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## 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 origin<sup>1</sup> deserve a special attention: Bennios and *Iman*/Ιμων. Βεννιος/Βενιος is a personal name, found in three epitaphs in Greek language of Roman date.<sup>2</sup> Two important works have recently been devoted to the cult of Zeus Bennios, spread in Phrygia and Bithynia in Roman Imperial period.<sup>3</sup> The epithet seems to be derived from a word meaning "a religious association".<sup>4</sup> A recent hypothesis suggests that the verb βεννεύειν could signify a special rituality, characteristic of this association.<sup>5</sup> Βεννεύειν could be considered in a similar context as σαβάζειν and καβάζειν, attested in Greek literary texts.<sup>6</sup>

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).<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

*Iman* is mentioned eight times in the Old Phrygian inscriptions:<sup>9</sup> on three grafitti from Gordion, in rock-cut inscriptions from 'Midas City', in stone inscriptions from Pteria, as well as

<sup>1</sup> L. Innocente, Questioni di onomastica "frigia", in: R. Gusmani, M. Salvini, P. Vannicelli (eds.), Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1° Symposio Internazionale (Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995), Roma 1997, 37.

<sup>2</sup> MAMA VII, Nos 214, 273a; S. Mitchell, Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor II. The Ankara District. The Inscriptions of North Galatia. BAR International Series 135, Oxford 1982, No 293; L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen, Prag 1964, § 161.

<sup>3</sup> S. Şahin, Zeus Bennios, in: Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens, Festschrift für K. Dörner, Bd. II, Leiden 1978, 771-790; Th. Drew-Bear / Chr. Naour, Divinités de Phrygie, ANRW II 18.3, 1990, 1952-1991.

<sup>4</sup> Th. Drew-Bear / Chr. Naour, op. cit., 1990-1991.

<sup>5</sup> M. Vassileva, Zeus Bennios: A few more notes, Archaeologia Bulgarica 1998, No 2, 52-56.

<sup>6</sup> As argued in greater detail in the article quoted above; cf. Schol. Aristoph. Birds 874-875 (Dübner): Amphitheos, FGrHist IIIB 431 F 1a,b, commentary in A. Fol, Trakiiskiyat Dionys. Kniga vtoraya: Sabazii, Sofia 1994, 59-70, 97-101, 177-180.

<sup>7</sup> L.S. Bayun, A Phrygian Word in Hieroglyphic Luwian, Journal of Ancient Civilizations 7, 1992, 133-134.

<sup>8</sup> H. Gonnet, Remarques sur le *himma* et le hiéroglyphe L. 306, in: Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia, Pavia 1995, 149-154.

<sup>9</sup> Cl. Brixhe / M. Lejeune, Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes, Paris 1984 (hereinafter CIPP), M-03, M-06, G-136, G-183, G-210, P-01(?), P-03, P-04c.

on the recently published stela from Vezirhan.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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. *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.<sup>12</sup> The stone figurine might have played an important role in her cult.

The interpretation of *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 *Vasos* as an anthroponym, *mekas* as a word from the architectural vocabulary, and does not deprive *devos* from its divine meaning, then the religious/cultic context of *iman* would be more secure.

Variants of *iman* appear several times in the text from Vezirhan: *imenan* (Acc.) and *inmeneiy* (Dat.).<sup>13</sup> The different forms of the word seem to comply with the morphonological alternation *a - e*, well attested in *matar* (Nom.) - *materan* (Acc.) - *materey* (Dat.),<sup>14</sup> as well as in the names in the Greek inscriptions from Phrygia of Roman date: Ιμαν - Ιμενος.<sup>15</sup> There the initial alternation *m - nm* finds parallels as well: Ιμανη, Ιμανεου - Ιμους.<sup>16</sup>

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 *iman* - *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.<sup>17</sup> The record can be supplemented, though quite cautiously, with the *imin* from the Sitovo inscription (3rd-1st century BC?, on a rock)

<sup>10</sup> G. Neumann, Die zwei Inschriften auf der Stele von Vezirhan, in: Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1° Simposio Internazionale (Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995), Roma 1997, 20.

<sup>11</sup> M. Vassileva, PAREDROI or once again on the Phrygian Rock Thrones, in: Thracia 11. Studia in honorem Alexandri Fol, Serdicae 1995, 265-276.

<sup>12</sup> M.J. Mellink, Comments on a Cult Relief of Kybele from Gordion, in: Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel, Bd. I, Mainz 1983, 351-354.

<sup>13</sup> Lines 1 and 11: G. Neumann, op. cit. 20, 24. There is a good chance that *imenan* appears also on an unpublished stone inscription from Gordion (*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.

<sup>14</sup> 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, Paleobalkanskijat vokalism, Sofia 1994, passim.

<sup>15</sup> L. Zgusta, op. cit., § 466-1.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 475-1: § 466-12.

<sup>17</sup> L.S. Bayun / V.E. Orel, Yazik frigiiskih nadpisey kak istoricheskii istochnik. II, Vestnik drevney istorii 1988, No 4, 155; 157.

from the Rhodope Mountains, Southern Bulgaria, whose interpretation is still very controversial. If Bayun - Orel's reading is to be accepted, then the text offers "an image of Ipta" and "a figurine of Bacchus".<sup>18</sup>

The Hittite and Luwian parallels, both linguistic and ritual (i.e. those that have the chance to be ethymological 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".<sup>19</sup> This would allow an interpretation of the anthropomorphic idol from Gordion, bearing the graffito *eymi Vaki*, as an *iman*.<sup>20</sup>

Although the above parallels imply a relatively small object: a figurine, a model, the Phrygian 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 personal name, probably derived from an appellative.<sup>21</sup> 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 *Ata/Ates* 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 rituality, 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 unperceivable figure of the supreme male deity furnishes again the major difficulties. As was recently demonstrated, *αττι/αττιε/αττιη* can hardly render the name of Attis.<sup>22</sup> A new word division was proposed, which suggested new groups: *τι/τιε/τιη* (*αδ-/ατ-* being a preposition). A. Lubotsky believes these to be the datives of *τιος* - Gen. (= Nom.?), and *τιον* - Acc., while he finds the Nom. in the Old Phrygian *tiyes* (M-04). The former has long been related to the word for "god".<sup>23</sup> It has no reliable ethymology, its relation to Gr. Διός, Δία is hard to support, because "Phrygian does not seem to have undergone the *Lautverschiebung*".<sup>24</sup> However, the combinatory observations show that *τιος* is interchangeable with *οπουαν/οπουενος* in the

<sup>18</sup> L.S. Bayun / V.E. Orel, The Inscription from Sitovo, Orpheus, Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies 1, 1991, 144-148.

<sup>19</sup> Proposed by A. Fol, op. cit., 262.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 64, 69, 259.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Brixhe, Réflexions sur phrygien IMAN, in: Mélanges A.M. Mansel, Ankara 1974, 239-250; Idem, Le Phrygien, in: Fr. Bader (ed.), Langues indo-européennes, Paris 1992, 175.

<sup>22</sup> 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 Areyastis-Inscription, Kadmos 27, 1988, 24 note 13; Idem, New Phrygian *ετι* and *τι*, Kadmos 28, 1989, 82, 85, accepted by Cl. Brixhe, Les clithques du néo-phrygien, in: R. Gusmani, M. Salvini, P. Vannicelli (eds.), Frigi e frigio. Atti del 1° Symposio Internazionale (Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995), Roma 1997, 42-47.

<sup>23</sup> O. Haas, op. cit., 67, 86.

<sup>24</sup> 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° Symposio Internazionale (Roma, 16-17 ottobre 1995), Roma 1997, 127-128, note 30.

imprecation formulae (N 48 and 106, *τιος* in N 32-36, 59, 60, 76, 105, 108). The word demonstrates the same *a-/e-* alternation in the flection as that of *iman*. In the quasi bilingual text N 48 *οπούενος* corresponds to ὁ πατήρ in the Greek part, which makes Lubotsky consider it as the Phrygian equivalent to "father", etymologically related to the Gr. οὐρός, "watcher, guardian". Despite the etymological difficulties, this author acknowledges *Tioç* as a theonym analogous to Zeus, and "Father" seems most relevant to him.<sup>25</sup> 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, *Tioç* and *τι/τιε/τιη* are semantically related to δεως and ζεμελος (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'.<sup>26</sup> Thus, the suggestion of a theonym for *Tioç* and variants is so far the most probable.

The above considerations enter the problems of a very discussed sequence: Old Phr. *devos* - NPhr. δεως - Gr. θεός. While the equation of the last two elements is more or less accepted, the relation between *devos* and δεως is doubted.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> Ascribing *mekas* to the architectural vocabulary, scholars refuse *devos* a divine context.<sup>29</sup>

So far, the translation "Great Gods" for *devos ke mekas* (P-03) is suggested only by Bayun - Orel.<sup>30</sup> 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. θεοὶ 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 Brixhe 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

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>26</sup> Cl. Brixhe, op. cit., 45-46.

<sup>27</sup> A. Lubotsky, The Old Phrygian Areyastis-Inscription, 15.

<sup>28</sup> C. Brixhe, Comparaison et langues faiblement documentées, 76-77.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> 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<sup>31</sup>). *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 *opouων*, *opouενος*, with its relation to Gr. οὐρός (օρνυματι, ὄρύω<sup>32</sup>), enters the semantic field of "high, from above". This interpretation, rather than "guardian", finds support in a fragment by Neoptolemus who translates *opou* with τὸ ἄνω.<sup>33</sup> It was rendered as "Υψιστος" by Haas,<sup>34</sup> but it should be remembered that the Greek word means "mountain" as well. Thus, *Tiyes/Tios* might denote an uranian male deity, the paredros 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" (M-04), could be the patron deity of Modra, the Vanak of Modra.

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 *Tiyes* as a personal name<sup>35</sup> because of the late onomastic group *Tıoç*.<sup>36</sup> In the context of the above suggestion, however, the onomastic data could be an evidence for the survival of earlier religious/cultic terms, preserved on anthroponymic and toponymic level. *Tίετον/Tiov* is a city on the Bithynian-Paphlagonian border. The name is part of the Thracian *Sprachreste*, according to Detschew, who derives it from the Indo-European term for god, and compares it with Zeus.<sup>37</sup> This interpretation is usually offered by linguists who accept the *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<sup>38</sup>: the city was founded by Pataros from Paphlagonia).<sup>39</sup>

Recently discovered casseroles in a tumulus in South Western Bulgaria bear inscriptions where *Tıoç* (patronym?) is mentioned.<sup>40</sup> The archaeologists, accepting Detschew's interpreta-

<sup>31</sup> O. Haas, op. cit., 224.

<sup>32</sup> P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1968, 839.

<sup>33</sup> Achill. Schol, ad Arat. Phaenom. 85, comments in I.M. Diakonoff / V. P. Neroznak, op. cit., 127; O. Haas, op. cit., 169.

<sup>34</sup> O. Haas, op. cit., 129 (N 106), 169.

<sup>35</sup> L. Innocente, op. cit., 38; CIPP M-04, 23.

<sup>36</sup> L. Zgusta, op. cit., § 1558-2.

<sup>37</sup> D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien 1976<sup>2</sup>, 506-507 with all mentionings in the sources; without such an interpretation in L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, Heidelberg 1984, § 1337.

<sup>38</sup> FGrHist IIIC 699, F 9.

<sup>39</sup> Steph. Byz. 624, 20 quoted by Lubotsky in support of his view, together with the linguistic criticism of Witeczak's opinion: *New Phrygian Inscriptions* No 48, 127-128, note 30.

<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> 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 Οὐανάξος and variants,<sup>42</sup> 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" (Οὐανάκταν - Acc.) is mentioned.<sup>43</sup> 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,<sup>44</sup> 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,<sup>45</sup> as well as common linguistic phenomena,<sup>46</sup> could yield further grounds for the research of Thracian-Phrygian cultural zone.

Sofia

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## ÖZET

### **Bazı Frigya İsimleri Hakkında Notlar**

Makalede, Frigya Bölgesinde Roma Döneminde kullanılmış olan bazı kişi isimleri incelenmektedir. Bennios, Iman, Mekas, Tiyes/Tios gibi isimler eski Frig kitabelerinde de geçmekte olup bunların kökeni dini alanlarda kullanılan terimlere dayanmaktadır. Sonuç olarak bu ve benzeri kişi isimlerinin bu dini terimlerden geldiği anlaşılmaktadır.

<sup>41</sup> M. Manov, op. cit., 92.

<sup>42</sup> L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen, § 1138, 1-3.

<sup>43</sup> Cl. Brixhe, Du paléo- au néo-phrygien, 332-333.

<sup>44</sup> Discussion in Cl. Brixhe, Comparaison et langues faiblement documentées, 73-75.

<sup>45</sup> Mentioned here, as well as the toponyms related to Bennios: M. Vassileva, Zeis Bennios, Archaeologia Bulgarica 1998, 54-55.

<sup>46</sup> Most recently cf. P. Dimitrov, Phrygia: Linguistics and Epigraphy, in: N. Tuna, Z. Aktüre, M. Lynch (eds.), Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism. Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Archaeology, History and Ancient Languages of Thrace and Phrygia (Ankara, 3-4 June 1995), Ankara 1998, 111-114.

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