symbol of the pious invocation to Helios.

21. On some new-found inscriptions featuring Hosios and Dikaios, see Güney 2018 with bibliographic references.

of black magic (Graf 2007: 142–144; 2014: 390–394). The raising of the hands symbolizes the invocation to Helios for divine vengeance and/or protection for the grave (Cumont 1923; Robert 1965, 271–273; Graf 2007: 145–146): see, e.g., Strubbe 1997²² no. 168 (= MAMA I, 399), from Nakoleia, in Phrygia, and datable to around 200 CE on stylistic grounds:

[...] ἐάν τις τούτω τῷ ἠρωεῖω χεῖρα κακὴν [προσοίσει],
Ἥλιε Τειτάν, τὴν αὐτὴν [χ]άριν ἀντάποδος

“[...] If somebody lay a malevolent hand on this monument,
Helios Teitan, do the same favor in return”.

See also the final part of this contemporary prose epitaph (Ricl 1994: 170–171 no. 26 = SEG XLIV no. 1059) from Eskişehir (Fig. 4):

[...] [...] τὸν Ἥλιον [κἔ]	“[...]Helios and
πάντας	all the gods,
θεοὺς ἵν' ἐγ[δική]-	so that they will
σουσιν ἡμ[ᾶς]	avenge us”.



Fig. 4. Detail of the raised hands on the top of the stele (Ricl 1994, plate no. 26).

22. In the same catalogue, see also Strubbe 1997 nos. 209, 284, 359. Other similar inscriptions are listed in Graf 2007.

Helios' epithet *Teitan* was due to the fact that he was the son of the Titans Theia and Hyperion (Strubbe 1997: 145). In an inscription from the territory of Olba in Cilicia, the usurper of the tomb is adjured by the gods of the underworld and Helios, who bears the epithet *Patrios*, 'ancestral', this time: ὀρκίζω τοὺς χθονίους καὶ τὸν πάτριον Ἥελιον, "I adjure [him] by the gods of the underworld and the ancestral god Helios". The invocation Ἥλιε Κύριε, "Lord Helios," can be found all over Asia Minor: see, e.g., an epitaph from Pessinous against the supposed murderer of the young Menodoros: Ἥλι Κύρι, μὴ σ' ἄρεσι (Waelkens 1986 no. 753), "Lord Helios, may he not please you," or the inscription on a female bust from Mopsouhesta in Cilicia (Strubbe 1997 no. 392). Since Helios was the avenger par excellence in funerary curses, he could be designated even by a simple ὁ θεός²³, as underlined by Johan Strubbe (1983: 269; 1997: 101; SEG XXXVII no. 1072): see, e.g., ἴ τις δ' ἂν τολμήσι, μετελθῆ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός (Strubbe 1997 no. 140), "if somebody dares, may the God [Helios] go after him".

As I have already mentioned *supra*, in Anatolia under the Roman rule the theonym "Zeus" was commonly adopted to refer to an indigenous god that had little or nothing in common with Greek Zeus, apart from the fact that they were both considered powerful masculine divinities. In light of this principle, it will be unsurprising to find that even Zeus himself could bear the epithet "Helios," ἠέλιε Ζεῦ, as in the epigram that Diogenes Laertios (3rd century CE) dedicated to Thales (*Anth. Pal.* 7.85.1 = *Diog. Laert.* 1.39), and that he was associated with solar symbolism.²⁴ As a sample, let us turn our attention to the votive stele dated 171/172 CE from Maionia in Lydia, now at Koloe, in the İzmir province (Fig. 5). The Moon-god Men, Μηνὶ Τιάμου Μηνὶ Τυραννῶ, is associated with the radiate bust of a local Lydian Sun-god, here called Zeus Masphalatenós, Διὶ Μασφαλατηνῶ (CIG II no. 3439 = TAM V no. 536).

23. The usage of ὁ θεός in funerary inscriptions was not limited to monotheist Jews and Christians.

24. Γυμνικὸν αὖ που ἀγῶνα θεώμενον, ἠέλιε Ζεῦ / Τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα Θαλῆν ἦρπασας ἐκ σταδίου. / Αἰνέω ὅττι μιν ἐγγύς ἀπήγαγες ἧ γὰρ ὁ πρέσβυς / Οὐκέθ' ὀρμᾶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀστέρας ἠδύνατο (Pontani 1979: 48–49). "Once, Zeus Helios, you carried off from the *stadion* the sage Thales while he was watching the games. I praise you for taking him away to be close to you, for in truth the old man could no longer see the stars from earth".



Fig. 5. Drawing of the stele featuring the Moon-god Men and Sun-god Zeus Masphalatenós (Cook 1914 fig. 142).

Casting a glance at Johan Strubbe's corpus *ΑΠΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΙ* (Strubbe 1997), it is evident that Zeus was rarely invoked in the Anatolian Greek funerary curses.²⁵ However, he had a primary role in another context. Since life in central Anatolia was essentially agricultural, Zeus was primarily summoned in prayers and dedications to ensure the safety of crops and livestock (Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1914). It is possible to list some of the epithets of Zeus in this capacity: he is *Ἀμπελείτης/Ἀμπελικός* ('of the vine'), *Ἀναδότης* ('causing the plants to sprout'), *Ἀρότριος* ('ploughing'), *Γεωργός* ('fertilizing'), *Ἐκατοστήτης* ('who makes crops bear a hundredfold', see Riel 2017: 139), *Ἐπικάρπιος* ('fruit-bearing'), *Εὔκαρπος*

25. The only inscriptions in the whole corpus that mention Zeus are the following ones: Strubbe 1997 nos. 155 (Zeus Olympios, together with Helios, Pluto, Kore, Artemis Hecate, the Erinyes, Hermes Chthonios, Ara), 218 (together with Helios and Ge), 300 and 302 (Zeus Eurydamenos).

(‘fruitful’), Θαλιῆς/Θαλλός (‘of the young shoots’), Καρποφόρος/Καρποδότης ‘fruit-giving’, see Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1949–1951), Ὀπωρεύς (‘bringing fruit to ripeness’), Τελέσφορος (‘bringing fruit to perfection’), Τρεφόνιος (‘nourisher’), Φύτιος (‘generative’), etc. He was represented with long wavy hair and a beard, often in conjunction with oxen (sometimes yoked), grapes, and craters. It is worthwhile to cite this dedication to Zeus from Çukurhisar, near Eskişehir, ancient Dorylaion²⁶, datable ca. 170 CE, and first published by Alfred Körte (1900: 421):

[... βρέχε γαῖ]αν, καρπῶ [ῶ]πος βρ[ί]θη
 [καὶ ἐν]ι σταχύεσσι τεθήγη. Τ[αὐτ]ά
 [σε] Μητρεόδωρος ἐγὼ λίτομαι, Κρο-
 [ν]ίδα Ζεῦ, ἀμφί τεοῖς βωμοῖσιν ἐπήρ-
 ρατα θύματα ῥέζων.

“... that it may rain upon the earth, so that the earth may be heavy with fruit and blossom forth in ears of corn. These things I, Metreodoros, beseech you, Zeus, son of Kronos, making sacrifices pleasing (to you) around your altars”. (Translation by Gibson 1978: 234).

From this prayer, the role of Zeus as a Storm-god connected to seasonal rain, soil fertility, and abundant crops is self-evident. I might add that this dedication strongly reminds me of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription SULTANHAL (Hawkins 2000: 463–472) that I cited *supra*: indeed, after the acceptance of the sacrifices, Zeus, exactly like Tarhunzas, will let the beneficial rain come down from the sky, so that there will be abundant crops. Thomas Drew-Bear and Christian Naour (1990: 1992–2013) collected several dedications connected to the specifically Phrygian²⁷ cult of Ζεὺς Βροντῶν, meaning “Zeus Thunderer”. Thus, Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (2017: 316) is correct in observing that the image of

26. On the other epithets of Zeus in Phrygia Epiktetos in the Roman Era, see Riel 2017: 136–140.

27. “Il est notable que les documents viennent pratiquement tous soit de la Phrygie, soit des zones voisines où l’influence phrygienne a été profonde”. Another specifically Phrygian cult was the one dedicated to Ζεὺς βέννιος (Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1952–1992), where the epithet is derived from the Phrygian word βέννος meaning ‘association’, especially in the sense of a local cult association.

Zeus evoked by this epithet is very reminiscent of the Luwian Storm-god Tarhunzas' one.

§ 5. *Conclusions*

In light of what has been outlined in the previous sections, we are now able to draw our conclusions.

The binomial expression involving the antithetic pairing “gods and men” in Hieroglyphic Luwian *336-*na-na*|DEUS-*na-za* |CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* and in Neo-Phrygian $\mu\epsilon \delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon$ aims to express the concept of “universality,” and it is widespread throughout the Indo-European world (see, e.g., examples in Vedic, Greek, Latin, Celtic, etc.). The Luwian phrasing *336-*na-na*|DEUS-*na-za* |CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* looks like an isolated case within the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus, whereas the vast number of attestations of the Neo-Phrygian phrasing $\mu\epsilon \delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon$ proves its belonging to the formulaic language that characterizes funerary curses in Phrygia. The possibility that a phrase which was not included in the formulaic repertoire of a civilization was transmitted through generations and transcended civilizations is very low. Thus, the argument in favor of a direct filiation from Luwian to Phrygian loses most of its weight, and we would more appropriately consider the parallel to be the result of common heritage.

As for the theoretical equivalence between Tarhunzas and Ti-, these two divinities do not seem directly comparable. First of all, the curse in KARKAMIŠ A3, l. 4 is not a *funerary curse*, but a *protective curse* prohibiting the removal of the artisans donated to the Storm-god's temple by Katuwas. In this respect, the invocation to Tarhunzas is contingent, since it is *his* temple. On the other hand, the presence of Ti- in more than forty Neo-Phrygian funerary curses testifies to his crucial role in the cursing process. A very small number of funerary inscriptions are attested in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus, but they do not mention a specific divinity in charge of the protection of the tomb. However, there was a Luwian divinity specifically connected to the act of cursing: *Tiwat-*, the Sun-god, as proved by the denominative verb derived from his theonym *tiwatani-(ti)-*, ‘to swear by the Sun-god, to utter a curse’. In this respect, Ti-'s function has more in common with *Tiwat-*'s one rather than with Tarhunzas' one.

Other divinities are summoned in the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions: Bas is the second most invoked god after Ti-. Since Ti- and Bas are mentioned together in several inscriptions, it is possible to state that these two divinities have two different functions: Ti- must “universally curse” the violators of the tomb and Bas must not “bring bread” to them, i.e., he must make their fields infertile. Thus, Bas

is connected to the sphere of fertility, exactly like Tarhunzas who, according to the Luwians, was held responsible for the outcome of the harvest on the basis of his control over the weather.

Funerary curses were written mostly in Greek throughout Anatolia under the Roman rule, so we compared the Neo-Phrygian funerary imprecations with their Greek counterparts in the catalogue APAI EΠITYMBIOI (Strubbe 1997). Quite astonishingly, the Sun-god Helios is one of the most invoked divinities in the corpus. Since he received little cultic attention in Classical Greece, his resurgence in Roman Anatolia must count for something. Indeed, the Sun-god Helios became the avenger god par excellence in funerary curses to the extent that he could be simply called ὁ θεός and that the iconographic motif of raised hands symbolized his call for vengeance.

Although the etymological analysis confirms the kinship between Phrygian Ti-, Luwian Tiwat-, and Greek Zeus, all deriving from a common PIE root **d̥i-éu-*, meaning ‘sky’ (NIL 70–71, s.v.), a caveat must be made. In Roman Anatolia, the theonym “Zeus” was commonly adopted to refer to an indigenous god who was considered a powerful masculine divinity like Zeus. In light of this principle, Zeus himself could bear the epithet “Helios,” or the attributes of an omniscient Sun-god. However, most of the epithets characterize him as a Weather- or Storm-god responsible for the success or failure of the harvest, like Ζεὺς Βροντῶν.

Thus, it is possible to imply the continuity over the centuries of the following divine categories in rural Anatolia:

- a) a Storm-god in charge of the weather and, consequently, of soil fertility, like Tarhunzas, Zeus Brontôn vel. sim., and Bas;
- b) an omniscient Sun-god able to spot and universally curse the perpetrators of a crime, like Tiwat-, Helios, and Ti-.

In this connection, I cannot share Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach’s (2017: 316) proposal of considering “Βας and Tı- two epikleseis of the Phrygian Superior Male god”. Other divinities are mentioned, e.g., in the inscription Haas 1966 no. 48 = Obrador-Cursach 2020 no. 1.1, i.e., Μιτραφατα, Μας Τεμρογε|ιος and Πουντας | Βας, which proves that Phrygians worshipped several divinities in the Roman Era without the need of positing the existence of a unique masculine divinity equivalent to Paleo-Phrygian *Matar*.

In conclusion, we can argue that the parallel between KARKAMIŞ A3, l. 4 and the Neo-Phrygian funerary curse apodoses is only formal and somehow dictat-

ed by chance: it does not necessarily imply the survival of a Hieroglyphic Luwian curse in Roman Phrygia.

§ 6. *Appendix I*

...τιε τιτ[τ]ετικμενος ειτου...(2)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τος νι με [δ]ε[ως κε ζεμελωσ κ]ε τιε τιττετικμενος ειτου (3)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-among gods and men".
...τος νι με ζεμελωσ κε δεος κε τη τιττετικμενος ε[ι]του (6)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-among men and gods".
...οι ειροι α τιε τιττετικμενοι εινου (7)	"...let the ειροι become accursed by Ti-".
...ζειρα κε οι πετες κε τιττετικμενα ατ τιε αδεινου (12)	"...let his hands and feet become accursed by Ti-".
...τιττετικμενος ας τιαν ειτου (14)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τος νι δι[ως ζ]ιμελωσ τι μεκα τ[ιε] τιττετικμενος ειτου (25)	"...let him become accursed by the great Ti- in the sight of gods and men".
...τιε τιττετικμενος ειτου (26)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ατ τη κε αδειτου (39)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
[...ατ τ]ι αδειτου (44)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τιττετικμενος ατ τιε αδειτου (45)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ατ τι αδει[του] (50)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ατε[τικμενο]ς ατ τ[ι] (51)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τιττετικμεν[ος] ας τιαν ειτου (53)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...[τ]ειττετικμενος ατ τιε ειτου (56)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ττιττετικμενος ατ τι αδειτου (57)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".

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...τιτετικμενος ατ τιε αδειτου (61)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ατ τη κε δεως κε τιτετικμενος ειτου (62)	"...let him become accursed by Ti- and the gods".
...ατ τη θιτ[τ]ετικμενο[ς αδ]ειτου (65)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ατιτετικμενος ατ τι αδειτου (67)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
[...ατ τι]ε τιτετικ[μενος ειτου] (68)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...[τιτετικ]με[νος ατ τι]ε α[δειτου] (70)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τιτετικμενος ατ τι αδειτου... (72)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...δεως ζεμελωσ τιε τιτετικμενος ειτου (73)	"...let him become accursed by Ti- in the sight of gods and men".
...ζεμελωσ τιε τιτετικμενος ειτου (75)	"...let him become accursed by Ti- in the sight of men".
...τιτετικμενος ατ τι αδειτου (77)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τιτ[ετ]ικμενο[ς] ατ τι αδειτου (80)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
[...τετικμεν]ος ατ τι αδειτου (85)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...α τι αδειτου... (87)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
[...με ζεμ]ελωσι κε δεως [κε τιε] κε τιτετικμ[ενος ειτου]... (92)	"...let him become accursed by Ti- among men and gods..."
...ατ τιε τιτετικμενος ειτου (94)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...με ζεμελωσ κε δεως κε τιε τιτετικμ[ενος ειτου] (97)	"...let him become accursed by Ti- among men and gods".
[...τιτετικμε]νος ατ τι αδειτου (101)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
[...α] τιε τιτετικμενος ειτ[ου] (102)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".

...το[ς] [νι με] ζι[μελως] α τι ατιτετικμενος [ειτ]ου (103)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-among men”.
...τιτετικμε[νος α]τ τι αδειτου (108)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-”.
...με δεως τιε τιτετικμενος ειτου (112)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-among gods”.
...τη τιτετικμενος ειτου (114)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-”.
...ις τιε τι[τετικ]μενος ειτ... (120)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-...”
...τιε τιτετικμενος ειτ[ου] (123)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-”.
...τι•ε τι•τε[•]τι[κμενος] ειτου (126)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-”.
...τιε τιτετικμεν[ος ειτου] (127)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-”.
...τος νι με σζεμελως κε τιε κε τιτετικμενος ειτου (131)	“...let him become accursed before men and Ti-”.

§ 7. Appendix II

ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακον
αδδακετ γεγειμεναν ε-
γεδου τιος ουταν ακκε οι βεκος
ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου
αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγα- vac.
ριτμενος ας **βαταν** τευτους. (33)

ιο-ς κε σεμουν κνουμαν-
ι κακουν αδακετ, ερα γεγ-
ρειμεν[α]ν εγεδο[υ]
τιος ουταν αυτος κ'ου-
α κορακα [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ο-
ς α **βαταν** τευτους. (36)

“Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Ti-, and let the bread be inedible to him, and ... **cursed by Bas**”.

“Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Ti-, and ... **cursed by Bas**”.

αι κος [σεμουν του κνουμαν]-
 ει κα[κουν αδδακετ],
 γεγρ[ειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν <με>
 κε τοτο]-
 σσειτι βας βεκος. (64)

“Whoever does any harm to this tomb,
 let him become accursed by Ti-, and let
Bas not bring bread to him”.

ιος νι σεμουν κ[νου]-
 μανι κακουν αδδ[α]-
 κκετ αινι μανκης, βα[ς]
 ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ]
 ατ τη κε τιτετικμ[ε]-
 νος ειτου. (86)

“Whoever does harm to this tomb or to
 this stele, let **Bas not bring bread to
 him**, and let him become accursed by
 Ti-”.

ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κα-
 κε αδδακετ, τιτετικμενος
 ας τιαν ειτου, με κε οι
 τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος. (99)

“Whoever does harm to this tomb, let
 him become accursed by Ti-, and let
Bas not give bread to him”.

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Greek-Phrygian contact and sociolinguistic context in the Neo-Phrygian corpus*

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§ 1. *Introduction*

Not only does the Phrygian language have a particularly close kinship with Greek, but its testimonies in Hellenistic and Roman times must be contextualised with regard to its contact with this language and alphabet. My intention here is to approach Phrygian from the point of view of the Greek language, and in the context of the Greek-Phrygian bilingualism attested in inscriptions in Asia Minor during Roman times. This approach, which is largely sociolinguistic in nature, has already been dealt with in particular by Brixhe, whose work is an essential starting point for any analysis of this subject. Some observations will be made along these lines, which I believe support the idea that Phrygian was still a spoken language in Roman times. Some of them are of a historical nature, and others deal with literacy and linguistic matters. Let us begin with the historical question.

§ 2. *Neo-Phrygian in its historical context*

The inscriptions written in Phrygian from the Roman period cover a limited section of the ancient area of Phrygian influence and of Palaeo-Phrygian inscrip-

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tions (map). When speaking of Roman-period Phrygia, one must bear in mind the great difference between, on the one hand, Epiktetos Phrygia, Parorea and the upper and eastern part of Strabo's Phrygia Magna in the central plateau, and, on the other, western and south-western Phrygia, also included by Strabo in Phrygia Magna.¹ Neo-Phrygian inscriptions are found only in the first of these areas, where to a large extent a different historical development explains a different linguistic process.

In this area, the end of the Phrygian hegemony in the 6th century BC marks the beginning of a post-literate, post-urban, highly fragmented, cellular agropastoral society, in Peter Thonemann's words.² Whether or not one agrees with this author's explanation of the phenomenon, the fact is that the picture does not change in Achaemenid or Hellenistic times, and only superficially in a large part of this area in Roman times. The ancient and famous Gordion of the 8th–6th century BC, attested both in Greek literary and archaeological sources, maintained, and even increased, contact with the outside world, and specifically with the Greek world during the 5th, 4th, and part of the 3rd century BC, when Greek inscriptions and onomastics, and objects of Greek origin are attested in the city. Greek sources, however, tell us only of the Gordion of the first Phrygian kings, and the archaeology of the city reflects a gradual loss of the administrative, social, and cultural role of the ancient Phrygian city in Achaemenid and Hellenistic politics.³ But the Achaemenid domination of Asia Minor did not only affect Gordion; it brought about a complete political and social simplification in most of Phrygia.⁴ Only two Phrygian areas were politically and culturally significant in Persian times, and both were very strategically located: one of them, Kelainai, was on the road linking Ekbatana to Sardis; the other, Daskyleion, was on the Bosphorus coast. The Kelainai area seems to have had very close contact with Lydia by this time, and it is

1. On Strabo's Phrygia cf. de Hoz (2020).

2. Thonemann (2013); for a geographical description of the area of concern, *op. cit.*, 4–8. On the history of the Phrygians since their settlement in Asia Minor up to the Lydian domination in the 6th century BC *vid. Marek (2010: 144–151; 149 for the mutual Greek-Phrygian influences); von Dongen (2014).*

3. For ancient sources on Gordion and the early Phrygian kings cf. Wittke (2004: 218–226); on the history of Gordion through archaeological finds, Dusinberre (2019), who characterises the city as “off the grid”. On the relegation of ancient Phrygian state life to the private sphere and the destitution of Phrygia in general between the 6th and 4th centuries as a rational adaptation to the circumstances of Persian rule, Thonemann (2013, esp. 14). On Phrygian epigraphy at Gordion Obrador-Cursach (2020, 10–13; catalogue of inscriptions on pp. 444–500).

4. Thonemann (2013).

not clear that Phrygian was spoken there in Achaemenid times; Lydian is indeed the only language documented from this period.⁵ The importance of Daskyleion and its close contacts with the Greeks as early as the 8th century BC, as well as its rise as a Persian satrapy in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, are reflected in archaeological and epigraphic finds, and in numerous Greek literary sources. After the Macedonian conquest, however, Daskyleion fell into decline and disappeared as an entity, to the extent that in Strabo's time (12.8.10) its Phrygian past is not even remembered.⁶ Apart from Gordion, the other places where Phrygian inscriptions are still found in Achaemenid times, are precisely those in the area of influence of Daskyleion, in the western border area between Bithynia and Phrygia, including Dorylaion.⁷

Contrary to what one might think, the arrival of Alexander the Great did not leave a significant Greek cultural imprint on most of this territory.⁸ It does so in the westernmost area, in Daskyleion, which in a few decades lost all Phrygian identity and rapidly became Hellenised. In central Phrygia an intense activity involving the foundation of colonial settlements began, starting with Dokimeion at the end of the 4th century. However, most of them were *phrouria* where the Greek presence, which was scarce, must have had little or no influence on the native population. From Dokimeion comes the only surviving evidence of the linguistic relationship between Phrygians and Greeks in the early decades of Greek rule in Asia Minor. An inscription in the Phrygian language and Greek alphabet, dated shortly after the foundation of the Greek settlement, attests to close contact between native speakers of these two languages and the adoption of the Greek alphabet for writing Phrygian, an ability that could only be attributed to a bilingual author, competent in both languages. The use of one's own alphabet to write a foreign language is well attest-

5. Von Kienlin, Summerer and Ivantchik (2014) on Kelainai in Achaemenid times and Lydian influence; Ivantchik and Adiego (2016) on a Lydian inscription from the city.

6. On the history of Daskyleion cf. Bakir-Akbaşoğlu (1997). For the Phrygian inscriptions, Obrador-Cursach (2020), B-06, B-07, B-101–108, datable between the 6th and 4th c. BC.

7. Obrador-Cursach (2020), B-01–07; for Dorylaion, pp. 509–517: 38 very short graffiti, some single-letter on instrumenta, dated between 500 and 330 BC, and perhaps a stone inscription.

8. On urbanisation in central Anatolia before Augustus see Mitchell (1993, I: 81–86), who points out the difference between the foundation of cities on the western edge of the central plateau and the presence of forts (*phrouria*) to the east in Strabo's description. This author reflects how in some places the interest of Hellenistic kings may have led to a certain cultural Hellenisation (Pontus and Cappadocia), but also that central and eastern Phrygia were not among those places. Cf. Thonemann (2013) in the same direction.

ed in the ancient world, for example among Greeks speaking Latin or vice versa.⁹ The author could have been a member of a Hellenised Phrygian family. However, I think it more likely that the initiative came from one of the Greeks settled in Phrygia, who were probably assimilated into the Phrygian culture through marriage, and who had adopted the Phrygian language and used it in honour of the dead man's Phrygian family, resorting to his alphabet for lack of a Phrygian one. This interpretation is further supported by the epitaph as a properly Greek epigraphic genre, since no funerary inscription is preserved in Palaeo-Phrygian except a testimony of Daskyleion, which significantly was a multicultural city.¹⁰ The epitaph from Dokimeion is dedicated by a certain Nikostratos to a certain Kleumachos. Nikostratos, judging by another Greek inscription which presumably mentions the same personage, was probably married to a Phrygian woman, since his daughter has a Phrygian name. The Greek inscription, a generation later, reveals the competence in Greek of the daughter of this mixed marriage, who was herself married to a Greek (Theophilos), and the use of it was possibly influenced by the Greek epigraphic habit, which does not necessarily imply the loss of Phrygian.¹¹

The invasion of the Galatians in Asia Minor and their subsequent settlement in so-called Galatia, the territory corresponding to the ancient nucleus of Gordion, was possibly the decisive event that cut off Gordion, and the entire Phrygian north-east, from the Greeks in the course of the 3rd century BC, and which caused the final decline of the city. In the area of Phrygia Epiktetos there is no evidence of Hellenistic social development with the exception of Aizanoi, where the first private Greek inscription is in any case not earlier than the 2nd/1st century BC. It is explained in relation to the Macedonian *klerouchoi* which was established to administer the territories donated to the temple of Zeus by Attalus I of Pergamon and Prousius I of Bithynia.¹² However, it was not until the middle of the 1st century BC that the first civic document in Greek appeared in this city, which was also the first in northern Phrygia, as well as being one of the first public documents in Greek in

9. Cf. Adams (2003: 40–67) for the various variants and interpretations of transliterated texts, exemplified in the case of Greco-Latin bilingualism, but extensible to others.

10. For the epitaph of Daskyleion, see Obrador-Cursach (2020), B-07 (the supposed B-06 offers no relevant information at the moment). On the absence of this epigraphic typology in Paleo-Phrygian, see Obrador-Cursach, (2021: 47).

11. Brixhe (2004), W-11; Obrador-Cursach (2020: 524), MPhr 0-1 for the Phrygian inscription. Cf. Thonemann (2013: 18–19) for the different possibilities of interpretation.

12. Thonemann (2013: 23, 24) for traces in Roman times of the already Hellenistic foundation of other *katoikiai* north of Kotiaion, in Eukarpia and in Akmoneia.

the whole of Phrygia Epiktetos.¹³ It was from this time onwards that public inscriptions in Greek and coinage began to appear in Synnada, Dokimeion, Themisionion, and Apollonia. Roman interest in the material and human resources of central and eastern Phrygia promoted the existence of imperial and senatorial states, the construction of roads, a certain economic prosperity, and the spread of Greek as a language of communication and epigraphy, but not a widespread urbanisation of the territory, which remained essentially rural and decentralised.¹⁴

This historical picture is not at all favourable to the idea of a thorough Hellenisation, let alone to the adoption of Greek literacy. Even in the areas where Macedonian settlements were established in Hellenistic times, the Greek presence must not have been strong enough to impose their language and customs, or even the epigraphic habit, on the Phrygian population. The Dokimeion inscription, even if it was not an isolated case, does not seem to be representative of a phenomenon that came to fruition, but rather of a frustrated attempt at Phrygian literacy in the area. It is significant that the next generation wrote in the Greek language and alphabet, but it is also significant that this inscription is again an isolated text and that there are no Greek inscriptions in the city until the 1st century BC.¹⁵ The logical consequence of the historical picture of Greco-Phrygian contacts argues for the continued existence of Phrygian as a spoken language, even more so than that of other indigenous languages in Asia Minor, of whose survival we know. In Strabo's time it seems that the indigenous peoples of northwest Asia Minor had already discarded their native languages and onomastics (12.4.6), but Carian is still spoken in some areas (14.2.3, 28), as was Lydian in Cibyratis, as well as Solymian, Pisidian, and Greek (13.1.65). Literary testimonies throughout the Roman period seem to testify to the survival of Galatian, Lycaonian, and Isaurian, in addition to Phrygian.¹⁶ Unlike Lydian, Carian, and Lycian inscriptions, whose disappearance can be directly

13. Thonemann (2013: 23); Mitchell (1993: 81–86) on the foundation of cities in central Anatolia before Augustus.

14. Brixhe (2002: 254–256); Thonemann (2013: 36–38). For the process of urbanisation in Roman times in Asia Minor in general, with the differences according to areas, Mitchell (1993: 80–98).

15. The epigraphic habit, public and private, is a central feature of Greek civic culture (Mitchell 1993, I: 85–86).

16. On the linguistic situation in Asia Minor in Roman times see Mitchell (1993: I 172–175); on Galatian, *Id.* 50–51, Freeman (2001: 9–12). On Phrygian see the account by Socrates, a fifth-century AD Church historian, of Bishop Selinas from Kotiaion, a Goth on his father's side and a Phrygian on his mother's, who prayed in the church in both languages; and cf. the discussion in Roller (2018: 124–125).

linked to a profound Hellenisation of the language and epigraphic habit, the disappearance of the ancient Phrygian script cannot be linked to Hellenisation, which makes the history of the Phrygian language and its written revival in Roman times very different from the linguistic history of the above-mentioned peoples.

§ 3. *Greek-Phrygian bilingualism in Roman times*

In the recent edition of the Phrygian corpus, published by Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach in 2020, the Neo-Phrygian subcorpus contains 118 inscriptions with Phrygian texts written in the Greek alphabet.¹⁷ Most of these are bilingual Greek-Phrygian funerary inscriptions in which the Greek text contains the details of the deceased, and the Phrygian text an imprecation, although there are also other types of code-switching and Phrygian monolingual inscriptions.¹⁸ The distribution area of these inscriptions corresponds to an area and a period in which there is an abundance of monolingual epigraphy in Greek.¹⁹ This epigraphy in Greek, mainly funerary and cultic, reflects an adoption of the Greek language throughout the area, at least as a language of prestige, and probably as a professional language, and in some cases surely as *lingua franca*. The usefulness of Greek as a vehicular language at a time of great mobility in Asia Minor and when, due in part to the new administrative frontiers, contact between peoples of different languages was in many cases almost obligatory, is easily understandable. The establishment of Roman administration and the increased economic and commercial activity promoted by the Romans in the area gave access to many jobs for which Greek was the language of communication. The inscriptions throughout the interior of Asia Minor that began to be Hellenised under the Romans show a special interest demonstrating their Greek culture as an element of prestige and belonging to the Roman em-

17. The edition and numbering of the inscriptions follows Obrador-Cursach (2020), where reference to previous editions can be found; the readings and interpretations of the Phrygian, and all translations from Phrygian, are also by this author. Cf. Id. <https://medium.com/@elnatoli/phrygian-inscriptions-identified-after-the-phrygian-language-2020-9f7bfda0d18e> for a new Neo-Phrygian and several Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions discovered after the publication of the book.

18. ‘Bilingual’ refers here to the use of two languages in the same inscription, regardless of whether one is a translation of the other, or whether code-switching is involved.

19. On the interaction between Greek and Phrygian in Roman times see Brixhe (2002), where the chronology and geographical area of Neo-Phrygian is described (247–251). I focus here only on the information the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions provide concerning the relationship between the two texts, Greek and Phrygian.

pire.²⁰ Any sociolinguistic study of Phrygian at this time has to be made against this background, and also should take into account a number of problems that make it difficult, and sometimes even impossible, to draw definitive conclusions. A large part of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions have been lost, and we can only work with copies that were made several decades or even a century ago; precise dating is almost impossible when there are no explicit references in the texts, even more so when it has to be based on a palaeography and epigraphic support known only from drawings. Current knowledge of Phrygian does not allow us at present to identify with certainty spelling errors or phonetic, morphological, syntactic, or lexical interferences of Greek in this language, so that most of the conclusions that can be drawn are based on the information provided by the Greek texts, whether in monolingual or bilingual inscriptions. Further on, the inherent problems in any private epigraphic text must be added: is what we read the text written by the commissioner, the text written by the engraver at the dictation of the commissioner, the text written by a literate person based on the wishes of the commissioner (who is different from the engraver), or the text of the dedicator who is the engraver himself? Are the use of language and other possible identifying elements that appear in the funerary texts those of the dedicator or those of the deceased? For the sake of simplification and in the idea that in general the engraver copies a text given by the dedicator, the written texts are analysed here as if they were the dedicator's texts. Even if in some cases this was not the case, the conclusions on the issue at hand would not be seriously altered. In principle, it seems that in general the Greek and Phrygian texts of each inscription are written by the same hand,²¹ which eliminates a possible additional problem in the correct interpretation of real bilingualism.

As other authors have already pointed out, the fact that most of the Phrygian texts are imprecatory formulas could be due to the survival of Phrygian only for a very limited and specific linguistic domain. These formulae have frequent variants, especially in the apodosis, sometimes by expansion, which does not contradict the possibility that they are the survival of an oral tradition that is no longer productive. Some variants, however, do suggest a personal or local *variatio*, which would point to a productive survival of the imprecatory language. Moreover, there are many non-formulaic and non-imprecatory texts or parts of texts that cannot be explained as ritual remains or set phrases. The fact that Greek generally appears at the

20. de Hoz (2008).

21. Brixhe (2002: 252).

front of the *stelae* and Phrygian at the bottom will not necessarily be considered proof that Greek is the dominant language over Phrygian, as it is the content that determines the place of appearance in funerary texts, and imprecations are always inscribed behind the details of the deceased, as we see in monolingual funerary inscriptions in Greek. The following testimonies are analysed below as proof that the Phrygian language was still a living language in Roman times: 1. Non-imprecatory Phrygian texts or parts of Phrygian texts. 2. Intertextuality between different linguistic codes. 3. Particularities of Greek texts that can be ascribed to Phrygian interference. In addition, lexical issues will be analysed which, although they cannot be adduced as proof that Phrygian was still alive, are of interest for the question of the degree of interaction between Phrygian (L1) and Greek (L2).²²

§ 4. *Some texts or parts of texts in Phrygian which are not imprecatory*

Among the Phrygian texts which are not imprecatory or are not reduced to an imprecatory formula we have the following cases:

Bilingual texts

– One bilingual text in the sense established by Adams.²³ Only the funerary inscription from Dorylaion (1.1), with imprecation to the gods Mithrapata, Mas Tembrogios and Bas of Pontus, corresponds to this type, although with variants in both languages and without physical separation between them on the epigraphic field.

– A bilingual text without imprecation (1.2, also from Dorylaion) in which the details of the deceased are given in Greek and those of the dedicators in Phrygian. It should be noted, nevertheless, that the Phrygian part is very generic: *δακαρεν πα/τερης ευκιν /αργου*, ‘her parents made (it) as a vow’.

– A bilingual text (6.1) found in Bağlıca (the area of Ortakoy, almost on the southern border of Galatia) with personal information of the deceased in Greek and an imprecation in Phrygian (ll. 4–8). The name of one of the deceased described as *aoros* (*αωρω Ουεναουιας*) is inserted in the Phrygian imprecation. It has the Greek term in genitive, but there is typical graphic confusion in Neo-Phrygian between /o/

22. For the analysis of other aspects with other approaches to the Neo-Phrygian corpus as testimony of contact between Greeks and Phrygians cf. the aforementioned works of Brixhe (2002) and Anfosso (2017, 2019).

23. Adams (2003: 30–31): a text in which the same content, or with minor variations, is expressed in two different languages that are also physically separated in the written field.

long and long closed, and the genitive of the Phrygian anthroponym following the Phrygian desinence instead of the Ionian Greek of the two Greek texts (-ίη).²⁴ This personal insertion in the imprecation is possibly related to the role played in Phrygia by the dead *aoroi* as helpers of the imprecatory gods (cf. infra). Further, the imprecatory god, the heavenly king Dionysos, has no parallel in the Phrygian texts, and we do not know whether he corresponds to a personal or more widespread Greek *interpretatio* of a Phrygian god, or to the Greek god. The epithets ‘heavenly’ and ‘king’ are, however, typical of indigenous gods in Asia Minor, especially Men. The departure from stagnant formulae and the intrasentential code-switching within the imprecation proves the actual bilingualism of the author.

– Inscription 56.2, from the Axylon area, consists of a first part in Greek with the dedication ‘in remembrance’ of a mother and daughter to her husband and son and to her father and brother respectively, and a second part in Phrygian which, although not an imprecation, was surely understood as such by the reader. It is a clause limiting the use of the tomb to the persons named: *μόναν μοροτη ιον εγχεστ γεγριμενον*, ‘only for the dead whose names are engraved’. This limitation is not known in other Phrygian texts, but is very frequent in Greek epitaphs from the more Hellenised areas of Asia Minor, including western Phrygia.²⁵ It is very likely that this is a translation of a well-known Greek formula, which would imply real and active bilingualism on the part of the author of the text.

– The inscription 2.2 from Nakoleia, dated by Avram to the 3rd century AD and distributed on the four sides of the funerary altar, has an initial part in Greek with the personal details of the dedicator and the deceased, a central part in Phrygian, where a typical imprecation is preceded by a blessing with no parallel in Phrygian inscriptions, and three Greek texts of a rather particular character.²⁶

Entirely Phrygian texts

Most of the monolingual Phrygian inscriptions consisting only of an imprecatory formula could easily have contained a Greek text in front, but the loss of the stelae or altars prevents us from confirming this. There are, however, monolingual Phrygian inscriptions which, in addition to the imprecation, contain the specific

24. The name of the husband of one of the deceased is added in Greek after the Phrygian imprecation, possibly later. This inscription is one of the two that Brixhe (2002: 252–253, with commentary) adduces as irrefutable proof that Phrygian was understood.

25. Cf. e.g.: *ἐν ἧ κη[δ]ευθήσοντα[ι] μόνου οἱ προγεγραμμένοι* (Hierapolis, *AAT* 101, 1966/67, p. 321, n. 50); *ἐτέρω δὲ μηδενὶ ἐ[ξέσ]ται παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμ[ένα]* (Dionysopolis, *MAMA* IV 301).

26. Cf. on this inscription Avram (2015); Obrador-Cursach (2016); de Hoz (2017: 141–143).

personal details of the deceased and the dedicators. These inscriptions, although very rare, are of particular interest.

– A long inscription from Gezler Köyü in the area of Afyon with final imprecation (16.1), dated to the late 1st or early 2nd century AD and considered one of the oldest neo-Phrygian texts. The funerary data include the Phrygian name Xeune and the Greek name Ἐρμόλαος; this one attested to Greek inscriptions mainly from Asia Minor and especially from Phrygia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Lycia.²⁷

– Inscription 11.2 from Bayat, (*Etsyena). Its beginning is lost, and the rest is difficult to read, but has specific funerary data and a final imprecation (ll. 8–10).

– A long funerary inscription from Kadınhanı, in the Phrygian-Lykaonian area (43.1), with a final imprecation (ll. 15–22).

– An incomplete Phrygian text from Nakoleia (2. 1) with the name of the deceased and the dedicating husband: Ξευνη των ειξα υψο/δαν προτυς σ[ε]σταμ/εναν μανκαν αμι/ασιαν ιοι αναρ δορυκα/[νος ---], ‘For Xeune, her husband Dorykanos (has placed) ... at the top (of the monument) ... the erected stele ...’. It is not known whether it also contained an imprecation.

§ 5. *Intertextuality between different linguistic codes*

As mentioned above, in several inscriptions in the Neo-Phrygian corpus there is code-switching from Greek to Phrygian.²⁸ Although intersentential switching is generally considered to be the result of high competence in both languages,²⁹ I think there are many circumstances in which this may not be necessary. What seems to me to be decisive in the code-switching of some Greco-Phrygian bilinguals is not the change per se within a sentence or between sentences of the same information, but the intertextuality that occurs in some cases between the two codes. This intertextuality is reflected in some Neo-Greco-Phrygian inscriptions in the implicit or explicit reference in one code to what is said in the other, or in the

27. In the Phrygian text 16.1 it is written with omega instead of omicron (ερωω[λ]αος). Cf. on this typical confusion of Greek in Phrygia perhaps due to interference from Phrygian, see Brixhe (1987: 55–56).

28. On code-switching in general see Thomson (2001: 131–136); applied to Latin, Greek and other ancient languages, Adams (2003: 18–29). For a theoretical framework and bibliographical references on codeswitching in general, and its application to the Neo-Phrygian corpus cf. Anfosso (2017).

29. Myers-Scotton (1993: 71); cf. Anfosso (2019: 11) applied to Neo-Phrygian inscriptions.

way in which what is expressed in one code affects what is expressed or omitted in the other.

Within this phenomenon, in turn, there are several types:

-Imprecation in Phrygian and Greek.

In inscription 18.2 from Augustopolis, the Phrygian imprecation following the Greek text is in turn followed by a Greek imprecation. Both coincide almost completely in the protasis, but not in the apodosis.

ις κε σεμουν κ<v>ουμινος <κακουν>
 αδακεν, με διω[ς ζ]εμελως τιτετικμενος ητου.
 4 ὃς ἂν δὲ κακῶς [π]υήσε, τέκνα ἄω-
 ρα ἐντύ[χοιτο].

‘And whoever does <harm> to this tomb, let him be accursed in the sight of god[s] (and) m[en]’. Greek: ‘Whoever does harm (to it), let him have children untimely dead’.

Of course, we might think that the author, not knowing how similar the formulae are, has put in a Phrygian phrase which he knows by heart without fully understanding it, followed by a Greek one which is a variant of another, more frequent one which is also Greek. The fact that he has not attempted a literal translation may be an indication that he does not really know Phrygian; but it may also be an indication that he very consciously resorts to the most common formula in each of the languages.³⁰ Competence in Greek is demonstrated, in addition to the not formulaic Greek text and the omission of the reference to the tomb, which is made in the Phrygian imprecation, by the ability to adapt a fossilised Phrygian formula to Greek usage: τέκνα ἄωρα ἐντύ[χοῖτο]. This is not an exact translation of any attested Phrygian formula, but very close to the Greek formula, probably of Phrygian origin, τέκνων ἄωρων περιπέσοιτο συμφοραῖς, which is especially frequent in central Phrygia (Appia, Orkistos Amorion).³¹ Although the term ἄωρος is attested in funerary inscriptions in various parts of the Greek world, it should be noted that the evidence is scarce in insular and central Greece, but very abundant in Asia Minor

30. The omission of κακουν in line 2 is possibly attributable to the lapicide.

31. Cf. Strubbe (1997), no. 181 with comment, 182, 190, 204, 207, 222.

and, above all, in Syria and in Egypt, Nubia, and Cyrenaica.³² This suggests a Phrygian nature, perhaps of East Semitic origin, for this imprecation. Of all Asia Minor, it is precisely Phrygia, and secondly Galatia (ancient Phrygian territory), which has the greatest number of testimonies.

The use of this formula, instead of resorting to a translation of the Phrygian apodosis με διω[ς ζ]εμελωσ τιτετικμενος ητου, probably also shows a lively bilingual and intercultural awareness. This Phrygian formula and the variant found for example in 66.1 (cf. infra) – το[ς νι με] ζι[μελωσ] α τι ατιτικμενος [ειτ]ου, ‘let him be accursed by Zeus [among] m[en]’ – is one of the most frequent Phrygian imprecations.³³ In Greek, on the other hand, there are only two, inexact parallels among the hundreds of imprecations attested in Asia Minor. Possibly the idea of being imprecated in the sight of gods and men, or by a god in the sight of men, is completely alien to the Greek mentality and, aware of this (and because the Greeks have not adapted this Phrygian formula to their language) the Phrygians substitute this part with another formula which has been assimilated by the Greeks.

A similar case of a Greek inscription with a final imprecation in Phrygian followed by an imprecation in Greek is found at Klaneos (Turgut) in eastern Phrygia (66.1):

- [ιος] σεμον τι κνουμανι κ[ακ]-
 [ον α]βερετι ζει[ραι] παρταν, το[ς]
 [νι με] ζι[μελωσ] α τι ατιτικμενος
 [ειτ]ου.
 10 [τίς ἄν] τούτω κακὴν χεῖρα
 [προσ]οίσει, ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λ[ί]-
 [ποιτ]ο, χῆρον βίον, οἶκον ἔ-
 [ρημ]ον.

Phrygian: ‘[Whoever] brings h[arm] to this tomb with his hand *partan*, let him [be] accursed by Zeus [among] m[en]’. Greek: ‘[Whoever br]ings a bad hand to his tomb, may he l[eav]e behind orphaned children, an empty life, his house d[ese]rted’.

32. Cf. the percentages per area in the PHI 7 database:

<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/search?patt=%CE%B1%CF%89%CF%81>.

33. Cf. testimonies in Obrador-Cursach (2020: 246), s. v. ζεμελωσ; Id. (2019) and Anfosso (2022) on the interpretation of this formula as clearly indigenous, with some differences between them as to its origin.

The Greek protasis could be a free translation of Phrygian. Although no doubt originally Phrygian, it is however already widespread, with variants, as part of the Greek imprecations throughout the Neo-Phrygian area (Kotiaion-Appia-Soa; Amorion, Synnada, Prynnessos, the Galatian border, Laodikeia Katakekaumene, and Ikonion).³⁴ In the same area this protasis is usually followed by the apodosis, or variations of it, that appears in this inscription.³⁵

In both inscriptions it seems that the author, after writing the text with the usual linguistic code-switching, namely with the details of the dead (and dedicator) in Greek and the imprecation in Phrygian, wanted to ensure the understanding of the curse by the whole population, or the protection not only of the gods of the Phrygians but also of the Greeks, by writing it in Greek. Aware, however, of the strangeness for a Greek of the Phrygian apodosis, he uses a different one when writing the Greek imprecation.

Confirmation of this desire, conscious or unconscious, to avoid the use of Greek for formulae of ideology alien to this culture can perhaps be found in inscription 19.1 from Prynnessos (Sülün), dated 138–161 AD, in which the protasis of the imprecation is in Greek and the apodosis, the same as in the two previous inscriptions, in Phrygian. The author of the text ensures the effect of the curse with a protasis in Greek that includes two formulae, one originally Phrygian, the other Greek, (ὃς ἂν τούτῳ τῷ μνημείῳ κακῶς προσποιήσῃ ἢ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ὑπεναντίον τι πράξῃ, ‘whoever damages this tomb or carries out anything contrary to what is established’), and an apodosis in Phrygian peculiar to the Phrygian culture, alien to the Greek, and possibly for that reason written in Phrygian (με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε τιτετικμενος ειτου, ‘let him be accursed in the sight of gods and men’). This is a case of intrasentential code-switching, which is generally attributed to active bilingualism and good competence in both languages.³⁶ If the author's

34. Cf. e.g.: τίς δέ κε τόμβῳ τῷδε βαρῖαν χῖρα θήσῃ (‘whoever puts his evil hand upon the tomb’) (*MAMA* IV 20), ὃς δὲ ταύτῃ [τῆ] στ[ή]λῃ χεῖρα κακῆ[v] προσοί<σ>ει (‘whoever puts his evil hand upon this stele’) (*MAMA* VII 28), τίς ἂν ταύτῃ τῆ ἰστίλῃ κακοηθία χεῖρα προσοίσει (*MAMA* VII 210).

35. Among the variants are for instance, ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λίπη βίον ἔσχατον οἶκον ἔ[ρ]ημον | τὴν δ’ ἄλοχον χήραν ὀδυρομένην (‘lets him leave behind orphan children, worst life, empty house, and a morning widow’) (*MAMA* IV 20); ὀρφανὰ τέ[κνα] λίποιτο κῆρον βίο[v] οἶκον ἔρημον. (*MAMA* VII 28).

36. Brixhe (2002: 252–253) adduces this inscription as irrefutable proof that Phrygian was understood by relying on code-switching within the imprecation itself. I believe, however, that we cannot completely rule out that code-switching in formulaic expressions functions as tag-switching, without real knowledge on the part of the user of one of the two languages. The adaptation of each

understanding of Phrygian did not go beyond understanding these formulae, the code-switching would be closer to the type of tag-switching with respect to the degree of linguistic competence.

A similar refusal to express certain formulae in Greek is possibly given in the case of the formula γεγραμμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν, ‘let him suffer the written imprecation of Zeus’, which is very frequent in Neo-Phrygian imprecations from Galatia (53.1, 60.1, 60.2, 60.2, 62.1–3, etc.). It has no correspondence with any Greek inscriptions of the area, the closest Greek parallel being a Jewish imprecation from Akmonia (*MAMA* VI 335a): ἔσται αὐτῷ αἱ ἀραὶ ἢ γεγραμμέναι ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ ‘let the curses written in Deuteronomy fall on him’. The custom of leaving written imprecations on graves is known in the more rural and eastern parts of Lydia, where several epitaphs mention the practice of leaving apotropaic sceptres and written imprecations on graves for protection.³⁷ Perhaps the curses mentioned in the Phrygian imprecations are curses actually written on perishable material and deposited in tombs. The custom, alien to the Greek world, may have been introduced into Phrygia and Lydia through the Luwians or Semitic peoples in direct or indirect contact.

-Reference in one code to the text of the other:

In some inscriptions there is an intersentential switching with a degree of relationship between the two codes more typical of an intransentential code. This is the case of Dorylaion inscription 1.1, already mentioned as a bilingual text (in Adams' sense) because to a large extent it repeats the same content in both languages. As we shall see, it is an example of how blurred the boundaries between what qualifies as bilingual text, intersentential code-switching, and intrasentential code-switching sometimes are.

- [---]
 1 ε[.]γεντουμενος
 νιοισιος ναδροτος
 ειτου. Μιτραφατα
 κε Μας Τεμρογε-
 5 ιος κε Πουντας

code to the corresponding culture, on the other hand, seems to me to be sure evidence of true bilingualism.

37. Cf. de Hoz (1999: 120) y nº 3.27, 39.19 (cf. 63.16, 63.18); Strubbe (1991: 35–36).

Βας κε ενσταρνα
 δουμε κε οι ουε-
 βαν αδδακετ ορου-
 αν, παρεθέμην τὸ
 10 μνημεῖον τοῖς προ-
 γεγραμμένοις θε-
 οῖς κε τῆ κώμη·
 ταῦθ' ὁ πατήρ
 Ασκληπιός.

This inscription was written by a bilingual author competent in both languages with the ability to express specific data in them. The author also introduces a reference in one of them to what was said in the other, which implies that the text is intended for bilingual readers. The preserved text begins with an imprecatory formula in Phrygian with elements that are not attested in any other inscription, and which are not translations from Greek, either. The gods are Phrygian; it is under their protection, along with that of the village, that the tomb is placed. The Greek text is partly a translation, though not a literal one, of the Phrygian, but it refers back to the Phrygian for the gods, and gives the name of the father (whether this is a cultural title or the father of the deceased) in Greek. The name of the deceased possibly came before the Phrygian imprecation, in Phrygian or Greek. The Greek part may have been intended for monolingual Greek speakers, to whom the names of the gods would not be particularly important, but the mention of gods in general was important, as well as the reference to the village and the dedicant.³⁸ Intertextuality between the two codes of a communication is clearly a sign of the author's bilingual competence, and also of the author's assumption of the reader's bilingual competence.

§ 6. *Particularities of the Greek texts and possible Phrygian interferences*

The Greek texts of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions have some particularities that should be pointed out in terms of their possible importance in interpreting the interaction with Phrygian. They are very homogeneous texts, in which the formula μνήμης χάριν appears almost always (ἔνεκον in 7. 3, ἕνεκα in 22.1), ζῶν (καὶ

38. Cf. above on inscriptions 2.1, 6.1 and 56.2, where there is also an intertextuality between linguistic codes only to be expected in bilingual people.

φρονῶν) (20.2, 21.1, 33.3, 56.3) with some frequency, and χαῖρε in 1.2 and 27.1. This homogeneity may be the result of learning at school, or because of a conscious desire to avoid localisms, or both. In addition to the homogeneity, the adaptation level of the written Greek to standard Greek is remarkable as, generally unlike Greek monolingual texts from the interior of Asia Minor, there are very few non-standard forms. This fact also points to Greek learnt at school, although we should not forget that we only have copies of many of the inscriptions made decades ago, and we cannot check the accuracy of the readings or whether, in some cases, the editors were influenced by their knowledge of standard Greek when reading and copying the texts.

It is particularly surprising how few cases there are of itacism, a phenomenon that cannot be ascribed to Phrygian interference as it corresponds to the normal phonetic evolution at that time throughout the Greek world. This can be seen very strongly in private inscriptions throughout Asia Minor, especially inland: χρῆμα (56. 3), ιδεῖα (59.1), ὑ[δίω] (62.5), Νηκίτας (37.1, in a Byzantine inscription added later), πύση (18.2). The form γονεῖσιν (66. 1, with parallels in Macedonia, Mysian Cycicus and Olympene, Phrygia, and, above all, Pisidia), rather than γονεῦσιν, can perhaps also be ascribed to the phenomenon of itacism, although the area which provides evidence for this coincides with a communication route running from Macedon-Thrace to Pisidia via the Mysio-Bithynia border, and the north and east of Phrygia, an area which displays several other linguistic and cultural common features.³⁹ The almost systematic spelling of καὶ instead of κὲ is particularly striking.

The other deviations from standard Greek, which are also very rare, could be attributed to Phrygian interference in some cases, but in others they are phenomena that occur elsewhere as well:⁴⁰ the omission of /u/ in ἔατοῖς (60.2, 65.4), ἔατῶ (33.1); the addition of /u/ in ἄνώρω (62. 2; with parallels in Greek inscriptions only in Phrygia and Galatia), Ἄδυμήτος (25.1); confusion /e/ – /i/ in ἀνεθρείψαντο (10.1, where εἰ = /i/), ἕνεκα (22. 1); loss of consonant in the consonant clusters of γαμρός (4.1) and Ἀτεμείσια (27.1); loss of aspiration in occlusives, a widespread phenomenon in monolingual Greek inscriptions from the Phrygian hinterland, of which there is only one example here: λίτος (59.3).⁴¹ The only seemingly morphosyntactic

39. Cf. on this area de Hoz (2022: 380, 381).

40. Cf. Brixhe (1987: 109–116) on the peculiarities of Greek in Phrygia; Id. (2002: 259–265) on interferences of Phrygian in Greek inscriptions that justify considering them as part of the Neo-Phrygian corpus.

41. Brixhe (1987: 110).

deviation may in fact also be phonetic: Σούσου νίῶ (62.1, where ου = /o:/).⁴² An unusual Greek word order is given in the formulae ἔνεκα ἀρετῆς and ἔνε[κα μνήμης], both in 27.1.

§ 7. *Lexical issues*

Lexical borrowings are in general one of the key elements in studying the type of interaction that takes place between two languages.⁴³ A borrowing from another language is not in itself indication of language survival, but only of the existence of contact at some previous time, which may be chronologically very distant. The nature of such borrowings and the direction of borrowing between two languages, together with other data such as the historical dimension already discussed, can help to determine the possibilities of the prolonged currency or early disuse of Phrygian. However, rather than conclusions, for which the relationship between Phrygian and Greek and the state of knowledge of Phrygian present many obstacles, what are raised here are problems and possibilities. In any case, there are advantages arising from the analysis of the understanding of the cultural exchange between the two peoples. Here follows some examples of doubt between borrowing and cognate, some examples of a particular meaning of a Greek term probably due to Phrygian cultural interference, and some examples of secure borrowing. Since most of the inscriptions are funerary, it is to this domain that the information mainly belongs.

§ 7.1. *Greek to Phrygian borrowings, or cognates?*

The above-mentioned inscription 1.2 from Dorylaion, whose Phrygian text is not imprecatory, contains the expression εὐκίῃ ἀργῶ, of doubtful interpretation, which also appears in another epitaph (37.2) and which refers to a prayer or vow, εὐκίῃ. This term raises doubt as to whether it is a translation from the Greek or a cognate Phrygian word. The Phrygian text summarises, without names, what is said in Greek, and adds reference to a prayer, but we do not know whether this prayer is to the divinity, to the deceased, or to both. Precisely in the area of Dorylaion, Nakoleia, and Aizanoi there are numerous Greek inscriptions in which a prayer (εὐχή) is dedicated to Zeus Bronton and the deceased, for example *MAMA* V 229 from Nakoleia: Καρικὸς Βόλου σὺ[v] / τέκνοις περὶ ἑαυ/τῶν κὲ τῶν ἰδίῳν / Δι

42. Brixhe (1987: 55–56).

43. Cf. Thomson (2001: 66–74) on the different variants of lexical borrowing that occur in contact between two languages.

Βροντῶντι εὐχίην / κὲ Ἄππη συνβίω. ‘Karikós, son of Bolos, with his sons, make for them and their goods a prayer to Zeus Bronton and his wife Appe’. It is quite possible that in the Phrygian inscription Klodia's parents dedicate the tomb with a prayer to the dead (and implicitly to Zeus Bronton?). A parallel case is the Brogimaros inscription at Nakoleia (2.2/130), in which the dedicator ‘Brogimaros (son) of Epikrates (dedicates) to Zeus of Brogimaros and to Kyria (his wife) a prayer’. Prayers to the divinity for the land are very frequent. However, proposals that *αργου* is a term related to Greek ἀλφή (produce, gain), or to ἀρχή (beginning, origin) have been considered unlikely in a funerary text. It is more likely that *αργου*, which seems to be a thematic noun in genitive singular, without ruling out a dative singular, exerts a function of the Latin gen. + *gratia/causa* (on account of, for the sake of).⁴⁴ A syntactic construction parallel to the Greek gen. + χάριν (ac.): εὐχῆς χάριν (by way of prayer, to make a prayer), would fit well in the context, although the expression is not attested with the term εὐχῆς in Greek. As this is a particularity linked to Phrygian funerary belief, another possibility is that *αργου* was related to ἄργματα (DGE: first fruits ἄργματα θῦσε θεοῖς *Od.*14 .446, cf. *CEG* 246 Athens V BC) or with the adjective ἀργός which is applied to the uncultivated land that does not produce (DGE ἀργός 2), which in this case is substantivised. The formula would be equivalent to the Greek: ὑπὲρ + gen. εὐχίην (prayer for/on behalf of...), and would refer to a prayer made to the deceased for the field or for production. In the inscription from Brogimaros, the wish is expressed for good fruit on the land of the funerary monument; in another epitaph from Dorylaion, Zeus Bronton is asked ὑπὲρ κῶ[ρπῶν] (*MAMA* V 125). For a Greek to make a prayer to a deceased person would be unthinkable, but this was not the case for a Phrygian. Precisely because this particular custom is Phrygian and not Greek, I consider it more likely that the term *ευκτιν* is related to Greek εὐχίην, than the Phrygian borrowing a Greek word to designate a specifically Phrygian funerary peculiarity. Greek inscriptions with prayers to the dead are surely made by Phrygians, like the two inscriptions from Dorylaion and Nakoleia mentioned above.⁴⁵ Phrygians translate this word by the Greek cognate εὐχίην to refer both to a prayer to the gods and to the deceased as in their language they use the same term as well.

44. See Obrador-Cursach (2020: 180), with the state of the art on the interpretation of the term.

45. The name Sophokles of the dedicatee in the Dorylaion inscription falls within a semantic field of cultural names that is particularly rich in the interior of Asia Minor, and which is used above all by the indigenous people. The Roman names of the wife and daughter probably reveal a case, which must have been frequent judging by the onomastics, of marriage between an upper-class indigenous man and a Roman woman or, more commonly, the other way round.

The terms *σορος*, *κνουμαν*, and *θαλαμειδη*, all from the funerary semantic field, are considered borrowings from Greek into Phrygian, although Brixhe does not rule out the possibility that *κνουμαν* is a Phrygian term.⁴⁶ It should be noted that all three are terms which appear only or mainly in Greek inscriptions in Asia Minor, or only in Asia Minor with a funerary meaning. The aspirated stop of *θαλαμειδη* (18.1) identifies the term as borrowed, but, with the exception of its use in the Greek part of 25.1 (*θαλαμειδα*), the terms *θαλαμεις*, *θαλάμη*, and *θάλαμος* are only used in Greek as ‘tomb’ metaphorically in metrical inscriptions.⁴⁷ The term *κενοτάφιον*, to which, according to Brixhe, *κνουμαν* could be related in case it is Greek, appears in Greek inscriptions from Pompeiopolis and especially Pamphylia as having the sense of tomb (not cenotaph); the term *σορός* in Greek inscriptions appears above all, and with an enormous difference with respect to other places, in Asia Minor, and much more in Phrygia than elsewhere, generally having the sense of ‘sarcophagus’. This term does not usually have the sense of ‘tomb’ or ‘sarcophagus’ in other parts of the Greek world, but of ‘urn’ or ‘vessel’. In all these cases, if the terms are Greek borrowings, they have either been adopted to refer to a more specific or different Phrygian reality than the one they designate in the Greek language, or the Greeks have already produced this semantic variation of the term to refer to new cultural elements specific to the host land.⁴⁸ There is no certainty that many of the numerous Phrygian terms that have been interpreted as designating a tomb, a funerary complex, or some part of it actually had that meaning, but from the context in which they appear in the inscriptions, it is quite possible in most cases, and it seems clear that the Phrygians attached importance to designating the various funerary elements in the inscriptions. Possibly this was a way of giving more importance in the text to the reality of the doorstones where Neo-Phrygian epitaphs are generally found. It seems that those terms that are likely to be borrowed from Greek have undergone some kind of modification or specialisation in their meaning in the process of borrowing.

46. Brixhe (2002: 258). Cf. Obrador-Cursach (2020: 274–275), who considers it Phrygian.

47. e.g. *TAM* V1 468b, *I Kyzikos* 538, *I Prusa ad Olympum* 59. These terms are not listed once by Kubinska (1968) among the Greek terms for funerary monuments in Asia Minor. On the term as a loan in Phrygian cf. Obrador-Cursach (2020: 248–249).

48. Cf. Drew-Bear (1978), no. 4 and p. 11 for the specific use of *περίβολος* at Synnada as a funerary enclosure.

§ 7.2. *Borrowing from Phrygian into Greek*

Some terms that appear in Greek texts from both Neo-Phrygian and monolingual Greek inscriptions are surely Phrygian. This is the case for *bennos* and the various forms of its lexical family, and for *doumos* (although this may be a loan from the Phrygian period introduced into Lydian, and borrowed from Lydian by the Greeks, as most of the Greek testimonies have been found in Lydia).⁴⁹ In these cases it is sometimes difficult to determine whether it is borrowing or intrasentential code-switching as, with possible exceptions of L2, speakers integrated into L1 life and culture. What normally occurs is the use of an L1 word by an L1 speaker when speaking/writing L2 to express a reality that lacks an appropriate term in L2.⁵⁰ However, the fact that a semantic family has been created with the root of *bennos* using Greek suffixes and endings (βεννάρχης, βέννιος, βεννεύω), and that *doumos* appears declined with Greek endings and frequently accompanied by the adjective *hieros*, indicates that both terms have been lexicalised as Greek, and can therefore be considered loanwords.

§ 8. *Conclusions*

The Neo-Phrygian inscriptions are probably intended for a largely bilingual audience. Greek is likely to be a professional language for many Phrygians, and it is also a language of prestige and communication. Among the people involved in the inscriptions are a priest founder of a new cult of Zeus (a subsidiary of Zeus Bronton?), perhaps another priest of some initiatory cult identified as a pater, an architect and painter, a *hyppeus*, many people of unknown profession with Greek or Hellenised names, and also many (women especially) with Phrygian names; there are also people with Roman nomenclature, a Roman benefactress, and an imperial slave.⁵¹ The previously mentioned professions are likely to need Greek as a language of communication, but both these professionals and the dedicators or dedicatees of the other inscriptions are using the language that has become wide-

49. On the term *doumos* see Polito (2004) with previous bibliography (Petzl 2019, nos. 140, 146 must be added). For *bennos* see especially Drew-Bear and Naour (1990: 1952–1991); Eckhardt (2016: 18–19); a state of the question with the most relevant bibliography in Obrador-Cursach (2020: 137–139).

50. Cf. Thomson (2001: 131–136); Adams (2003: 18–29) on the relationship between code-switching, borrowing, and interference.

51. On social and professional status see Brixhe (2002: 253–254); Roller (2018: 132–133); Anfosso (2019: 4).

spread as a written language throughout Asia Minor, for whose use they have not only the appropriate alphabet, but also very good models of both epigraphic habit and forms. By the 1st–3rd centuries AD, there was probably no resident left in Asia Minor, at least in minimally institutionalised communities, who did not understand Greek, whether or not they assiduously spoke it. The widespread tendency to give Greek or Hellenised Phrygian names (through translation or other means) to men, while keeping Phrygian names for women, suggests the possibility of a bilingualism consisting of an ingroup language (familiar, spoken at home or among friends and inhabitants of very small rural localities) and an outgroup language (for communication with the outside world, whether professional or not).⁵² In the area of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions it is most likely that any possible middle- and upper-class reader of the epitaphs could understand both the Greek and the Phrygian parts. Those who did not know Greek would probably belong to very low social classes. Not only were they not literate, but also, they could not afford a minimally complex tomb with an inscribed stele. As Roller has already pointed out, the fact that most of the funerary monuments on which these inscriptions appear are doorstones of a certain complexity suggests that the dedicators and addressees were not people of low social status.⁵³ Consistent with this conclusion is clearly the level of Greek in the Neo-Phrygian corpus, which seems to be learnt at school, at least in its written form.⁵⁴ It is probable that the homogeneity of the Greek inscriptions, as opposed to the great local variety that we usually find, is due precisely to this schooled learning, and perhaps to a desire to avoid the more local in favour of the more generalised in order to show a deeper Hellenisation.

The irregularities and difficulties in Phrygian may be due to our still limited knowledge of the language, and, in any case, need not be understood as the result of a low proficiency of the dedicators in the language, but of literacy in that language. Phrygian was not learnt in school, let alone written. In order to write Phrygian in the Greek alphabet, one had to know some Greek and be at least minimally literate in this language, but even so, the lack of models, grammar, and knowledge of a ‘standard’ Phrygian usage would make it impossible to write this language homogeneously with an alphabet that was not created for it, and which, moreover, at that time used different spellings to represent the same phonemes. I believe that

52. On this difference cf. Adams (2003: 751 ff).

53. Roller (2018: 136). Cf. Brixhe (2002: 253–254). On doorstones as a mark of status and urbanisation see Kelp (2013).

54. It seems unlikely that Greek lapicides, or those who were highly competent in Greek, were also the authors of the texts, and that they had learnt standard Greek at school.

the question of literacy is fundamental to understanding the relationship between written Phrygian and Greek and, departing from written texts, between spoken Phrygian and Greek. Poorly literate Phrygians, such as those who wrote numerous inscriptions in Greek that were far from standard Greek both morphosyntactically and phonetically, may have been unable to write in Phrygian even though their mother tongue was Phrygian.

Particular to the inscriptions of the Neo-Phrygian corpus is the apparent diglossia they show in general, between the use of Greek for personal information and Phrygian for petitions to the gods.⁵⁵ Phrygian was the language of the local gods; it was the ancestral language linked to these religious practices that were still living. It is very likely that these imprecatory formulae continued to be uttered in funeral rituals, and that the newly adopted use of writing was considered a suitable means of maintaining the efficacy of the imprecations eternally. One of the most frequent formulas (γγρειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν, ‘let him suffer the written imprecation of Zeus’) probably refers to imprecations that were written on tablets, lead sheets, or other media, as we have already noted. The Phrygian alphabetic code possibly activated Phrygian religious belief in the scribe and the reader.⁵⁶ We cannot speak of a sacred language, nor of diglossia in the strict sense, as both Greek and Phrygian were used for all spheres of life by one or other of the speakers and according to circumstances and places, but in these inscriptions we can speak of bilingualism conditioned by domain.⁵⁷ In general, Greek is used for bald statements, and expresses the illocutionary force of the speech act; the Phrygian is used for performative utterance (speech includes action: the act of protecting the grave) and has a perlocutionary force, a determined intention.⁵⁸ Moreover, these formulae in Phrygian clearly have a regulative and interactive function in society. This is not an inconsiderable element in understanding the importance of their content, and the need for them to be understood.

It is true that the imprecatory formulas written in Phrygian are not in themselves proof that Phrygian was still used or even understood, and that they could function practically as tag-switching to a language that was no longer understanda-

55. Cf. Anfosso (2019: 6–9) on this particular type of bilingualism in relation to the pragmatics and ritual character of imprecations, with parallels in Hittite-Hattic, Hittite-Luwian and Hurrian-Ugaritic.

56. Cf. Hudson (1980: 96–97).

57. Fishman (1965), (1972).

58. See already Malinowski (1923) on the importance of the performative function of language as a mode of action.

ble, but whose imprecatory meaning in that context was recognised. There are many examples in the written and spoken language of expressions that were not understood, such as magic words and expressions, or the use of Latin for mass, still prevalent in the 20th century in many places without being understood by the majority of the faithful. This fact has led to the conclusion that the Neo-Phrygian corpus is no proof at all that Phrygian was still spoken.⁵⁹ Contrary to this theory, I believe that the analysis of the Phrygian and Greek texts of the Neo-Phrygian corpus supports the idea that Phrygian was still alive. The monolingual inscriptions, the non-imprecatory Phrygian texts in the bilingual ones and the intertextuality that occurs in several inscriptions between the Greek and Phrygian codes together with the adaptation of each one to the corresponding culture are, I believe, decisive proof.

The discussion on the validity or not of Phrygian as a spoken language at this time often goes hand in hand with the discussion on the role of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions as a mark of identity.⁶⁰ Roller, who adopts this position, considers that their use may have been motivated in part by the Sophist movement, which espoused a classical literature in which the Phrygians are often mentioned, or by their negative reputation in the Greco-Roman world.⁶¹ I do not know if the authors, all or any of them, of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions wanted to claim their Phrygian identity by writing their language. What can be deduced from the Greek inscriptions of the whole Neo-Phrygian area is that what they want to claim is their Hellenism: Greek language, Greek culture, Greek names, and, in order to show it, the Greek epigraphic habit.⁶² That this Hellenisation is only superficial is reflected in these same texts and in the strength with which very ancient religious customs, some of whose origins can be traced back to the Hittites and Luwians, are still maintained in the 4th century AD.⁶³ Greek's use as a language (and expression of

59. Cf. for this discussion Brixhe (2002: 252–253); Anfosso (2019: 2).

60. On the survival of the spoken language in Roman times, see Brixhe (2002); in the same direction, Anfosso (2019). Both authors also mention the question of whether or not the Phrygian inscriptions of this period were ethnically vindicatory.

61. Roller (2018), esp. pp. 236–239; cf. for the same theory of the use of Phrygian as a mark of ethnic identity Levick (2013: 47–48); Anfosso (2021).

62. The very rapid, and possibly older, spread of Greek onomastics is probably due to this desire for a Hellenic veneer, and is not necessarily due to a large Greek presence in the area, as foreign names can become fashionable and spread beyond their language borders because of their exoticism, originality, or prestige, as is the case nowadays.

63. For the continuity in Roman Phrygia of very ancient cultural elements, especially religious ones, see Chiai (2020); de Hoz (in press).

culture) of prestige can be deduced from the intense, rapid, and extensive way in which the indigenous people adopt the private Greek epigraphic habit, personal Greek onomastic usage with numerous dynastic names, and also Greek heroes and culture-related concepts (Nestor, Mouse, Philologos etc.), as well as from the frequent iconographic representation on tablets and *styloi*.⁶⁴ I would say that if Phrygians of the Neo-Phrygian area wanted to exhibit any identity at all, it is one of belonging to the Hellenic world.

Typologically speaking, the language shift is not very rapid when the dominant language is the immigrant one, and even less so if the latter does not exert a special pressure, which the Greeks probably did not, just as they did not with the indigenous religion and customs. If we add the historical evolution of the Neo-Phrygian area, the lack of urbanisation even in Roman times in a large part of the territory, and the much higher density of Phrygians than Greeks in these more rural and isolated areas, it is most logical and probable that Phrygian remained a functional language in all respects, even if it did not develop its own literacy and epigraphic habit.

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A “new” Neo-Phrygian curse formula

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§ 1. *Two unresolved Neo-Phrygian “syntactic problems”*

No. 42

Upon visiting the village of Feleli¹ (nowadays Kocaöz), situated between Afyon and Bolvadin, in July 1887, D. G. Hogarth found an ancient doorstone carrying the remains of a Greek epitaph and a Neo-Phrygian curse formula (published as no. 2 in Hogarth 1890: 159).

Hogarth visited the stone again in 1890 and was able to add a few more letters to his reading. This improved copy was published in Ramsay (1905: 102) and assigned the no. 42 in the “traditional” numbering of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions.²

Hogarth remains the only Western traveller who saw the actual monument. All subsequent editions are based on his copies. According to him (1890: 158f.), the monument was “a door-tomb of which three panels remain. [...] The stone is half buried in packed earth, upside down, and thus the first lines and much of the right-hand portion cannot be seen. The Phrygian part of the lettering is smaller and more crowded”.

The Phrygian text is not affected by the invisibility of the first lines, which belonged to the Greek epitaph; but as Hogarth writes, the right side of each line (with

1. Thus, the orthography in Köylerimiz (1981). Hogarth (1890) uses the spelling *Felleli*.

2. When referring to Old Phrygian inscriptions (including the stelae from Vezirhan and Dokimeion), I shall use the *sigla* defined in Brixhe/Lejeune (1984), Brixhe (2002), Brixhe (2004), and Brixhe/Tüfekçi Sivas (2009). For the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions I shall use the traditional numbering as described in Brixhe (1999: 285f. with n. 3), which has since been continued unofficially in the order of publications.

the exception of the last one) is incomplete, and there also seem to be damages on the stone, leading to several gaps in the Phrygian text. While its beginning is preserved (ιος νι σεμον ... “whoever to this ...”), the protasis is overall fragmentary. The beginning of the apodosis is lost. Since the third Phrygian line starts with a sequence ΜΕΛΩΣ, which invites to restore [... ζε]μελωσ, a word frequent in curse apodoses, we may assume that the apodosis starts within the fragmentary second line of the Phrygian text.

The passage of no. 42 that will be of interest here belongs to the apodosis and is represented as follows in Hogarth (1890: 159):

[...]|ΜΕΛΩΣΚΕ . Ε . ΣΜΕΚΟΝΝΟΥΚΕΙΣΝΙΟ . . . ? | ΑΙΠΑΡΤΗΣ
[... ζε]μελωσ κε [δ]ε[ω]ς με κοννου κε ις νι ... | αι παρτης

Since the restoration ζε]μελωσ κε is based on good grounds, and since ζεμελωσ is usually accompanied by δεωσ in Neo-Phrygian texts, it is only natural that Hogarth, along with subsequent editors, tried to restore also δεωσ in the following, heavily damaged sequence.

However, the absence of κε after the supposed [δ]ε[ω]ς or [δ]ε[ο]ς provides difficulty: Unlike Gk. κέ, which is a frequent κοινή spelling for καί in contemporary Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor, Phrygian κε < *k^he is an enclitic conjunction and does not occur between the elements it links, unless if all of them, including the last one, are followed by it (Brixhe 1978: 1f.). This is apparently not the case in no. 42: If we read [... ζε]μελωσ κε [δ]ε[ω]ς, we expect [δ]ε[ω]ς to be followed by another κε. Instead, the copy has a sequence ΜΕΚΟΝΝΟΥΚΕ, which was divided με κοννου κε since Ramsay (1905: 102). Thereby με was thought to be the Phrygian preposition also known from the frequent formula με δεωσ κε ζεμελωσ κε, and κοννου to be a noun in the case required by με, thus probably the same case as ζεμελωσ. To those adopting this view it looked like κοννου and ζεμελωσ were both thematic nouns in the same case, but κοννου would be a singular and ζεμελωσ a plural. However, this paper will unmask κοννου as a ghost word, which means that the associated view that the endings -ου and -ως could belong to the same paradigm as singular and plural, loses its grounds. Brixhe, who had already treated this passage of no. 42 in Brixhe (1978: 2), where he proposed an emendation of με into <κ>ε (thus obtaining a chain ζε]μελωσ κε [δ]ε[ω]ς <κ>ε κοννου κε),³ discussed it

3. “Le premier κε paraît en appeler un second, après [δ]ε[ω]ς, et semble donc nous inviter à corriger με en κε” (Brixhe 1978: 2).

again in Brixhe (1997: 55), now proposing several possible views on the sequence's syntactic structure, but ultimately remaining indecisive. Apart from said conjecture, he did not question the reading and restorations. His reading <κ>ε was adopted by Waelkens (1986: 204). In fact, the issues concerning no. 42 appear unresolvable, as long as Hogarth's reading is taken for granted; Brixhe's suggestions do not really help to improve the situation.

No. 87

The Neo-Phrygian inscription no. 87, cut into a “block of bluish limestone” (MAMA I), was discovered by W. M. Calder and his expedition in 1925, when they reached the village of Beyköyü (c. 10–15 km to the north-west of Emirdağ). It was first published in MAMA I as no. 406 (p. 212) with a photograph of a squeeze. Apparently, there was no Greek epitaph on the same stone, whereas the Phrygian inscription seems complete. The text is given as follows in this *editio princeps*:

ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει | κακουν αδακετ αινι τια||μας ατι αδειτου ουελας κε |
του κε ισνου αστοιπαρτης

It seems clear that the protasis is followed by more than one apodosis, α τι αδειτου being frequently attested (on the segmentation α τι, which should be preferred here, see Lubotsky 1989). The reading of the remaining part may be regarded as fairly ascertained, although the photograph is slightly out of focus on the right side. So far, only the second letter of the sequence ΑΣΤΟΙ on the fourth line has been subject to discussion; Haas (1966: 126) proposed to read O in order to obtain a form of the pronominal stem αυτο- (here with a spelling <αο> instead of <αυ>), of which several forms are attested elsewhere in Old and Neo-Phrygian. The photograph itself is not decisive on this; of course, the possibility of an error either by the stonemason or by the editor cannot be excluded.

The sequence ΟΥΕΛΑΣ, which is rather faint on the photograph (but was most probably more clear on the original squeeze and the monument), reappears also in no. 120,⁴ which supports the reading of no. 87 in MAMA I. No. 120 is a well-documented inscription of which we have several photographs, and which survives to this day; the sequence ΟΥΕΛΑΣ is clearly readable (see Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997: 87–89; no. 120 will also be treated in the present paper).

4. In my provisional continuation of the traditional numbering, which will be replaced in a future corpus of Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, no. 120 refers to the inscription published as no. III in Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997).

Thus, basically, the second apodosis of no. 87 is well readable. It is so far unique within the known corpus. Nonetheless, the segmentation provided by Buckler and Calder in MAMA I has never really been questioned, although scholars have followed different approaches to interpret the passage's syntactic structure. Haas (1966: 126), for instance, assigned *ουελας* to the first apodosis with the following *κε* linking it to *ατι*; this seems to imply that he saw in *ουελας* a noun in the same case as *ατι*. Accordingly, in his view, the second apodosis starts with *του κε*, where *κε* connects the apodoses. Orel (1997: 108) adds a guess on the etymology of the alleged form *ουελας*. Neroznak (1978: 117) proposes a rather peculiar and speculative interpretation of the passage, where it remains unclear how his Russian "translation" matches the "Phrygian" text he gives (apparently, he departs from a different word separation, but does not explain it anywhere). Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985: 79f.) restrain themselves from a commentary, but nevertheless include a speculative etymology of *ουελας* (p. 141f.). C. Brixhe has expressed his views on no. 87 several times (Brixhe 1978: 1, 7; 1990: 97; 1997: 59, 67f.; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997: 89f.), mostly without commenting on different approaches. He thinks that the second apodosis starts already with *ουελας*, "vraisemblablement génitif d'un *ουελα*", the following *κε* joining together the apodoses. According to him, the second *κε* then links the form *του* to *ουελας*, which leads him to the conclusion that *του* is a genitive as well (however, in 1978: 7, he still hesitates between genitive and dative). Furthermore, he (1978: 7; 1990: 97; 1997: 66) takes *του* for the direct continuation of Old Phrygian *tovo*, on which see below ("appendix"). Accordingly, his tentative translation of the second apodosis is "et que pour (*ουελας*) et pour lui (*του*) les ... soient (*ισνου*) ..." (Brixhe 1978: 7).

§ 2. *Towards a solution*

At first sight there seems to be little prospect of solving these "syntactic problems", especially in the case of the heavily damaged no. 42. Nonetheless, they may be eliminated completely through an improved reading of no. 42.

Firstly, note that in no. 120, the sequence OYEΛΑΣ is immediately followed by KONNOY. If we read *ουελασκετου* in 87 and *ουελασκοννου* in 120 as one word, we obtain two forms that look like the singular and plural of a thematic third person imperative. The third person imperative endings *του* and *-(v)νου* are known from the Neo-Phrygian copula, which is frequently attested as *ειτου* in the singular,

and occurs as plural $\iota\nu\nu\upsilon$ in no. 71 (and maybe as $\epsilon\iota\nu\nu\upsilon$ in no. 12).⁵ The forms $\iota\nu\nu\upsilon$ in no. 87 and $\iota\nu\nu\iota\lbracket$ in no. 42 may belong here as well, which would imply that -vv- in no. 71 is from $\sigma\nu-$, and that -vvou is spelt -vou after consonant. The endings -του and -vvou may be derived from $*t\bar{o}d$ and $*-nt\bar{o}d$ respectively without difficulty. In Hämmig (forthcoming) I will argue that the development $*-nt- > -vv-$ in Neo-Phrygian verbal endings can also be found in the third plural “subjunctive IIa” form $\delta\epsilon\delta\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\nu\nu\iota$, where $-v\nu\iota < *-nti$; cf. also Old Phrygian $-ni$ in $^{\circ}isini$ P-101.

The only obstacle to the above proposal is Hogarth’s reading of the crucial sequence in no. 42, namely E[.]ΣΜΕΚΟΝΝΟΥ. In comparison with no. 120 (ΟΥΕΛΑΣΚΟΝΝΟΥ), this seems to confirm a word boundary before K as well as the existence of two independent forms $\kappa\omicron\nu\nu\upsilon$ and $\omicron\nu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$, which have hitherto been thought to be nouns. As it happens, a Neo-Phrygian preposition $\mu\epsilon$ is known from the frequent phrase $\mu\epsilon \delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon \zeta\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon$ (and variants),⁶ which is why some editors wanted to see a syntagm $\mu\epsilon \kappa\omicron\nu\nu\upsilon$ in no. 42.

However, Hogarth’s reading of no. 42 may be questioned. The only representation that we have of this inscription, is the majuscule copy in his article. It might not represent everything correctly, and in some cases it might suggest that the reading was certain although it really was not. Hogarth’s epigraphic comments on his copy are not very detailed, to say the least.

Moreover, the sequence ΚΟΝΝΟΥ in 42 is preceded by a passage of which the reading obviously provided major difficulties. For this passage we should reckon with the type of editor’s mistake described in Brixhe (1999: 293): When inscriptions with lunate Σ and Ε are worn or defaced, editors often confuse these letters with each other and with Ο. The same applies to letters of triangular shape, i. e. Α, Δ, Λ, and even Μ, which may be confused with two consecutive triangular letters. This apparently happened in Hogarth’s edition of no. 43 (no. 1 in his article), where he reads $\mu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau$ instead of $\alpha\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau$ or $\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau$: The mistake is on the same page as his edition of no. 42 (p. 159).

According to Hogarth’s copy, no. 42 indeed had lunate Ε and Σ. Hence, in terms of letter shapes, the sequence read by Hogarth as E[.]ΣΜΕΚΟΝΝΟΥ basically begins with a series *round – damaged – round – triangular – triangular – round*. Hogarth’s Μ thereby counts as two consecutive triangular shapes. As it hap-

5. In contrast, the oft-quoted form $\dagger\epsilon\iota\tau\nu\upsilon$ is a ghost word: See below (“appendix”).

6. This seems to be the Phrygian counterpart of $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\theta\omicron\nu\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (θεοῖς), cf. Heubeck (1987: 76f.), a formula that occurs in Greek curses of Asia Minor, cf. Strubbe (1997: 297). Alternatively, but less convincingly, it has been claimed to mean “Götter und Menschen”, cf. Haas (1966: 92ff.).

pens, the sequence ΟΥΕΛΑΣ perfectly fits into this scheme, if we read Ο for Hogarth's first Ε, then Ε for Σ, then ΛΑ for Μ and Σ for Ε. In the place of the damaged letter, we may restore Υ.

It is thus possible to read the concerned sequence of no. 42 as ο[υ]ελασκοννου. Consequently, we may see the same form also in no. 120 (instead of two words ουελας κοννου), and we may read ουελασκειτου in no. 87. Moreover, we may conclude that the “syntactic problems” described above do not exist.

The form παρτης is attested four times overall, and three of these attestations are furnished by the three inscriptions treated here.⁷ This brings further support to our view that nos. 42, 87, and 120 have something in common.

§ 3. *New reading of nos. 42, 87, and 120*

We may thus improve the reading of the three Phrygian texts as follows.

No. 87

ιος νι σεμουν κνουμαγει
κακουν αδακετ αινι τια-
μας α τι αδειτου ουελασκει-
του κε ισνου ασ'τοι παρτης

Commentary: We have to rely completely on the photograph of the squeeze given in MAMA I 406 (p. 212), which, by itself, cannot provide a reading as certain as the *editio princeps* suggests. The reading given in MAMA I 406 remains in fact trustworthy, only that it is impossible to confirm it relying on the photograph alone. At any rate, the letter shapes (round, triangular, etc.) are clear in each case.

Line 3: On the word separation α τι, see Lubotsky (1989).

Line 4: The photograph does not help to confirm Haas' reading αστοι instead of the αστοι read by the editors who saw the monument and made the squeeze.⁸

7. The fourth occurrence of παρτης is found in an inscription of which a photograph without transcription has been published by S. Mitchell (1993: 186, fig. 33), and to which I and other researchers assigned the no. 118 in a provisional continuation of the “traditional” numbering; Obrador-Cursach (2020: 554) lists it as 22.2. The curse apodosis in this inscription reads τετιο|κμενος ειτου διως | κε ζεμελως κε παρ|της, and has thus little in common with the inscriptions discussed here.

8. For the sake of completeness, note that a sequence]a²stoi^o occurs in an Old Phrygian fragment (G-113). A word boundary after this sequence seems likely because it is followed by p (see Hämmig 2013: 137). However, the fragment is not understood, and the sequence]a²stoi^o does not

No. 120

This inscription was first edited in Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1997: 86–91) as no. III.

[- - - π]αρτυς ουεβρα ιως νι σεμον το
 [κνουμα]γε κακον αδδακετ αιν' ατεαμαις τιε τι
 [τετικ]μεγος ειτυ ουελασκοννου κ' HNK

[- - -]Υ[ca. 4]Ν[1–2]ΒΕ[.]ΑΙ κε παρτης ΒΕΚΟ[.]?

Commentary:

Line 2: The editors read ις as a separate word, interpreting it as a correlative pronoun. However, there is no known Phrygian text that justifies this view. The sequence ΙΣ rather belongs to the foregoing form; see also below on no. 42, line 2.

Line 4: After a gap of several letters, due to coverage by mortar, follows a sequence of letters whose lower part is broken off. On the sequence's left side, the characters are particularly worn and barely recognizable. The editors give the sequence as [- - -]ΥΟΙΣΓΕΝΤΙΒΕΠΙΑΙ, stating that this reading is rather uncertain.

The reading given here is based upon the photographs taken by the editors. I prefer to represent only the letters with more or less ascertained reading (judging from the photographs). After Υ, I see a triangular letter rather than O.

No. 42

ιως νι σεμον κν[υ[?]]μαν[ει κακ]ο[ν αδδακετ - - -]
 [.]ΑΙΣΑΤΡΑ[...]ΤΗ[- - - ζε-]
 μελως κε [.][?] ρ[υ]ελασκοννου κε ιωνιο[υ[?] - - -]
 (vac.)[?] ΑΙ (vac.)[?] παρτης

Commentary:

Line 2: Despite being fragmentary, this line has received a number of fanciful interpretations in the past (e.g. Orel 1997: 95, 464). None of these interpretations are trustworthy in any sense, especially because – as we have just seen – not even Hogarth's reading may be taken for granted. In particular, we have no certain at-

necessarily correspond to our ασ²τοι. G-113 may perhaps contain the last part of the name/theonym *surgastos* in the dative; cf. *surgastoy* (Dd-102), on which see Obrador-Cursach (2020: 350).

tations of an alleged shorter variant $\alpha\iota$ of the particle $\alpha\iota\nu\iota$ meaning “or”.⁹ Therefore the letters read by Hogarth are represented as majuscules here. Note, however, that the sequence]AIΣ is reminiscent of our reading $\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ in No. 120. We have no means to determine whether this is a coincidence or not.

Line 4: In both of his copies Hogarth marks an indent before the sequence ΑΠΙΑΤΡΗΣ but does not comment on whether it is a damage on the stone or an unscribed space (cf. also Ramsay 1905: 102). The latter seems to be more probable, because if it were a gap, he would have given an estimate number of lost letters. The gap at the end of the second last line after]ΣΝΙΟ[seems to contain more than one letter, judging from the representations in Hogarth (1890) and Ramsay (1905). Calder does not comment on the length of this gap, but represents it as very short in Calder (1911: 184); it is thereby unsure whether he had access to Hogarth's original copies. What is certain, is that he never saw the original monument. It might have been this unexact representation in Calder (1911) that led Friedrich (1932: 134) to assume a gap of only one letter; an approach followed in all subsequent quotations of the inscription (e. g. Brixhe 1997: 58: “une lacune courte”). However, in view of Hogarth's copy and description of the monument, we should reckon with a gap of more than one letter between]ΣΝΙΟ[and]]ΑΙ παρτης.

§ 4. *A Neo-Phrygian apodosis involving ουελασκε/ο- and παρτης*

Through these improved readings it has become clear that we are dealing with a hitherto undiscovered Neo-Phrygian curse formula:

No. 87: ουελασκε|του κε ισνου ασ²τοι παρτης

No. 42: ο[υ]ελασκοννου κε ισνιο[υ² - - -] | (vac.)² ΑΙ (vac.)² παρτης

No. 120: ουελασκοννου κ ΗΝΚ[[- - -]Υ[ca. 4]Ν[1-2]ΒΕ[.]ΑΙ κε παρτης
ΒΕΚΟ[.]²

Through the forms ουελασκετου and ουελασκοννου, a somewhat certain attestation of a Phrygian thematic verbal stem is attested for the first time. This stem with its -σκ- is reminiscent of a **ske*-present, which perfectly fits with its thematic inflection. As for the involved root or derivational base, no “etymology” is immediately evident, given our general lack of understanding of the formula. Particularly

9. Neo-Phrygian $\alpha\iota$, perhaps also Old Phrygian $\alpha\upsilon$ (but this seems even less certain), occur in contexts that are either obscure or heavily damaged, i.e., in most cases the reading and segmentation of the words is unclear. In no. 64, which is very fragmentary but provides the perhaps most trustworthy occurrence of $\alpha\iota$, the particle seems to mean “if” rather than “or”.

striking is the fact that all three inscriptions also contain the rare form *παρτης*, which is otherwise only attested in no. 118.¹⁰ This helps to support the view that nos. 42, 87 and 120 belong together.

By comparing the three inscriptions, we may observe that the *ουελασκετου* formula never follows the protasis immediately; there seems to be always at least one apodosis of another type preceding it. Being the first word of the clause, *ουελασκετου/ουελασκοννου* is therefore always followed by a *κε* that links the new apodosis to the preceding one.

What follows after *ουελασκετου/-οννου κε* is less clear, since in two out of three inscriptions, the crucial part is damaged. Further common elements seem to be *παρτης*, and a form that appears as *ισνου* in no. 87 and *ισνιο[* in Hogarth’s copy of no. 42, and might have been part of the damaged passage in no. 120. The second *ι* in *ισνιο[* could be a mistake by Hogarth, or (if it really was a letter on the stone) by the stonemason. The form *ισνου* has traditionally been identified with *ιυνου* (no. 71), which is thought to be the 3rd plural imperative of the copula. If this is correct, the group *-σν-* would have been simplified to *-νν-* in no. 71. The same might perhaps apply to a possible *ειννου* in no. 12, which is, however, far from being ascertained.¹¹ It seems somewhat suspect that in the Neo-Phrygian texts known so far, *-σν-* appears in the formula discussed here and *-νν-* elsewhere: An identification of *ισνου* with *ιυνου* would therefore be premature. Nonetheless, it appears probable that *ισνου* is a third plural imperative, given the fact that the number switches to plural in two of three texts already in the form *ουελασκοννου*. We should take into account the possibility of *ισνου* and *ιυνου* belonging to different verbal roots.

No. 87 so far provides both the shortest and best preserved version of the new formula. Judging from this inscription alone, the curse seems to consist of more than one clause, *ουελασκετου κε* being immediately followed by the form *ισνου* discussed above, thus possibly a third plural imperative of the copula. However, when a curse consists of several clauses, they are usually linked together with *κε*, which is missing after *ισνου* in no. 87. In other words, *ισνου* has either been misin-

10. In a provisional continuation of the traditional numbering, which shall be replaced in a future corpus of Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, other scholars and I assigned the no. 118 to an inscription from Işıklar that is only known from a photograph published in Mitchell (1993); see also Obrador-Cursach (2020: 554), who lists it as no. 22.2.

11. See Calder (1913: 102) and below (“appendix”).

terpreted and is not a verb,¹² or we are facing an *asyndeton* here, which would be unusual.

Hence, there are two possibilities:

1. The new formula consists of two clauses, which are placed together asyndetically in no. 87 (whereas $\kappa\epsilon$ might have been lost in the damaged parts of 42 and 120). In this case, $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\upsilon/-\sigma\nu\nu$ would be a clause of its own, meaning “and he/they shall $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon/o-$ ”. In no. 87, the remaining part then consists of the words $\iota\sigma\nu\upsilon$ $\alpha\sigma\tau\iota$ (or $\alpha\sigma\tau\iota$) $\pi\alpha\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$, which, if the traditional interpretation of $\iota\sigma\nu\upsilon$ is correct, would be a copula sentence in the 3rd plural imperative, meaning “the $\alpha\sigma\tau\iota$ shall be $\pi\alpha\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$ ”, or (if $\alpha\sigma\tau\iota$ is the correct reading) “they shall be $\pi\alpha\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$ themselves”.

2. Perhaps $\iota\sigma\nu\upsilon$ is not a verb, and therefore not the same form as $\iota\nu\nu\upsilon$ (no. 71) and possible $\epsilon\iota\nu\nu\upsilon$ (no. 12). In this case, the new formula attested in no. 87 would consist of one clause, of which $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\upsilon$ would be the predicate. The role, lexical category and meaning of $\iota\sigma\nu\upsilon$ would then be unclear, as well as the formula’s syntactic structure.

It is an interesting feature of this new Neo-Phrygian curse formula that in two instances out of three, the number switches to plural. Since plural forms are otherwise extremely rare in Neo-Phrygian apodoses (apart from $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\nu$, only the form $\iota\nu\nu\upsilon$ in no. 71 may be regarded as certain), we may assume that the formula’s affinity to plural has to do with its specific content. Perhaps it is particularly evident or important that the action or state of $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon/o-$ etc. affects not only the desecrator, but their entire family. However, as long as we do not understand the content, further reasoning about this topic appears to be pointless.

We will have to wait for the discovery of some better preserved specimens of this formula to obtain a more precise analysis of its structure and meaning.

§ 5. *Appendix: A list of ‘ghost words’ mentioned or unmasked in this paper*

† $\epsilon\iota\tau\tau\nu\upsilon$ and † $\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\tau\tau\nu\upsilon$ or † $\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\tau\tau\nu\upsilon$, allegedly attested in nos. 12 and 30, have been recognized as ghost words long ago: On the “attestation” in 12, see Cal-

12. Note that no. 71, which furnishes the only independent *and* certain attestation of the 3rd pl. copula imperative, has $\iota\nu\nu\upsilon$; no. 12 might have had $\epsilon\iota\nu\nu\upsilon$ (see Calder 1913: 102), but this is uncertain. In other words, the form with $-\sigma\nu-$ is found in the texts treated here, whereas $-\nu\nu-$ occurs in other inscriptions. We might perhaps be dealing with two different forms/verbs.

der (1913: 102); on 30, Calder (1911: 178). While the end of 30 is hopelessly corrupt, Calder (1913: 102) has proposed a reading (αδ)ειπνου for 12, which might well be correct in view of ιπνου (no. 71), but so far lacks direct confirmation from other inscriptions. Despite these facts, the justified doubts about †(αυ/αδ)ειπνου have received little attention by the scholarly community; instead, those writing on Phrygian would quote them for decades as alternative plural forms of the copula besides ισνου/ιπνου. Thus, although it doubtlessly is W. M. Calder who deserves the credits of unmasking this ghost word, it seems necessary to repeat his statement here. Consequently, there is no Phrygian “3rd pl. imperative” in †-τπνου; instead, as shown in this article, an ending -ννου is attested in the thematic form ουελασκοννου, while ιπνου and perhaps also ισνου may be considered athematic examples. The -ννου in ουελασκοννου and ιπνου may be derived from **-ntōd*; the implied sound change **-nt- > -nn-* is perfectly in line with the 3rd plural subjunctive form δεδασσιννι, where -ννι goes back to **-nti*.¹³

The assumption of some scholars that **-nt- > -nn-* in Phrygian thus loses its grounds, since it was based upon the existence of †-τπνου.

†**κοννου**, attested in 42 and 120, hitherto taken for a noun in the genitive or dative, really is the final part of the third plural imperative ουελασκοννου. Note further that, since we “lost” the “syntagm” †με κοννου in 42, there is currently no ascertained attestation of the Phrygian preposition με with a thematic singular. I will show in my forthcoming work that in some instances (18, 86, 99, 111), με is the prohibitive negation, thus not a preposition. The reading and word separation με ονομανιας in no. 116 (Brixhe and Neumann 1985: 168, 173) is not entirely certain, and if it is correct, we still do not know the case and number of the form ονομανιας.

†**ουελας**, attested in 87, 120, and (as shown here) to be read also in 42, hitherto taken for an *a*-stem noun in the genitive, really is the beginning of the verbal stem ουελασκε/ο-. The only ascertained Neo-Phrygian form ending in -ας (put aside the preposition ας, on which see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 183) is therefore (α)τεαμας, attested in nos. 14, 87 (as ταμας), 112 and 115. The same word ending in -α is attested in nos. 18 and 131 (no. 6.2 in Obrador-Cursach 2020: 532). If our proposed reading of no. 120 is correct, a variant ατεαμαις also exists; cf. the possible forms ονομανιας and ονομανιας in no. 116. The relations between these possible variants remain unclear. We do not know what stem class ατεαμα(ι)ς belongs to.

13. On these forms, see Hämmig (forthcoming) and Obrador-Cursach (2020: 100).

†**του**, taken to be a word of its own in 87, and hitherto considered a form of the pronominal stem **to-*, really is the third singular imperative ending.

The elimination of this small form from our Phrygian vocabulary casts doubt on some more established views. Old Phrygian *tovo* (G-02) seems to be isolated correctly (cf. P-04b, where a sequence *kakuioi* appears that is usually identified with the sequence *kakoioi* next to *tovo* in G-02), but its interpretation as a gen. sg. of the pronominal stem **to-*, which was partially based upon a comparison with the ghost word †**του**, should be given up now.

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The gods of the Phrygian inscriptions

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§ 1. *Introduction*

In Greek and Roman antiquity, Phrygians were constantly mentioned. While epic and tragic poets spread their name (very often without proper use),¹ slavery routes led to the presence of Phrygian men and women in the heart of Greek and Roman territories.² Moreover, Phrygians and their culture were also reported through the Orientalism *avant la lettre* of the so-called classical civilizations. Together with the Phrygian imagery established by Greco-Roman sources, some gods

* I promised to address this topic some time ago (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 118 fn. 68). A very early draft of this paper was presented at the third MediterráneoS international conference organized by the Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo – CSIC (Madrid, 2016) with the title ‘El panteón de las inscripciones frigias.’ However, I decided against publishing it in the conference proceeding because I was unable to reduce the length of the paper to fit into the space provided. In any case, our general knowledge of Phrygians and the Phrygian language is significantly better than it was years ago and I have changed my view on some points. I thank Diego Corral Varela and Ignasi-Xavier Adiego for their patience while reading the manuscript.

1. See Strabo’s eloquent view on this issue: οἱ ποιηταὶ δὲ μάλιστα οἱ τραγικοὶ συγχέοντες τὰ ἔθνη, καθάπερ τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς Φρύγας προσαγορεύουσιν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Λυκίους Κᾶρας ‘The poets, however, and especially the tragic poets, confuse the tribes, as, for example, the Trojans and the Mysians and the Lydians, whom they call Phrygians; and likewise the Lycians, whom they call Carians’ (Strabo 14.3.3, translated by H. L. Jones).

2. Note, for example, the case of Athens: ‘Athenian slaveholders were virtually next door to their suppliers, resulting in relatively short supply chains and low transport costs. Slaves came from all manner of places, but the chief sources were Phrygia and Thrace’ (Lewis 2018: 170).

considered to be Phrygian in origin, mainly the well-known Cybele, also spread all over the classical world and were incorporated into classical mythology.

The reception of the Mother Goddess in Rome is a frequently discussed topic³ and the survival of Phrygian gods in Hellenistic and Roman Phrygia is a productive field exploited by Hellenists devoted to Anatolia. Some authors have also addressed the Phrygian background of the Mother Goddess, a prominent example being a monograph by Lynn E. Roller (1999). Nevertheless, to learn more about Phrygian gods other than *Matar*, the academic literature is honestly poor. Gian Franco Chiai has recently published a monograph on the gods attested in Phrygia from the Bronze age to Christianization (Chiai 2020). While his thorough approach to Greek sources makes the book a milestone in the Hellenistic and Roman period field, Phrygian testimonies are largely ignored, except those reporting *Matar*. Beyond some isolated accounts of other Phrygian gods,⁴ the literature available could lead one to erroneously consider Phrygian religion as an example of henotheism.

This paper seeks to fill the gap in critical analyses of gods in Phrygian inscriptions and to go further than the accounts available on this topic. My intention here is to provide a comprehensive overview of what direct sources, i.e., Phrygian inscriptions, tell us about the Phrygian pantheon. By Phrygian inscriptions, I refer exclusively to inscriptions written in the Phrygian language, not Greek inscriptions from Phrygia. These two concepts are all too often confused, especially from the Greek perspective. Of course, I have taken advantage of Greek sources (including epigraphy and literary sources) to complete or, at least, complement the fragmentary information left by the Phrygians. In any case, I have tried to explicitly distinguish between Phrygian data and Greek reception and to put the inscriptions into context wherever possible. My main source was the catalog of Old Phrygian inscriptions I compiled for my monograph on the Phrygian language (Obrador-Cursach 2020), with some later finds, but I also considered New Phrygian inscriptions. In addition, the limited knowledge of Phrygian and the written corpus available in this language mean that most of my observations are linguistic in nature and seek to provide anyone interested in this topic with more in-depth information.

3. On the reception of Cybele in Greece, see Vikela (2020). In the case of Rome, see the splendid monography by Van Haepere (2019), which also analyzes the priest of the Mother Goddess in Rome.

4. In the following pages, I will provide nearly exhaustive references to Phrygian gods (excluding *Matar*). Note that Oreshko (2021: 134–137) offers a quick overview.

§ 2. *Matar*

Matar is the most commonly documented divinity in the Old Phrygian corpus. Up to 11 inscriptions contain this theonym. Its meaning ‘mother’ is clear to us, since this word lies at the core of kinship terms in Indo-European languages (**méh₂tēr* > Latin *māter*, Sanskrit *mātr̥*, Tocharian A *mācar*, Gothic *mōdar*, etc.) and has been adapted in Greek inscriptions from Phrygia as Μητήρ.⁵ Its inflection is also almost complete (the genitive is lacking): nominative *matar* (W-04, W-06, B-01), accusative *materan* (M-01dI, W-01a) and dative *materey* (M-01e, W-01b twice).⁶ The name is often followed by an epithet, some of which are discussed below. However, in some cases, the name *Matar* stands alone. All Old Phrygian instances were engraved on rock-cut monuments of several types: façades (three times in W-01, W-05b and on the niche of the so-called Midas façade, M-01c I, M-01d I, and M-01d II and M-01e), simple niches (W-04, W-06, B-01 in fact beside the niche) or non-worked rocks (B-08). These inscriptions identify the monuments as being devoted to the Mother Goddess, although most were accompanied by a relief (perhaps called *vrekun* in W-01) or statuette (called *bevδος* in B-01). Unfortunately, the representations related to Old Phrygian inscriptions did not survive. In any case, there are several representations of the goddess in detailed anthropomorphic form (usually as a mural-crowned woman sitting on a throne or standing with a falcon in her left hand or a tympanum and a cultic kind of vase in her right hand, often accompanied by a lion) or as the semi-iconic version called ‘idol’ (this can be single, double or triple; see Figure 1). Note that these inscriptions correspond to the Lydian and Achaemenid rule over Phrygia.

5. *Interpretatio*, syncretism and other phenomena found in multiethnic territories fall outside the scope of this paper.

6. One should add the following restored or fragmentary testimonies to these forms: [*mata*]r B-08, *matera*[*n*?] M-01d II, *matēr*[---] M-01c and *matē*[...] W-05b.



Figure 1. One of the two idols found at the monumental entrance to the palatial complex at Kerkenes Dağ. Taken from Summers (2018: 105, Fig. 7, image by Ali Çınk)ı

The inscriptions devoted to *Matar* offer more information about the promoters of the inscriptions than about the goddess herself. This is the case with the main façade of Yazılıkaya (the so-called Midas city, Eskişehir Province), which has been famous since the early stages of Phrygian studies because the main inscription mentions a king called Midas: *ates arkievais akenanogavos midai lavagtaei vanaktai edaes* ‘Ates the son of Archias, the *akenanogavos*, made (it) for Midas the leader (and) the king’ (M-01a). Although the inscription can be understood, it is quite puzzling that the text is dedicated to Midas (whichever of the attested kings called Midas it refers to), while the monument is clearly devoted to *Matar*. He is mentioned as a human ruler, but the monument dates from later (‘[s]econd quarter of 6th century BC, but earlier than 550 BC,’ Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 233) than the last Midas’ reign (Midas IV, the grandfather of Adrastus, ruled c. 600, according to Herodotus 1.35, cf. Berndt-Ersöz 2008: 1–2). It is possible that the promoter (Ates) wanted to connect his work with an eminent ruler. A second inscription refers only to another work on the façade: *baba memevais proitavos kΦiyanaveyos si keneman edaes* ‘Baba the son of Meme(s), the *proitavos*, the *kΦiyanaveyos*, made this niche.’ Inside this niche, an image of *Matar* was worshipped, as in other instances, and fewer monumental inscriptions refer to the presence of the goddess: M-01c *mater..* (I) *atatas mʹonokaua* (II), M-01d *midas sʹmateran tvemes eneparkesʹ*

‘Midas engraved this mother goddess *tvemes*’ and M-01e .. *a o.. m̄aterey . ag²a ...*⁷
The whole shrine of Yazılıkaya is full of monuments devoted to the Mother Goddess, but she is not mentioned again here until the Hellenistic period under the name (in Greek) of Μητήρ Ἀγδίστις (see below §1.4.1).

Not far from Yazılıkaya, there is another rock-cut façade with an inscription that mentions the goddess three times: *materan areyastin | bonok akenanogavos | vrekun tedatoy yos tutut ...a.m.noy akenanogavos | aey* ‘Bonok, the *akenanogavos*, made this Mother Goddess as his *idol*⁷. Who...’ (W-01a), *yos esai=t materey evetekseti²y ovevin onoman daYet la|kedo key venavtun avtay materey* ‘Whoever puts his own name in this mother *evetekseti²y*, let him be taken by the Mother Goddess herself’ (W-01b).

Here the relief of the goddess (*vrekun*), called by her local name *Matar* **Areyastis*, is said to be an artwork promoted by a man called Bonok the *akenanogavos*. The second part (W-01b) shows the same goddess (*avtay materey*) as the protector of her monument against usurpations. In the first text, the goddess bears the epithet *Areyastin* (accusative), while in the second part of the W-01 inscription, she seems to be called *evetekseti²y* (but see below §1.4.). Another attestation of *matar* is engraved in another rock-cut façade at Mal Taş. However, its inscription has been extensively eroded: []*nst[e]daes por m̄at̄e[...]* (W-05). The same can be said about W-06, another eroded inscription on a façade: [-?]- *matar* [-?]-.

The three remaining attestations of *Matar* are followed by the epithet *kubeleya* (on which see below §1.1.). W-04 is an inscription on a step monument with a niche located in Ayazini (see Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 245–246). Unfortunately, only the theonym remains intelligible: *matar kubileya [---]toy|en*. The other two inscriptions were in the mountains near Germanos-Soğukçam (Bolu Province). The first inscription on this site, B-01, is one of the longest Phrygian texts and was also attached to a niche dating from 550–330 BC and carved on a conical-shaped rock (see Figure 2):⁸

si bevdos adi..[.]
kayarmoyo imroy edaes etoves niyo[y²]
matar kubeleya ibey a duman ektetoy

7. A niche in the rock to the left of the façade contains another cryptic inscription, M-01f. Although there is no mention of the goddess, it is possible to distinguish an offering (*totin*).

8. Some years ago, the monument was vandalized, and the inscription has been completely lost.

- 4 *yos tivo [t]a spereta ayni kin tel'emi*
[..]toyo[.]is [.]erktevoys ekey da[b]ati
opito [k]ey oy evememesmeneya anato [.]?
kavarmoyun matar otekonov [.]?
- 8 *kesiti oyvos aey apaktneni*
pakray evkobeyan epaktoy

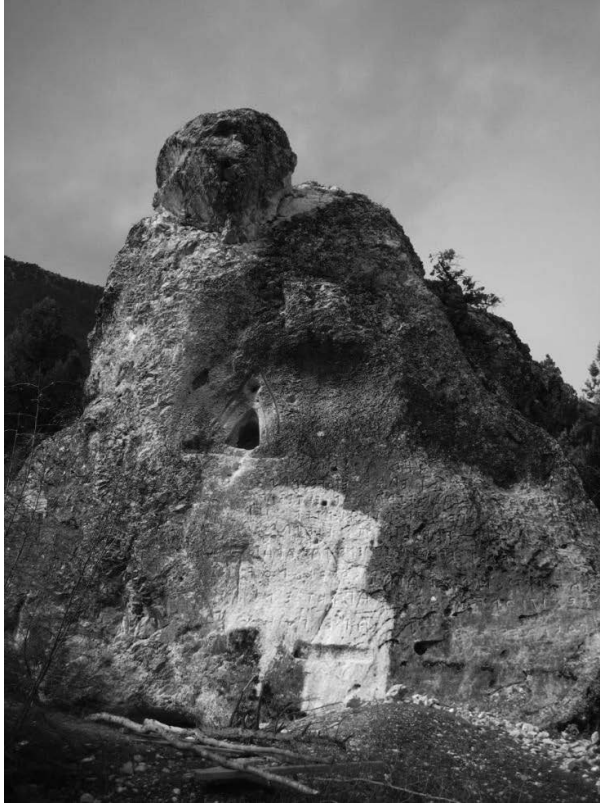


Figure 2. The Türbe Önü or Yazılı Kaya on a mountain near Germanos-Soğukçam. This is a conical-shaped rock with the inscription B-01, devoted to *Matar Kubeleya*, under a triangular niche. The inscription has been destroyed. Photography: Anadolu Yazıları

Unfortunately, it remains too cryptic to offer any information about the context as a whole; one can understand only that there was a statue (*bevdos*), probably of *Matar Kubeleya*, perhaps donated (*etoves*) by the religious community (*duman*). It is worth mentioning that *evememesmeneya* (1.6, see below §1.3.) has also been considered an epithet for *Matar*, although it would be the only time it had not been introduced by the generic *Matar*.

The last document of the *Matar* dossier is B-08. It was recently incorporated into the corpus (Brixhe and Vottéro 2016) after being found around a hundred meters from B-01. The inscription was engraved on the rock with large letters. However, it moved, possibly following an earthquake, and remains in a vulnerable position (it was badly eroded, according to the first editors). Despite the fact that little is legible, the relationship with B-01 is clear. Although the texts are different, most words in B-08 are also visible in B-01:

I

[---]
 [---] *ḱavarmoyo* [---]
 [---] *epav²es niyoy* [---]
 [--- *mata*]r *ḱubeley*[a ---]

II

si tadila[---]
 [---] *bevdos key* [---]
 [---] *key dabati* [---]
 [---]
 [-?]

During the Iron Age, the theonym *Matar* was relatively well documented to the west of the Phrygian cultural area. In fact, it is the most commonly written theonym in the Old Phrygian subcorpus. That said, representations of goddesses in the central and eastern territories of Phrygia are considered to be representations of *Matar* after the iconography, but we are uncertain what the main goddess of Gordion was called, although *Matar* is the best, if not only, candidate.

The scenario is completely different in the New Phrygian subcorpus. The word *ματαρ* may occur twice, but the legible parts of the two inscriptions are problematic. The first is the larger New Phrygian inscription, from Bayat (11.2 = 18). As with most texts from this period, it contains a closing imprecation against desecrators (l. 6–10), but also an unparalleled introduction to the monument. Although

it had been badly eroded when it was found, Ramsay, the first editor, made a squeeze. A revision of the first part of the text (l.1–6), which contains a possible reference to *Matar* (l.4), may enhance the reading and comprehension process. The whole inscription with the current reading is as follows:

- [---]οι κνουμα ετι δεαδαμανκα-
 ν μιμογαδισ ακε²νικου οκαυγοσι
 μιδακας δαδου λευκιωι δακαρ
 4 λευκις μιμογας κε ματαρ ευγεξα-
 ρναι κ'οτ ατιμα κνουμεν ταν ε-
 [.]τας ται κολταμανει ιος νι ουκρα-
 ον λατομειον εγδαες μουρσα
 8 αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ-
 ακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα, βε(κ)ο-
 ς ιοι με τοτοσσειτι σαρναν

Lines 6–10 contain two imprecative apodoses, but the meaning of the first, ιος ουκρα|ον λατομειον εγδαες μουρσα, remains unclear; the only part we understand with certainty is the relative pronoun ιος ‘who’ (in nominative singular) and the noun λατομειον ‘grave’ (in accusative singular, a Greek borrowing from λατομειον; the funerary meaning is attested in Perinthos, Robert 1974, 238–239). The word ουκρα|ον seems to be an adjective qualifying λατομειον and εγδαες, a verb in the third person singular. The second apodosis (l. 8–9) is clearer and can be roughly translated as ‘or who does harm to this tomb or stele, let Sarnan not give him bread.’ In the first part, there is a man called Λεύκις (l. 3 in dative, l. 4 in nominative), but we are unsure if ματαρ here is a plain kinship term ‘mother’ or refers to the divinity. At least ευγεξαρναι may have a relationship (perhaps as a theophoric name) with the god σαρναν in l. 10. The interpretation of this part of the text remains open.

The second occurrence of ματαρ in the New Phrygian subcorpus is no clearer. Inscription 19.2 (129) was found in the Ahmet Karahisar campus of the Kocatepe University at Afyon-Karahisar, Sülün (ancient Prymnessos). Of the original text, only the beginning of the closing curse remains:

ιος νι σα ματ[?][ε]-
 ρε κακον αββε-
 ρετοι αινι σερ[?]-
 4 οα, τος νι με
 ζεμελω[ς]
 [---]

‘Whoever does harm to this mother or to Serva, [let] him ... in the sight of me[n...].’

The objects to be protected by the curse are problematic. The word σερ[?]οα may be a personal name, Serva, and seems to be the same word attested in Old Phrygian as *servas* (G-130), if the New Phrygian word is not a Latin borrowing from *serua* ‘female slave.’ The most problematic part is ματ[?][ε]ρε. It is a clear dative singular, but the lexical identification is problematic. The reading ματ[?][ε]ρε was suggested by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2018: 1825, without any remarks on the context) and is coherent with the Old Phrygian *materey* (M-01e, W-01b). However, we are unsure if there is a representation of *Matar* to be preserved or the word refers to the mother or a person called *Serva(s)*.

Even with the problems relating to New Phrygian inscriptions, it is clear that the cult of *Matar*, as shown by the Phrygian inscription, was prominent in the western territories in official monuments during the second half of the 6th century BC (the end of the Middle Phrygian period in archaeological terms). However, its absence in New Phrygian curses, surprising in comparison to Greek data from the Imperial period when Μήτηρ is found elsewhere, may be explained by the bias of having only one type of text.

§ 2.1. *Matar Kubeleya*

As mentioned above, the epithet *Kubeleya* occurs three times in the Phrygian corpus and only to the west of the Phrygian cultural territory. In fact, only two locations bear this Phrygian theonym: Ayazini (W-04) and the mountains near Germanos-Soğukçam (B-01 and B-08). In contrast to the distribution of this theonym in the Greek world, it seems clear that, from a Phrygian perspective, it was a local cult. Despite its Phrygian origin, the earliest attestation of the name occurs on a vase written in Greek found in Locri Epizephyrii (Calabria, Italy): [- - -]ς Κυβάλας. The inscription, dating from the first half of the 6th century BC, contains the name in genitive with the dialectical peculiarity of the shift ελ > αλ (cf. Δαλφοι

for Δελφοί, see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 281, with references). In any case, the most common adaptation of *Kubeleya* in Greek is Κυβέλη, with the contraction *-eya* > -η, as in Attic Ἀθηναία > Ἀθήνη ‘Athena,’ although there are some relics of the name without a contraction: Ματρὶ Κυβελείᾳ in a votive inscription from Bulgaria (4th century BC; Nessebar Museum, inv. no. 1354) and Μητρὶ Κυβελείῃ, in Ionian, in an inscription from Chios (no. 137, undated).

With respect to the formation, *kubeleya* is a clear adjective with *-eyo-* added to *kub(-)el-*. According to Brixhe (1979), this epithet may stem from the Phrygian noun for ‘mountain’ (consequently, Μήτηρ Ὀρεία ‘Mountain Mother’ would be the exact Greek rendering of Phrygian, *Matar Kubeleya*), but it might refer to the mountain(s) where the goddess was worshipped, as reported in some Greek and Latin sources: κ[αὶ] ἄγαλμα | [Θ]εῶν Μητρὸς ἐφάνη ἐγ Κυβέλοις ‘[and the statue] of the Mother of the Gods appeared in Cybele’ (*Marmor Parium* §11), γήμαντα δὲ Δινδύμην γεννῆσαι μὲν παιδίον θῆλυ, τρέφειν δ’ αὐτὸ μὴ βουλόμενον εἰς ὄρος ἐκθεῖναι τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Κύβελον [...] καὶ προσαγορευθεῖσαι Κυβέλην ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ‘and [Meion] marrying Dindymê he begat an infant daughter, but being unwilling to rear her he exposed her on the mountain which was called Cybelus [...] and called her Cybelê after the name of the place’ (Diodorus of Sicily 12.5.3, translation by C. H. Oldfather); ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρος ὑπερκείμενον τῆς πόλεως τὸ Δίνδυμον, ἀφ’ οὗ ἡ Δινδυμηγή, καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῶν Κυβέλων ἢ Κυβέλη ‘there is also a mountain situated above the city, Dindymum, after which the country Dindymenê was named, just as Cybelê was named after Cybela’ (Strabo 12.5.3); Κύβελαι ὄρη Φρυγίας. καὶ ἄντρα. καὶ θάλαμοι ‘κ.: Phrygian mountains. Also, caves⁹ and chambers’ (Hesychius κ 4363); *Inter, ait, uiridem Cybelen altasques Celaenas | amnis it insana, nomine Gallus, aqua. qui bibit inde, furit* ‘[Erato] said: ‘Between green Cybele and high Celaenae, there flows a river with insane water, called Gallus. Its taste causes madness’ (Ovid *Fasti* 4.363–365, translation by A. J. Boyle); *ad Cuballum, Gallograeciae castellum, castra habentibus Romanis* ‘while the Romans were encamped near Cuballum, a fortress of Galatia’ (Livy 38.18.5). Therefore, it seems quite likely that *kubeleya* means ‘she from the (mount(s)) kybelon’ and, accordingly, a mountain or mountains called *kubelon* or *kubela* actually existed. In light of the locations where the Old Phrygian *kubeleya* is attested, such mountain(s) could be identified with the shrine on the mountains of Germanos-Soğukçam, attested by inscriptions B-01 and B-08. Of course, from a Greco-Roman perspective,

9. At this point, it would be interesting to point out the existence of Μήτηρ ἀπὸ Σπηλῆου ‘Mother of the cave’, with a sanctuary in a cave identified by Frei NE of Dorylaion (Frei 1983: 58–59).

it could be considered a very humble sanctuary,¹⁰ even more so when compared with the later, more sumptuous Hellenistic complex at Pessinus. However, we are dealing with different chronological periods, with different cultural dynamics and distant territories. We are uncertain when the worship of *Matar* in Pessinus started, but there is no evidence prior to the 4th century. In a well-known passage (12.5.3), Strabo considered that Midas built the first temple dedicated to the goddess in Pessinus, where ancient Phrygian dynasties worshipped, but current scholars have concluded that this piece of information ‘is very likely a product of a reshaped past, fabricated in the Hellenistic period in order to legitimize the rule of new powers’ (Verlinde 2015: 71). On the whole, Germanos-Soğukçam is the best candidate for the earliest shrine to *Matar Kubeleya*, although it must be treated as a mere hypothesis until explicit evidence or new data becomes available.

In any case, the connection between Soğukçam and *Matar* may also be related to hot springs, which are very common in the whole of Bolu province. In fact, the heteronym of the Turkish villa, Germanos, can easily be explained as the Greek adaptation of the Phrygian **germā*, derived from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) **g^{wh}er-mo-*, as in the Greek θερμός ‘warm’, Armenian *jerm* ‘warm’ and Albanian *zjarm*, *zjarr* ‘heat’ (Obrador Cursach 2020: 73–74 fn. 11, with references). The word occurs only in toponyms from Mysia and Galatia, but the presence of a voiced stop makes the etymology highly likely: Γέρμα (Galatia), Γέρμη (Mysia), *Germe* (Mysia), Γέρμη|α| (Galatia, see KON 138–139 §204). Note also the existence of Μητήρ Θερμηνή, attested at Nakoleia (MAMA V 188 no. 4).¹¹ The toponym that forms the basis of the goddess’ epithet is clearly Greek in formation, based on θερμή ‘heat; (in plural) hot springs’, the cognate of the assumed Phrygian **germa*. The goddess’ epithet derives from a place name called ‘hot springs,’ but the meaning of the toponym is too evident to connect the goddess with this natural phenomenon, although a second god was also worshipped by the citizens of this village (the Θερμηνοὶ MAMA X 443): the Θεὸς Πάτριος [...] Θερμηνῶν γαίης ‘the native god of the land of the Thermonoi’ (IMT Olympene 2693) and Θεὸς Ὑψιστος Ἐπίκοος ‘The Highest God who listens to (the prayers)’ (MAMA X 443). It may be a coincidence, but the presence of a shrine in the area Germanos

10. We know little about the site: ‘[i]t has been suggested that the settlement at Germanos was a military fortress controlling the passage to the north,’ ‘traces of walls and Phrygian sherds were observed on a kale close to the niche’ (Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 7 and 8, with references). Note that we are now aware of a second important inscription (B-08).

11. A common vow dating from the Imperial period: Μαρκιανή | Μαξίμα ὑ|πὲρ Ἀμφείο|νος Μητρὶ | Θερμηνῆ | εὐχὴν ‘Markiane Maxima (made) a vow to the Thermian Mother for Amphion.’

and the Μήτηρ Θερμινή points to a relationship between the Mother Goddess and hot springs.¹²

Until now, I have avoided one of the key questions addressed by scholars: the relationship between *Kubeleya* and *Kubaba*. *Kubaba* is a well-known Syrian goddess who originated in Karkemish (where she was the city's goddess during the Old Assyrian period) and spread across the Anatolian world and survived in Lydian until the Achaemenid period. Indeed, the similarity of their names (both starting with *kub-*), their feminine gender, the presence of *Kubaba* in Sardis (called *kufaw* in LW 4a and *kuwaw* in LW 7 and Κυβήβη by Herodotus 5.102.1, who reported the burning of her temple) and the early attestation of *Kubaba* on another vase with a Greek inscription found in Locri Epizephyrii (ἐν Q<υ>βάβας SEG 49.1357) have led some scholars to speculate about a shared origin for both goddesses. Here, we must separate the etymological identification of the two goddesses from the identification between the divinities bearing it. In any case, despite the gaps, it seems quite clear that *Kubaba* and *Kubeleya* do not share a similar divine origin, although the beginning of the names is similar, a detail that could have led the Greeks and Romans to use the names interchangeably.¹³ Moreover, we do not know the etymology of the two names or, worse still, the language in which *Kubaba* and *Kubeleya* were created.

With respect to *kubeleya*, one can only assume that its root is not a Phrygian inherited word; a form **kub^h-*, which could be suggested by internal reconstruction, has not been suggested for PIE, but **kub-* would be expected to become **kup-* in Phrygian. Oreshko (2021: 144–148) recently connected Phrygian *kubeleya* with the PIE word **g^heb^h-/-* (he quotes **g^heb^h-al-*) ‘head,’ as found in Greek κεφαλή ‘head,’ Tocharian (A and B) *śpāl* ‘head’ and some Germanic words for ‘skull’ (Old High German *gebal* and *gibilla*) and ‘front’ (Old High German *gibil* and Gothic *gibla*). However, this scenario for *kubeleya* would require Grassmann's law to apply to Phrygian, which is refuted by the Old Phrygian word *bevδος* ‘statue,’¹⁴ and would force the shift **e > u*, which is completely unheard of in Phrygian. On the whole, the most likely scenario for *kubeleya* is a Phrygian formation (the presence of the

12. See Κρανομεγαληνή (§1.4.2.) for another connection between water and the goddess.

13. This is the case of Catullus in his long poem 63, where *Cybēbē* (v. 9, 20, 35, 84 and 91) and *Cybelēs* (v. 12, 68 and 76) occur in relation to the same goddess.

14. According to Lubotsky (2008), B-01 *bevδος* (borrowed by Greek as βεῦδος) originates from PIE **b^heyd^h-os-* ‘perception,’ derived from the root **b^heyd^h-* (LIV² 82–83) found, for example, in the Greek ἀπευθής ‘ignorant’ or Avestan *baodah-* ‘perception.’ The preservation of the two stops in *bevδος* as voiced suggests that the so-called Grassmann's law did not apply to Phrygian.

suffix *-eyo-*) based on a pre-Phrygian (whatever this label means) oronym (*Kubel-*). It is worth remarking that *kubeleya* never occurs as an independent theonym in Phrygian and that Kubaba is never called ‘mother.’ Unfortunately, the attractive PIE extended root **keu-b- / *ku-b-*, used for any curved object (including caverns and mountains), occurs in many languages and points to one possible source for the Phrygian oronym. Moreover, one must keep in mind that the sequence **kub-* is also extremely common outside Indo-European languages to exclude any possible source. In any case, I am uncertain whether there is any evidence connecting **kub-* in *kubeleya* to *Kubaba*.

§ 2.2. *Areyastin*

Despite being a hapax, *areyastin* (W-01a, accusative singular) is a very interesting epithet. It is found on the façade on which inscriptions W-01 were engraved (Figure 3), not far from Yazılıkaya. As mentioned above, it also occurs in a description of the circumstances of the monument. The structure of this epithet has a good parallel in Ἄγδιστις, an epithet attested by many Greek texts, especially in the above-mentioned sanctuary (see below §1.4.1.), and reveals the following morphological boundaries: **areya-st-is*.¹⁵ This leaves the basis *Areya-*, which has been compared¹⁶ to Luwian **ariyatt(i)-* ‘elevation, mountain,’ a derivative of *ari(ya)-* ‘raise; check, restrain.’ It would be a very interesting substrate word, whether *areya-* referred to the specific hill where the façade was cut out or was a generic word for ‘hill.’ However, the presence of *-st-* rules out a direct borrowing from **ariyatt(i)-*, although *Areya-* could be a pre-Phrygian oronym (similar to the inferred basis of *kubeleya*), perhaps derived from the same Luwian root (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 181), or else a lexical borrowing in the case of a generic meaning.

15. Here, I reconstruct the nominative. The Phrygian masculine form of adjectives and names in *-st-is* seems to be *-st-os*, as in *surgastoy* (Dd-102; compare also with the Lydian personal name *šrkaštus* LW11, also as an adjective *šrkaštuliš* LW 103, and the epithet of Ζεὺς Σουργαστής or Σουργαστειός, cf. Avram 2016: 72-74); see also the PN Νενεστος (KPN 357 §1025, from West Phrygia).

16. An initial proposal can be found in Berndt-Ersöz (2006: 84), reviewed by Yakubovich (2007: 143).



Figure 3. The Areyastis monument, a façade containing the Old Phrygian inscriptions W-01. Note the conical shape of the rock, like that of B-01

On the same façade, W-01b curses any desecrator of the monument. This is relevant here, because its imprecation is considered to contain a second epithet of *Matar* in dative agreement: *materey eveteksete'y*. This interpretation of Lubotsky suggests the presence of the prefix *ev(e)-* ‘well’ (cognate of Greek *εὖ-* and Sanskrit *va-*; Lubotsky 1988: 20). Although this is a common interpretation and the meaning ‘well-parturient’ due to its association with the PIE root **tek-* ‘to sire, beget’ (LIV² 618; Gr. τίττω ‘beget, give birth to, produce’) has even been proposed, the issue remains problematic because of doubts about the reading of the penultimate letter ((*e*) or (*i*)?, see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 223 with references).

§ 2.3. Other alleged epithets for the Mother Goddess

Leaving aside *evetekseti'y*, some other words were once considered to be epithets for *Matar*. M-01c, which appears inside the niche of the great façade where monumental inscription M-01a was engraved, contains the word *monokaua*. Haspels (1971, 290 no. 4) read the first letter as ⟨b⟩ instead of ⟨m⟩ and Orel (1997, 15) compared the resulting form **bonokaua* with the personal name *bonok* in W-01a. The presence of **bonokaua* was attractive, even more so after Frei’s publica-

tion (1986) of a little stele containing a vow to Ἀγγδισση Βονοκιάτει.¹⁷ However, as pointed out by Berndt-Ersöz (2006: 85), there is no reason to read an unfinished letter at the beginning. Moreover, *monokaua* in M-01c does not follow *Matar*, but rather the personal name *atatas*, which makes a patronymic or any other word likely; and *monokaua* definitely does not agree with *mater...*, an unclear oblique case of *Matar* in inscription M-01c (the final letters cannot be read, but a nominative *matar* can be ruled out). In any case, forms ending in *ua* are rare in Phrygian; only the form [[?]]y[[?]]agaua can be adduced.¹⁸ This last word was also considered another epithet for *Matar* by Brixhe (in Brixhe and Sivas 2002: 108–109), but unfortunately the context is not complete enough to draw any conclusions.

Another alleged epithet is *dumeyay* in G-01 (Orel 1997a: 157 and 425). This inscription found in a building in the citadel of Gordion is fragmentary; *dumeyay* is the only complete word in all the fragments and no reference to *Matar* can be identified. The slab on which it was engraved does not provide any information about its nature or use. The word *dumeyay* seems to be a feminine adjective in the dative singular derived from *duman* (a kind of religious community). According to the data available, there is no reason to assume that the word refers to *matar*.

In B-01, where *Matar Kubeleya* is explicitly mentioned (line 3), Lubotsky (1988, 15 fn. 6) suggested that *evememesmeneya* (line 6) may be another epithet for the goddess. He also provided a possible analysis as a reduplicated perfect participle of the verb *men-* (< PIE **men-* ‘to think’ LIV² 435–436, as Greek μαίνομαι ‘be mad, angry’ or Sanskrit *mányate* ‘to think believe, imagine’) with the prefix **h₁su-* > *ev(e)-* ‘well’ and the translation ‘well-remembering.’ Orel (1997, 144, 430 and 444) preferred the segmentation *evememes meneya*, where the first word should be considered a verb meaning ‘to speak favorably, declare’ and the second word, also considered an epithet for *Matar*, would be related to the Greek εὐμένεια ‘goodwill, favor.’ Since the inscriptions remain cryptic and the reference to *Matar* is quite far from this *evememesmeneya*, we should be cautious with these analyses.

17. Dated to 150–210 AD, the whole inscription reads as follows: Δαδης Μάρκου | Μαληνός Ἀγγδισση Βονοκιάτει εὐχὴν ‘Dades (the son) of Markos (made), from Malos, a vow to Agdistis Bonokiatis.’

18. The toponym Γδαμμανας (MAMA VII, 589, from Çerkes Atlandy), also spelled Γδανμας (MAMA I, 339, from Çeşmelisebil) admits a Phrygian analysis (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 246), but it can be considered Pisidian or Lycaonian as well (see Robert 1980: 382).

Finally, Lubotsky (1988: 12) also suggested that *akinanogavan*, the accusative feminine singular form of *akenanogavos* ‘the holder of the *akenan*,’ is another epithet for *Matar*. This is possible, since M-04 was engraved on a step monument at the top of a sanctuary to *Matar* in Yazılıkaya. However, the only aspect of the whole text we understand is that ‘Tiyes the ruler of Modra’ (*tiyes modrovanak*) was perhaps the promoter. The final word of the inscription remains unclear, but *akenanogavos* occurs as the title of a promoter of monuments (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 170).

§ 2.4. *A few remarks on some epithets for Μήτηρ attested in Greek*

2.4.1. Ἀγδίστις

In a not insignificant corpus of Greek votive inscriptions dating from the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period, Μήτηρ Ἀγδίστις (which has many spelling variants) is attested in relation to the sanctuary in Yazılıkaya (conventionally named Midas city, Eskişehir Province). Most simply contain the name of the dedicator in nominative (followed by the patronymic in genitive), the female theonym in dative and the noun εὐχὴν ‘vow’ in accusative. See the following example: Ἀπολλώνιος Παπίου Μητρὶ Ἀγγδισῆ εὐχὴν ‘Apollonios (the son) of Papias (made) a vow to Mother Agdistis’ (Bádenas, Elvira and Gago 1987; see Figure 4). Nineteen of the 40 known inscriptions were clearly found in Yazılıkaya proper. At the top of the mountain, a sanctuary from the Hellenistic period was excavated, the *Ἀγδιστεῖον, its Greek name known due to a coin from the Roman period minted at Dokimeion and bearing the legend ΑΝΓΔΙΣΣΗΟΝ (Figure 5).¹⁹ The three inscriptions found in Anatolia attest two different sanctuaries to the goddess in Egypt: one in Alexandria²⁰ and one in El Gīza.²¹

19. With respect to the formation, see Μητρῶον stemming from Μήτηρ, or Μουσεῖον stemming from Μοῦσα.

20. SB 1: 306, dating from 282–242 BC, Alexandria Museum: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Σωτήρος | Ἄδιστι Διοσκόροις | Πτολεμαίῳ Σωτήρι | Σιμωνίδης ‘During the reign of Ptolemy (the son) of Ptolemy Soter, Simonides (made it) for Agdistis, for the Dioskori and for Ptolemy Soter.’

21. Bernard, Mus. du Louvre 8,2 SB 1.00677,2 and Bernard, Mus. du Louvre 8,3 SB 1.00677,3. Despite some minor spelling differences, both inscriptions contain the same text (I reproduce the first here): ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης | Ἀρσινόης Μόσχος ὁ ἱερεὺς | τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος | Ἄγδιστεῖ ἐπηκόῳ | ἰδρύσατο ‘During the reign of Ptolemy (the son) of Ptolemy and the queen Arsinoe, Moskhos the priest founded the temple and the precinct for Agdistis, who listens.’



Figure 4. Votive statuette of *Mētēr Angdistis* acquired by the Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid, inv. No. 1983/55), second half of the 2nd century AD. Image courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional



Figure 5. Coin from Dokimeion, 2nd century AD. AE16 (2.62g). Obverse: helmet bust of Athena (conventionally). Reverse: Mount Agdus with the name of the temple to *Matar* ANΓΔΙΣΣΗΘΝ

The distribution of the inscriptions and the coin from Dokimeion make it clear that the central sanctuary of Agdistis was the mountain Agdus,²² where some monuments to the Mother Goddess, simply called *Matar* (without any epithet) in Old Phrygian inscriptions (see above §1), were consecrated in the 6th century BC. The inclusion of the epithet in Greek inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman period may be a consequence of the inclusion of this cult in the Hellenistic world and the need to singularize this mother with regard to the others.

Together with the normative form Ἄγδιστις, the inscriptions related to this goddess contain many spelling variants of the two clusters, <γδ> and <στ>. With respect to the former, the variants <νδ>, <γγδ> and <νγδ> seem to present a nasal value of <γ>, similar to the Greek allophone [ŋ] before a velar consonant. The case of <στ>, however, is more complex. Fortunately, we know that the origin is a Phrygian feminine form in *-st-*, also attested in *materan areyastin*, the Mother Goddess attested in W-01a (not far from Yazılıkaya; see above §1.2.). Both epithets suggest that they derived from the name of the mountain or hill where they were worshipped. However, Greek inscriptions from Yazılıkaya spell the Old Phrygian suffix *-st-* as <σ>, <σσ>, <ξ>. These alternative spellings can be found in other inscriptions from Anatolia but the most etymological form <στ> has never been found in

22. The name of the mountain is reported in Latin by Arnobius (*Adversus Nationes* 5.5.1).

the sanctuary. This very likely shows that a late, local sort of assibilation occurred: *-sti-* > [[i] or [θi].

The goddess Ἄγδιστις is often called Μήτηρ ‘Mother’ and Μήτηρ θεῶν ‘Mother of the gods,’ but the epithet often stands alone. In some instances, she is called θεά ‘goddess,’ also in combination: Μητρι θεᾶ Ανδισση (MAMA VI 398). In Egypt she is constantly referred to as ἐπηκόος ‘(she) who listens (the prayers),’ a very common epithet during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Finally, she is once called εὐκτέω ‘prayer-receiving’ in Midas city (MAMA VI 396). As has been said, Ἄγδιστις is recorded in literary sources as a Mother Goddess; Strabo (10.3.12 and 12.5.3) and Hesychius (α 404, perhaps also in α 971) explained her mountain origin (μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἄγδιστιν καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην ‘they call the Mother of the gods Agdistis and the Great Phrygian Divinity’).²³

2.4.2. Κρανομεγαληνή

The epithets Κρανομεγαληνή (CIG 4121) and ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλη (MAMA V 8 and 9) or ἀπὸ κρανὸς μεγάλη (MAMA V Lists I(i): 182,79 and Drew-Bear 1978, 52,30) occur in Roman inscriptions found in Dorylaion, Midaion and Nakoleia. Chai (2009: 137) interpreted the epithet, equivalent to the formation of ἀπὸ + genitive, as the result of worship of a source (Greek κρήνη, Doric κράνα) associated with the goddess. This is a very interesting point, since Κρανοσμεγάλη could be considered both a generic name ‘the great source’ (with a particular use of the suffix -ηρός, -ηνή, -ηρόν) or a toponym with a transparent meaning ‘Great Source.’ In fact, the forms ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλη and ἀπὸ κρανὸς μεγάλη are equivalent, and the orthography is in line with the editor’s interpretation.

The Old Phrygian inscription B-05 attests the relationship between a goddess, *artimitos*, and a source, since this name agrees with the epithet *kraniyas* ‘from the source’ in B-05 (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 279; see below §5). Indeed, this latter epithet can be treated as a precedent of Κρανομεγαληνή. The Old Phrygian *Matar* is also somewhat related to hot springs, as mentioned above).

2.4.3. Βεδδυτῶν

The inscription SEG 44, 1062 (from Köyü, former Galatia) contains a vow to Μητρι Βεδδυτῶν (made by the brothers Philles and Apas). Although this epithet is a hapax, it is highly reminiscent of a famous gloss by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromateis* 5.8.46–47 = Orphic Fragments 219): βέδου μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Φρύγας τὸ

23. For a particular myth of Agdistis, with many later Greek elements, see Pausanias 7.17.10.

ὔδωρ φησὶ καλεῖν ‘it is said that Phrygians call *bédu* to water.’ If βέδω is related to PIE **uódʰr* ‘water.’ It can hardly be considered a Phrygian inherited word.²⁴ In any case, the epithet Βεδδωτῶν seems to confirm that the glossed word existed in Phrygia, while the gloss (excluding the secondary meaning ‘air’ also reported by the Greek source)²⁵ explains the epithet Βεδδωτῶν as meaning ‘of the waters.’ The resulting scenario is consistent with Κρανομεγαληνή (see above §1.4.2.).

2.4.4. Θερμηνη / Θερμέων

As mentioned above (§1.1.), the Mother Goddess was associated with hot springs. This inference from the toponymy is confirmed by plain Greek formations. Together with Μητήρ Θερμηνή,²⁶ one inscription attests Μητήρ Θερμέων ‘Mother of the hot springs.’²⁷ This latter text was found at Yeşilova, where hot springs still exist.

2.4.5. Ἴμουγαρηνή

Found in Laodicea Combusta, the inscription MAMA I 2b contains a simple vow to Μητήρ Ἴμουγαρηνή.²⁸ The epithet is relevant because, even if it contains a toponym (as considered in KON §374), it is connected to the Old Phrygian lexicon; although its meaning remains unclear, it can be analyzed as a compound Ἴμουγαρ-(ηνή). The first element, Ἴμου, can easily be connected to the Old Phrygian *imroy*, read in inscription B-01 (1.2), which is devoted to a statue of *Matar Kubeleya*. With respect to its meaning, I suggest that *imro-* could be a borrowing from the Luwic word *im(ma)ra(i)-* ‘open country,’ and may mean something like ‘field’ in the Phrygian text (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 254). The meaning of the second element, -γαρ-, remains unparalleled, although a pure internal reconstruction (to be confirmed by other sources) makes it compatible with a derivative of the PIE

24. Even if ⟨β⟩ represents /v/ in these late texts, the expected outcome of PIE **uódʰr* in Phrygian would be **vodor*, **odor*, **ουοδουρ*, **οδουρ* (*vel sim.*), as we can infer from **pr* > *πουρ* (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 69).

25. Ἐμπαλιν δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς Φιλύλλιος βέδω τὸν ἀέρα βιόδωρον ὄντα διὰ τούτων γινώσκει ‘on the other hand, the comic poet, Philydeus, understands by *bédu* the air, as being life-giver.’

26. MAMA V Lists Note: 188,4 (from Nakoleia): Μαρκιανή | Μαξίμα ὑπὲρ Ἀμφείωνος Μητρὶ | Θερμηνῆ | εὐχὴν ‘Marciana Maxima, on behalf of Amphieion, to Meter Thermene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.’ The presence of at least one city name after the hot springs is confirmed by MAMA X 443 (from Synaos), where its inhabitant (Θερμηνοί) made a vow to Θεὸς Ὑψιστος ἐποκόος.

27. RECAM V, 88 no. 119: Θερμέων εὐ[χὴν] / Ἀπολλώνιο[ς] / Πρωτέου Μητ[ρὶ] ‘Apollonios, son of Proteas, to Meter of the hot springs, (in fulfillment of) a vow.’

28. [Μητ]ρὶ Ἴμουγαρηνῆ εὐ[χὴν] ‘to Meter Imrugarene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.’

**gerH-* ‘desire, enjoy’ (LIV² 176–177), as in the New Phrygian γεγαριτμενος (62.2 = 33, a participle parallel to the Greek κεχαρισμένος).

2.4.6. Κικλέα

Two inscriptions from western Phrygia²⁹ contain a vow (both by women) to Μητρι Κικλέα (both in dative and with the same spelling). The epithet Κικλέα is clearly a Phrygian adjective in *-*eio-* (in fact, the feminine *-*eje_h2-*, cf. Obrador-Cursach 2020: 84–85). Its nominal basis can be explained by the gloss by Hesychius κ 2655: κίκλην· τὴν ἄρκτον τὸ ἄστρον. Φρύγες ‘κίκλῆν: the constellation Ursa.’ We can easily assume that κίκλην meant ‘wagon’ in Phrygian for two reasons: ‘wagon’ (or something related to it) is a popular name for the seven principal stars of this constellation among the ancient and modern languages of Asia (e.g., Akkadian *eriqu* ‘wagon, cart’ CAD 4, 296–297) and Europe (e.g., Basque *gurdi* ‘cart,’ OEH IX 670), and κίκλην seems to be a Phrygian derivative of the PIE root **k^wék^wlos* ‘wheel.’³⁰ If this identification is correct, the Phrygian epithet attested in the above-mentioned Greek inscriptions seems to match the Mother-Goddess’ representation on a cart drawn by lions (see Figure 6).

29. MAMA X 226 from Pusan, 1st to the early 2nd century AD (Μαμης | Φιλίππου | γυ{η}νή | Μητρι Κικλέα εὐχ<ή>ν) and Ramsay (1905: 427 no. 13), from Altıntaş — 212–217 AD? (Ramsay 1905) (ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου Ἄντωνεῖνο[υ] | [τ]ύχης κὲ νείκης κὲ | [ἐ]ωνίου διαμο|νῆς κὲ τῆς κόμης [T²]|άτου Νανα σύν|βιος Μενεκλέος | Μητρι Κικλέα εὐχή[ν]).

30. The ending -ην in κίκλην may be the result of the Greek adaptation of an original *-*ān* ending (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 420).



Figure 6. Bronze statuette of Cybele on a cart drawn by lions, second half of the 2nd century AD, originally part of a fountain. The Metropolitan Museum of Art 97.22.24. The Met (public domain)

2.4.7. Ὀρεία / Ὀριηνή

Ὀρεία or Ὀρέα is a well-known epithet for the Mother Goddess, and has provided important information for research into the meaning of *kubeleya*. In fact, we know that many mother goddesses in Central Anatolia are named after the mountain where they had a sanctuary (see above for the illustrative quote of Diodorus of Sicily 12.5.3, see §1.1.). However, the generic ‘mountain’ is less common than one would imagine and never occurs in Phrygia; Ὀρεία is present in inscriptions from Pamphylia (SEG 6.718 and SEG 6.720), Pisidia (SEG 41.1245) and Caria (as Μητήρ Θεῶν Ὀρεία, Apollonia Salbake 7), while its variant Ὀρέα is also attested in Pisidia (Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 8555, cf. Aversano 2019: 196).

What we find in Phrygia is Ὀριηνή, in MAMA X 98³¹ and MAMA X 307.³² This variant of Ὀρεία again shows that the suffix -ηνός, -ηνή, -ηνόν in divine eth-

31. From Kotyaion: [Μη]τρὶ Ὀριηνῆ ‘to Meter Oriene.’

32. Πάμφιλος κ[αὶ] | Τρυπερίον [Μη]τρὶ Ὀριηνῆ [εὐχὴν] ‘Pamphilos and Truperion, to Meter Oriene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.’

tics can be used as mere relational adjectives, and not all of them refer to a particular toponym, as assumed based on the classical use of this suffix.

2.4.8. Τιειουβευδηνή

Among the new inscriptions from Phrygia published by Thomas Drew-Bear in 1978, number 8, found in the sanctuary at Yazidere (SEG 28.1188), is the previously unknown epithet for Meter: Τιειουβευδηνή. This appellative can be analyzed as a compound of a personal name in the genitive singular, Τιειου,³³ and βευδ-, which is clearly connected to the word *bevdos*, the statue of *Matar Kubeleya* in B-01. At least two cities in Phrygian were named after this word (KON 121 §149): Παλαιὸν Βευδος³⁴ and *Βευδουζ Οἶκος, attested only under the ethnic Βευδουσοικεινοῦ (genitive singular; Haspels 1971, I, 300, no. 14).

§ 3. Τιαν, τιος, τι(ε/η)

The superior male god of the Phrygian pantheon is *Ti-*. He is commonly called ‘the Phrygian Zeus’ because of his nature and name. Indeed, the name *Ti-* is a clear cognate of the Greek Ζεύς:³⁵ the accusative τιαν³⁶ originates from the PIE **diēm* (parallel to Greek Epic Ζῆν, cf. *Iliad* 8.206), the genitive τιος to PIE **diuos* (parallel to Greek Διός, Διρός)³⁷ and the dative τι,³⁸ τιε³⁹ and τη⁴⁰ (three spelling variants, cf. Lubotsky 1997, 126 fn. 23) to PIE **diuēi* (parallel to Greek Δί, Διρί). Despite the lack of nominative case in the inscriptions, some scholars have quoted this god based on a reconstructed nominative **Tius*. In fact, it is a creation by Wood-

33. Cf. Ἀλέξανδρος Τιειου in MAMA IV 132. For information on this latter person, relevant for the local history of some inscriptions and coins, see Ramsay (1883: 59–62).

34. Cf. Ptolemy, Geography 5.5.5 and Livy 38.15.14 *Beudos quod vetus appellat* ‘Beudos called the old.’

Plural genitive ethnic Παλαιοβευδηνῶν in coins dating from Hadrian times).

35. Here I observe Lubotsky’s analysis (2004: 229–230).

36. In the New Phrygian inscriptions 2.2 (130), l. 8; 7.1 (99), 7.3 (14), 16.1 (116) l. 13; 46.1 (53) l. 9.

37. τιος 53.1 (76), 54.1 (108), 60.1 (59), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105).

38. τι 9.1 (87), 38.1 (44), 39.1 (11), 42.1 (101), 44.3 (67), 47.1 (51), 49.3 (85), 50.1 (54), 51.1 (80), 53.1 (76), 53.2 (77), 54.1 (108), 56.1 (57), 58.1 (72), 59.4 (106), 66.1 (103).

39. τιε 3.1 (97), 4.1 (2), 10.1 (112), 14.1 (73), 15.1 (120), 17.2 (3), 17.3 (7), 25.1 (115), 25.2 (126), 27.1 (92), 30.2 (68), 33.3 (127), 35.1 (25), 36.1 (26), 36.3 (94), 40.1 (12), 40.4 (102), 41.1 (45), 44.1 (61), 44.2 (70), 52.1 (75), 55.1 (56), 61.1 (100), 63.1 (123).

40. 8.1 (86), 18.3 (6), 20.3 (62), 29.1 (114), 30.1 (39), 45.1 (65).

house (2006: 164) in parallel with the Greek nominative Ζεύς (followed by Oreshko 2022: 136). When presenting his proposal, he adduced the Old Phrygian *tiveia* (G-183), taken as a possessive adjective derived from the theonym. Nevertheless, I prefer not to assume this nominative and quote the god by the stem. This is simple prudence and there is nothing wrong with admitting that we do not know the nominative of *Ti-*. In fact, we are unaware of most of the phonetic rules of the Phrygian language that could affect the nominative and, although the etymology for *tiveia* could be correct, it might also derive from the old oblique stem.⁴¹ Leaving aside these phonetic and morphological issues (unexplained until Lubotsky 2004), the identification of Phrygian *Ti-* with Greek Ζεύς has long been accepted, ever since the initial proposal by Richard Meister (1912, 166–167), and explains a story conveyed by Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnica* s.v. Τίος): Δημοσθένης δ’ ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς φησι κτιστὴν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι Πάταρον ἐλόντα Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία Τίον προσαγορευθεῖσαι ‘Demosthenes in his *Bithyniaca* says that the city’s founder was Pataros, who conquered Paphlagonia, and that he called it Tios after Zeus’ worship.’

Ti- is by far the most attested Phrygian theonym, because of the formulaic nature of New Phrygian inscriptions. In fact, the only possible attestation in the Old Phrygian subcorpus is *tiei* in the opaque inscription NW-101, engraved on a Terracotta disc found in Dorylaion (as a superficial finding):

Face	A I	<i>deneti</i>
	A II	<i>toTi a tiei</i>
Face	B	<i>as-</i>

Although some elements of the text according to the reading by Brixhe (2002: 4–10) can be compared with similar or identical words in other inscriptions, nobody has obtained a meaningful interpretation of the whole text. If the reading and identification are right, the theonym appears in dative, governed by the preposition, and could also be a complement of the verb *deVeti* ‘(s)he does’ or *isnou* ‘?’ (imperative third person plural). The lack of documents relating to this *Ti-* in Old

41. Other attempts to identify the nominative of *Ti-* have been ruled out. For instance, Lubotsky (1988: 12 fn. 3) suggested that *Tiyes* could be a nominative, although he also rejected this (2004: 229 fn. 2).

Phrygian is in keeping with the lack of identified monuments or iconographic representations of this Phrygian god during the Iron Age.⁴²

The god *Ti-* occurs repeatedly in New Phrygian inscriptions, because he is the agent of the curse against desecrators in the most widespread formula. He commonly appears in dative, with or without the preposition α(τ), as in the following standardized text: ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανε κακουν αδδακετ, με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε ατ τιε τιττετικμενος ειτου ‘whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be accursed by Zeus among gods and men.’ As can be seen, *Ti-* is the only divinity not included in the generic δεως ‘gods’ (dative plural). However, the most important point is the continuity of the New Phrygian formula with regard to a Luwian hieroglyphic curse: *wa/i-sá-* | DEUS-*na-za* | CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* | 360-*na-na* | (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-tí-i* | (LOQUI)*tatará/i-ia-mi-sa i-zi-ia-ru* ‘and let him be made accursed by Tarḫunt among gods and men’ (Karkamiš A 3, line 4, first comparison by Lubotsky 1997, 420). The Phrygian version of the formula replaced the Storm God (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-tí-i* ‘Tarḫunt’ with Τι(ε/η). This is not trivial, but rather informs us about the weather-based nature of the Phrygian male deity, consistent with the etymology of his name and the later Greek *interpretatio* with Zeus.

In some instances of the Phrygian formula,⁴³ the preposition ας governing the accusative τιαν occurs instead of (α(τ) +) dative: ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κη|κε αδακετ, τιτετικμενος ας τιαν ειτου ‘whoever does harms to this tomb, let him become accursed by Zeus.’ The last occurrence of this theonym in accusative remains unparalleled in any known formula: ις κε εγ| τοισινιοι | κνουμαν τιαν τε[.]|.μαρδι ιδετοι οινις (16.1 = 116).

The genitive τιοσ occurs in another formula attested in several inscriptions:⁴⁴ γεγρειμεναν εγεδου τιοσ ουταν ‘let him experience the written curse² of Zeus.’ There is a variant of this inscription, where ουταν occurs as masculine (ουτον) and ορουενοσ ‘keeper’ (see below §8.) replaces τιοσ: γεγρειμενον κ’ εγεδου ορουενοσ ουτον ‘and let him experience the written curse of the Keeper’ (59.4 = 106). It is possible that ορουενοσ is an epithet for *Ti-*. The main problem with this curse is the

42. A possible related representation can be found in a miniature relief from Gordion (Tumulus C) containing a Mother Goddess in a niche accompanied by a bull (Roller 1999: 75–76 Fig. 13), which is a common icon of the Storm God in the Near East. Note, however, that the common symbol of *Zeus Brontōn* in the Roman Imperial period was an eagle, which also appears in some steles containing New Phrygian curses (e.g., 33.3 = 127, Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008: 111–112 no. 2).

43. Cf. 2.2 (130), 7.3 (14), 16.1 (116) and 46.1 (53) l. 9.

44. 53.1 (76), 54.1 (108), 60.1 (59), 60.2 (60), 62.1 (32), 62.2 (33), 62.3 (34), 62.5 (36), 62.6 (105).

noun *ουταν*, on which *Ti-* depends. Its meaning is approximate; it could also be a punishment or a spell, and it may derive from **ueth₂-* ‘to say’ (LIV² 694–695, see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 325). In any case, this formula reproduces the role of *Ti-* as keeper of the integrity of funerary monuments.

Finally, it must be noted that the god *Ti-* lacks any epithet other than *μεκας* ‘big, great,’ which occurs twice: *τιττετι[[κ]μενος ειτου εικ αδ αυτον μεκ|αν Τιαν* ‘let him become accursed by’ the same great Zeus’ (2.2 = 130)⁴⁵ and *τος | νι δ[ιως ζ]μελωσ τι μεκα | τ[ιε] τιττετικμενος ειτου* ‘let him be accursed by the great Z[eus] (in the sight of) g[ods and m]en’ (35.1 = 25). The same qualificative occurs in the Greek inscriptions from Phrygia,⁴⁶ mostly combined with other epithets like *Αλσηνός* ‘of the grove’ or *Βροντῶν* ‘thunderer.’⁴⁷

Phrygian texts alone cannot be used to reconstruct the nature of the god. Only the name and the *interpretationes* detected are useful here. We know that, during the Roman period, Zeus in the Greek inscriptions from Phrygia⁴⁸ was related to weather phenomena and fertility of the crops.⁴⁹ However, this last point occurs only in New Phrygian curses in relation to the god Bas, which is probably another epiclesis of the Phrygian superior male god (see below §3.). In fact, one of the most widespread advocations of Zeus in Phrygia is *Βροντῶν* ‘thunderer’ (Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, 1992–2013 and Chiaï 2020: 272–274), and other epithets also depict him as the lord of the sky. In light of the Phrygian background, one can deduce the epithet *Δαγουστης* here. The basis of this name may be shared with the Old Phrygian anthroponym *Daguva* (G-293) and the polyonym *Δάγουτα* (Mysia).⁵⁰ This distribution points to a Phrygian lexeme, and this makes an etymological analysis of *Δαγουστης* as a derivative of the PIE root **d^heng^h-* ‘to cover; to be

45. Note that, in the Greek part of the same inscription, Zeus has the same qualificative: *Βρογιμαρος ἐγὼ μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρητήρ* ‘I, Brogimaros, the priest of the great Zeus.’

46. *Δὺ μεγάλω εὐχὴν* ‘vow to Zeus the Great’ MAMA V Lists III: 185,mid[5] (from Sarayören-Alpanos).

47. *[Α]λσηνῶ πατρίω μεγάλω Δὺ βω|μὸν ἔθηκαν* ‘They made an altar for the Great Zeus Alsenos Paternal’ SEG 40 1192 (from Akmonia). *Δὺ Βρο[ντῶ]||ντι με|γάλω ὑ|πὲρ βοῶν εὐχὴν* ‘vow to Zeus Broton the Great for the oxen’ MAMA V Lists III: 185,mid[7] (from Sarayören-Alpanos).

48. Zeus is perhaps the most represented god in Greek inscriptions from Phrygia. For the case of Phrygia Epiktetos, where Zeus was thought to be born in Aizanoi, see Riel (2017: 133–136).

49. One could add here a commentary about *Ζεὺς Βέν(ν)ιος* (for testimonies see Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1952–1991), whose fertile nature has recently been defended again (see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 137–139, with references). However, the meaning of the noun *βένος* remains unclear.

50. It is attested in IMT Olympene 2699 and as *ἡ Δαγουτηνῶν χώρα* ‘the territory of the Dagutians’ (also fragmentary in IMT Olympene 2736) and in Ptolemy *Geographia* 5.2.13.

overcast' attractive (Kroonen 2013: 109 s.v. **dungōn-*): **d^héng^h-* >> **d^hng^h-ó-* >> **d^hng^h-o-st-*. We are uncertain of the exact meaning of the root *dagu-* in Phrygian, but there is likely a relationship with the weather or sky.⁵¹

§ 4. *Bas*

Bas is a name attested only in nominative Βαϛ (1.1 = 48, 7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111 and 8.1 = 86) and accusative *Batan* (T-02 b; perhaps in G-221 and B-04) / Βαταν (20.2 = 128, 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 35). The occurrences of this god in the Old Phrygian corpus tell us nothing about his personality because of the fragmentary character of the inscriptions. T-02 b, a fragment of a stele from the Luwian city of Tyana dating from the last quarter of the 8th century BC,⁵² also contains the name Midas⁵³ and was perhaps promoted by a man called Tumida, the son of Meme.⁵⁴ The fragment of the stele reads as follows, and *batan*, the accusative of the name, can be read in line 6:

[---]
 → [---] *tumida* : *memeuis* : [---]
 ← [---] *a* : *tesan* : *a[↑]ion* : *v*[---]
 4 → [---] *oitumen* : *mi[↓]a*[---]
 ← [---] *n* : *a[↑]ios* : *mi*[---]
 → [---] *n* : *batan* : *e*. [---]

Also fragmentary, but even more cryptic, is the graffito on a sherd from Gordion G-221, where one can read l.5 [?-] *obata[?]m[?]*..[?-]. As can be seen, the reading is problematic and the alleged ⟨m⟩ would be incompatible with the name of this god. A similar case is *batō[?]an* B-04; if this is the theonym, ⟨o⟩ would be unexpected, but Brixhe considered it a natural feature of the stone (2004a, 38 and 41).

51. The Elbing Vocabulary defines Old Prussian *dangus* as *Hemel* 'sky, heaven,' a word also found in Lithuanian as *dangùs* 'sky, heaven.'

52. First mentioned in Weber (1908: 370 no. 77), the fragment is now lost.

53. If the identification is correct, it could be the only reference to the historic Midas in a contemporary Phrygian text. Unfortunately, it is too fragmentary to be useful for historical purposes.

54. It is uncertain whether the first name should be read as [---]*tumida* (with the loss of the first letters), but *memeuis* is a patronymic that also appears as *memevais* M-01b and M-02 (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 143), with an interesting contraction *wa* > *u*, which is a common Anatolian feature (see, for example, Rieken 2001).

In fact, *Bas* was identified after the reading of the New Phrygian corpus, where he clearly appears as a god. The new Phrygian inscription 1.1 (48) l. 3–6 contains a list of three names, two of them clearly gods, in nominative: μιτραφατα κε μας τεμρογειος κε πουντας βας ‘Mithrapata and Mas of the Tymbris and the Pontan Bas.’ However, this god commonly appears in the apodosis of the curses:

7.1 (99): ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κακε αδακετ, τιτετικμενος ας τιν ειτου, με κε οι τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος ‘whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be accursed by Zeus and let Bas not give him bread.’

7.2 (111): ιος αδακετ, βας ιοι β’ε’κος με βερετ [---] ‘who does (harm), let Bas not produce bread for him.’

8.1 (86): ιος νι σεμουν κ[νου]μανι κακουν αδδ[α]κετ αι νι μανκης, βα[ς] ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ] ατ τη κε τιτετικμ[ε]νος ειτου ‘whoever does harm to this tomb or stele, let Bas not produce bread for him and let him be accursed by Zeus.’

20.2 (128): ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανε κακουν αδδακετ, με δδεω με ζεμελος τιτετικμενος ειτου ας βαταν ορουεναν κε ‘whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be accursed by Bas and the Keeper.’

62.2 (33): ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακον αδδακετ, γεγ<ρ>ειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν ακκε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου, αυτος κε ουα κο’ροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτους ‘whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus and let the bread be non-nutritious to him and let him, cursed by Bas, lack offspring.’

62.5 (35) ιος κε σεμουν κνουμανι κακουν αδακετ, ερα γεγρειμεν[α]ν εγεδο[υ] τιος ουταν, αυτος κ’ουα κοροκα [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ος α Βαταν τευτους ‘whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Zeus and let the bread be non-nutritious to him and let him, cursed by Bas, lack offspring.’

As can be seen, *Bas* is constantly related to bread. For this reason, Hämmig has suggested that the nature of this divinity is equivalent to the γῆ ‘earth’⁵⁵ in

55. ‘Bas (the earth or a deity related to it)’ (Hämmig 2019: 294). She also identified the root of the verb τοτοσσειτι ‘(s)he gives’ in light of Greek formulae such as καρπὸς δόη (Strubbe, no. 153).

some contemporary Greek curses from Phrygia with similar contents compiled by Strubbe (1997): μηδὲ γῆ καρποφορήσοιτο αὐτῶ... (no. 76), οὐτ' ἡ γῆ αὐτ<ῶ> καρπὸν ἐνεπέκη... (no. 121), μ[ήτε] ἡ γῆ καρποφόρος... (no. 122), μὴ γῆ ... καρποὺς δοίη (no. 153), μὴ γῆ καρπὸν ἐκφέρει... (no. 155), μηδὲ γῆ καρπὸν... (no. 357), [μήτε γῆ] ... καρπὸν φέροι (no. 368), μήτε γῆ ἐνέγκαι αὐτῶι ... καρπὸν (no. 369), μηδὲ γῆ ... καρπὸν <α>ὐτῶ ἐνικαίτω (no. 374), μὴ <ἐ>νέγκηι [ἡ γῆ αὐτῶι] καρπὸν (no. 377) and μήτε γῆ καρπὸν ἐνένκαι (no. 385).

Although these examples shed light on the Phrygian curse, I suggested in a monographic paper (Obrador Cursach 2017) that *Bas* was somehow related to *Ti-*, the Phrygian Zeus, – via epiclesis or syncretism – for several reasons. First, in 20.2 (128) the common agent of the middle participle τιττετικμενος ‘accursed’ in the New Phrygian formula με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε τιττετικμενος ειτου is, when explicit, always *Ti-*, with the sole exception of 20.2 (128), where ας βαταν ορουεναν κε ‘by Batan and the Keeper’ can be read. Secondly, the etymology of the theonym, according to the internal reconstruction, may be found in a *t*-stem noun derived from the PIE root **b^heh₂-* ‘shine’ (LIV² 68–69), **b^hóh₂-t-* / **b^héh₂-t-* ‘shining,’ cognate of the Greek epic noun φώς, φωτός ‘man, hero,’⁵⁶ with a radical sound /a/ in the nominative extended from the oblique cases. In line with this point, the Phrygian theonym *Bas* could be compared at semantic level with the Luwian Storm God’s epithet in Hittite texts such as *pihaim(m)i-*, *piham(m)i* and *pihaššašši-* ‘imbued with splendor/might’ (CHD s.v. *pihaim(m)i-*). Thirdly, the reiterated function of *Bas* as a giver or producer of βεκος ‘bread’ is similar to the role played by Zeus, as the weather god, in Greek inscriptions from Phrygia, together with some epithets like Αναδότης ‘causing the plants to sprout,’ Τελέσφορος ‘bringing fruits to perfection,’ Ἐκατοστίτης ‘who makes crops bear a hundredfold’⁵⁷ or Καρποδοτής ‘giver of fruits.’⁵⁸ There is even more explicit evidence, such as the following hexametric prayer (Dorylaion, 175 AD):

56. I followed the etymology suggested by Martin Peters (Peters 1993: 101–108). For the semantic shift ‘shining’ > ‘man, hero,’ see Obrador-Cursach (2017: 312–313).

57. I took these epithets from the useful compilation of cults in Phrygia Epiktetos in the Roman Imperial period by Marijana Riel (2017).

58. For the only clear testimony and a possible second attestation, see Drew-Bear and Naour (1990: 1949–1952). Note that Ζεὺς Βροντῶν also played a role in the fertility of the land: Μασικηνοὶ ὑπὲρ καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίω[ν] πάντων Διὶ [Β]ροντῶντι εὐχὴν ‘The Masikenoi (made) a vow to Zeus *Brontōn* for the crops and all concerning themselves’ (MAMA V 126). It is not so clear in the case of Ζεὺς Βέννιος, although it seems likely. In any case, it is clear that this fertility power extends beyond one epiclesis of Zeus and is a nuclear feature.

[βρέχε γαῖ]αν,
καρπῶ [ῶ]π[ως] βρί[θη] | [καὶ ἐν]ὶ σταχύεσσι τεθήλη.
τ[αὔτ]ά | [σε] Μητρεόδωρος ἐγὼ λίτομαι, Κρο[ν]ίδα Ζεῦ,
ἀμφὶ τεοῖς βωμοῖσιν ἐπήρ[α]τα θύματα ῥέζων.

‘[... wet the ea]rth, that she become heavy with fruit and flower with ears of corn. This I, Metreodoros, beg of you, Zeus son of Kronos, as I perform delightful sacrifice on your altars’ (translation by M. Depew 1997, 245).

The power of Zeus over the fruits of the earth is a well-known feature (sometimes under epiclesis) in inscriptions in Asia Minor dating from the Roman era,⁵⁹ including ancient Greek cities.⁶⁰ This theme is also present at the core of Greek culture. In his *Works and Days* (465–466), Hesiod recommends the following: εὐχεσθαι δὲ Διὶ χθονίῳ Δημήτερι θ’ ἀγνῆ, | ἐκτελέα βρίθειν Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν ‘pray to Zeus of the Earth and to pure Demeter to make Demeter’s holy grain sound and heavy’ (translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White). Moving onto epigraphy, the sacrificial calendar of Mykonos, LSCG 96, l. 24–25, also attested a similar function for an epiclesis of Zeus, together with Ge: ὑπ[ἐρ] κα[ρ]πῶν Διὶ Χθονίῳ, Γῆι Χθονίῃ δερτὰ μέλανα ἐτήσια ‘for the sake of crops, to Zeus Chthonios and Ge Chthonie, black yearlings, flayed’ (translation by Jan-Mathieu Carbon in CGRN 156). Some traces can even be found in the proper Anatolian tradition. Although more research into the subject is required, the relationship between the Storm God and the crops is explicit in the hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Sultanhamı (second half of the 8th century BC). It contains a dedication to the Storm God Tarhunza of the Vineyard (cf. l. 1 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-zá-na* *tu-wa/i+ra/i-sà-si-i-na*) by Sarrawittiwada, which proclaims:

59. See, for example, SEG 38, 1273 (2nd–3rd century AD, from Fıranlar, Fıranlar, Bilecik, ancient Bithynia): ὑπὲρ τῆς κόμης καὶ τῶν κατὰ ἔτος καρπῶν τὸν Δία Κοσμιανὸς καθιερώσας ἀνέθηκεν.

60. See, for example, the festival of Zeus Sosipolis in I.Magnesia 98 l. 29–31 (c. 197/6 or 180s BC, Magnesia on the Maeander, Ionia): ὑπὲρ τε εἰρήνης καὶ πλούτου καὶ σίτου φορᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καρπῶν πάντων καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν ‘for peace and prosperity and that the bearing of grain and all the other fruits and livestock’ (translation by Jan-Mathieu Carbon and Saskia Peels in CGRN 194).

- § 4 |a-wa/i-na |u-pa-ha |hwa/i-i
 § 5 |wa/i-sá |OMNIS.MI-ri+i [|sa]-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ri+i |á-wa/i-tà-a
 § 6 |wa/i-ti-i |mara/i-wa/i-li-sá-' [|] (“PES”)pa-tà |ARHA-a |la+ra/i-ta
 § 7 | (“VITIS”)wa/i-ia-ni-sa-pa-wa/i-a |za-ri+i |sa-na-wa/i-ia-ta-a

‘When I set him⁶¹ up | he came with all goodness, | and the corn was abundant at his foot, | the vine was good too here.’

It also trusts the god with the productivity of the consecrated field (§22–29). In light of these examples, the relationship between a Storm God and the fertility of the crops can be considered a common theme in Aegean and Anatolian religions, including the Phrygian god Bas.

However, Oreshko (2021: 136) was not convinced of my argument that *Bas* was a male god identified with *Ti-*, and considered that “[t]he identity and even sex of the deity remain unclear”.⁶² It is true that it would be better to treat *Bas* as an epiclesis or, at least, a god close to *Ti-*. Based on the documentation currently available, it is difficult to say when a name is an epithet used instead of a theonym and when it represents a different god. Take, for instance, 20.2 (128) again. As mentioned above, ας βαταν ορουεταν κε ‘by the Shining (*Bas*) and the Keeper (*Orvan*)’ is the sole instance of an agent for τριτετικμενος ‘accursed’ other than *Ti-*. In theoretical terms, nothing prevents us from assuming that both βαταν and ορουεταν are a kind of hendiadys of two epithets to refer the single god, *Ti-*.

In any case, it is not easy to discern this based on the information currently available,⁶³ but I consider the close nature of *Bas* and *Ti-* to be beyond doubt based

61. The clitic refers to the Tarhunza of the vineyard mentioned above. Note also that the text has many connections with the İvriz relief, ‘where the Storm God holds corn in his hand and the vine grows around him with bunches of grapes hanging off him,’ ‘where the stalks of the corn that he holds in his hand seem to be emanating from his feet’ (Weeden 2018: 339 and 343).

62. In fn. 18, he presents his discrepancies with my conclusion more explicitly and considers ‘Earth’ to be ‘still the most obvious one’ (although he does not quote her, this clearly refers to Hämmig’s proposal).

63. See a new proposal by Anfosso, in her chapter in this book: she argues in favor of two different gods by considering Phrygian *Ti-* “an omniscient Sun-god able to spot and universally curse the perpetrators of a crime”, like the Anatolian *Tiwat-* and Helios (relatively common in Anatolia), while Bas is “a Storm-god in charge of the weather and, consequently, of soil fertility” and can be compared with *Tarhunzas* and *Zeus Brontôn*. The idea and parallels are attractive, but it is a strong categorization. Precisely in the Luwian inscription Karkamiš A 3, *Tarhunzas* is the agent of the curses

on the existence of Zeus Batenos. In fact, this epiclesis of Zeus can be found in four inscriptions from Saittai (western Lydia), dating from the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. Leaving aside the earliest fragmentary evidence,⁶⁴ these inscriptions (SEG 35.1232, SEG 49.1654 and TAM V,1 77 and καθιέρωσαν) feature the god following Μητήρ Θεών (the ‘Mother of the Gods’) and can easily be imagined as her *paredros*. See, for example, the beginning of SEG 49: 1654 (118/9 AD): Μητρι Θεῶν καὶ Δεῖ Βατηνῶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ ‘I, Artemidoros (son) of Apolonios, having prayed for myself, (made it) for the Mother of the Gods and Zeus Batenos.’

§ 5. *Devos*

The Phrygian god *Devos* is another cryptic divinity.⁶⁵ He appears only twice in the Old Phrygian corpus: one in the nominative *devos* (P-03) and once in the accusative *devun* (B-07). The theonym derives from the common Phrygian word for ‘god,’ the outcome of PIE **d^hh₁-s-ó-* (NIL 102, see Lubotsky 1998, 419), a cognate of Greek θεός, and is well attested in the dative plural (δεως) in New Phrygian inscriptions. Therefore, the name of the god *Devos* does not tell us anything about the nature of the god, aside from his possible masculine gender. The two occurrences are not at all informative by themselves. P-03, found in Alacahöyük, was a text written on a slab tentatively dated to the 7th century BC, which perhaps identified a statue or other form of representation. The text is largely compressible in grammatical terms because of its simplicity (a nominal clause with words in nominative):

vasous iman mekas
→ *kanutievqis*
← *devos ke mekas*

‘The great Vasos Iman, son of Kanutî, and the great Devos’⁶⁶

and the syncretism is never a closed category; one Phrygian god could easily be identified with two or more Greek gods (here Zeus and Helios, who in turn is often identified with Apollo).

64. [- - -] Δὶ Βατη[νῶ - - -] ‘to Zeus Batenos’ (Malay 1994, no. 57).

65. The antihatic letter ⟨v⟩ of *Devos* may be considered an orthographic convention, if not a true non-etymological glide. In any case, it does not appear in New Phrygian.

66. An alternative translation is ‘Vasos the great Iman, son of Kanutî, and the great god.’ Note that there is a problem with *iman*; is *vaso(s) iman* a compound name (unique in the Phrygian corpus)

The second occurrence of *Devos* is surely located in Daskyleion, in the furthest western territory with Phrygian epigraphy, during the Achaemenid period. B-07 is a large stele containing a funerary inscription, the only one of its kind discovered so far. While half the text remains cryptic, I tried to show that the second part contains a formula against desecrators, like another one written in Aramaic (KAI 318) in the same city (Obrador-Cursach 2021). Compare both:

Phrygian B-07, l. 2–3:

[...] *yos tiv[a]-*
n ke devuṇ ke umno=tan ordoineten me kos anivaketi s=maniṇ

‘By Zeus and the God I adjure you: who *goes*⁶⁷ straight along, let him not harm Manes.’

Aramaic KAI 318, l. 2–4:

[...] *hwmytk*
bl wnbw zy ṛrh? znh
yhwḥ ṣdh ṛyṣ ṛl yṣml

‘I adjure you by Bel and Nabu: who will cross this road, let nobody do harm!’

If this reading and the interpretation are right,⁶⁷ *Devos* may correspond to the Aramaic Nabu, as *Ti-* does with Bel. In the Hellenistic period, there was syncretism between Nabu and Apollo, and the god played an important role under the Seleucid dynasty, especially under Seleucus I and his son Antiochus I (Beaulieu 2014: 19). However, nothing else is known about this elusive Phrygian god.

or does *iman* work here as a title of a ruler? We also find an *iman mekas* in P-04c *iman olitovo edaq[s] mekas*. Note also that *devos* could be taken as a generic word for ‘god,’ referring to a possible representation of a recognizable divinity. In any case, the epithet *mekas* ‘great’ is applied to *Ti-* in New Phrygian inscriptions 35.1 (25) and 2.2 (130). More problematic is the Old Phrygian *apelan mekas* M-05 (see §10.).

67. A. Lubotsky advised me (apud Obrador-Cursach 2021: 53) that his preferred reading was a possible accusative plural *devu[i]s* (following the first edition by Gusmani and Polat 1999: 159). If he is right, *tiv[a]n ke devu[i]s* should mean ‘by Zeus and the gods,’ a sequence similar to New Phrygian 20.3 (= 62) ατ τη κε δεωζ κε, ‘by Zeus and the gods.’

§ 6. *Artimitos Kraniyas*

The Phrygian *artimitos* is the genitive of a theonym who is well known in Greek as Ἄρτεμις, -ιδος,⁶⁸ but is also attested in Lydian as *artimu*-⁶⁹ and Lycian as *ertēme/i-* (N 311, N 312, N 313 and TL 44 C, all from Xanthos). Although they share the same name, this does not mean that all these goddesses had the same identity; it merely shows how a referential divinity spread, even if there was no *interpretatio* or syncretism. In any case, the sole attestation of this goddess in Phrygian occurs in the north-western area of the Phrygian epigraphic territory, outside the core of Phrygian culture. In fact, Old Phrygian inscription B-05, an inscription written on a stele dating from the late 5th or early 4th century BC in which *artimitos* appears, was found in Vezirhan, a territory under the satrapy of Hellenistic Phrygia (Figure 7).

68. Mycenaean *a-te-mi-to* /artemitos/ (PY Es 650.5, cf. DMic. 115–116) shows the early presence of this name in the Aegean world. There are some dialectal variants of this name in Greek (Ἄρταμις, Ἀρτεμείς, Ἄρτιμις, etc.). However, since I do not want to discuss the problematic etymology of this theonym, I will not list them (see, for example, EDG 142).

69. LW 2, LW 4b, LW 5, LW 11, LW 20, LW 21, LW 23, LW 24, LW 25, LW 26, LW 41, LW 46, LW 54, LW 70. All of them are from Sardis, with the sole exception of LW 46, which was found in the middle of Kaystros valley.



Figure 7. The Vezirhan stele, compiled by Hüseyin Erpehlivan (2021: 160 Fig. 2) from photos taken from İstanbul Çevre Kültürleri 1999, 10, and a drawing by Neumann 1997, Abb. 4

Despite being a hapax, **Artimis* (as per the reconstructed nominative, which is unattested)⁷⁰ is the sole Phrygian theonym preserved together with a representation of the divinity, since the others have been lost.⁷¹ The goddess, coarsely depicted, appears at the top of the stele. She appears under a palmette-like motif, which seems to sprout from her head. In fact, Kisbali recently suggested that this motif is reminiscent of the palmettes found in this position in many Greco-Persian-style steles contemporary to Vezihrhan.⁷² Moreover, she appears with a hawk (or another bird of prey) on each shoulder and a line on each side. These animals are common in representations of *Matar*, but the style is in keeping with the so-called *potnia theriōn* iconographic type, albeit with many peculiarities. Under this representation, there is a scene interpreted as an audience of the goddess with a man,⁷³ very likely Kaliya himself, the promoter of the monument, according to the inscription.⁷⁴ Both figures are surrounded by some assistants. Note that a very similar parallel can be found in face D of the Sarcophagus of Polyxena,⁷⁵ especially in the gesture of the feminine figure.⁷⁶ A well-attested motif of a boar hunting appears between this scene and the text; a horseman (likely Kaliya again) follows a boar together with a dog and an assistant. There are good examples of this type of

70. Brixhe (2006: 40) assumed a t-enlargement for this *i*-stem genitive, as seen in *manitos* (B-07), the genitive of the personal name *manes* (also in B-07).

71. We know of many reliefs and statuettes of the Mother Goddess and we also know that she was depicted in the stone-cut façade, which includes some inscriptions with her name, but these are now lost. I have also omitted to mention the presence of eagles in the top of the New Phrygian steles containing the theonym $\tau\iota$ -, since they are a symbol of the god but not a proper representation.

72. After some vague descriptions by the first editor of the inscriptions (Neuman 1997), Tamás P. Kisbali is merited with being the first to analyze the iconography of the stele in detail, followed by Erpehlivan (2021). In this short description, I reproduce some conclusions he reached relating to this unique figure (Kisbali 2018 and 2021).

73. prior to the observations by Kisbali (2021) and Erpehlivan (2021: 163), the scene was interpreted as a banquet, as occurs in funerary steles; however, this is not a funerary stele and the alleged table is quite rightly compared by Kisbali to representations of censers in royal (and divine) audiences.

74. B-05, 1.1 *sin-t imenān kaliya ti tedat[oy* ‘This shrine, Kaliya made it.’ A latter Greek addition, summarizing the Phrygian text, renders it as follows: Καλλίας Αβικτου παῖς ΗΙ²ΜΗΓΗΜΑΣ ἀνέθεκεν ‘Kaliyas the son of Abiktos [...] dedicated (it).’ The sequence ΗΓΗΜΑΣ in ΗΙ²ΜΗΓΗΜΑΣ may refer to a military title, since it seems to be somehow related to ἄγω ‘lead, guide’ and ἡγῆμα ‘that which guides.’

75. Called after the surrounding reliefs representing the sacrifice of Polixena, it dates to late 6th century BC and is the earliest example of this kind of relief in Anatolia. It was found in the Kızıldün tumulus, near Biga (Çanakkale Province).

76. On this, see Croissant (2015: 279), with compelling parallels in Planche 3.

somewhat stereotypical scene in the Achaemenid period, such as the sarcophagus found in Altıkulaç (a former territory of Hellespontine Phrygia). As can be seen, the reliefs of the stele from Vezirhan have strong ties with the contemporary art of the territory, but it is a local product with local peculiarities.

In the sole inscriptions featuring *artimitos*, it is followed by an epithet, *kraniyas*. The sequence was previously read as *kranīya-p* by Neumann (1997, 18–19, 21) and as *kranīya p[---]*, two words despite the lack of a gap, by Brixhe (2004: 56), who rightly considered the *-p* ending to be unexpected. This letter, however, is almost identical to ⟨s⟩ in this inscription,⁷⁷ and the reading ⟨s⟩ represents an extremely common ending for a Phrygian word and, in this case, a genitive ending in agreement with the preceding word, *artemitos*. According to the reading *kranīyas*, it can be considered as a mere singular genitive denominative adjective created with the common suffix *-yo/a-*. The question here lies in the origin of the basis of this adjective. It is interesting to note here that, in western Phrygia during the Roman Imperial period, a Mother Goddess appears as Κρανομεγαληνη or, with four testimonies, as ἀπὸ κρανὸς μεγάλη (see above §1.4.2.). The name recalls the fact that the divinity is connected to a spring or fountain (see Chiai 2009: 137) and perhaps the Old Phrygian goddess *artimitos* is also related to this. If this is the case, the Phrygian *kran-* may be considered a Greek borrowing, specifically an Aeolism (Obrador Cursach 2020: 279). If the goddess is indeed related to water, there may have been syncretism with the Persian goddess Anāhitā. In fact, this divinity is known to be related to water, even in Anatolia,⁷⁸ where the Persian goddess was associated with Artemis, as in the Hellenized world as a whole.⁷⁹

Beyond the name of the goddess and its representation, little information is available. The lines of the text where the theonym appears remain elusive and unfortunately the text has been affected by erosion. Line 3 of B-05 reads as follows: *vrekān vitāraṅ artimitos kraṅiyas [---]*. It is possible that *vrekān* refers to the relief of the goddess, as is seemingly the case with its *vrekun* counterpart in W-01a and its possible variant *rekun* in M-06.

77. The ⟨s⟩ of *kranīyas* can be compared to that of *artimitos* and *atriyas* in the same inscription.

78. E.g., TAM V,1 64: τὴν Ἀναεῖτιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὕδατος (Silandos, Lydia, 193/4 AD). I took the example from Robert's ever useful commentaries (1976: 46).

79. See Plutarchus, *Artaxerxes* 27 and Plu.Art.27 Pausanias 3.16.8. For the explicit syncretism in Anatolia, see, for example, Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀναεῖτι (TAM V,1 236). On the important presence of Ἀναεῖτις in Lydia, see de Hoz (1999: 73–76).

§ 7. Μας

The god *Mas* is another god that has been found only once. His status as a male divinity is known due to his epithet Τεμπογειος. This god occurs in New Phrygian inscription no. 1.1 (= 48), l. 4–5, between the personal name Μιτραφατα (a divinized man? See below §11.) and the god πουντας βας: μιτραφατα | κε μας τεμπογειος κε πουντας | βας κε ενσταρνα. The inscription is problematic since the Phrygian and Greek parts seem to offer complementary information, although it seems quite certain that the monument was dedicated to the above-mentioned gods and the community: παρεθέμην τὸ | μνημεῖον τοῖς προ|γεγραμμένοις θεοῖς κὲ τῇ κώμῃ | ταυθ' ὁ πατήρ | Ἀσκληπιός 'I, the father Asklepios, erected this memorial for the above-mentioned gods and the town' (l. 9–14).

Given that it is a hapax with no further information, the nature of the god is not explained. Thanks to the epithet τεμπογειος, we know that he is a male divinity. Therefore, Janda (apud Lubotsky 1997, 122 fn. 10) assumed that the name could be equated with the moon god Μήν / Μείζ, well attested in Greek inscriptions throughout Anatolia (see CMRDM I, 19–155). If, as it seems, the identification is right, it would be a Phrygian inherited name from PIE **méh₁ns*. Of course, the identification with Μήν / Μείζ, the Greek Anatolian god of the moon, is based solely on the name, and the true nature remains unclear. However, the distribution of Μήν / Μείζ in Phrygia points to a Phrygian substratum that may correspond to Μας.

The Phrygian theonym is followed by an epithet, a hydronym (Lubotsky 1997, 122): Τεμπογειος derives from the river name *Thymbris* (Livy 38.18), attested, among other forms, as Τέμβριος (Orph.Arg. 715) and *amnis Tembrogius* (Pliny *NH* 6.4). Identified with the modern Porsuk Çayı, it is a tributary of the Sakarya (ancient Sangarios) and flows through Eskişehir (former Dorylaion), where New Phrygian inscription 1.1 (48) was found. As with other rivers in the area (Hermos and Sangarios), the Tembris was worshipped as a god, although it is addressed with the generic Ποταμός 'river.'⁸⁰ Therefore, we can assume that the river was identified with the god in the New Phrygian inscription.

80. The 10 inscriptions we know about were found in the region of Beylikova (SE Eskişehir), in the context of a sanctuary on the south bank of the river (see Mitchell 1982, nos. 1–10 and Riel 2017: 144). For more on river cults in Anatolia (including a commentary on Dorylaion), see Parker (2016).

§ 8. Διουνσιν

The male god Διουνσιν occurs once (in the accusative) in a New Phrygian curse, in line with a Greek epitaph, as usual (6.1 = 88):

- Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μηνόφιλος Οὐενούστου κὲ Μα-
 νια Ἀντιόχου ἢ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀππη καὶ
 Οὐεναουη τέκνοις ἀώροις καὶ
 4 ἐαυτοῖς μνήμης χάριν. 𐌲𐌶𐌶𐌶 ἰος
 νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακε
 ἀδδακετ αωρω ουεναουιας, τιγ-
 γεγαριτμενος ιτου, πουρ ουανα-
 8 κταν κε ουρανιον ιστ'εικετ διουνσιν. 𐌲𐌶𐌶𐌶
 𐌲𐌶𐌶𐌶 καὶ Αὐρ(ηλίω) Σώζοντι Κανκαρου ἀνδρὶ τῆς Οὐεναουης

‘[Greek] Aur(elios) Menophilos (the son) of Venustos and Mania (the daughter) of Antiochos, his wife, for Appe and Venavia, their prematurely (dead) children in memory. [Phrygian] Whoever does harm to this tomb of the prematurely (dead) Venavia, let him be at the mercy of (the god) and he will have to do with the heavenly lord Dionysos. [Greek] Also for Aur(elios) Sozon (the son) of Kankaros, Venavia’s husband.’

The god Διουνσιν has traditionally been identified with the Greek god Διόνυσος. Despite significant changes in the Phrygian reception, the data available do not point to an alternative.⁸¹ In any case, a syncope διόνυσ- > *διονσ- > διουν- or metathesis occurred here, or perhaps it was merely an error on the part of the engraver (the final explanation to be considered when one is working with a small corpus). The expected thematic accusative ending -ουν appears as -ιν. A similar variation can be seen in the spelling of the demonstrative pronoun σεμιν (53.1 = 76 and 61.1 = 100) for σεμουν (see Lubotsky 1989, 153).

As in the case of *Mas* in New Phrygia inscription 1.1 (= 48, see above §6.), we are uncertain whether the two epithets in the sentence πουρ ουανακταν κε ουρανιον ιστ'εικετ διουνσιν refer to the same god or are two different entities. Since ουανακταν ‘lord,’ the accusative of *vanak* ‘lord,’ is a highly generic term with po-

81. Brixhe (1999: 308) did not rule out a ‘théonyme autochtone,’ but nothing has corroborated this theory.

litical origins in Phrygian⁸², it seems probable that ουανακταν refers to Διουονσιν, with a famous Greek parallel in Euripides' *Bacchae* 1375 (Διόνυσος ἄναξ). The epithet ουρανιον 'heavenly' is very likely a Greek borrowing from οὐράνιος, α, ον 'heavenly' (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 324). It clearly refers to Διουονσιν, but Greek parallels for this are scarce; I can cite only the late parallel of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*: Ζαγρέος οὐ προμάχιζεν ἐπουρανίου Διονύσου 'But Zagreus the heavenly Dionysos he would not defend, when he was cut up with knives!' (7.361) and οὐ γὰρ εἶσκω οὐράνιον Διόνυσον ὑποβρυχίῳ Μελικέρτῃ 'I will not compare heavenly Dionysos with Melicertes down in the water!' (10.135–136). Consequently, one can imagine that a local *interpretatio* occurred here, but unfortunately the details are unknown.

§ 9. Ορουαν

Ορουαν occurs in two New Phrygian imprecative formulae, and occupies the place where other gods are attested. The meaning of ορουαν has been discussed. Leaving aside the curses, it occurs in the bilingual 11 (48), l. 7–9: δουμε κε οι ουεβαν αδδακετ ορουαν 'and *orvan* does ουεβαν to/for this *duman*.' The inscription seems to have been written in the context of a religious community (*duman*, δουμε is the dative singular) and has been compared to κόμη 'village' in the Greek part (l. 12).⁸³ The meaning of ουεβαν (Old Phrygian *veban*) is still debated; it has been equated with the Greek πολὰ καὶ ἀγαθά in the bilingual B-05 (Simon 2015: 22–23), while Avram (2016: 122–123) argued that the meaning was 'tomb, grave.' On its own, ορουαν (nominative singular) may be equivalent to πατήρ 'father' in line 13, with a clear religious connotation, as occurs in Mithraic texts. Together with this, an etymology was assumed by Lubotsky (1997, 127–128) based on a comparison with the Greek οὔροϛ 'watcher, guard(ian)'.⁸⁴ Therefore, the translation of 'Keeper' for the Phrygian word seems suitable.

82. The nominative is attested in the Old Phrygian compound *modrovanak* 'the lord of Modra/oi' (M-04). Its singular dative, *vanaktei*, is also attested, used together with *lavagtaei* in the royal title of Midas (M-01a). Note this Phrygian word has the same origin (whatever this is) as the Greek ἄναξ 'lord, master.'

83. Note, however, that the Greek κόμη lacks any religious connotations. If the equation is right (as it seems to be), we may consider it a calque of the Phrygian word. We are unsure whether *duman* also has a civil meaning due to the nature of the Phrygian corpus.

84. Also found, for example, in Att. ὄροϛ 'border, boundary' and Myc. *wo-wo* /*worwos*/ '(a) guarding,' 'thing being guarded' or 'place for guard(s).'

Clearer are the imprecative texts that include the god Ορουαν. The Phrygian inscription 59.4 (106) reads as follow:

ιος νι σεμουν κνου-
 μανει κακουν αδοκετ
 ζειραι, τιτετικμενος ατ
 4 τι αδειτου, γεγρειμενον
 κ' εγεδου ορουενοσ ουτον.

‘Whoever does harm to this tomb with (his) hand, let him become accursed by Zeus and let him suffer the written curse of the Keeper.’

The last curse, γεγρειμενον κ' εγεδου ορουενοσ ουτον ‘and let him suffer the written curse of the Keeper’ has a parallel with some variants in 62.3 γεγρειμεναν εγεδου τιοσ ουταν ‘and let him suffer the written curse of Zeus.’ As can be seen, τιοσ ‘of Zeus’ (genitive singular) occupies the very same position as ορουενοσ (genitive singular).

The last text, 20.2 (128, from Bolvadin, former Polybotos), is a different curse, described above (§3.). In this text, two gods, Βας and Ορουαν, occur as the agent (ας βαταν ορουεναν κε, preposition + accusative) instead of the widespread α(τ) τιε or the variant ας τιαν ‘by Zeus’ (preposition + dative, see above §2).

Both gods in 20.2 (128), ‘Bas and Orvan,’ occur in the very same position as *Ti-* ‘Zeus’ normally does. If *Bas* seems to be an epiclesis rather than an epithet for the Phrygian Zeus, one wonders if ορουαν in 20.2 (128) was used as another epithet. Both βαταν ορουεναν κε ‘Bas and Orvan’ could therefore be considered to refer to *Ti-*. If this were the case, it should be translated as ‘by the Shining and the Keeper,’ as mentioned above (§3.).

§ 10. Σαρναν

After a recent rereading by Hämmig (apud Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018: 1830), a new Phrygian god was identified in the concluding curse of a larger New Phrygian inscription 11.2 (18), l. 8–10:

αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κ-
 ακουν αδδακετ αινι μανκα, βε(κ)ο-
 ς ιοι με τοτοσσει?τ'ι σαρναν

‘If someone does harm to this *tomb* or to the stele, let Sarnan not give him bread.’

The etymology and connotation of *σαρναν* (nominative singular)⁸⁵ remain unknown and his nature must be inferred from the context and external data. It is the only case of the bread curse being sanctioned by a god other than *Bas* (see above §3). This makes it highly possible that *Sarnan*, *Bas* and *Ti*- shared a similar nature. The presence of *Zeus Sarnendenos* (always in dative, Δι̅ Σαρνενην̅) in Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor and, as a result of migrations within the Roman Empire, Dacia (Avram 2016: 74–78), could support this idea, if the comparison with Phrygian *Σαρναν* (as in Avram 2016: 78) is correct. The stem of the Greek epithet **Σαρνενηδ-* does not follow any Greek or Phrygian stem. Since it could be a toponym (Chiai 2020: 279), like most stems of divine epithets in *-ηνός*, a comparison with the city attested in Hittite as ^{URU}*Šarnanta* (BT I 54, see Forlanini 2017: 249, for more information) could provide a good explanation.⁸⁶

§ 11. *Other alleged gods*

Scholars have tried to identify gods other than those mentioned above. Although some of these proposals have been ruled out in recent decades, it is worth addressing two of them, because they sometimes reappear in scientific papers. The first is *Atai* in W-10, in the dative. Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1982, 82–84)⁸⁷ considered it a theonym and related it to Hittite *atta-* ‘father,’ thereby assuming a reference to a ‘Father God.’ This is a questionable assumption for several reasons. The meaning ‘father’ for *atta-* is specific to Hittite, while the Phrygian *ata-* is one more

85. This nominative ending, parallel to the Greek ποιμήν-type inflection, is also assumed for the personal names *iman* (M-03, M-06, G-136, etc.) and *murtan* (G-226).

86. The city seems to be a common Luwic formation in *-anta-* and its base is perhaps related to the Luwian *sarri* ‘above, up.’

87. See also Orel (1997: 416 and 417), Berndt-Ersöz (2004: 51) and Tamsü Polat, Polat and Lubotsky (2020: 51–56).

of the many Lallnamen attested (Adiego and Obrador-Cursach in this volume). Oreshko (2021: 135, fn. 15) recently suggested that the reading of W-01 was not *atai*, but *taṭ edaeṣ* ‘this dedicated ...’ If he is right, the existence of a Phrygian god *Ata-* should be ruled out.

Apelan (M-05, the so-called ‘Broken Monument’) has also been considered as a Phrygian version of the Greek Απόλλων (Orel 1997, 27–28 and 414), following the consideration of some Greek dialectal forms such as Ἀπέλονα (Brixhe 1976, num. 3 l. 30, Sillyion, 4th century AD). The broken inscription shows that *apelan* is a nominative singular, since it is qualified by the adjective *mekas* ‘big, great’: *apelan mekas tevano*[---]. It is true that Apollo was commonly worshipped in the Roman Imperial period.⁸⁸ However, the main problem with this interpretation is that the monument where Old Phrygian inscription M-05 was engraved is clearly a façade devoted to *Matar* in one of her most important sanctuaries (Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 78).

Scholars in the early stages of Phrygian studies tried to find Attis, the mythological lover of Cybele according to Greek and Roman texts, in the Phrygian corpus. Before the Phrygian Zeus was identified, sequences such as αττι, αττιε, αττιη were considered to document Attis, but we now know that they consist of a preposition with *Ti-*.⁸⁹ Moreover, Bayun and Orel (1988a, 181, also in Orel 1997, 31, 456) compared the Old Phrygian personal name *sabas* (M-08) with the theonym Σαβάζιος, who is considered a Phrygian deity by Strabo (10.3.15).⁹⁰ The stem of this anthroponym can be also found in Roman Phrygia (cf. Σαβις or Σαβυς, KPN 449 §1349).⁹¹ Then, it is possible to assume a Phrygian stem attested in this theonym attested in Greek. If this is right, Σαβ-άζιος can be considered a compound, whose second element resembles the elusive Old Phrygian word *aṭios* (T-02b, perhaps preserved in the personal name Αζιος, KNP 48 §20–2, from Phrygia and Lycaonia). So far these are two mere affinities to be confirmed with a better knowledge of the Phrygian lexicon. Something similar happens with *Kelmis* (B-05), whose only parallel is the name of one of the Dactyls of Mount Ida (Κέλμυς in

88. See Drew-Bear and Naour (1990: 1933–1939) and Mitchell (1993 II: 11–31).

89. Consequently, Attis does not occur in the Phrygian corpus. For the creation of the mythology of the alleged Phrygian divinity Attis, see Borgeaud (1996: 56–88), Roller (1999: 237–259) and, with caution concerning the alleged roots of the myth, Lancellotti (2002).

90. Καὶ ὁ Σαβάζιος δὲ τῶν Φρυγιακῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς μητρὸς τὸ παιδίον παραδοῦς τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ αὐτός ‘Sabazius also belongs to the Phrygian group and in a way is the child of the Mother, since he too transmitted the rites of Dionysus’ (translation by H. L. Jones).

91. Zgusta (KPN 448–449) reports other names in *Sab-* out of Phrygia (Lydia, Lycia, Lykaonia and Pisidia). We ignore their origin and whether it is the same for all of them.

IG XII, 9 259 and Clemens Alexandrinus *Stromateis* 1.16.75; *Celmis* in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.282). Again, the relation between them remains unknown.

Finally, Orel (1997) also treated as theonyms and divine epithets a series of words that are now interpreted differently or considered as ghost words after a new reading. Since inaccurate publications sometimes quote these alleged theonyms, it is worth offering a complete list to prevent future scholars from doing this: *akrayo-* ('epithet of a male god (Atti?),' 1997, p. 412), *apa-* ('epithet of the Great Mother,' p. 414), *di.* ('abbreviation of a proper name or of a theonym,' p. 423), *di-* ('Zeus. A loanword borrowed from the Greek dative singular Δί,' p. 423), *epta-* ('a theonym used in Asia Minor as a divine name of the Great Mother: Ἰπτα, Εἴπτα, reflecting Hitt *Hé-pit* (borrowed from Hurrian),' p. 428), *eveya-* ('epithet of the Great Mother derived from *ev-*),' p. 430), *evtev-* ('as an epithet of the Great Mother in *tiveya-*,' p. 430), *ibeya-* ('epithet of the Great Mother,' p. 432), *imeneya-* ('epithet of the Great Mother derived from *iman-*,' p. 433), *pserk-* ('a name of a god somehow connected with lions,' p. 454), *terkeya-* ('an epithet of the Great Mother,' p. 461), *tiveya-* ('an epithet of the Great Mother of a description of a vessel derived from *teva-*,' p. 463) and *vak-* ('Name of Bacchus borrowed from Lyd *baki-* id.,' p. 466).

§ 12. *Cult to the deceased in Phrygia*

Greek inscriptions from Phrygia Epiktetos reflect a cult of the dead, at least as intermediaries between gods and men (de Hoz 2017). This point could be the key to understanding the presence of the personal name *μιτραφατα* among two gods in a short list of protectors of the monument in a bilingual inscription from Dorylaion: *μιτραφατα | κε μας τεμρογε|ιος κε πουντας | βας κε* (1.1 = 48). We are uncertain how far this worship goes back, but one is tempted here to understand, based on this belief, the presence of Midas (as a kind of heroic cult?) in inscription M-01a, engraved on a façade clearly devoted to *Matar*.⁹²

§ 13. *Possible theophoric personal names in Phrygian*

While names based on the name of a divinity (or his or her epithet) were a fairly widespread practice in the Anatolian Greek world, Phrygian theophorics seemed to be avoided in favor of so-called Lallnamen. We know of foreign names

92. On this point, see DeVries' interesting commentaries (1988: 57–58), followed by Borgeaud (1996: 23).

in Phrygian that contain a theonym; this is the case with *μτραφατα* (1.1. = 48), a Persian name,⁹³ but genuine Phrygian formations are still to be identified. At this point, we can quote *bateles* (W-08) as a possible personal name deriving from the theonym *Bas* (see above, §3.) through the suffix *-elo-* found in New Phrygian *ζεμ-ελ-ως* ‘men’: **bat-elo-* >> *bat-el-es*.

A second possibility can be found in *Manes*. This is a well-known name found in Old Phrygian (B-07, with its accusative *manin* and its genitive *manitos*) and in the Lydian *manes* (e.g., LW 43, but usually in its adjective form), the Carian *mane* (C.Hy 1,4), the Aramaic *mny* (in the bilingual Lydian-Aramaic inscription from Sardis LW 1) and in Greek as *Μανης* and *Μανις/Μανεις*, *Μανιτους* (KPN 290–291 §858–4, accented in literary sources as *Μάνης*). This name clearly comes from Central Anatolia and is lacking in Bronze Age repertoires. For this reason, it could be analyzed as a theophoric derived from the oblique stem of the theonym *Mas* (§6.): **méh₁n-*. The names *Μήνας* and *Μήνης* could be its equivalent in Greek, after the moon god *Μήν*.

Finally, *tīyes* (M-04),⁹⁴ as suggested for *tiveia* (G-183a), could also be considered a derivative of the theonym *Ti-* (§2.), but it could also be considered a mere adaptation of the Bronze Age Anatolian name *Tiya*. The origin of the Phrygian personal names in *-es* remains unclear; they could be an Anatolian borrowing, since they occur in Lydian and Carian, but the Phrygian suffix *-es* could also be considered inherited, a cognate of the Greek *-ης*. A major problem is the preservation of the vowel sound in **-ēs* > *-es* (where **-ās* is expected). This can be explained if one assumes that they are ancient vocatives used as nominatives, if not another exception to Phrygian sound rules such as **meh₁* > *me* / *με* (the prohibitive particle) and **-eh₁* > *-e* in *kake(y)* / *κακε* (and adverb meaning ‘badly,’ cf. Obrador-Cursach 2020: 74–75).

§ 14. *Final remarks*

Based on this overview of the gods attested in Phrygian inscriptions, it can be deduced that Phrygian had a pantheon very similar to those found in the Iron Age

93. Old Persian **Miθra-pāta-* (meaning ‘protected by Mithra’) is also documented in Lycian as *miθrapata*, *mizrpata* and *mizrapata* (for more, see Adiego 2020) and in Greek as *Μιτροβάτης* (Herodotus 3.120–129) and *Μιθροπάστης* (Strabo 16.5, note that both variants refer to the same satrap of Hellespontic Phrygia).

94. The same could be said of *Τιειου* in *Τιειουβευδηνή* (see above §1.4.8.) and, as a patronym, in MAMA IV 132 (line 6).

Anatolian corpora and the Greek world. Furthermore, most of the inscriptions came from the periods of a subordinate Phrygia, so it is quite difficult to differentiate the features inherited from the core of the Phrygian traditional religion from those produced by closeness or foreign dominance. A peculiar point, latterly emphasized by Greek sources, is the preeminence of a Mother Goddess in Old Phrygian inscriptions instead of a superior male god (*Ti-*). This scenario seems to have changed in the Roman Imperial period, as reflected in New Phrygian curses and Greek material. However, the texts of both periods are too different in nature (official/popular, dedication/protection) to offer a good overview of their respective periods. Local epithets attached to Greek theonyms are perhaps the best link between the Old and the New Phrygian religious worlds. In any case, the cultural landscape of Phrygia shifted significantly from the first written records (c. 800 BC) to the latest New Phrygian inscriptions (3rd century AD). Together with possible internal developments, the compilation of Phrygian divinities reflects historical contact with neighboring and conquering cultures (mainly Anatolian, but also Iranian, Northwest Semitic and Greek). Moreover, the characterization of the gods and their sphere of power are not conveyed. Some comparisons with the pantheon of the successive cultures of Anatolia can be made through meanings of theonyms or their functions according to texts, but the personalities of these divinities of course remain largely elusive.

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Sipis – yet another Phrygian name in the Neo-Hittite world? With commentaries on some recent discoveries of Phrygians in Hieroglyphic Luwian texts

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§ 1. *Introduction*

Considering the geographical and historical circumstances, it is expected that Hieroglyphic Luwian sources refer to the Phrygians in some way, be it their entirety, a polity, some individuals, or just some cultural traits. In this paper I argue that a hitherto unexplained personal name in Hieroglyphic Luwian sources can be Phrygian (§3). First, however, a short assessment is in order if Hieroglyphic Luwian sources refer at all to any Phrygians, especially in view of recent publications that identify Phrygians in Hieroglyphic Luwian texts fully ignoring basic methods and facts of Anatolian and historical linguistics, relying instead on the pre-scientific *klug-klug* method, albeit mostly published in allegedly peer-reviewed journals (§1–2).

§ 2. *On Phrygians in Hieroglyphic Luwian sources*

There are two hypotheses identifying Phrygians in Hieroglyphic Luwian sources. The first is the perennial debate whether the Muska (in Hieroglyphic Luwian spelling) or a part of them is identical to the Phrygians. This issue requires a separate investigation elsewhere, and thus, I will not discuss it here. Instead, I focus on the second, recent suggestion: D’Alfonso (2019: 144–145) with n. 3 read the Central Anatolian toponym “*Pa+ra/i-zu-ta_x*” attested in TOPADA §§3, 7, 13, 23, 26 as *Priz-u(wa)nda* and identified it with the Phrygians. Unfortunately, this

proposal is phonologically impossible. First, as d’Alfonso himself made it clear, the precise value of the third sign is <za_x/zu²> without clear evidence for the reading <zu> in the Iron Age, and thus, the proper transcription is *Pa+ra/i-za_x/zu²-ta_x*. Accordingly, d’Alfonso’s reading and morphological analysis is not assured. But this is not lethal in itself because the alternative reading *Priz-anda* can regularly deliver a stem *Priz-*, the base of the identification proposed by d’Alfonso (needless to say, the spelling allows several different readings, *Prizanda* and *Prizuwanda* are but two among many other equally regular possibilities¹). However, the alleged stem *Priz-* simply cannot reflect any name for the Phrygians on phonological grounds: d’Alfonso assumed a change **Prik- > Priz-*, which is not possible since **k* never became *z* in Luwian. It was **k̂* that became *z* in Luwian, but **/k/* and **/k̂/* were completely different phonemes. Moreover:

- a) The change **k̂ > z* happened before the first attestation of Luwian in the Old Assyrian Colony Period, i.e. at least more than one millennium before the TOPADA inscription. It would imply that the Luwians met the Phrygians before this sound change, i.e. on the Balkans (this is what d’Alfonso indeed assumed) and it also implies that the Anatolian languages entered Anatolia from the Balkans (which is possible, but in fact we do not know it) and that the Anatolian languages became independent on the Balkans and entered Anatolia separately, for which we have absolutely no evidence. Alternatively, d’Alfonso proposed that we are dealing with a still ongoing sound change, which is simply not the case.
- b) But the scenarios under a) can simply be discarded since *contra* d’Alfonso, neither **Prik-* nor **Prik̂-* lead to the attested stems *Phryg-*, *Brug-*, and *Brig-* due to the voiceless consonant instead of */g/*,² not to mention that *contra* d’Alfonso’s claim, a stem *Phryg-* / *Brug-* / *Brig-* would have preserved its */g/* in Luwian transmission (spelled with *kV*-signs) and no palatalization would have happened.³

1. E.g., Hawkins (2000: 455) reads it as *Parzuta* (followed by Weeden 2010: 48-50), Payne (2012: 57 with n. 58) as *Parzata* (with question mark), and Yakubovich (ACLT s.v.) as *Parzanta-*.

2. D’Alfonso’s proposal (2019: 144 n. 3), the change resulting in */g/* would have happened “in an early borrowing from Phrygian into Greek, or within old [*sic*] Greek itself”, lacks any linguistic base. He quoted “Kurtis > Gordias” as a support to his alternative, a Luwian borrowing into Phrygian. As we will see below (and see already Simon 2017a, not quoted by d’Alfonso), this borrowing happened on the other way round and, accordingly, it cannot serve as a support.

3. One could also argue that the stems *Phryg-* / *Brug-* / *Brig-* are only exonyms of the Phrygians and thus, they anyway cannot serve as a starting point for the Luwian form. However, the endonym of

All in all, the identification of $Pa+ra/i-za_x/zu^2-ta_x$ with the Phrygians must be excluded.⁴

§ 3. On Phrygian names in Hieroglyphic Luwian sources

Most recently, the search for Phrygian names in Hieroglyphic Luwian sources has enjoyed a surge. I refer here to three recent papers, one by myself (2017a) and two by R. Oreshko (2020, 2021). In 2017 I argued that the widespread Luwian name *Kurtiyas* can only be Phrygian (cf. *Gordios / Gordias*) on phonological grounds and not *vice versa*, which was positively received in the secondary literature (Obrador-Cursach 2019: 549 [here with a more precise assessment of the Phrygian and Greek forms] and Oreshko 2020: 87, 2021: 286).⁵

In 2020, Oreshko proposed that the name *Hartapus* attested in several Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions is the Luwian rendering of a Phrygian name **Gardabos* invented by him, what he etymologically connected with Sanskrit *gardabhá-* ‘donkey’ (2020: 85–104). Unfortunately, this proposal must be excluded. Setting aside that the proposed etymology is not possible phonologically due to the Phrygian *Lautverschiebung* (on this *Lautverschiebung* see most recently Obrador-Cursach 2020: 71–72)⁶ and that there is no evidence for the existence of such a name in Phrygian,⁷ *Hartapus* cannot render **Gardabos* due to the different stem-

the Phrygians is still unknown and thus, it cannot be excluded that it was a cognate of these forms, i.e. *Brug-* or *Brig-*. Note that the repeated idea that *vrekun / vrekān / vrekēs* would be the Phrygian endonym is not supported contextually (cf. Obrador-Cursach 2020: 243–244 with refs. [and also Anfosso 2020: 26–28], who rejected this identification because it is not a regular continuation of the Proto-Indo-European root **b^hrg^h-* allegedly underlying the name of the Phrygians, which is correct, but the endonym and the exonym need not originate from the same word). Most recently, Anfosso (2020: 25–31) fabricated an endonym from *vrekun / vrekān / vrekēs* and *Briges* as **wreyk/g-* or **wrek/g-*, but its obvious morphological and phonological problems (not to mention the semantics) invalidate this idea.

4. On other location proposals see the overview of Weeden (2010: 55–58).

5. I emphasize that here and in the following the labels Luwian and Phrygian are used exclusively in linguistic sense. Any claims regarding ethnicity and identity require separate investigations.

6. Oreshko’s claim (2020: 91) that this “does not present a serious problem, given both the early date of the attestation and the evidence for variation between voiced and voiceless stops seen in the dental series“ is simply baseless.

7. Oreshko (2020: 89–91) claimed that **Gardabos* “practically exactly corresponds to” the personal name **Γαρδιβος / *Γαρδυβος* underlying the toponym attested in the ethnic adjectives *Γαρδιβιανός / Γαρδυβιανός* from the 3rd c. AD. This is of course not the case since the different

classes⁸ and due to the initial consonant, which, first, should have been rendered with <k>, as the above quoted case of *Kurtiyas* shows, and, second, cannot go back to a Phrygian consonant since Phrygian did not have any laryngeal consonant.⁹

Finally, in 2021, Oreshko attempted to identify a series of names from the PORSUK Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription as Phrygian:

vowel of the second syllable is different and his attempts for explanation are completely baseless: First, a “raising of *a* > *e/i*”, an allegedly well-attested phenomenon in Anatolian toponyms. Setting aside the validity of his examples, none of them present a Phrygian starting point and thus, all of them are irrelevant. His second idea, “the second *a* (...) may be an approximation of a more raised vowel” only shows that he is not familiar with the phonetics of vowels.

8. Although strictly parallel cases, i.e. Phrygian *o*-stem loans in Luwian are missing yet, Greek *o*-stems were adapted as *a*-stems, as the case of /Wraykas/ < /Wroykos/ shows (note that *Awarikus* is a different name, on both names see most recently Simon 2014: 93–95, 2017b) and not as *u*-stems. Oreshko’s analogical case, *Alakšandu* (2020: 86), is wrong, since it is attested only in Wiluša and we can surely exclude that the Empire Luwian / Iron Age Luwian dialect of *Hartapus*’ inscriptions was spoken in Wiluša (the language(s) of which is/are still unknown, despite many attempts). Although Melchert (2020: 248) claims that Luwian had /o/, it is by far unclear if this applies to Iron Age Luwian as well, since his claim is based on unpublished talks regarding Cuneiform Luwian only and thus, given the unpublished state of the arguments, the claim cannot be evaluated scholarly (the spelling contrast of <u> and <ú> in Cuneiform Luwian is at the moment only an assumption that should be properly investigated). But even if this would apply to Kizzuwatna Luwian, the case of /Wraykas/ clearly shows that this cannot be projected onto Iron Age Luwian (*contra* Melchert’s claim).

9. Both points were admitted by Oreshko (2020: 87), too, who nevertheless went further and concluded that “Thus, the interpretation of the initial *h* in *Hartapus* as a voiced tectal *g* is in fact the only feasible alternative, despite the difficulties pointed out above”, which is a perfect example of *petitio principii*. Oreshko (2020: 88–89) attempted to explain away *Kurtiyas* with the claim that *Kurtiyas* is the Luwian rendering of a Phrygian name, while *Hartapus* is not a Luwian rendering but “a more or less *ad hoc* attempt of the scribe(s) to correlate the ‘Phrygian’ phonetic system with the Luwian one”. Needless to say, the claim that *Kurtiyas* and *Hartapus* written in the same language (and basically in the same region) represent partly regular and partly irregular renderings, only to save the preconception that *Hartapus* originates from a name with initial **g*, is egregiously *ad hoc*. The remarkable by-form *Kartapus* attested in TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 is not helpful because we do not know the relation of these forms, i.e., which one is earlier, since the name could not have been analysed until now. Should *Kartapus* turn out to be the older form (despite the contrary phonological tendency as well as the possibility that this part of the inscription is a later, secondary rewriting, as argued by Adiego 2021), this does not solve the problem of the *u*-stem and the fact that **Gardabos* is fully invented, only *petitio principii*. Note also the alternative reading of Oreshko (2020: 79–81), eliminating the form *Kartapus*.

- 1) *Masaur(a/i)hisas*: Oreshko (2021: 293–294) explained it as the Luwian rendering of the Phrygian name “*Masa Urgitos*”. This is obviously not possible, since Luwian did have a phoneme /g/ and the difference in consonants of the last syllable (-t- vs. -s-) prevents any identification. Oreshko’s only evidence for the rendering $g > h$ is the case of *Hartapus*, about which we have just seen that it is linguistically impossible (note also that *Masaur(a/i)hisas* is an *a*-stem and thus, should the analysis of Oreshko be correct, it would represent the adoption of an *o*-stem as an *a*-stem [as per above] and not as an *u*-stem, as Oreshko claimed in the case of *Hartapus*). Oreshko admitted that there is no phonological explanation for the last syllable, and thus, he treats it as a loan translation: *Urgitos* is the gen. sg. of **Urgis* (as it is generally assumed) and *Urhissas* would be the equivalent genitival adjective (“a pretty exact counterpart”). This of course is not possible, since *Urgitos* shows a *t*-stem and accordingly, the Luwianization should be ***Urhitassas* (Oreshko 2021: 295 falsely believed that *-it-* is a genitival suffix in Phrygian, which was replaced in Luwian). Note that a misunderstanding of the nominative form **Urgis* as from a stem **Urgi-* is impossible for those who understood *Urgitos* as gen. sg., which is the starting point of Oreshko’s explanation. All in all, the explanation of *Masaur(a/i)hisas* as the transcription of a Phrygian name is neither phonologically nor morphologically possible.¹⁰ Accordingly, his historical reconstruction based on the identity of both persons (2021: 299–302) lacks any bases.
- 2) *Parhuiras*: Oreshko (2021: 302–306) explained it from **Bargwidas*, a Phrygian name fully invented by him from the Proto-Indo-European root **b^herǵ^h*- ‘high’ as a *u*-stem extended by a suffix *-id-*. However, first, such a suffix can only be found in Phrygian in *iyungidas*, the explanation of which is difficult, it may represent the Phrygianization of a Greek patronym (see most recently Obrador-Cursach 2020: 262–263 with refs.). Second, there is absolutely no evidence for such a personal name in Anatolia in general and none of Oreshko’s examples necessarily go back to a *u*-stem – in fact, none of them requires a *u*-stem (the city name (!) Βάργος and Βέργων) and the name of the Phrygian leader in the Iliad, Φόρκυς, cannot be derived from this root, not even by Greek sound laws including Grass-

10. I leave open how *Masaur(a/i)hisas* could be explained within Anatolian onomastics. For a recent attempt see Yakubovich *apud* Adiego (2019: 153–154), and for its criticism see Oreshko (2021: 294–295).

mann's Law, as Oreshko did (2021: 305), since it is the first stop that loses the aspiration by Grassmann's Law, not the second (see e.g. Rix 1992: 97). Third, as mentioned already twice, the claim of rendering of /g/ by a laryngeal in Luwian is erroneous. In other words, *Parhuiras* cannot be a Phrygian name (on the traditional but problematic analysis of this name see the assessment of Oreshko 2021: 288–290).

- 3) *Nunas*: Oreshko (2021: 292) rightly pointed out that this name is amply attested but exclusively in Greek inscriptions from Phrygia and Galatia as *Noúva* / *Noúvaç* / *Nóvη* (LGPN V.C: 321–322), and thus, it may likely be a Phrygian name. Of course one could turn the relation and claim that it is a Luwian name borrowed by Phrygian. However, the impropotional distribution (only one in PORSUK, dozens from Phrygia and Galatia) makes this interpretation less probable (note that Oreshko mistakenly calls *Nunas* *Lallname*: in Anatolia, *Lallnamen* have their own morphophonological rules [Laroche 1966: 239–246; Hoffner 1998: 117; Zehnder 2010: 45–49] and *Nunas* fits none of them).¹¹

All in all, we have *Kurtiyas* and possibly *Nunas* as Phrygian names in Hieroglyphic Luwian sources. In the following, I will argue that we may add one more name to this dossier.

§ 4. *The case of Sipis*

The name *Sipis* is only attested in the KARABURUN rock inscription commemorating a contract and the building of a fortress. *Sipis* is the name of both protagonists, of a local king¹² and his governor. The date of the inscription is practically unknown although Hawkins (2000: 481) dates it into the late 8th c. since it would be palaeographically parallel to the inscriptions from Kululu (followed by Payne 2012: 105). This date is, however, to be taken very cautiously, since there is no independent evidence for the late 8th c. of the Kululu inscriptions. Hawkins

11. Oreshko (2021: 290–292) rightly called attention to the fact that the name of *Nunas*' father, *Atis*, and very similar names are extremely widespread in Anatolia. However, a more precise linguistic definition is currently not possible due the variety of forms and widespreadness (also Oreshko could not manage it beyond a vague northwestern characterization), and thus, it calls for further study.

12. This king, as many other Neo-Hittite rulers, remained unknown to the “handbook” of Neo-Hittite rulers by Bryce (2012), on which see the critical literature in Simon (2020a: 161 n. 2).

dates all Kululu inscriptions to the same period, i.e., the mid- and late-8th c., only because KULULU 1 & 4 mention a ruler *Tuwatis*. Although a *Tuwatis* is known at that time in Neo-Assyrian sources, and a *Tuwatis* has a son called *Wasu-Sarrumas*, who is generally supposed to be identical with *Wassurme* (-738-730/729-) of the Neo-Assyrian sources, in fact there are several rulers called *Tuwatis* in this region (see the critical overview in Simon 2017c: 204–206) and the father of *Wasu-Sarrumas* cannot be dated to the mid of the 8th century since *Wasu-Sarrumas* is not identical to *Wassurme* (see the detailed discussion in Simon 2020b). In other words, the inscription cannot currently be dated properly.

Sipis is attested in the following forms:

- nom. sg. si-pi-sá (§2) & si-pi-sa (§3, 7, 9)
- dat. sg. si-pi-ia (§7, 8, 9, 10)

The question is to how to analyse this name linguistically. Before any attempt, the reader must be reminded that the Hieroglyphic spelling is anything but unambiguous. In our case, one must take into account the possibility of a regularly omitted nasal before the stop and the multiple possibilities for this stop: voiced and voiceless and each geminate or singleton. With this we reach a handful of equally regular possibilities: *Si(n/m)p(p)/b(b)i(ya)-*.

§ 4.1. Hieroglyphic Luwian?

The first, obvious assumption would be that we are dealing with a Luwian name. However, such a Luwian name is not attested yet. This is, of course, only an *argumentum e silentio* (and definitely not unparalleled), but considering the richness of the documentation, this is remarkable. For the sake of completeness it must be mentioned that *Sipis* is not attested in the onomastics of the neighbouring languages (Phrygian and Kaška) either although their limited attestation makes this observation a real *argumentum e silentio*.

However, it could also be a compound Luwian name, the members of which (or at least one of them) are attested. The second syllable, *-pi-*, is indeed suspicious as it could be the contracted form of *piya-*, and *piya-* is well-known as the second member of Luwian compound names (cf. Melchert 2013: 47). Unfortunately, the alleged first member *si-* or *siya-* does not lead to anywhere. Of course, it is possible that the first member or the entire name is built upon a word (be it Luwian, Phrygian, or Kaška) that simply happens to be not attested – but any solution that can provide attested forms will be superior.

§ 4.2. <si> as <sa>?

At this juncture we must ask ourselves if we read the name correctly at all. In fact, this is not assured: the first sign, *174, was traditionally read as <sá> (Laroche 1960: 93 with refs.), but Hawkins and his co-authors¹³ changed it to <si> following the proposal of Mittelberger 1962: 280–281 (the idea was originally that of Forrer 1932: 159, 169, who was consistently ignored) and claimed that this is confirmed by the new readings.

There is indeed no doubt that the reading <si> of *174 is correct, but this does not say anything about the correctness of the reading <sa> since signs with multiple vocalism are ubiquitous in Hieroglyphic Luwian. Thus, theoretically there is no problem here; the question is whether there is any evidence that requires the reading <sa>.

Laroche (1960: 93) quoted several cases, but most of them are clearly to be read with <si> according to our current knowledge. If we skip an unanalysable personal name, there is only one case remaining from his list:

- The personal name ¹*si-ka-ra+a-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A7 §11), which would be identical to Sangara, king of Karkemiš c. 870–848, whose name is attested now also in Hieroglyphic Luwian as *sa₅-[k]a+ra/i-s[a* (KH.15.O.690 + KARKAMIŠ A31 + KARKAMIŠ A30b1–3 §1, Marchetti and Peker 2018: 95–96). The identification was practically rejected by Hawkins (2000: 129), but only because he read the sign as <si> (“new reading *si*- weakens the identification”). Due to chronological reasons, we can be dealing at best with homonymous personalities and, thus, the identity of both names and, accordingly, the reading <sa> of <si> is only a possibility, even though a quite probable possibility considering that otherwise the personal name ¹*si-ka-ra+a-sa* remains opaque.

However, Poetto (2018: 20–21) has recently reopened the debate, listing several arguments in favour of a reading <sa>. His first example is indicative, but due to a theoretical problem, the reading <sa> is not completely necessary:

- *Wali-lá/i-si-ti-ni-za*(REGIO) (ARSUZ 2 §1) vs. *Wali-lá/i-sà-ta-nali-za*(REGIO) (ARSUZ 2 §1)

13. Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies and Neumann (1973: 151); Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies (1975: 123); Hawkins (1975: 128 Table 2, 2000: 30), see also Marazzi (1990: 154).

While it is clear that the vowel in question is only graphic, and since graphic vowels are usually expressed with <Ca> signs, it is probable that also <si> should be read here as <sa>, it cannot be excluded that <si> was used for this so-called empty vowel.¹⁴

However, he also quoted two Hittite Empire period seals where the reading <sa> is practically unavoidable:

- Ashmolean Museum No. 1894.50: (side a) *i(a)-sa-ni-a* vs. (side b) *a-i(a)-si-ni*, equated with the Hurrian personal name *Aya-Šeni* ‘(the god) Aya (is my) brother’. This interpretation was provided already by Hawkins (2005: 430), who admitted that “it [*si* - Zs.S.] may be seen to alternate with *sa*”. The only other option is that <sa> can also be read as <si>, but there is no evidence for that.
- Ashmolean Museum No. 1896–1908.0.3: (side a) TONITRUS-*su-sà* vs. (side b) TONITRUS-*su-si* (elsewhere only the name TONITRUS-*su-* is attested, but this is obviously derivative of it in *-assa/i-*). Since it can be excluded that the last sign refers to the ending and thus to an empty vowel, <sà> and <si> must refer to the vocalic stem and thus, they must be identical. The only other option would be that <sà> can also be read as <si>, but there is no evidence for that.

In other words, the reading <sa> of *174 can only be avoided if someone opts for unproven claims (reading <si> of <sa> and <sà>), not to mention the advantage of the reading <sa> making the personal name ¹*si-ka-ra+a-sa* understandable. In other words, there are good reasons to assume that the correct reading of *174 is <sa/i>.

Accordingly, the proper reading of the personal name under investigation is *Sa/ipi-*, and since “*Sipi-*” did not lead to any meaningful interpretation, a reading of “*Sapi-*” is proposed and will be investigated here. Note that this is in fact nothing else but a return to the old reading of *Sapis* of this personal name.¹⁵

14. Poetto’s other example from this category (gen. sg. “TERRA”-*si* (BABYLON 1 §5) vs. “TERRA”-*sa* (CEKKE §28)) is invalid, because we are dealing with two different types of genitive endings, see most recently Palmér (2021).

15. With Bossert (1957: 161, 163); Meriggi (1967: 103–106), Poetto (1981: 276), and Woudhuizen (2011: 240) *contra* Hawkins (2000: 481) and Payne (2012: 105–106) (Hawkins used the reading *Sapis* until 1971: 129).

§ 4.3. *The possibilities*

§ 4.3.1. *Luwian Sapa-ziti*

The most obvious choice for analysing *Sapi-* would be, of course, a Luwian interpretation, but a fitting word is not attested yet. Although formally (quasi) homonymous words are known (CLuw. *šapiya-* ‘washbowl’ and Hittite ^(DUG)(:)*ša/epiya-* ‘washing vessel’, see Rieken 2020a, b), they are hardly fitting from a semantical point of view.

Nevertheless, among the Luwian compound names, there is a case, *Sapa-ziti / Sá-pa-VIR-ti* (Suhi’s stele §1, Dinçol et al. 2014: 147), the first member of which could in theory be identical to *Sapi-* (more precisely, it could be the base of it, see below – for alleged nouns with this member see Simon 2018: 123). In Simon (2018) I argued that the same word can be found in the name of *Sapalulme*, king of Patin, and in fact, Bossert (1957: 163) already suggested connecting *Sapis* with this name. I discussed *Sapa-ziti / Sá-pa-VIR-ti* in detail in Simon (2018: 123): if the connection with *Sapalulme* is correct, then we are dealing with an unknown substantive, which would be formally fitting to *Sapiya*: this would be then a derivative of it with the ubiquitous *-iya*-suffix. If, however, someone still separates *Sapalulme* from *Sapa-ziti* (for instance, because he arbitrarily wants to see a distortion of *Suppiluliuma* in *Sapalulme*), then *Sapa-* can also be explained from the Northern Anatolian toponym ^{URU}*Šappa-*. This toponym could also serve as the base of *Sapis* by the same manner of derivation. Nevertheless, we have absolutely no idea if this toponym survived well into the Iron Age, and there is no evidence that it would have been such an important place that it could have served as base for personal names. In other words, a Luwian explanation of *Sapis* from the onomastic element *Sapa-* either as a toponym or as an unknown substantive is formally possible, but conclusive proof is lacking.

§ 4.3.2. *Lycian Ssepije / Σαπια ~ Cilician Sapia*

An alternative is provided by Neumann (2007: 331), who compared the Lycian male name *Ssepije / Σαπια* from the Lycian A text N302 (Melchert 2004: 103 and Neumann 2007: 331) with Hier.-Luw. “*Sapis*”, which he took from Meriggi’s Glossar (1962: 107). In fact, this is exactly the name we are discussing now since Neumann did not or could not apply the new reading used by Hawkins (as it is known, Neumann’s book is based on an unfinished manuscript).

Although this seems to provide a perfect match, there are several problems with the idea: First, they cannot be cognates because **s > h/#_* in Lycian A. Neu-

mann was aware of this problem and claimed that *s “in Namen wohl gelegentlich bewahrt bleibt” which is *ad hoc*. While in theory the name could belong to Lycian B, there is no reason to assume a Lycian B name in this Lycian A text.

Second, if they are not cognates, then they can be loanwords. Nevertheless, no assured Lycian borrowings are known from Luwian or the other way round, which is understandable as they were probably not neighbours. More specifically, a Lycian name in Neo-Hittite North-Central Anatolia is hardly convincing. A (at least etymologically) Luwian name in 4th c. Lycia may be fitting, but the historical-geographical circumstances would require further research.

Nevertheless, the situation is more complicated. As I.-X. Adiego kindly reminded me, we know the personal name *Sapia* from Cilicia, too, from 100 AD (LGPN V.B: 378). This could indeed solve most of the problems: it would prove the presence of a name *Sapia* in Luwian (which could be a derivative of *Sapa-*, as per above), which would be fitting for *Sapis* of KARABURUN. Two circumstances remain problematic: first, the explanation of the Lycian name, which is obviously identical.¹⁶ The late date of *Sapia* is conducive for explaining these forms as borrowings, but what is the direction of borrowing? Is it a Lycian name among the Cilicians or a Cilician (Luwian) among the Lycians? Or do we need to assume a borrowing at all or rather the movement of single people? The patronyms are in both cases known: *Sapia*’s father was called *Sarmos(i)us* that recalls the Luwian word *sarma-* (on this word see most recently Simon 2020b with discussion) and the ubiquitous *-assa/i-* suffix (although it requires further investigations whether this is more than an assonance due to the different vocalism), strengthening the idea that *Sapia* is really a Cilician name and the family is Cilician. Σαπια’s father’s name is, in turn, perfectly Lycian (*Mahanepijemi*), implying that we are dealing with a Lycian family. In other words, we have to reckon with borrowings, the movement of people only is not supported by their names.

The second circumstance is the question of whether a name attested only in Southern Anatolia in 4th c. BC–100 AD can provide an explanation for a name in North-Central Anatolia attested centuries earlier? This is by no means excluded,

16. Although Grainger (2018: 100) proposes that we are dealing either with an Anatolian or with a Parthian name, there is no evidence why we should look for a Parthian name in 100 AD Anazarbos (the city of *Sapia*) and Gainger’s argument (“he came from the same place as the Parthian Antiochos from Babylonia who served in the *ala Parthorum et Arabaeorum*”) does not prove anything. The name of *Sapia*’s father, *Sarmos(i)us* may have an Anatolian name (see the main text), which would argue for an Anatolian derivation of *Sapia*’s, too.

but prudence requires investigating the remaining option provided by the historical-geographical circumstances.

§ 4.3.3. *Phrygian Sabis*

The place of the inscription of both *Sapis*, Karaburun, lies exactly in the area where Phrygian language and culture were entangled with the Neo-Hittite world (this question still lacks an in-depth investigation, from the point of view of the “border” see Simon 2017c). In this world, a Phrygian name would cause no surprise (it is also the area where the Phrygian name *Gordias* appears as *Kurtiyas*, as discussed above).

Interestingly enough, a formally fitting name is known from the Phrygian speaking area: this is Σαβις attested in Nakoleia as well as probably in Alioi in the 2nd–3rd c. AD and especially Σάβιος in Laodikeia, c. 126 AD (LGPN V.C: 380), thus roughly speaking slightly later than *Sapia* discussed above.

This name does not seem isolated. First, Σαβις has already been connected with Σαβυς attested in Thiounta (Gözler) near Hierapolis in the 2nd c. AD by Zgusta (1964: 449 §1349–2) since it can obviously be a hypercorrect spelling of Σαβις. Second, the only legible word of the undated but Old Phrygian inscription M-08 from Midas City is *ṣabas*. This is cautiously but generally assumed to be a personal name and was compared to Σαβις and Σαβυς (Brixhe and Lejeune 1984: 28; Orel 1997: 31, 456; Obrador-Cursach 2020: 340). The connection of *sabas* with Σαβις and Σαβυς and thus with *Sapi-* is obviously only a possibility that cannot currently be confirmed, but Σαβις and Σαβυς can regularly be identified with *Sapis*.

How can their connection be explained? Although Luwian names have been adopted in Phrygian, a borrowing from Luwian seems improbable in this case considering the location far away from Luwian-speaking territories and the non-elite status of these people. The reversed possibility, a Phrygian name at the Phrygian-Luwian frontier is, however, perfectly fitting from every point of view. However, the *caveat* mentioned in case of *Sapia*, i.e., the chronological distance, applies here, too. The difference lies exactly in the more fitting historical-geographical background. In other words, we have two competing options to explain *Sapis* and a (hardly final) decision can be made only on the base of weighing the probability of each scenario, as the conclusions will show.

§ 5. *Conclusions*

The name known as *Sipis* attested in the KARABURUN Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription resists any explanation. However, there are good arguments to assume that it can regularly be read as *Sapis* as well (as it was traditionally read before Hawkins), which opens a series of possibilities. Two options emerge as real possibilities:

First, we can lump together *Sapis* with Cilician *Sapia* (100 AD) and Lycian A Σαπια (4th c. BC) and declare it as an Anatolian name. The disadvantage of this hypothesis is the lack of a convincing explanation regarding the precise connection of these names. Cognacy must be excluded, and a Lycian origin is hardly probable in Neo-Hittite North-Central Anatolia. A Luwian origin could even be supported by the names of *Sapa-ziti* and *Sapa-lulme*, but it implies that the Lycian A form must be a Luwian import. The historical-geographical background of such a borrowing, however, is unclear.

The other possibility is that we connect *Sapis* with Phrygian Σαβις and Σάβιος (2nd–3rd c. AD) and declare it as an etymologically Phrygian name. This implies that *Sapia* and Σαπια belong to a different, “Southern Anatolian” name, whatever its origin was. They still can be of Luwian origin (with the noted historical-geographical problem), but in this case, they can be of Lycian origin, too, which perhaps means less problems. The advantage of the Phrygian etymology is not only that it eliminates the problematic *Sapia* / Σαπια but also (and mainly) that it provides a historically and geographically plausible solution for a name attested at the Phrygian-Luwian interface. Thus, for the time being and only if the author is forced to make his choice, this latter option seems preferable.

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These are good times for research on Phrygian. More scholars than ever are focusing on this language and many novelties (including new inscriptions and innovative interpretations) are emerging relatively frequently. Promoting the diversity of starting points and focuses is a way to improve our knowledge and to achieve a better vision of the Phrygian language and the people who once spoke and wrote it.

This book offers a range of approaches to Phrygian-related issues, with contributions from six relevant scholars working on this language: Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, Milena Anfosso, María Paz de Hoz, Anna Elisabeth Hämmig, Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach and Zsolt Simon.



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