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Old Phrygian *bev̥dos* ‘statue, image’, Greek *βεῦδος* ‘woman’s dress’

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The rare Greek word *βεῦδος* ‘sumptuous woman’s dress’ is a borrowing from Old Phrygian *bev̥dos* ‘statue, image (of a goddess)’, which goes back to PIE **bʰeudʰ-os-* ‘perception’.

The Old Phrygian Germanos inscription (B-01) is written on a rock immediately beneath a niche which most probably served for a statue of Kybele. Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: 64) give the first two lines as follows:

1. *s[-]bev̥[-]osadi[-]*
2. *kav̥arm̥oyo[-]imroyedaesetovesniyo[-]*

About the second letter of the first line Brixhe and Lejeune say: "un trou rond suivi d'une haste verticale: lequel de ces deux éléments (*o ? i ?*) est accidentel?" Considering the position of the letters, *i* seems certain (*o* would be too close to the preceding *s*; a ligature *oi*, proposed by Orel 1997: 138, is less likely). About the sixth letter they write: "barre transversale non évidente ni sur l'estampage ni sur les photographies: *a* ou *d* ?" Since the combination *ao* is unknown in Old Phrygian inscriptions, we must decide for *d* (cf. Lubotsky 1993: 96, fn. 4, Bajun and Orel 1988: 186, Orel 1997: 138). The end of line 1 is unreadable.

As to the second line, I have argued (Lubotsky 1993: 93) that the "traces d'une lettre non identifiable" between *kav̥arm̥oyo* and *imroy* are accidental. The same is true for the final letter of the line ("absence de traces certaines"). Further, the empty spaces between *kav̥arm̥oyo* and *imroy*, on the one hand, and on both sides of *edaes*, on the other, must be taken seriously (ibidem, p. 94). This means that the distances indicated word boundaries. We thus arrive at the following divisions: *sibev̥dosadi[-] kav̥arm̥oyo imroy edaes etovesniyo*.

The beginning of the inscription is reminiscent of M-01b

baba : *memevais* : *proitavos* : *kΦiyanaveyos* : *sikeneman* : *edaes*, which is usually analysed as 'Baba (+ epithets) has made this *keneman*', *si*^o being acc.sg. neuter of the demonstrative pronoun. Old Phrygian inscriptions often start with an object in the accusative, e.g. M-04 *akinanogavan* : *tiyes* / *modrovanak* : *avara*, Vezirhan *sint imenan kaliya titedat* ---, W-01 *materan* : *areyastin* / *bonok* : *akenanogavos* / *vrekun* : *tedatoy* (cf. for the reading order of this inscription Lubotsky 1988), so that it is likely that *sibevdos* must be analysed *si* + *bevdos*, *bevdos* thus being acc.sg.n. of an *s*-stem.

Orel (1997: 139f.) takes *bevdos* to be a proper name in the nominative. He refers to Zgusta (1984: 121), who mentions Phrygian place names like Παλαιὸν Βεῦδος, Βευδου Οἶκος. Zgusta further connects the gloss found at EM 195.52, viz. *βεῦδος* ... ἄγαλμα (at Hermione) 'statue of a god' and writes: "es kann sich um eine phrygische Glosse handeln, und das ἄγαλμα konnte das Bild einer Gottheit sein". I would add that Gr. *βεῦδος* n. 'sumptuous woman's dress' (Sappho, Call., etc.) might be the same word. Greek may have borrowed this word from Phrygian in the meaning 'statue of a goddess', but since these statues presumably were lavishly adorned and dressed, *βεῦδος* was used in the narrower meaning of a specific woman's dress. Pfeiffer (1965: 14) writes in his comment to a Callimachos' passage ἐν δὲ Πάρῳ κάλλη τε καὶ αἰόλα βεύδε' ἔχουσιν (Aetia I, Fr. 7 11): "vestes purpura tinctae grammaticis et κάλλη et βεύδεα erant; in Call. prob. β. significant χιτῶνα longum et κ. ἱμάτιον, quibus Gratiae in anaglypho Thassico vestitae sunt" ("according to the grammarians, both κάλλη and βεύδεα were purple clothes; in Callimachos, βεύδεα probably refer to a long tunic and κάλλη to an outer garment which the Graces on a Thassos relief were wearing"). He also mentions Hesychius' gloss *βεῦδος*· στέμμα τι καὶ ἱμάτιον γυναικεῖον (*βεῦδος* = garland and a woman's outer garment). The meaning στέμμα 'wreath, garland' may also point to the adornment of a statue.

In view of syntactic considerations, mentioned above, it is much more probable that OPhr. *bevdos* is not a name, but the word for the statue (of a goddess). As already surmised by Orel (1997: 140), this word is derived from IE **b^heuǵ-* 'to perceive'. I take it as a regular *s*-stem **b^heuǵ-os-* (cf. Gr. ἄ-πευθ-ής

‘ignorant’, Av. *baodah-* n. ‘perception’). The original meaning of this formation must have been ‘perception, idea’, which seems to be a suitable term for the image of a god or a goddess.

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