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**A Greek reading of the “Pisidian” inscription
N 30**

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Abstract: In this article, stele N 30 is removed from the Pisidian corpus because it is read as a plain Greek text containing the name of a man, Papas, said to be a gallus. Moreover, the relief of the same stele depicting a figure in woman’s clothing is interpreted as being Papas himself.

Keywords: Pisidia, funerary stele, Greek epigraphy, gallus, gender code.

Most of the Pisidian texts are short epitaphs consisting of anthroponymic sequences dated to Roman imperial times. At first glance the texts seem simple, but often the word boundaries are not clear and the few morphological features they contain are difficult to analyse. For instance, in his recent revision of N 1, Simon concluded that “there is no assured attestation of a dative in the Pisidian inscriptions” (Simon 2017, 34–35).

Pisidian N 30, engraved on a stele found in Zidan Mağarası and preserved at Isparta Museum (inv. no. 10.10.81), is one of these short, problematic texts. The use of the *scriptio continua* makes it difficult to determine the correct segmentation, although its eleven letters are clear: ΠΑΠΑΓΓΑΛΛΟC. According to Brixhe (2016, 89 N 30; cf. also Brixhe, Drew-Bear and Kaya 1987, 147–148 no. 24), it is difficult to decide between a segmentation /Papa Sgallos/ or an alternative segmentation /Papas Gallos/. As Adiego (2017, 9) remarked, “the examples of sequences *s* + a voiced second element are [...] scarce”. Moreover, most of the syllables in this language are open, *ll* is unparalleled, and geminates in general are restricted to some examples, like Εδδι (N 24 and N 28), whose realization remains unclear (perhaps “a sort of voiced stop”, see Adiego 2017, 8). Therefore, some features seem to exclude a Pisidian filiation for this text.

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The stele containing inscription N 30 depicts a relief of a sitting woman which Brixhe (2016, 89) considered a possible representation of the person described in the text. Therefore, he suggested two possible segmentations and translations: Παπα Σγαλλος “Papa, fille (?) de Sgalla” or Παπας Γαλλος “Papas, fille (?) de Galla”. In both interpretations, the father’s name (Σγαλλος or Γαλλος) would be the Pisidian genitive in -ος of an indigenous name *Σγαλλα or *Γαλλα, cf. gen. Γδαβος (N 10, N 11 and N 27) for Γδαβα (N 12). As for the first name, if segmented Παπα it can be analysed as a Pisidian nominative, while the segmentation Παπας would imply a Greek inflection. For this reason, Brixhe assumes a code-switching in the latter case: “Παπας non senti comme indigène et fléchi comme un nom grec, à la différence du patronyme.” In a previous paper in which he accepted this latter segmentation, he suggested that this name was considered Greek because it is not found in the onomastic stock of the small area where Pisidian inscriptions are attested (Brixhe and Vottéro 2004, 17).

A much simpler explanation for N 30, however, is that this text was written entirely in Greek. If a segmentation Παπας Γαλλος is assumed, the epigraph makes sense in the context of the Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor:

- Παπας is a common Lallname in masculine nominative singular (see *KPN* § 1199-1) and occurs throughout Anatolia, including Pisidia.
- The following word – the alleged “Pisidian genitive” Γαλλος – can be interpreted as a title (γάλλος) in masculine nominative singular, in agreement with Παπας.

Therefore, the inscription can be read Παπας γάλλος “Papas the gallus”. Γάλλος is a title borne by male priests devoted to the Mother Goddess that appears for the first time in the mid-third century BC and derives from the ethnic for ‘Galatians’ (see Lane 1996),¹ who invaded Anatolia in the 3rd century BC and settled in a large area of the ancient Phrygia (including Gordion and Pessinus). In fact, this priest title is well attested in Roman times (also in Latin as *gallus*) and it is not unusual in inscriptions from Pisidia. A quick search provides the following results for Pisidia: Μεννέας γάλλος (from Komama, a suitable par-

¹ Γάλλος (unattested in the Phrygian corpus) is often considered as a Phrygian borrowing in Greek, but none of the suggested etymologies matches the current knowledge of the Phrygian language (see Sowa 2007, 156–158 and 2008, 76–79, which ignores Lane 1996). A Phrygian cognate of Greek κόλος ‘docked, cropped, stunted’ (see *HED* 2, 414) does not explain the voiced stop of γάλλος or the gemination of *l*. Finally, the same can be said of Taylor’s suggestion of a borrowing from Sumerian *GALA*, Akkadian *kalû* (‘entered – perhaps through the mediation of Hurrian – the local languages of Anatolia’, Taylor 2008, 176–177). In addition, a hypothetical relationship with Hittite ¹⁰*hallyari* (a kind of cultic sign) is also problematic. Consequently, Lane’s proposal remains the simplest explanation.

alle; see Bean 1959, 70 no. 5 = *SEG* 19.738), Ἀπολλώνιος Θό(αντος) Ἀρ(τειμου) ἀρχιγάλλος (*TAM* III,1 267, Termessos), Αὐρ(ήλιος) Λόνγος δις ἀρχιγάλλος (*TAM* III,1 578, Termessos), Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μολης Τροκονδου ἀρχιγάλλος (*TAM* III,1 619, Termessos), Κλευστιανο[ῦ] ἀρχιγάλλο[υ] (*SERP* 343,22, Antiocheia) and Αὐρήλιος Πρωτόκτητος Γαίου [...] ἱερόγαλλος (*TAM* III,1 740, Termessos).

This interpretation would seem to conflict with the iconography of the stele, where, as mentioned above, a woman is represented. A possible solution for this contradiction would be to assume that the stone may have been reused – but it is most unlikely that a stele of an influential figure such as priest of the Mother Goddess would be recycled. A better alternative is to suggest that the sitting woman on the stele is the Mother Goddess herself. However, the stele does not have the iconographic elements expected in a relief of the Mother Goddess (two lions, a tympanum or a bird of prey, for instance). The two rosettes above the woman are the only element which can be connected with the worship of the goddess, but this woman is very similar to the ones depicted in other Pisidian steles (see, e.g., Brixhe, Drew-Bear and Kaya 1987 nos. 1, 3, 15, 16, etc.). But a third, very appealing interpretation is also possible: the female image of the relief represents Papas the gallus wearing women’s clothing.

Details about galli are scarce, but it is known that they did not conform to the Roman gender code. Indeed, emasculation seems to have been a common practice among the galli, though it was not widespread or required. In Greek, the term γάλλος often means ‘eunuch’. Although they were described as influential figures in Anatolia, their “unmasculine behavior” in the Urbs (including “womanish speech and dress”, Roller 1997, 553) was offensive to the Romans. A votive relief from Kyzikos (Mysia) dated to 46 BC (*CIG* 3668, Musée du Louvre Ma 2850) depicts a gallus called Soterides (Σωτηρίδης γάλλος) “in woman’s clothing, a long gown and a veil, implying that within Asia Minor the eunuch priest identified himself as a woman in his physical appearance” (Roller 1997, 544). Consequently, in stele N 30, Papas the gallus may be depicted in woman’s clothing, just as Soterides is in his relief from Kyzikos. In addition, the stele from Komama considered above (Bean 1959, 71 no. 5, *SEG* 19.738) can also be adduced here as a parallel to the relief in N 30, because the text describes another gallus (Μεννέας Γάλλος ἑαυτόν) and the figure wears a clear long robe (unfortunately, the upper part of the stele is broken).²

In conclusion, N 30 must be removed from the Pisidian corpus because the evidence shows that this is a plain Greek text. Indeed, the inscription does not

² The “female attire” of this figure is assumed after van Straten 1994, 255. This stele is now lost. At this point, however, we would thank the Burdur Museum for their attempts to find it.

belong to a woman whose father bore an unparalleled anthroponym, but to a male priest devoted to the Mother Goddess (γάλλος) who bore a common personal name (Παπας) and wore women's clothing (like Soterides and Menneas the galli).

Abbreviations

- CIG* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin.
HED 2 = Puhvel, J., 1984, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary. Vol. 2 Words beginning with E and I*, Berlin – New York – Amsterdam.
KPN = Zgusta, L., 1964, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag.
SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden.
SERP = Ramsay, W. M. (ed.), 1906, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Aberdeen.
TAM III = Heberdey, R., 1941, *Tituli Asiae Minoris, III. Tituli Pisidiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti, 1. Tituli Termessi et agri Termessensis*, Vienna.

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