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## New Phrygian inscription No. 48: palaeographic and linguistic comments

ALEXANDER LUBOTSKY

### 1. Introduction.

Although it may often look as if the study of the Phrygian language has come to a dead end and that only the discovery of new inscriptions may lead to some progress, I believe that the possibilities of the good old method – a combination of palaeographic, combinatoric and etymological analysis (in this order) – are not yet exhausted. The work may be tedious and progress may not be spectacular, but every step brings us a better understanding of the Phrygian inscriptions and grammar. In the present paper I would like to show how this method can contribute to the interpretation of one of the most important New Phrygian (NPhr.) texts, viz. inscription 48.

This inscription has been discovered by the Greek amateur epigrapher 'Ι. Μηλιόπουλος in the neighbourhood of Eskişehir (Dorylaion). On the basis of his drawing and impression, the inscription was published in 1898 in the "Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts".<sup>1</sup> The whereabouts of the stone itself are unknown, and we can only guess at its original measurements and function. It is also unclear whether the inscription is complete: there may have been some text above our first line. In the first publication, the text was given as follows:<sup>2</sup>

- 1 ε[...]ιθνιονμενος
- 2 νιοισιος ναδροτος
- 3 ειτον Μιτραιφατα
- 4 κε μας τεμρογε
- 5 ιος κε πουντας
- 6 βας κε ενσταρν(α)

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<sup>1</sup>This journal published the newly discovered inscriptions anonymously, every issue containing several sections with the title "Funde". I shall refer to the original publication as *Mittheilungen* 1898. During a short visit to Vienna in December 1993, I was able to consult the impression and the drawing of this inscription, which are being preserved in the Kleinasiatische Kommission of the Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. G. Rehrenböck of the Kleinasiatische Kommission for his kind assistance and to Doz. Dr. Friedrich Hild and Dr. Klaus Belke (Tabula Imperii Byzantini Kommission), who prepared for me various detail photographs of the impression. These photographs and the excellent photograph of the impression given in Haas 1970: 39 formed the basis of the drawing made by Mrs. T. Wezel-Ignatova; I also reproduce a copy of the original drawing of the inscription by 'Ι. Μηλιόπουλος.

<sup>2</sup>The same text, albeit with slightly different word divisions, is given by Calder 1911: 188 and Friedrich 1932: 135.

7 δονμθ κε Οιονθ  
 8 βαν Αδδα κε τορον  
 9 αν. παρεθέμην τὸ  
 10 μνημεῖον τοῖς προ  
 11 γεγραμμένοις θε  
 12 οῖς κε τῇ κώμῃ  
 13 ταυθ' ὁ πατὴρ  
 14 Ἀσκληπιός

## 2. The palaeographic analysis.

The inscription is very carefully and beautifully written, and only the beginning shows a few damaged letters. The impression shows that the stele was cut aslant on the upper side, presumably in order to use the stone for a different purpose. Old stelae and tombstones were often used later for a wall or a water-line. On the left side of the impression (the right side of the inscription) there is some empty space above the line, practically without any traces of letters, but it is difficult to judge whether there was some text. Above the final sigma of the first line there is a triangular trace, which may represent an apex at the foot of T, P, I, Γ, etc. Therefore, there remains a distinct possibility that our line 1 is not the beginning of the text.

The first letter is clearly an epsilon. Then follows a space for one broad or two narrow letters, but without clear traces. Haas' assertion (1961: 79) that "der Abklatsch ... lässt ... die Gruppe ετ τθ völlig einwandfrei erkennen"<sup>3</sup> is simply false. The top of the next letter is missing. It can be an I, as in the first edition, but a T, which we find in Haas' text, is more probable, as the distance between this letter and the next one is larger than the distance between I and the adjacent letters elsewhere in this inscription. A gamma cannot be excluded either. The fifth letter is identified by all editors as a Θ, but a closer look at the impression shows that the letter is not closed, so this must be an Ε. To be sure, there is a shallow trace of the circle, but the circle is not deepened during the final cutting of the letter. The scribe presumably worked with a templet for engraving round letters (Ο Θ Κ Ε) and first marked a circle on the surface, which he later deepened out. It is conceivable that his command of the Phrygian language was limited and that he just copied an original. A similar explanation accounts for the unexpected thetas of the Phrygian inscription, which we shall discuss below, and for the theta without a cross-bar in the Greek part of the inscription.

One more letter of the first line remains to be discussed, viz. letter 7, which follows the clear N. Its top is missing, so that we only see a vertical hasta. It is therefore quite comprehen-

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<sup>3</sup>Haas assumed that his first four letters ετ τθ represent the date of the inscription, τθ standing for the year 309 of the Sullan era (224/5 A.D.). Not only is the reading impossible, but it is far from obvious that the Phrygians should date their texts after Sulla in 3d century A.D. (cf. Diakonoff – Neroznak 1985: 86). It is important that the only dated NPhr. inscription (29) uses the provincial era (Ramsay 1905: 119f.).

sible that all editors thought that it was an I. Nevertheless, I believe this identification is wrong. The iotas in this inscription are always written exactly in the middle between the adjacent letters, whereas letter 7 stands far away from the preceding N and close to the following O. This position is identical with the end of line 9 where we find T between N and O, the top of T written above the O. This leads me to assume that letter 7 is a tau. Accordingly, line 1 must be read as: ε[(-)]γ/τεντουμενος.

The three occurrences of the letter Θ in the Phrygian part of the inscription are remarkable because this letter is practically absent from the NPhr. inscriptions. We only find it in the Greek loan-word θαλαμει (4) and a personal name Αδιθρερακ (31, cf. Neumann 1986: 82). Already in 1900, Kretschmer saw that the consonantal group μθ of δονμθ is improbable and proposed to consider the final Θ a scribal error for O or Ω. Later, when Haas identified the word ονεβαν in inscription 30 (1961: 81f), he assumed that ονθβαν in inscription 48 must likewise be corrected to ονωβαν. In line 1, according to Haas, the θ is real and constitutes part of the date at the beginning of the inscription (see fn. 3). From 1961 on, everyone has cited this inscription with Ω instead of Θ<sup>4</sup>, at least in δονμω and ονωβαν, in spite of the fact that these readings are highly improbable. First of all, we cannot expect that in an inscription carved with so much care, a scribe would twice mix up Θ with Ω, which has a very different shape in the Greek part of the inscription (line 12). Therefore, Haas assumed (1961: 80) that it was not a mistake, but that in Phrygian inscriptions one could simply use Θ instead of Ω because Phrygians had different spelling conventions. This of course is unsatisfactory because we know that the opposite is true: the Phrygian inscriptions in general follow the Greek conventions and we have further no examples of Θ used for Ω.

Haas himself gave a different and, in my view, correct solution in the same article in a footnote (1961: 82, fn. 16): “Das Bild [in inscription 30, AL] zeigt einwandfrei οueban gegenüber ουωban der Nr. 48; ein Lautwandel ue- zu uo- wäre ja denkbar (vgl. οukra neben οuekrω [...]), doch ist θ für ε in 48 eher ein Versehen des Steinmetzen: er hatte sich, wie aus dem Abklatsch ersichtlich ist, alle Ο Θ Ζ Ε mit einer ovalen Schablone vorgeritzt und beim Ausfertigen der Inschrift irrtümlich das ganze Rund vertieft, statt eines Ε”. This explanation not only immediately accounts for ονεβαν, but also gives the reading δονμε in line 7, which is, as we shall see below, also preferable to δονμω from the point of view of morphology. Unfortunately, Haas apparently forgot or disregarded his own solution and operated with ω in all his later publications.

The palaeographic analysis further shows that lines 7-14 are added to the inscription later, which went unnoticed by the previous editors. This is already indicated by the empty space at the beginning of line 7. Theoretically, it is conceivable that this place was originally occupied by a

<sup>4</sup>Brixhe (1990: 94) tentatively suggested that Θ in this inscription “pourrait être un *omicron* diacrité. Il reflète peut-être une réalité phonétique; mais son isolement m’empêche d’en dire davantage.”

letter which in the course of time has become invisible, but this is hardly the case here. In the first six lines, the scribe put the words in such a fashion that the end of a word generally coincided with the end of the line; he left then some free space open (cf. especially lines 1, 3, 4, 5). In line 6, the scribe was clearly doing his best to finish the word on the line by squeezing in the final alpha, only half of which is visible on the impression. This way of arranging the text is only comprehensible if the alpha was the last letter of the text and the scribe did not want to leave some letters on a new line. Note that the first word of line 7 is δουμε, which constitutes a complete Phrygian word.

Furthermore, there is a clear palaeographic “break” after line 6. First of all, the form of kappa changes from line 6 on. Whereas in the first six lines the side strokes of kappa are short, in the second part of the inscription they are long, so that the stroke below reaches the writing line. The “lay-out” of the text is also different. As we have seen, in the first six lines the scribe tried to arrange the text in such a way that the end of the line coincided with the end of a word (only in line 4 this proved impossible). In lines 7-11, all free space is used up, and only the final three lines (the end of the inscription proper and the “signature”) have free space at the end. Finally, as we have seen above, the two instances of the θ instead of ε are found in line 7, i.e. after the “break”. We may speculate that this text was written by a scribe, who was supposed to add the Greek text to the inscription, but at the same time had to engrave some Phrygian words before the Greek text.

Accordingly, we may conclude that lines 7-14 were added later, which has important consequences for the interpretation of the inscription.

The palaeographic analysis of inscription 48 thus leads to the following text (the ε in brackets corresponds to the θ of the inscription; the justification of the word divisions will be given below):

- 1 ε[(-)]γ/τεντουμενος
- 2 νιοισιος ναδροτος
- 3 ειτου Μιτραφατα
- 4 κε Μας Τεμρογε-
- 5 ιος κε Πουντας
- 6 Βας κε ενσταρνα
- 7 [vac.] δουμ(ε) κε οι ου(ε)-
- 8 βαν αδδακετ ορου-
- 9 αν<sup>5</sup> [Greek:]παρεθέμην το

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<sup>5</sup>In 1961: 77ff., 1966: 97, 169, Haas started the Greek text from the beginning of line 9, because he identified ορου with the gloss, given by Achilles Tatius: τὸ ορου τὸ ἄνω δηλούν Φρυγῶν ἴδιον, ὡς Νεοπτόλεμος ἐν ταῖς φρυγίαις φωναῖς. Later, he changed his mind (1976: 49ff) and took -αν as the end of the Phrygian text, which is certainly preferable because the Greek form ἀνπαρεθέμην is hardly feasible.

10	μνημεῖον τοῖς προ-	120
11	γεγραμμένοις θε-	
12	οῖς κὲ τῇ κώμῃ·	
13	ταυθ' ὁ πατὴρ	
14	Ἄσκληπιός	

3. As the text has now been established, we can turn to the combinatorial and etymological analysis, but before we do so I would like to pay tribute to P. Kretschmer, who, in my opinion, gave the best analysis of this inscription in a short article (1900). Firstly, he recognized that this is a quasi-bilinguis. Secondly, he made the important observation that Phr. κε is always enclitic, so that there are three deities in the Phrygian text, viz. Μιτραφατα, Μας Τεμρογειος, and Πουντας Βας. Furthermore, since the Greek text adds κὲ τῇ κώμῃ we have to look for the Phrygian correspondence of κώμῃ in ενσταρνα δονμθ (as it was then read). He proposed to read the latter word δονμο or δονμω and to identify it with δονμος "σύνοδος, σύγκλητος, συμβίωσις" found in a Greek inscription from Maionia. Finally, he saw in Phr. αδδακετ the verb, often occurring in malediction formulae, which here must mean something like 'hat festgesetzt, angeordnet'. These conclusions seem essentially correct to me, but Kretschmer's ideas did not find acclaim, and the subsequent treatments of this inscription practically disregarded them.

#### 4. The Greek text.

From the Greek part of the inscription we learn that the "father" Asklepios has placed this monument under the protection of the above-mentioned<sup>6</sup> gods and of the community. It is worth mentioning that in inscriptions of Asia Minor the title πατήρ was specifically used for a high official in the Mitra cult (Haas 1976: 50, fn. 2, with references). This observation combined with the name of Mitra in the Phrygian part means that our inscription must be seen in the context of this cult. It therefore seems reasonable to assume with Haas (1976: 51) that κώμῃ means 'ein religiöser Verein' rather than simply 'a village'. The Greek text makes clear that we have to look for the names of gods in the Phrygian part of the inscription.

#### 5. The Phrygian text. Part I (lines 1-6).

Since Haas (1961), all interpretations of inscription 48 started from the assumption that this is a curse, mainly because of the verbs ειτον and αδδακετ, which are commonly used in the malediction formulae, e.g. 82. ιος νι σα τον μανκα κακουν αδδακετ, τι τετικμενος ειτον 'whoever brings harm to this monument, may he become cursed'. Haas assumed that we have to

<sup>6</sup>For the meaning of προγεγραμμένοις see Haas 1976: 51f. contra Schmitt 1973: 56, fn. 60. As was already indicated by Kretschmer (1900: 445), παρεθέμην must mean something like 'place under the protection of'.

do here with a converse formula, the apodosis with ειτον preceding the protasis with αδδακετ. This is *a priori* improbable, and, moreover, the part with αδδακετ was added later, which means that it simply cannot be the protasis of a malediction formula.

The interpretation of the first six lines of the inscription is difficult because we cannot be sure that this is the beginning of the text. The morphological identification of separate forms is more or less clear: we first have three adjectives / participles (ε[(-)]γ/τεντονμενος, νιοισιος, ναδροτος) in the nom.sg., then 3sg. impv. ειτον 'may he become', followed by three theonyms Μιτραφατα, Μας Τεμρογειος, Πουντας Βας in the nom.sg., coordinated by the conjunction κε, and, finally, the difficult ενσταρνα. The question is: who is the subject of ειτον? This verb only occurs in final position in the apodosis of the curses, and it is of course very probable that this is the case here, too. Accordingly, the three adjectives constitute the apodosis of the curse ('may he become ε[(-)]γ/τεντονμενος, νιοισιος, ναδροτος'), while the protasis must have been broken off. In general terms, we can expect that these adjectives express some negative notions, but for the rest we must rely on etymological analysis, which, unfortunately, does not provide spectacular results this time.

All previous attempts to explain the first word ε[(-)]γ/τεντονμενος are useless because they were based on a wrong reading. This word must be a medial participle with the suffix -μενο- < PIE \*-mH<sub>1</sub>no-. In Phrygian, all attested medial participles are athematic and reduplicated, probably belonging to the system of the perfect, cf. OPhr. evmmesmeneya (Lubotsky 1988: 15), NPhr. τετικμενος, γεγαριτμενος, γεγρειμεναν, σ[ε]σταμναν, αργμενα[-], but this may also be due to a coincidence. Also ε[(-)]γ/τεντονμενος is athematic (-ον- can reflect either \*-u- or \*-ō-), but its reduplicated character is uncertain.

Remarkable here is the consonant group -ντ-, which is very rare in Phrygian: we only find B-01.4 *kinteləmi*, which must be analysed *kin teləmi* (Lubotsky 1993: 97), and the probable borrowings παντα (35)<sup>7</sup> and Πουντας (48, see below). The fate of the original group \*-nt- follows from the ending of the 3pl. imperative (< \*-ntō, cf. 3sg. impv. ειτον < \*-tō), which is spelled in NPhr. as -τνου (αδειτνου 12, possibly ειτνου 30) and -vvou (ιννου 35, 71). In my opinion, these spellings point to a voiceless geminate -nn- (IPA [ɳɳ]). Also the OPhr. spellings *tn*, *ntn*, found in *apaktneni* (B-01.8) and *çeventnoktoy* (the inscription from Daskyleion, cf. Bakır – Gusmani 1991) seem to point in this direction.

How can we then account for -ντ- in ε[(-)]γ/τεντονμενος? I see two solutions: either we assume a word boundary between -ν and -τ, or we consider -ντ- as just another spelling for the voiceless geminate [ɳɳ]. In the latter case, we may suggest that τεντονμενος reproduces the Phrygian pronunciation of Gr. (ἀπο)τιννύμενος, (ἀπο)τειννύμενος 'to require a penalty, punish', which is semantically appropriate in the context of a malediction formula. It goes without saying that this suggestion is very tentative.

<sup>7</sup> This word is also attested in line 4 of the Vezirhan inscription, see elsewhere in this volume.

As to νιοισιος, I can only note that Haas' suggestion (1961: 79, 1966: 97) to read this word as /niuisios/ seems improbable to me: we see that /u/ is spelled in the same inscription with ον in ονεβαν and οροναν. It is possible that ν- or να- of ναδροτος contains the negation (cf. the generalized Gr. νη- in νήποινος, etc.), but what is the rest? Perhaps we can venture to reconstruct \*νανδροτος and connect this with Gr. ἀνανδρόμαι 'to become impotent'.

Next follow the names of the deities, doubtless the προγεγράμμενοι θεοι of the Greek text. As was already surmised by Kretschmer (1900) and later demonstrated in detail by Brixhe (1978b: 1ff.), Phrygian κε is an enclitic conjunction, so that the only possible syntactic constructions are Α Βκε and Ακε Βκε. In our case we find κε three times, which means that the construction is Ακε Βκε Κκε, and that we are dealing with three theonyms in the nom.sg., viz. Μιτραφατα, Μας Τεμρογειος and Πουντας Βας.

While the first part of Μιτραφατα is no doubt identical with the Iranian god Mithra, the second part is obscure. The position of κε shows that this name refers to one deity, so that Haas' interpretation "Mitra und Phata" (1961: 77) or "Mitra und Ahura (x<sup>v</sup>atāy)" (1966: 98, 1976: 61ff.) is impossible.<sup>8</sup> More likely is Kretschmer's suggestion (Mittheilungen 1898: 363, cf. also Diakonoff – Neroznak 1985: 124) to consider the form as the Iranian personal name \*Miθrapāta- (cf. also Gr. Μιτροβάτης, Lyc. *Miθrapata, Mizrppata*).<sup>9</sup> The φ remains strange, however, as this is the only instance of this letter in NPhr. inscriptions.

Μας Τεμρογειος is a deity connected with the river Tembris / Tembrogius (nowadays Porsuk Irmağı), on which Dorylaion, the find-place of the inscription, is situated (thus already Mittheilungen 1898). The name of the river appears in many variants (cf. RE V1: 433, Haas 1976: 68), but we can distinguish two major groups: the short form Tembris, Tembros (coins from Midaion), Thymbris (Livius), Thybris (Cinnam.), Tembrios (Orph.Arg.), and the long form Tembrogius (Pliny), Τενθρογιος (Petrie 1906: 127). The suffix -(ε)ιο- often occurs in Phrygian geographical names (cf. Haas 1966: 14). The same suffix is also found in *Kubeleya*, the epitheton of the Mother Goddess Kybele (Brixhe 1979b). It seems likely that the original name was \*Τεμρο(γ)ις, whence Temris, Thymbris, whereas the term Τεμρογειος was probably used for the land around the river and later again for the river itself. As far as Μας is concerned, it is tempting to connect Hesych's gloss Μαζεύς· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρυξί. As was already surmised by Haas (1966: 167), this gloss can be analysed as Phr. \*Mas-deos 'god Mas' (cf. NPhr. δεως ~ Gr. θεοῖς).<sup>10</sup> Μας Τεμρογειος is then 'Temropic Mas', 'god Mas of the Temrog region'.

<sup>8</sup>The same objection applies to Witczak's derivation (1992-3: 271) of Φατα from Indo-Iranian \*Vāta- 'Wind-God'.

<sup>9</sup>Since, as we shall see below, the other two theonyms represent a name of the deity plus his provenance, it is possible to analyse Μιτραφατα as Μιτρα Φατα 'Mitra of the Fata-region', 'Fat-ic Mitra'. Unfortunately, I was unable to identify the second part of the name.

<sup>10</sup>After my lecture in Rome, Dr. M. Janda suggested to me that Phr. Μας may be a functional and etymological equivalent of the Greek Moon-god Μήν < \*mch<sub>1</sub>ns, which was popular in Asia Minor. For the development of the final cluster cf. NPhr. ας < \*h<sub>1</sub>ens.

The last deity is Πουντας Βας. We come across Βας in malediction formulae with βεκος 'bread', cf. 86, 111 Βας ιοι βεκος μεβερετ 'Bas will take his bread away',<sup>11</sup> similarly 99 με κε οι τοτοσσειτι Βας βεκος. As I have argued elsewhere (1989b: 149), the acc.sg. of the same theonym is probably Βαταν, found in the curses of 33. αυτος κε ουα κ εροκα γεγαριτμενος ας Βαταν τεντους and 36. αυτος κε ουα κ οροκα γεγαριτμενος α<ς> Βαταν τεντους 'and may he himself and his progeny (?) become cursed by Bas' (cf. syntactically similar τι(τ) τετικμενος ας Τιαν ειτου, attested in 14, 53, 99). We may thus reconstruct the paradigm: nom.sg. Βας < \*Βατ-ς, acc.sg. Βαταν. It is remarkable that Βας and Βαταν only occur in inscriptions found in the northern part of the New Phrygian area, approximately at the 39th parallel and to the north of it. This fact can be seen as an indication of the northern provenance of this deity.<sup>12</sup> It is therefore tempting to assume with Bajun and Orel (1988: 148) that Πουντας refers to the Pontic region (Gr. Πόντος). Note that word-final \*-on regularly yields Phr. -un, and it is quite reasonable to assume that the same development occurred in the position before a stop in the middle of a word. If Βας is a female deity, we can take Πουντας as nom.sg. fem., Πουντας Βας meaning 'Pontic Bas', parallel to Μας Τεμρογειος 'Temrogeic Mas'. Alternatively, Πουντας, which contains no derivative suffix, may represent gen.sg. of Πουντα- 'Pontic region'.

ενσταρνα was the last word of the original inscription. As the malediction formula most probably ended with ειτου, the next sentence consisted of the three theonyms plus ενσταρνα.<sup>13</sup> This sentence must have conveyed the idea that these deities guarantee the fulfillment of the curse. What then is the function of ενσταρνα? Obviously, the most likely option is that it is a verbal form. As the most common meaning of Gr. ἐνίστημι is 'to be in, to stand in, to be appointed', i.e. exactly what we expect ενσταρνα to mean, it is tempting to consider the same derivation for the Phrygian word. Both the preverb *en-* and the root *stā-* are attested in Phrygian (cf. sigm. aor. OPhr. *eneparkes* M-01d, G-01C, G-125, NPhr. ενεπαρκες < \*en-e-pērk-es; OPhr. *estatoiavun* G-144, NPhr. aor. εσταες, etc.), and -ρνα may represent the 3rd pl. middle ending,

<sup>11</sup>This context makes clear that the analysis of Bajun and Orel (1987), who take βας as a particle, is unwarranted. They believe that βας cannot be the subject of the sentence because they take βεκος as nom.sg. This is unnecessary, however, because βεκος is no doubt acc.sg. neuter (s-stem): this follows from the formula ακ κε οι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρεγρουν ειτου (33, 76), where βεκος is coordinated with the neuter adjective δρεγρουν, and from the passages in Herodot 2,2 and Hippoanax frg. 125 (Masson 1962: 89, 167f).

<sup>12</sup>This origin was already suggested by Witczak (1992-3: 267f.), albeit on rather shaky grounds. He assumes etymological identity between Βας, Βαταν and the Mycenaean deity \*Φας, Φαδος, found on the Knossos tablets in dat.sg. *pa-de*, *pa-de-i*. Since Witczak posits *Lautverschiebung* for the Bithynian language, he assumes that the Phrygians borrowed this deity from the Bithynian pantheon.

<sup>13</sup>ενσταρνα is reminiscent of the Hittite adverb *istarna* 'between, mutually, in the midth, among(st), within, internally', and the similarity becomes even more striking if we recall that Puhvel (1984: 482) reconstructs \*enstarna for the Hittite word, but the similarity is probably accidental.

consisting of the “middle” -r- and -v<sub>α</sub> < \*-ntai (cf. Skt. *śerate* < \*kei-r-ntoi).<sup>14</sup> This ending suits well the stative (or passive) meaning of ενσταρνα.

## 6. The Phrygian text. Part II (lines 7-9).

As we have seen above, the second part of the Phrygian text (δουμ(ε) κε οι ου(ε)βαν αδδακετ ορουαν) was added later, simultaneously with the Greek text. In this clause, κε functions as a sentence conjunction ‘and’, which is abundantly attested in NPhr. inscriptions, co-ordinating apodoseis of the malediction formulae. As a sentence conjunction, κε appears after the first word of the second clause (Brixhe 1978b: 1ff, Lubotsky 1989b: 150). Consider the following examples:

33. ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ  
 γεγ<ρ>ειμεναν εγεδου Τιος ουταν  
 ακ κε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου  
 αυτος κε ουα κ εροκα γεγαριτμενος ας Βαταν τεντους

76. ιος νι σεμιν τ κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ  
 τιτ τετικμενος ατ Τι αδειτου  
 ακ κε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρε<γ>ρουν ειτου  
 γεγρειμεναν κ' εγεδου Τιος ουταν

99. ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κακε αδακετ  
 τι τετικμενος ας Τιαν ειτου  
 με κε οι τοτοσσειτι Βας βεκος

Several scholars (Kretschmer 1900, Diakonoff – Neroznak 1985: 104f., Bajun – Orel 1988: 148) have suggested that δουμ(ε) corresponds to κώμη of the Greek part of the inscription and must mean something like ‘religious) community, association’, and not ‘Grab(hügel)’ as proposed by Haas<sup>15</sup>. Recently, Masson (1987) has presented considerable evidence for the Greek word δούμος ‘a religious association (especially of women)’. As far as the literary sources are concerned, this word is attested in an epigram by Philodemus Gadarenensis (1st century B.C.), further probably in a fragment by Hippoanax (6th century B.C.)<sup>16</sup> and a gloss by Hesychius (6th century A.D.)<sup>17</sup>. Epigraphic attestations include Greek inscriptions from North-East Lydia (2d

<sup>14</sup> For \*-ai> NPhr. -α cf. dat.sg.f. σα; the development of \*-nt- to Phr. -nn- is discussed above. We must assume that the 3pl. ending -v<sub>α</sub> was generalized from the postvocalic position (for instance, in thematic verbs), since \*-(C)ntai would probably have yielded \*\*-antai > \*\*-anna. The precise prehistory of the ending -pv<sub>α</sub> is difficult to reconstruct, however. For the combination of \*-r- with -nt-ending in the 3rd plural in Phrygian cf. further 3pl. pf. δακαρεν (98 δακαρεν πατερης ευκιν αργουν) < \*-ēr + -ent.

<sup>15</sup> 1961: 80, 1970: 38. Haas considered the Phrygian word to be cognate with Gr. θωμός.

<sup>16</sup> Attested as a citation by Johannes Tzetzes, which ends with ἐν κατωτικῳ δούλῳ. The last word must probably be corrected in \*δούμῳ.

<sup>17</sup> The emendation of the gloss δοῦλος· ἡ οἰκία τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσιν τῶν γυναικῶν το δοῦμος was already proposed by Wackernagel in a manuscript note. Cf. further comments to this gloss by Fauth 1989: 197f.

century A.D.), Pisidia and an inscription from Serdica (Thracia)<sup>18</sup>, where we come across (ἱερός) δοῦμος referring to a religious association of women, often belonging to a cult of a goddess.

The same word also occurs in Latin inscriptions. An inscription from Scythia Minor (2d-3d century A.D.), probably dedicated to Kybele, mentions *pater dumi, mater dumi, sacratis dumi*. The altar inscription from Novae (Moesia Inferior) with an image of Mater Magna and the great god of Odessos reads: *L. Oppius Maximus sacerdos M(atris) D(eum) dendroforis et dumopiretis d(edit) d(edicavit)*, the term *dumopiretis* most probably referring to ‘the fire-priests of the *dumos*’.

In OPhr. we find the acc.sg. *duman* in line 3 of the Germanos inscription B-01: *matar kubeleya ibeya duman ektetoy*. The syntactic structure is clear, viz. Subj. (Nsg.) *matar kubeleya ibeya* – Obj. (Asg.) *duman* – Verb (3sg. middle) *ektetoy*. The crux is the verbal form. The often suggested comparison with Gr. κτίζω (e.g. Diakonoff – Neroznak 1985: 31) is unlikely because OPhr. *e* can hardly represent \**i* or \**ei*. It seems more reasonable to connect Gr. κτέομαι, Ion. κτέομαι, if from \**kth*<sub>1</sub>-, which in the perfect means ‘to possess, be master of’ (also mentioned as an alternative by Diakonoff – Neroznak 1985: 119). As the augment of *ektetoy* points to a preterite tense (most probably, aorist \**H<sub>1</sub>e-kth<sub>1</sub>-to + i*), the line may thus be translated ‘Mother Kybele *ibeya* (a title) is the mistress of the religious community’.

OPhr. *dumeyay* in the damaged inscription G-01(A) provides no information. As to two fragmentary Gordion inscriptions G-131. *Idumastaeia/* and G-245. *idumast[ə/ɛ]v-/,* it is conceivable that they contain *dumasta*, a name or a title, derived from *duma-* (Bajun – Orel 1988: 198).

Further connections of Phr. *duma-* have been proposed by Fauth (1989), who suggested to read Mycenaean official titles *du-ma, me-ri-du-ma-te, po-ro-du-ma-te, e-ra-wo du-ma* as \*δύμας, \*μελιδύμας, \*σποροδύμας, \*ἐλαιοδύμας, respectively, and to consider them cult officials (at least, originally), responsible for sacrifices of honey, seeds,<sup>19</sup> and oil. Fauth further points out (p. 193ff.) that the name of the Phrygian king Δύμας (Ilias Π 718), father of Hecabe and Asios, may go back to a Phrygian title, like Πάλμυς (N 792) reflecting Lyd. *qalmalus* ‘king’, Πρύτανις (E 678) reflecting Etruscan *purθne* ‘regent’, etc. The origin of the term \**duma-* cannot be determined.

The ending -ε of δούμ(ε) is an often attested dat.sg. ending of Phrygian consonant stems (cf. κνούμανε beside -ει, -ι, -η, βρατερε), which is in perfect agreement with dat.sg. κώμη of the Greek part of the inscription. Accordingly, in terms of morphology the reading δούμ(ε) is preferable to the previously conjectured δούμω, the ending of which is unique. For the paradigm

<sup>18</sup>[--ίε]ροῦ δούμον, standing next to [--τα]ίς μυστρίαις ‘women of the mysteries’.

<sup>19</sup>Interestingly, line 4 of the same Germanos inscription, dedicated to Kybele, reads *yos tivo [t]a spereta ayni kin te[ll]jemi* (for the reading see Lubotsky 1993), and it is tempting to see in *[t]a spereta*, most probably acc.pl.n., the word for ‘seeds’. The line can then be rendered ‘whoever [steals] these seeds or any *telemi* (sacrificial gift?) from the goddess...’ *vel sim.*

dat.sg. δονμ(ε), acc.sg. OPhr. *duman*, compare the paradigm of the female NPr. dat.sg. Ξεννε / Ξεννη, acc.sg. Ξενναν.

The enclitic οι is an anaphoric pronoun of the 3rd person sg. It is found in the following contexts:

4. ιος νι σεμον [κνουμανι] κακουν αδακετ αινι οι θαλαμει... 'whoever will bring harm to the grave or to its sepulchral chamber...' (θαλαμει is dat.sg. of a loan-word, corresponding to Gr. θαλάμη, cf. Brixhe 1978b: 5);

12. ζειρα κε οι πειες κε τιτ τετικμενα ατ Τι[ε] αδειττνου 'and may ζειρα (nom.pl. neuter) and his πειες become cursed (nom.pl. neuter) by T.';<sup>20</sup>

33, 76 ... ακ κε οι βεκος ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου 'and may bread become ... for him';

99. ... με κε οι τοτοσειτι Βας βεκος 'and Bas will deprive him of his bread'.<sup>21</sup>

Phr. οι has often been identified with the Indo-European reflexive pronoun \**swoi* (Gr. οῖ cf. Haas 1966: 220, 225; Brixhe 1978b: 9). Neumann (1971: 157, fn. 7) objected to this reconstruction: "Mit dem griech. Pronomen οι kann es m.E. wegen des fehlenden Vau am Anfang, das im Phryg. im Gegensatz zum Griech. erhalten sein müßte, nicht identisch sein". This argument is not decisive: as we never find *w* before *o* in NPhr. (in contradistinction to οι, ουε, ουα, cf. below, sub *οποναν*), we may assume that \**wo* > *o*. More important is the fact that next to οι we also find ιοι in a similar function, cf.

86, 111. ... Βας ιοι βεκος μεβερετ '... Bas will take his bread away';

18. ... βε<κ>ος ιοι με τοτοσσ' ευγισαρναν '... E. will deprive him of his bread';

15. ... (ιαν) ιοι αναρ δορυκα[νος ...] '... her husband Dorukanos ...'.<sup>22</sup>

From a methodological point of view, we cannot separate οι from ιοι, which renders the derivation of Phr. οι from \**swoi* improbable. The most economical solution is to consider οι a variant of ιοι. The distribution of these two forms is remarkable: we find οι after κε (3 times) and αινι (1x); ιοι after a consonant (4x). If we take ιοι as the original form, we can assume that the initial *i*- of the clitic was lost in post-vocalic position (especially, after front vowels), which is phonetically plausible.<sup>23</sup> As far as the etymology of ιοι is concerned, this form must be derived

<sup>20</sup>This sentence illustrates a peculiar feature of the Phrygian syntax which, to my knowledge, remained unnoticed: If several members are conjoined by κε, the number and gender of the first member determine the rection. Cf. further 33, 36 ... αντος κε ουα κ ε/οροκα γεγαριτμενος ας Βαταν τεντους 'and let him (nom.sg.m.) and his progeny (?) nom.pl.n. / nom.sg.f.) become cursed (nom.sg.m.)' *vel sim.*

<sup>21</sup>Brixhe (1979a: 192) assumed that υκε in 2. ... υκε ακαλα οονιτετον ουα stands for οικε, but this may likewise be a conjunction similar to Gr. αὐτε.

<sup>22</sup>The context of 35 (... ας ανανκαιοι παντα κενα [i]vvou) is too unclear to allow any conclusions. Possibly, we may single out ιοι κνουμαν in 116, but there, too, the context is unclear.

<sup>23</sup>The distribution of Τι/Τιε/Τιη is instructive in this connection: Τιη only occurs before consonants (6, 39, 62, 65, 86, 114), Τι only occurs before vowels (αδειτου 11, 54, 57, 72, 76, 77, 80, 85, 87, 101, 106; ατιτικμενος 103), Τιε is found in both positions, but the instances before a vowel are rare (only 5x out of 15: 12, 45, 56, 61, 100). We may

from the Indo-European anaphoric pronoun  $*H_1e-$  / *i*- (Lat. *is*, *ea*, *id*), most probably representing  $*H_1e(i)oi$ .

Haas identified ον(ε)βαν αδδακετ (his ουωβαν αδδακετ) with κακονν αδδακετ of the malediction formulae (1961: 80, 1966: 98, etc.) and interpreted ονεβαν as 'damage, harm'. He saw a justification of this analysis in NPhr. inscription 30, which he read Ιονεβαν εγερετ οι αυτω αυτα ηκετ ανειτηγ[ο]ν and translated "wer Schaden antut, ihm selbst dasselbe (auch?) soll zustoßen" (1966: 111). This interpretation and even the reading<sup>24</sup> are uncertain, however. Moreover, the context of inscription 48 makes clear that ονεβαν is rather a term for a tombstone or a stele of some kind and is thus parallel to μνημεῖον of the Greek part of the text. The same meaning is perfectly possible for inscription 30 as well.<sup>25</sup>

The verb form αδδακετ is no doubt identical with αδδακετ of the protasis of the malediction formulae, but its morphological analysis is a matter of controversy, the proposed labels ranging from thematic aorist to present and present subjunctive (the latest discussion can be found in Brixhe 1979a: 180ff., who tentatively opts for a subjunctive). In our inscription, αδδακετ<sup>26</sup> corresponds to the aor. παρεθέμην of the Greek text, which makes the preterite interpretation of this form very likely. The fact that in curses αδδακετ functions as a subjunctive does not necessarily mean that it is a morphological subjunctive. In inscription 18, we find in the protasis the sigmatic aorist εγδαες (ιος νι ουκραον λατομειον εγδαες μουρσα, αινι κος σεμουν κνουμανει κακονν αδδακετ αινι μανκα ...), which indicates that αδδακετ can easily be a preterite.<sup>27</sup>

The last word, viz. οροναν, must be the subject of the sentence<sup>28</sup>, representing the nom.sg. of an *n*-stem. Because of the quasi-bilingual character of the inscription, it seems likely that οροναν corresponds to ὁ πατήρ of the Greek text. This hypothesis can be corroborated by the following considerations. The gen.sg. of the same noun occurs in the curse of 106: ... γεγρειμενον κ εγεδου ορονενος ουτον. This is a variant of the common formula γεγρειμεναν

conclude that there was a strong tendency to drop the final -ε of Τιε in the position before a vowel.

<sup>24</sup> Note that Calder 1956: XXVIII, reads e.g. ...εκρετοιακκολτα... instead of Haas' εγερετ οι αυτω αυτα.

<sup>25</sup> *veban*, attested in line 13 of the Vezirhan inscription (see elsewhere in this volume), most probably represents the same word, but the context is unfortunately unclear.

<sup>26</sup> The most common verbs of the protasis are αδδακετ and αββερετορ, whereas αδδακετορ (40, 63) and αββερετ (6, 13) occur only in a few inscriptions. This distribution seems to indicate that the original formulae used either active αδδακετ, or middle αββερετορ, but later the forms became mixed up.

<sup>27</sup> I would like to stress that αδδακετ must contain the full grade of the root ( $*d^h eH_1k-e-t$ ). The reconstruction  $*d^h H_1k-e-t$ , with zero grade of the root, which appears time and again in scholarly publications (most recently, Brixhe 1994: 173, who keeps both options open), is phonetically impossible: vocalized  $*H_1$  yields Phr. *e* (cf. Lubotsky 1988: 14ff.).

<sup>28</sup> This analysis of οροναν (nom.sg.) and its relationship to gen.sg. ορονενος (parallel to Ιμαν / Ιμενος) was already recognized by Brixhe 1983: 127.

εγεδον Τιος ονταν<sup>29</sup> (found in 32-6, 59, 60, 76, 105, 108), where instead of ορονενος we find Τιος, gen.sg. of the name of a god, which is most probably analogous to Ζεύς<sup>30</sup>. It follows that ορονενος is interchangeable with Τιος, and since the latter stands for Ζεύς, one of the reasonable options is that ορονενος is the gen.sg. of the word for ‘father’ (cf. Ζεύς πατήρ, etc.). Etymologically, οροναν can be compared to Gr. ούρος ‘watcher, guardian’, cf. especially the frequent Homeric formula Νέστωρ ... ούρος Ἀχαιῶν ‘Nestor, warden of the Achaeans’. The Greek word reflects \*worwo- (Frisk s.v.), and since it is likely that \*w disappears before \*o in New Phrygian (there is not a single instance of (o)vo- in NPhr. inscriptions whereas we find οε ανται < \*(s)wei-, ονα < \*(s)weH<sub>2</sub>; οονιτετον), we may reconstruct οροναν, ορονενος as \*worwēn, worwenos.

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The whole sentence δουμ(ε) κε οι ον(ε)βαν αδδακετ οροναν can thus be rendered: ‘And to (the care of) the religious community the “father” has put his (tomb)stone’.

## 7. Conclusions.

The palaeographic analysis of inscription 48 has revealed that

- 1) the first line of the inscription, which must be read ε[(-)-]γ/τεντονμενος, is probably not the beginning of the text;
- 2) instead of the mysterious Θ we must read Ε, which gives us the readings δουμ(ε) and ον(ε)βαν;
- 3) the original inscription ended with line 6, the rest of the Phrygian text being added simultaneously with the Greek part.

The Phrygian part consists of three sentences. The first (ε[(-)-]γ/τεντονμενος νιοισιος ναδροτος ειτον) represents the protasis of a curse, the apodosis of which has been broken off. The second sentence (Μιτραφατα κε Μας Τεμρογειος κε Πουντας Βας κε ενσταρνα) contains three names of deities who must guarantee the fulfilment of the curse, ενσταρνα being 3pl. middle of the verb *en-stā-*. Finally, the third sentence is a paraphrase of the

<sup>29</sup> -o- instead of -a- in γεγρεμενον and οντον is a dialectal feature, cf. also αδοκετ in the same inscription, instead of the usual α(δ)δακετ. The form (α)δοκετ only occurs in East Phrygia (inscriptions 44, 54, 106) and is always accompanied by ατ Τι αδειτον in the apodosis.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the remarks by Stephanus Byzantius, who identifies the Phrygian deity with Ζεύς: Δημοσθένης δέν βιθυνιακοῖς φησὶ κτιστὴν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι Πάταρον ἐλόντα Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία Τίον προσαγορεῦσαι (see on this passage Haas 1966: 67, Lubotsky 1989a: 85). According to Witczak (1992-3: 265ff.), the two are also etymologically identical. The obvious difficulty is that Phrygian does not seem to have undergone the *Lautverschiebung*. Therefore, Witczak assumes a Bithynian origin for the Phrygian god, which is of course possible, but unverifiable. Moreover, the inflection of this word is difficult to reconcile with this explanation. In the acc. and dat.sg. we expect \*-w- to be preserved in Phrygian, but we find Τιαν, Τι(ε/η). Witczak tries to resolve this difficulty by assuming loss of intervocalic -w- in “Bithynian”, but this rule is *ad hoc* and, further, it does not often happen that words are borrowed together with their inflection (for instance, the inflection of Modern German *Christus*, *Christi*, etc. is clearly artificial).

Greek text, informing the reader that the “father” (a high official in the Mithra cult) has put his (tomb)stone under the protection of the gods and of the community.

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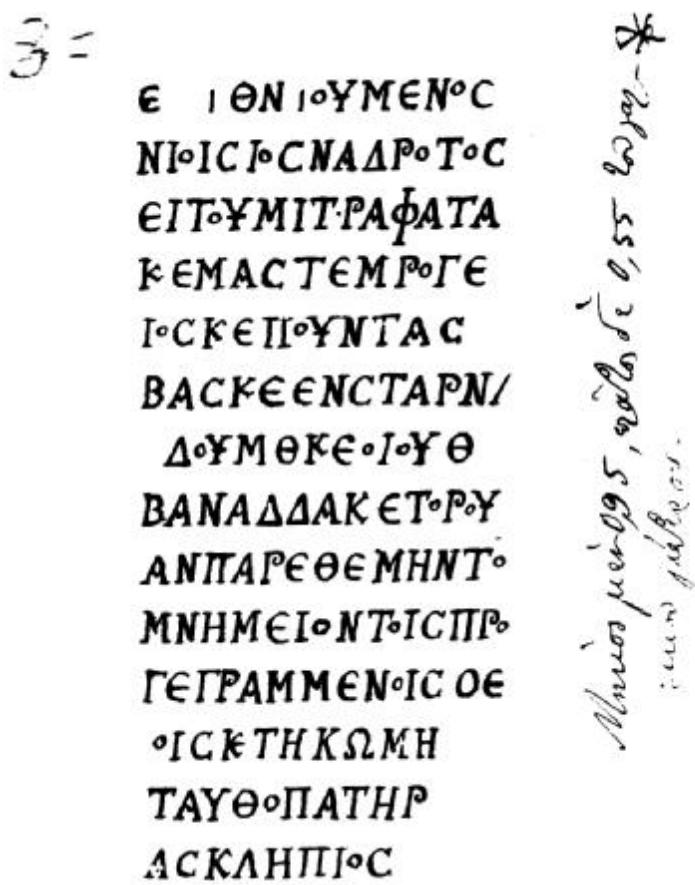


Fig. 1 – New Phrygian inscription 48 (a drawing by the discoverer of the inscription, Ι.Μηλιόπουλος, from the collection of the Kleinasiatische Kommission of the Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften).

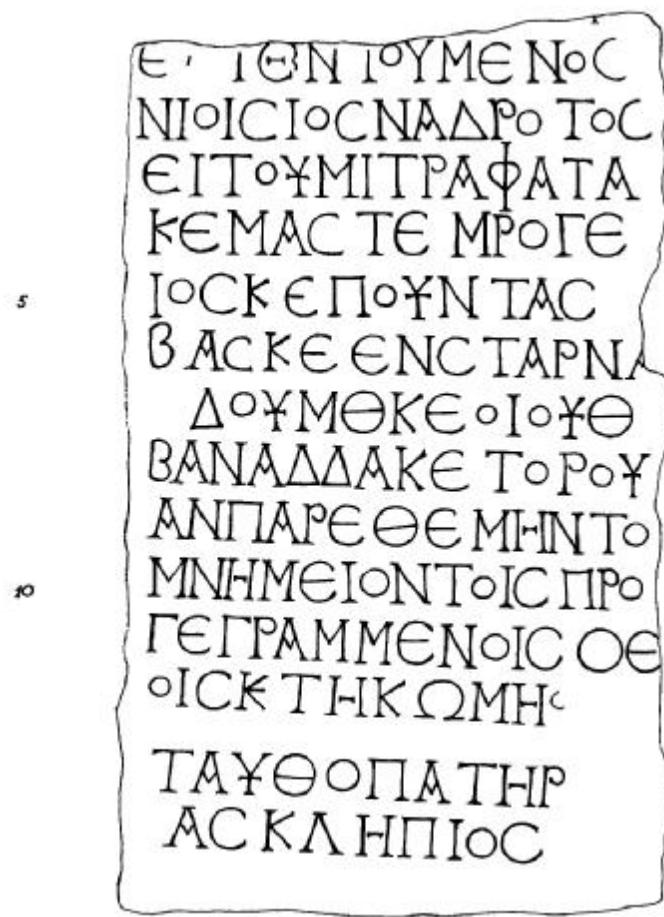


Fig. 2 – New Phrygian inscription 48 (a drawing by Mrs. T. Ignatova-Wezel).