A FEW PHRYGIAN ONOMASTIC NOTES

Onomastic data is one of the important sources for the study of ancient languages that are poorly documented. Later onomastic groups, preserved in Greek inscriptions or in New Phrygian context, offer a support for discerning some personal names in Old Phrygian texts. The present state of understanding Phrygian language seems to determine the great number of personal names, differentiated so far, in comparison to common nouns or verbs, for example. A set of names provokes a particular interest as some of them seem to be theophoric, others derived or related to sacred realia.

Two anthroponyms of proper Phrygian origin1 deserve a special attention: Bennios and Iman/محافظ. بـننيوس/بينيوس is a personal name, found in three epitaphs in Greek language of Roman date.2 Two important works have recently been devoted to the cult of Zeus Bennios, spread in Phrygia and Bithynia in Roman Imperial period.3 The epithet seems to be derived from a word meaning "a religious association".4 A recent hypothesis suggests that the verb بـنيوس/بينيوس could signify a special rituality, characteristic of this association.5 بـنيوس/بينيوس could be considered in a similar context as σαβαζειν and καβαζειν, attested in Greek literary texts.6

The process of turning religious realia into personal names could be followed in the Old Phrygian word iman, whose interpretation is still under discussion. The proposed parallels from the Hittite and Luwian favour the context of a cultic object "endowed with divine power", "deity substitute" (Hitt. himma- "imitation, substitute, replica, model, toy", while imani- "is used to denote some damage to the statue of the deity" in hieroglyphic Luwian).7 Sacred/cultic objects of Ati Kupapa were meant in the Luwian texts, whose imprecation formulae resemble the New Phrygian ones. Recently, some more meaningful parallels from the Hittite ritual texts, concerning himma-, were added.8

iman is mentioned eight times in the Old Phrygian inscriptions:9 on three graffiti from Gordian, in rock-cut inscriptions from 'Midas City', in stone inscriptions from Pteria, as well as

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on the recently published stela from Vezirhan.\textsuperscript{10} M-06 is a rock throne with two circles on the backrest, a type of monument which is generally related to the worship of the Great Goddess and her paredros.\textsuperscript{11} Despite the fragmentary state of the inscription, a dedication can be assumed. The rock-cut and stone monuments would furnish a good context for a divine image in the ritual when one thinks of the Phrygian Mother-Goddess of the Mountain. \textit{Iman} can be seen on an alabaster figurine of a falcon from Gordion (G-136). As it is well known, the birds of prey were among the iconographic attributes of the Phrygian Goddess.\textsuperscript{12} The stone figurine might have played an important role in her cult.

The interpretation of \textit{iman} is still strongly dependent on the understanding of the other words related to it in the Old Phrygian texts. If one does not accept \textit{Vasos} as an anthroponym, \textit{mekas} as a word from the architectural vocabulary, and does not deprive \textit{devos} from its divine meaning, then the religious/cultic context of \textit{iman} would be more secure.

Variants of \textit{iman} appear several times in the text from Vezirhan: \textit{imenan} (Acc.) and \textit{inmeney} (Dat.).\textsuperscript{13} The different forms of the word seem to comply with the morphonological alternation \textit{a} - \textit{e}, well attested in \textit{matar} (Nom.) - \textit{materan} (Acc.) - \textit{materey} (Dat.),\textsuperscript{14} as well as in the names in the Greek inscriptions from Phrygia of Roman date: \textit{Iμαν} - \textit{Iμενος}.\textsuperscript{15} There the initial alternation \textit{m} - \textit{nm} finds parallels as well: \textit{Ιμανιν}, \textit{Ιμανευ} - \textit{Ιμωνες}.\textsuperscript{16}

G. Neumann prefers to interpret the word as "Stein", or "Anlage, Ehrenmal", quoting the parallel with the epithet of the Mother-Goddess imeneia (G-183). A great number of the still unclear words in Old Phrygian, especially those in Acc., are most often explained in connection with the monument on which the inscription was inscribed. This is quite an easy and general explanation that risks to be too superficial and deprived from the rest of the context. It could, however, be accepted, if the rock-cut monuments are considered as the image of the Goddess.

Another variant of \textit{iman} - \textit{imon}, could be discerned in the earliest New Phrygian inscription (N-116, in the Afyon Museum, not later than 1st century AD), which seems to preserve the Old Phrygian meaning: an image of the Goddess.\textsuperscript{17} The record can be supplemented, though quite cautiously, with the \textit{imin} from the Sitovo inscription (3rd-1st century BC?, on a rock).

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{13} Lines 1 and 11: G. Neumann, op. cit. 20, 24. There is a good chance that \textit{imenan} appears also on an unpublished stone inscription from Gordion (\textit{imenam} would be an alternative reading). I had the opportunity of examining the inscription in June 1999 due to an ARIT Mellon grant and I am sincerely grateful to Prof. G. Kenneth Sams for kindly including me into the Gordion excavation permit.
\textsuperscript{14} Cl. Brixhe, Comparaison et langues faiblement documentées: L’exemple du phrygien et de ses voyelles longues, in: La reconstruction des laryngales, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l’Université de Liège, Fasc. CCLIII, Paris 1990, 62-63. The same morphonological changes have been observed in Palaeo-Balkan context: P. Dimitrov, Paleobalkanskiat vokalism, Sofia 1994, passim.
\textsuperscript{15} L. Zgusta, op. cit., § 466-1.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 475-1: § 466-12.
\textsuperscript{17} L.S. Bayun / V.E. Orel, Yazik frigiiskih nadpisey kak istoricheskii istochnik. II, Vestnik drevney istorii 1988, No 4, 155; 157.
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from the Rhodope Mountains, Southern Bulgaria, whose interpretation is still very controver-
sial. If Bayun - Orel's reading is to be accepted, then the text offers "an image of Ipta" and "a
figurine of Bacchus".  

The Hittite and Luwian parallels, both linguistic and ritual (i.e. those that have the chance
to be etymological and functional), as well as the nature of the Phrygian texts, could support
the hypothetical interpretation of iman as "a ritually active object, an intermediary between
man and god". This would allow an interpretation of the anthropomorphic idol from
Gordion, bearing the grafitto eymi Vaki, as an iman.

Although the above parallels imply a relatively small object: a figurine, a model, the Phry-
gian rock cult setting might suggest the rock/stone image of the Goddess as a candidate for
iman as well. Whether this would be the roughly hewn female figure that still can be seen in
some of the rock niches, or simply a stone (like the Black Stones from Tyana), we would
probably never be sure.

The review of the record casts doubt on the expert linguistic statement that this is a person-
al name, probably derived from an appellative. The frequency of the word occurrence speaks
against a personal name as well. There is no supposed or identified personal name in the Old
Phrygian inscriptions, that is mentioned eight times (exceeded only by Aτα/Ατες and variants).
The more numerous and more secure later onomastic data gives grounds to the scholars to
assume that iman is a personal name in the Old Phrygian texts as well. The names rendered in
Greek, however, are secondary and testify to the profanation of an earlier ritualty, preserving
its reflection on an onomastic level.

Although a great number of the New Phrygian texts are uniform and formular, some of the
elements of the curse against the violator remain unclear and are vividly discussed. The
unperceptable figure of the supreme male deity furnishes again the major difficulties. As was
recently demonstrated, ατιν/ατίει/αττη can hardly render the name of Attis. A new word
division was proposed, which suggested new groups: τιν/τιέ/τιη (αδ-/ατ- being a preposition).
A. Lubotsky believes these to be the datives of τιος - Gen. (= Nom.?), and τιαν - Acc., while
he finds the Nom. in the Old Phrygian tiyes (M-04). The former has long been related to the
word for "god". It has no reliable etymology, its relation to Gr. Διός, Δία is hard to support,
because "Phrygian does not seem to have undergone the Lautverschiebung". However, the
combinatory observations show that τιος is interchangeable with ορούναν/ορούενος in the

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18 L.S. Bayun / V.E. Orel, The Inscription from Sitovo, Orpheus, Journal of Indo-European and Thracian
Studies 1, 1991, 144-148.
19 Proposed by A. Fol, op. cit., 262.
20 Ibid., 64, 69, 259.
22 As early as in O. Haas, Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler, Sofia 1966, 92, but more decisively and within
a working hypothesis in A. Lubotsky, The Old Phrygian Areystis-Inscription, Kadmos 27, 1988, 24 note 13;
Idem, New Phrygian εται and τε, Kadmos 28, 1989, 82, 85, accepted by Cl. Brixhe, Les clitiques du néo-phrygien,
in: R. Gusmani, M. Salvini, P. Vannicelli (eds.), Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1° Symposium Internazionale (Roma, 16-17
23 O. Haas, op. cit., 67, 86.
24 A. Lubotsky, New Phrygian Inscription No. 48: Palaeographic and Linguistic Comments, in: R. Gusmani,
M. Salvini, P. Vannicelli (eds.), Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1° Symposium Internazionale (Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995),
imprecation formulae (N 48 and 106, τιος in N 32-36, 59, 60, 76, 105, 108). The word demonstrates the same α'/ε'- alternation in the flection as that of iman. In the quasi bilingual text N 48 ὀροσενος corresponds to ὁ πατήρ in the Greek part, which makes Lubotsky consider it as the Phrygian equivalent to "father", etymologically related to the Gr. ὁ πατέρας, "watcher, guardian". Despite the etymological difficulties, this author acknowledges Τιος as a theonym analogous to Zeus, and "Father" seems most relevant to him. The mere equation with the Greek counterpart from this "bilingual" text could hardly provide the best way for the translation of the New Phrygian word. An uranian male deity could, however, receive in Greek language the name of Zeus. But this translation is more in terms of culture, than in linguistics.

As far as identical or similar grammatical functions could be an argument for a common vocabulary, Τιος and τι/τε/τιν are semantically related to δεσις and ζημελος (quite evident in the cases where they are connected by the conjunction κε). The latter are usually interpreted as 'gods/men', or 'sky gods/infernal gods'. Thus, the suggestion of a theonym for Τιος and variants is so far the most probable.

The above considerations enter the problems of a very discussed sequence: Old Phr. devos - NPhr. θεος - Gr. θεός. While the equation of the last two elements is more or less accepted, the relation between devos and δεσις is doubted. Although Cl. Brixhe assumed a common origin from *deiwo-, he is still inclined to believe that the two words have semantically nothing to do with each other. Ascribing mekas to the architectural vocabulary, scholars refuse devos a divine context.

So far, the translation "Great Gods" for devos κε mekas (P-03) is suggested only by Bayun - Orel. Despite the great number of Phrygian-Greek isoglosses, this case seems too evident to be accepted by the scholars as an equivalent of the Gr. θεοί μεγάλοι. As the above inscription from Pteria is the only attestation of this combination, a reliable hypothesis requires more examples. Mekas, however is mentioned in several more Old Phrygian inscriptions (M-05, G-111, G-147, G-239? - mekais, P-04c). It is worth noting that iman is also present in P-03 and in P-04c. Mekas is the attribute both of devos and of iman in P-03. Then it is hard to exclude completely mekas and devos from the general field of cult and religion. If iman is to be the rock image of the deity, for example, its attribute could be related to a (rock)monument (i.e. "architectural" vocabulary). An adjective "great" would suit both a cult object/image and a deity. The problem is that the record is insufficient and could be used for the support of varied suggestions, those of Brixe and Lubotsky included. Nevertheless, "The Great Gods" might turn to be a productive hypothesis from the view point of history of culture.

A further confirmation of the above sequence would hardly solve the problem with tiyes/tios, as there would be two words in Phrygian for "god" (although this has already been

26 Cl. Brixhe, op. cit., 45-46.
27 A. Lubotsky, The Old Phrygian Areyasitis-Inscription, 15.
28 C. Brixhe, Comparaison et langues faiblement documentées, 76-77.
29 Ibidem, 76 - just because mekas is used with manka in New Phrygian texts, which seems to signify a tomb, or part of it; Cl. Brixhe, Du paléo- au néo-phrygien, 331.
30 L.S. Bayun / V.E. Orel, op. cit., 133; only for mekas as equivalent to Gr. μέγας cf. I.M. Diakonoff / V.P. Neroznak, Phrygian, New York 1985, 122-123.
suggested by O. Haas\textsuperscript{31}). \textit{D/-t-} alternation needs a plausible explanation. The suggestion of a theonym for this unit seems to gather more supporters. Only further linguistic study could show whether the situation in Phrygian conforms with the Indo-European pattern where the name of the Sky (Daylight) God became the word for god.

New Phrygian \textit{opouav}, \textit{opouevoç}, with its relation to Gr. \textit{οψω} (\textit{στομοτ}, \textit{στοφω}\textsuperscript{32}), enters the semantic field of "high, from above". This interpretation, rather than "guardian", finds support in a fragment by Neoptolemus who translates \textit{opou} with \textit{το ὅνω}.\textsuperscript{33} It was rendered as "\textit{Үәкәтә} by Haas,\textsuperscript{34} but it should be remembered that the Greek word means "mountain" as well. Thus, \textit{Tiyes/Tios} might denote an uranian male deity, the paredoš of the Great Mother-Goddess, who shared her mountainous/rock aspect as well. 'Tyies Modrovanak', being hewn on the rock-cut throne on the top of the plateau of "the Midas City" (\textit{M-04}), could be the patron deity of Modrә, the Vanak of Modrә.

Whatever the linguistic discussion, the poor Old Phrygian record and the New Phrygian texts could still infer the anonymity of a male deity that had a good chance of receiving a general designation of God. A divinity of the Storm-God type was not alien on Anatolian soil. It would naturally be called Zeus in later times. The theonym still required epithets, some of which probably preserved earlier ritual characteristics, as might be the case with Zeus Bennios.

Most of the modern scholars consider \textit{Tiyes} as a personal name\textsuperscript{35} because of the late onomastic group \textit{Tиως}.\textsuperscript{36} In the context of the above suggestion, however, the onomastic data could be an evidence for the survival of earlier religious/eltic terms, preserved on anthroponymic and toponymic level. \textit{Tiεως/Tиως} is a city on the Bithynian-Paphlagonian border. The name is part of the Thracian \textit{Sprachreste}, according to Detschew, who derives it from the Indo-European term for god, and compares it with Zeus.\textsuperscript{37} This interpretation is usually offered by linguists who accept the \textit{Lautverschiebung} in Phrygian, but even those, who do not, cannot avoid the context of a passage by Stephanus of Byzantium. According to him, the city received its name after a priest from Miletos, or because of the worship of Zeus (for the latter he quotes Demosthenes from Bithynia\textsuperscript{38}; the city was founded by Pataros from Paphlagonia).\textsuperscript{39}

Recently discovered casseroles in a tumulus in South Western Bulgaria bear inscriptions where \textit{Tiоς} (patronym?) is mentioned.\textsuperscript{40} The archaeologists, accepting Detschew's interpreting

\textsuperscript{31} O. Haas, op. cit., 224.
\textsuperscript{32} P. Chantraine, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, Paris 1968, 839.
\textsuperscript{34} O. Haas, op. cit., 129 (N 106), 169.
\textsuperscript{35} L. Innocente, op. cit., 38; CIPP M-04, 23.
\textsuperscript{36} L. Zgusta, op. cit., § 1558-2.
\textsuperscript{37} D. Detschew, Die thrakischen Sprachreste, Wien 1976\textsuperscript{1}, 506-507 with all mentionings in the sources; without such an interpretation in L. Zgusta, Kleinaasiatische Ortsnamen, Heidelberg 1984, § 1337.
\textsuperscript{38} FGrHist IIIC 699, F 9.
\textsuperscript{40} M. Manov, Eine neue Inschrift auf zwei silbernen Schöpfkellen aus Thrakien, Tyche 9, 1994, 90.
tion, consider this as a survival of the Thracian king-priest ideology. The find is almost synchronous with the New Phrygian inscriptions: 2nd century AD.

The record of the profanation of the cult, the royal cult at that, could be supplemented by numerous Greek attestations of the personal name Ουαβαξος and variants, which preserve the Old Phrygian vanak, so imposingly cut on the rock façade at "the Midas City" (M-01a). The initial meaning could still be discovered in the curse formula of the New Phrygian text N 88 where "Vanak of the Sky" (Ουαβαξοκταν - Acc.) is mentioned. While it is Midas who is 

lavaget vanak in M-01a, the New Phrygian use obviously denotes a supreme deity. This Vanak of the Sky would be named Zeus in Greek, and could be the Phrygian male divinity whose name escapes us, probably because there are no theonyms, but rather epithets/epicleses like those of the Matar. Whatever the discussion on the origin of the Phrygian vanak and its relation with the Mycenaean term, the above examples from Roman times testify to the conservatism of a long tradition.

The material discussed suggests that some of the anthroponyms, attested in Roman Phrygia, probably derived from earlier terms of religious significance. The New Phrygian and the Greek terms from Phrygia demonstrate a profanation of Phrygian cult which accounted for the transformation of some important realia into personal names. A living folklore reality could have contributed to this effect as well. Thus, Phrygian religious and ritual conservatism can be demonstrated on onomastic level. Some onomastic parallels from Thrace, as well as common linguistic phenomena, could yield further grounds for the research of Thracian-Phrygian cultural zone.

Sofia
M. Vassileva

ÖZET
Bazı Frigya İsimleri Hakkında Notlar


41 M. Manov, op. cit., 92.
42 L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen, § 1138, 1-3.
43 Cl. Brixhe, Du paléo- au néo-phrygien, 332-333.
44 Discussion in Cl. Brixhe, Comparaison et langues faiblement documentées, 73-75.
45 Mentioned here, as well as the toponyms related to Bennios: M. Vassileva, Zeis Bennios, Archaeologia Bulgarica 1998, 54-55.
INHALT

M. Adak – O. Atvur
Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Antalya II: Die pamphyli sche Hafenstadt Magydos ........................................... 53

E. Akdoğu Arca
Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Antalya III: Inschriften aus Lykaonien im Museum von Side ................................................................. 69

W. Ameling
Ein Verehrer des θεός Υψήλος in Prusa ad Olympum (I. K: 39, 115) ......................................................... 105

O. Atvur – M. Adak
Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Antalya II: Die pamphyli sche Hafenstadt Magydos ........................................... 53

F. Canali De Rossi
Attalo III e la fine della dinastia pergamen a: due note epigrafiche ................................................................. 83

Th. Corsten
Die Amtszeit des proconsul Asiae P. Petronius ............................................................................................. 94

N. Gökalp
Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Antalya IV: Inschriften aus Attaleia ............................................................. 72

C. Habicht
Zu griechischen Inschriften aus Kleinasien ....................................................................................................... 19

P. Herrmann
Epigraphische Notizen 18–20 ......................................................................................................................... 31

C. P. Jones
The Union of Latmos and Pidasa ..................................................................................................................... 1

Old and New in the Inscriptions of Perge ................................................................................................. 8

Chr. Kokkinia
Ein neues Grabepigramm aus Bithynien ........................................................................................................ 167

R. Merkelbach – J. Stäuber
„Unsterbliche“ Kaiserpreier. Drei Dokumente der heidnischen Reaktion ......................................................... 157

R. Merkelbach
Nachtrag zu Heft 30 (1998) 114 (centurio regionarius) .................................................................................. 165

Chr. Mileta
Menodoros: einer der λαοι von Thyateira? Überlegungen zu einem Grabepigramm des Arkesilaos .................. 181

E. Miranda
La comunità giudaica di Hierapolis di Frigia ............................................................................................... 109

G. Petzl
Inschriften aus Phrygien .................................................. 95


V. Ruggieri
Flavios Telpyllios, νεοφάρτιστος Bishop of Anemurium ................................................................................ 171

M. Ç. Şahin
The Place Name of Korazis: A New Inscription from Lagina ....................................................................... 35

S. Şahin
Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Antalya (EMA) .......................................................................................... 37

Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Antalya I: Inschriften aus Pamphylien und Lykien ........................................... 40

J. Stäuber – R. Merkelbach
„Unsterbliche“ Kaiserpreier. Drei Dokumente der heidnischen Reaktion ......................................................... 157

M. Vassileva
A Few Phrygian Onomastic Notes ............................................................................................................. 175

P. Weiß
Ein neuer Prokonsul von Lycia-Pamphylia auf einem Militärdiplom (165/166 n. Chr.) ........................................ 77

G. de Wilde
Monnaies au musée de Pessinonte (suite) ...................................................................................................... 187