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THREE NEW PHRYGIAN INSCRIPTIONS

In this article we present three New Phrygian inscriptions, from Synnada in the region of Afyon, from Polybotos (Bolvadin) in the heartland of the Phrygian territory during the Roman era, and from Tymandos (Yassiören) to the south.<sup>1</sup>

1. Afyon museum, from Suhut, site of the city of Synnada.<sup>2</sup> Stele broken at top and at corners of bottom, with projecting moulding at bottom; setting lines above and below the letters. H. 0.53, w. 0.40, th. 0.12, l. h. 0.03.

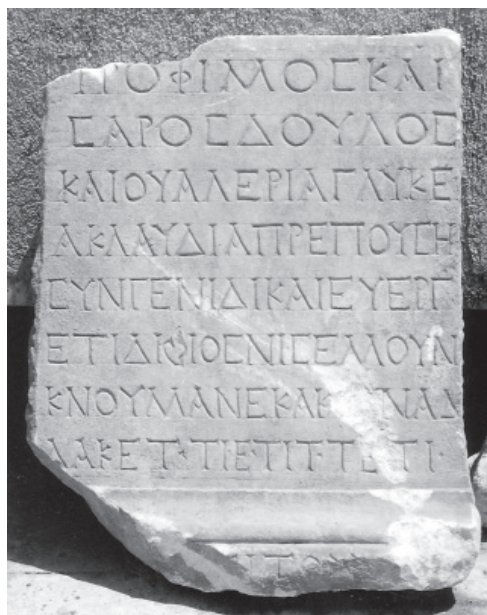
Τρόφιμος Καί-  
 σαρως δοῦλος  
 4 καὶ Οὐαλερία Γλυκέ-  
 α Κλαυδίᾳ Πρεπούση  
 συγγενίδι καὶ εὐεργ-  
 έτιδι <leaf> ιος νι σεμου  
 8 κνουμανε κακ[ου]ν αδ-  
 δακετ Τιε τιττετι-  
 [κμενος]<sup>3</sup> ειτου

“[Greek] Trophimos slave of Caesar and Valeria Glykea (made this tomb) for Claudia Prepousa their relative and benefactor. *leaf*

<sup>1</sup> It is a pleasure to thank the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums for permission granted to Th. Drew-Bear to continue his research in the museums of Phrygia, as well as J. Dedeoğlu and I. Güçeren, successive directors of the Isparta Museum, and M. Bayar, founder of the Bolvadin Museum, for their authorizations and aid. We are also grateful to C. Brixhe for comments on an earlier version of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Synnada, the most important city of central Phrygia, had relations even beyond Asia Minor: see recently Drew-Bear – Sacco 2007.

<sup>3</sup> The element τι(τ) is usually analysed as a particle of pronominal origin, but its constant position in front of the verbal forms τι(τ) τετικμενος, τι δεεργουν, τυ γεγαριτμενος rather suggests that it is a preverb, possibly etymologically related to Greek δια- (cf. Lubotsky 2004). For that reason we write τιττετικμενος in one word.



[Phrygian] Whoever inflicts harm on this grave, let him be cursed by Zeus.”

This inscription is interesting for a variety of reasons: a slave on the vast imperial estate in Central Phrygia,<sup>4</sup> certainly born on the spot because of his name Trophimos,<sup>5</sup> very frequent on this estate, married Valeria Glykea, a Roman citizen, freeborn or a freedwoman. He could not call her his wife, of course, because according to Roman law, slaves were unable to marry. But together they erected this epitaph for their relative

and benefactor Claudia Prepousa,<sup>6</sup> another free Roman citizen, again either of free birth or a freedwoman. Despite this Roman environment, the influence of native Phrygian traditions was strong enough to make this couple put the grave under the protection, not of the imperial fiscus by prescribing a fine to the state treasury, but of the native Phrygian gods, who are addressed by a ritual curse in their own language.<sup>7</sup>

The Phrygian part consists of the traditional malediction formula, attested many times. Peculiar are the dots which occur only on line 8 of the inscription: ΔΑΚΕΤ·ΤΙ·Ε·ΤΙΤ·ΤΕΤΙ·. Possibly, yet another dot stood in the lacuna between TE and TI, so that we

<sup>4</sup> Synnada was the administrative center of these extensive imperial estates, which stretched eastwards beyond Polybotos and included the great marble quarries at Dokimeion (Iscehisar) near Afyon but also those at Soa (Altıntaş) in the Upper Tembris plain of northern Phrygia: see Christol – Drew-Bear 2005.

<sup>5</sup> For instance: Drew-Bear – Thomas – Yildizturan 1999: 391.

<sup>6</sup> For a few epigraphical occurrences of this frequently attested feminine name, to which others might readily be added, see Naour 1985: 68.

<sup>7</sup> New Phrygian inscriptions are generally found outside major urban centers (on their historical context see Drew-Bear 2007): in this case, despite the fine lettering of the inscription which indicates that this couple could afford quality workmanship, their social level must have exerted a determining influence on their choice of a strategy to protect the grave of their relative.

get ΔΑΚΕΤ·ΤΙ·Ε·ΤΙΤ·ΤΕ[·]ΤΙ·. These dots evidently were syllable separators, but it remains unclear why they were engraved on the stone.

2. Seen in 2002 at Yassiören (Tymandos<sup>8</sup>) at the elementary school (where it was said to have come from Gani Baba St. opposite the town park); now in the Isparta Museum (where it was said to have come from a fountain in the Çanlar Mahallesi of Yassiören, behind the mosque). Grave stone of pediment type, frequent in this region. In the pediment is an eagle (head worn), at left a palmette acroterion in relief and stylized floral decoration along the top of the left cornice; broken at top and right. H. 0.65, w. 1.14, th. 0.37, l. h. line 1 0.02, line 2 0.025, line 3 0.015.

Ζωσᾶς καὶ Βαβεις Ἀντιόχῳ Μενέου Αἰθοντος καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν  
 γονεῦσιν ζῶσιν καὶ φρονοῦσιν εὐνοίας καὶ μν[ήμης χάριν]  
 ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αδακ{ετ} Τιε τιτετικμεν[ος ειτου]

“[Greek] Zosas and Babeis, for Antiochos son of Meneas grandson of Aithon, and for their parents who are alive and of sound mind, because of their good will and in their memory. [Phrygian] Whoever inflicts harm on this grave, let him be cursed by Zeus.”

When this inscription was engraved, only one person, Antiochos, was dead; the parents of Zosas and Babeis,<sup>9</sup> husband and wife, were still “living and sound of mind”, according to the formula habitually employed in order to avert from living people the evil omen of seeing themselves mentioned on a tombstone. This indeed is doubtless the reason why the names of the parents were not included in the inscription, although the tomb was destined for them: to avoid the danger that the presence of their names on this epitaph might bring about their death.

In the Phrygian formula the stone-cutter made a mistake, writing *αδακτε* instead of *αδακετ*.

<sup>8</sup> For another New Phrygian inscription in the territory of Tymandos see Brixhe – Drew-Bear 1997: 110–113.

<sup>9</sup> The Greek name Men(n) eas (see Zgusta 1964: 693–694) is epichoric in Pisidia and Antiochos is common, but Babeis (cf. Zgusta 1964: 115–116) is a distinctively Phrygian name (thus Drew-Bear 1987: 607); see Drew-Bear – Thomas – Yıldızıturan 1999: 393.



No. 2



3. Bolvadin Museum, from Dura Yeri, site of Polybotos.<sup>10</sup> H. 1.82; w. (top) 0.515, (shaft) 0.46, (bottom) 0.54; th. max. 0.175; l. h. 0.02.

Three acroteria decorated with stylized palmettes in relief are linked by stylized tendrils surmounting sloping cornices above dentils which delimit a triangular pediment with raised boss in center, below which is a shell motif between mouldings of stylized eggs and darts above a Lesbian leaf motif surmounting pilaster capitals (that on right damaged) with double volutes and stylized floral decoration. On the shaft, between fluted pilasters above bases with mouldings in relief, is a male child between two standing figures (heads effaced, portion of figure at left effaced) on a broken base.

Πασικράτης β'  
 Χάρμου ζῶν καὶ  
 φρονῶν σὺν γυ-  
 ναικὶ Τατιά καὶ  
 τέκνοις Ἀριστογέ-  
 νη καὶ Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρω  
 8 ἰος νι σεμουν κνου-  
 μανε κακουν αδδα-  
 κет με δδεω με ζεμε-  
 λως τιτετικμενος  
 12 εἰτου  
 ας βαταν ορουεναν κε

“[Greek] Pasikrates, son of Pasikrates grandson of Charmos, who is alive and of sound mind, with his wife Tatia and their children

<sup>10</sup> On Polybotos, an important city especially in Byzantine times, see Belke – Mersich 1990: 363–364.

Aristogenes and Alexandros. [Phrygian] Whoever afflicts harm to this grave, let him be cursed among gods and men by Bat and the Father (Zeus).”

As often happens with sculptured funerary steles, the number of persons depicted in the high relief of this elaborate family tombstone does not correspond exactly to the number of persons mentioned in the epitaph (one may suppose that the death of a child motivated the erection of this grave monument). The names Alexander and Tatia<sup>11</sup> occur together in another family grave with a Phrygian imprecation from the ancient site at Yanal Mevkii within the imperial estate well to the north of Polybotos.<sup>12</sup>

In the Phrygian malediction, δδεω in line 10 corresponds to the more usual δεως.<sup>13</sup> The curse represents a new variant of the δεως ζεμελωσ formula, the major types being the following:

με ζεμελωσ κε δεως κε (3, 6, 97, 113, 119)  
 με ζεμελωσ (21, 103), με ζεμελωσ οτ (124)  
 με διω[ς ζ]ομολωσ ορ ζ](ε)μ(ε)λωσ (5)  
 με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε (96)  
 [ζε]μελωσ κε [δ]ε[ω]ς με κοννου κε (42), [ζεμ]ελωσι κε δεως  
 [.....]κε (92)  
 δεος κε ζεμ[ε]λωσ κε] (7), ιωσ [κ]ε ζεμελωσ κ (39), διωσ κε  
 ζεμελωσ κε (118)  
 δεως ζεμελωσ κε (40)  
 δεως ζεμελωσ (63, 93), δη διωσ ζεμελω[ς] (4), διωσ ορ  
 ζεμ[ε]λω[ς] (121)

First of all, it is unusual that in our inscription the preposition με is used twice (με δδεω με ζεμελωσ). Secondly, the perpetrator is normally threatened by a curse of Zeus, who stands in the dative (Τη or Τι(ε), e.g. 6. τος νι με ζεμελω κε δεος κε Τη τιττεικμενος ε[ι]του) before the verb, whereas here we find a prepositional phrase with ας ‘by’ + two deities in the accusative, connected by the conjunction κε, after the verb (ας βαταν ορουεναν κε).

<sup>11</sup> Unlike the other anthroponyms in this epitaph, which are all common Greek names, Tatia is an indigenous Phrygian *Lallname*: see Drew-Bear – Thomas – Yıldızıturan 1999: 395.

<sup>12</sup> Brixhe – Drew-Bear 1997: 95–97. The epitaph reads: [Ἄλ]εξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Τατία σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ζῶντες ἑαυτοῖς μνήμης χάριν.

<sup>13</sup> It seems likely that this peculiar spelling is due to a scribal error. Initial unetymological gemination in New Phrygian is rare (the only reliable instance is 25. αυνι μμωα). The omission of a final sigma is also found in 6. τος νι με ζεμελω. Errors of this kind are discussed in an important article by Brixhe 1999.

The first deity is Bat, whom we encounter in the curses of 33. *αυτος κε ουα κ εροκα γεγαριτμενος ας Βαταν τευτους* and 36. *αυτος κε ουα κ οροκα γεγαριτμενος α(ς) Βαταν τευτους* ‘and may he himself and his progeny (?) become cursed by Bat’ (cf. syntactically similar *τι(τ) τετικμενος ας Τιαν ειτου* ‘let him be cursed by Zeus’, attested in 14, 53, 99). The same deity is most probably Βας in the malediction formulae with *βεκος* ‘bread’, cf. 86, 111 *Βας ιοι βεκος μεβερετ* ‘Bas will take his bread away’, similarly 99 *με κε οι τοτοσσειτι Βας βεκος*. Furthermore, in New Phrygian inscription 48 we find Βας in the list of three deities: *Μιτραφατα κε Μας Τεμοργειος κε Πουντας Βας κε*. We may thus reconstruct the paradigm: nom. sg. Βας < \*Βατ-ς, acc. sg. Βαταν (for this analysis see Lubotsky 1997: 123).

Bat is followed by *ορουεαν*, which must be acc. sg. of the word for ‘father’. This word is found in two more New Phrygian inscriptions. In inscription 48, *ορουαν* is the subject of the sentence *δουμ(ε) κε οι ου(ε)βαν αδδακετ ορουαν* ‘and to (the care of) the religious community the “father” has put his monument’ and represents the nom. sg. of an *n*-stem. Because of the quasi-bilingual character of inscription 48, it seems likely that *ορουαν* corresponds to *ὁ πατήρ* of the Greek text.<sup>14</sup> In inscriptions of Asia Minor the title *πατήρ* was specifically used for a high official in the cult of Mithras.<sup>15</sup>

The gen. sg. of the same noun occurs in the curse of 106: ... *γεγοειμενον κ εγεδου ορουενος ουτον*. This is a variant of the common formula *γεγοειμεναν εγεδου Τιος ουταν* (found in 32-6, 59, 60, 76, 105, 108), where instead of *ορουενος* we find *Τιος*, gen. sg. of *Ζεϋς*. It follows that *ορουενος* is interchangeable with *Τιος*, and since the latter stands for *Ζεϋς*, one of the reasonable options is that *ορουενος* is the gen. sg. of the word for ‘father’ (cf. *Ζεϋς πατήρ*, etc.). In our inscription, *ορουεαν* is the expected acc. sg. of this *n*-stem and doubtless refers to Zeus.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Lubotsky 1997: 127–128.

<sup>15</sup> Haas 1976: 50, fn. 2, with references.

<sup>16</sup> Etymologically, *ορουαν* may be compared to Gr. *οὔροσ* ‘watcher, guardian’, cf. especially the frequent Homeric formula *Νέστωρ ... οὔροσ Ἀχαιῶν* ‘Nestor, warden of the Achaeans’. The Greek word reflects \**worwo-*, and since it is likely that \**w* disappears before \**o* in New Phrygian, we may reconstruct *ορουαν*, *ορουενος* as \**worwēn*, *worwenos* (cf. Lubotsky 1997: 128).

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