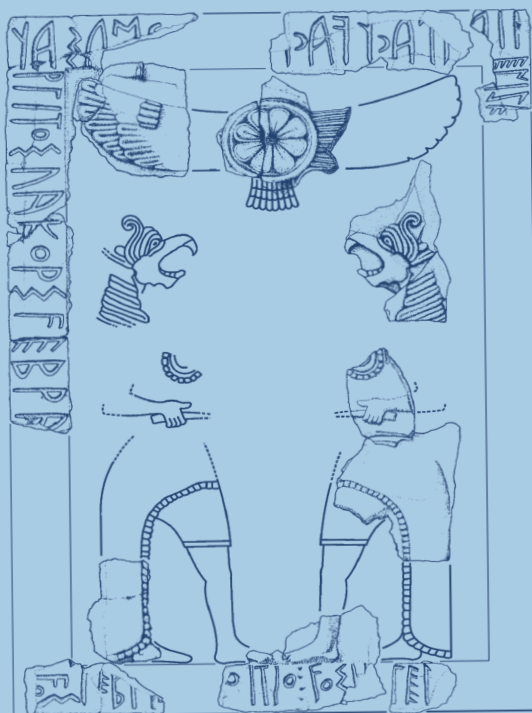


Phrygian linguistics and epigraphy: new insights

Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach
Ignasi-Xavier Adiego (eds.)



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Edicions

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Foreword

These are good times for research on Phrygian. More scholars than ever are focusing on this language and many novelties (including new inscriptions and innovative interpretations) are emerging relatively frequently. It is a pleasure to introduce a book that bears witness to this effervescence, even if it means that different answers are given to the very same problem. There are still some important questions to be resolved in the study of this ancient, fragmentary language, but the discussion among researchers from different backgrounds is bound to improve the ways in which we approach the inscriptions and their context. The experience in other fragmentary languages, together with the knowledge of the languages also attested in Anatolia (including the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European languages, Greek and Aramaic) can help us to make some solid steps forward in Phrygian, without leaving aside for a moment the indispensable contribution of archaeology.

At the same time as we celebrate the emergence of these new scholars, we must mourn the recent loss of Claude Brixhe. Phrygian studies are indebted to Brixhe for following the steps made by Michel Lejeune and for applying a scientific approach to his work. His systematic readings and editions of Old Phrygian inscriptions are still an indispensable source for studies today, while his “*Prolégomenes au corpus néo-phrygien*” laid the foundations for a methodology to read and study New Phrygian texts. We acknowledge his sensitivity and his devotion to

the diffusion of Phrygian at a time when the scientific community was less aware than it is today of the relevance of linguistic diversity and contact in Antiquity.

Our discipline recently suffered a second blow, the death of Alexandru Avram. Coming from the field of Greek epigraphy, Avram published a first edition of the altar from Nakoleia, containing four Greek epigrams and one in Phrygian, an Old Phrygian graffito from Dorylaion and a classification of Phrygian personal names. As he had agreed to submit a paper for this book, his absence is noted very keenly here. We devote this publication to the memory of both scholars as a signal of gratitude and of our commitment to continuing their work.

Despite the limitations of the Phrygian corpus, it continues to grow and we do not know what might appear in the future after the completion of the archaeological projects currently underway at several sites in the former Phrygian cultural territories. Since the publication of *The Phrygian Language* (2020), more than ten inscriptions have been described, including the text on the idol-shaped stele from the territory of Nakoleia, a new inscription engraved on stone and some new graffiti from Gordion and Dorylaion, another New Phrygian curse from Senirkent-Yassıören and, for the first time, some coins containing an Old Phrygian legend. Moreover, it has been suggested that some alphabetic seal legends from the Borowski Collection were written in Phrygian. Finally, the publication in the near future of some other Phrygian texts has been announced: some graffiti from Daskyleion, among other fragments in Lydian, and two graffiti from the acropolis of Tiejion (an interesting new site for the Phrygian epigraphy).

In fact, the first chapter of this book is devoted to one of these novelties. “The Ata Touch: a second coin legend in Phrygian” continues the research done with the coin legend *Iman* (see *Kadmos* 60, 2021, 99-115) and offers the name of another possible Phrygian dynast, *Ata*. Both legends document two hitherto unknown local rulers in an unclear area. In any case, the features of both series of coins show that they came from the same city s. While coins with legends written in other languages from Anatolia during the late Iron Age (Greek, Aramaic, Lycian, Lydian, Carian and Sydetic) are quite well known, no coin legends had been found in Phrygian until now. Despite the fragmentary nature of the evidence, this new Phrygian epigraphic typology invites researchers to explore late Phrygian history further.

Milena Anfosso provides the second chapter: “Remarks on the Neo-Phrygian Funerary Curse Apodosis με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε Τη τιττετικμενος ειτου”. In her thorough account of the most important New Phrygian formula, she reconsiders the relation with its Hieroglyphic Luwian parallel (KARKAMIŠ A3, l. 4) and rules out the possibility that the latter text was a model for the Phrygian text. However, in

the paper she suggests a solar nature for the Phrygian god Ti- and develops a comparison with the solar Luwian god Tiwat-, while the Phrygian god Bas is connected to the sphere of fertility, like Tarhunzas for the Luwians. Thus, the chapter provides an innovative approach to the study of the Phrygian divinities.

The contribution by Anna Elisabeth Hämmig, “A “new” Neo-Phrygian curse formula”, also focuses on the New Phrygian texts. She compares three inscriptions and, after offering an improved reading of them, identifies a new Phrygian imperative formula containing the hitherto unnoticed verbal stem $\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon/o-$. Consequently, some traditional segmentations and ‘ghost words’ are shown to be invalid and must be excluded from the lexical repertoires.

María Paz de Hoz, with her paper “Greek–Phrygian contact and sociolinguistic context in the Neo-Phrygian corpus” provides an overview of the relation between the two coexisting languages. Based on Brixhe’s prior work and her own wide experience in Greek epigraphy (mainly from Lydia and Phrygia), she analyses the spheres in which Phrygian was still alive during Roman times. She also offers a historical framework for this bilingualism and identifies some Phrygian interferences in Greek.

The following chapter, by Obrador-Cursach, is devoted to “the gods of the Phrygian inscriptions”. The author attempts to offer researchers a complete catalogue of gods attested in the Phrygian corpus. This study aims to help scholars from other fields to understand the contents of the inscriptions and what they might tell us about the religion of the Phrygians. The paper also offers some comments on divine epithets attested through Greek inscriptions found in Phrygia and its surrounding territories.

Zsolt Simon is the author of the last chapter, “*Sipis* – yet another Phrygian name in the Neo-Hittite world? With commentaries on some recent discoveries of Phrygians in Hieroglyphic Luwian texts”. Following his previous work on the identification of the Luwian name *Kurtiyas* as a borrowing from the Phrygian *Gordios* / *Gordias*, he suggests that Luwian *Sipis* is another Phrygian onomastic borrowing, in the light of the names $\Sigma\alpha\beta\upsilon\varsigma$ and $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ attested in Greek inscriptions from Phrygia. He also argues against the identification of Luwian $Pa+ra^x/i-za/zu^2-ta_x$ with the ethnonym of the Phrygians and rejects a Phrygian origin for Luwian *Hartapus* and other alleged identifications between names of both corpora. The whole chapter is an excellent update on the onomastic interactions between Phrygian and Luwian.

All in all, the book offers a range of approaches to Phrygian-related issues. Promoting the diversity of starting points and focuses is the way to improve our

knowledge and to reach a better vision of the Phrygian language and the people who once spoke and wrote it.

To conclude, we thank the scholars who have contributed to this volume and make easy our work and extend our gratitude to those who for various reasons were not able to participate.

Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach and Ignasi-Xavier Adiego
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The Ata Touch: a second coin legend in Phrygian*

Ignasi-Xavier Adiego & Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach
Institut Universitari del Pròxim Orient Antic, Universitat de Barcelona

In a recent paper (Adiego and Obrador-Cursach 2021), we identified an uncatalogued series of ten coins (very small in size) as containing a Phrygian name as legend: *iman* (e.g., Fig. 1). For the first time, Phrygian was identified as a language used in minting.¹ These tiny coins (*tetartemoria*, i.e., ¼ of an obol, between 0.14 g and 0.19 g, and 5-7 mm.) show on the obverse a helmeted head of Athena facing right and on the reverse a bird of prey, probably a falcon or hawk, facing left, bordered by a square of pellets within an incuse square where the legend also appears. Despite the lack of any archaeological context, their features let us conclude that these coins were issued by an unknown dynast called *Iman* during the Achaemenid period. A more difficult task is to establish the city where these coins might have been minted. Some catalogues of the auction houses featuring these coins have classified them as Lycian. Although this is wrong, certain similarities with Lycian coins may suggest that they were minted in a southwestern Phrygian city such as Kelainai. Moreover, together with the ten coins reading *Iman*, five anepigraphic coins were also considered to share the same origin, since they reproduce the same iconography (see, e.g., Fig. 2).

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1. In fact, it was surprising that, unlike the other languages attested in Anatolia during the Achaemenid Period and despite its productivity in other contexts, Phrygian did not provide any coins.



Fig. 1. Savoca Numismatik, 92nd Blue Auction, Lot 850 (19-12-2020)
“Greek. Dynasts of Lycia. Uncertain mint. Uncertain Dynast circa 400-300 BC. Tetartemorion AR 6 mm., 0,18 g.”.



Fig. 2. Numismatik Naumann GmbH, Auction 44, Lot 507 (07.08.2016).
“Achaemenid Empire. Uncertain (4th century BC). Fraction (1/32 Siglos?). Obv: Male head right, wearing bashlyk. Rev: Eagle standing left within pelleted linear border; all within incuse square. Weight: 0.14 g. Diameter: 7 mm.”.

Since our previous study, we have identified two other coins clearly related to the series previously gathered together. Their iconography is very similar to *Iman*-coins: the obverse shows a head of Athena with crested helmet, and the reverse a bird of prey bordered by a square of pellets within an incuse square where a legend can be read. However, there are two notable differences between the *Iman*-series

and these two new coins: here the bird of prey is facing right, not left, and the legend, consisting of three letters, does not read *iman* (Fig. 3 and 4).



Fig 3: Numismatik Naumann. Auction 77, Lot 271 (05.05.2019)

“Dynasts of Lycia. Uncertain dynast (Circa 4th century BC). Hemiobol. Obv: Helmeted head of Athena right. Rev: Bird (eagle?) standing right within a pelleted square border; all within an incuse square. CNG E-318, lot 245; Numismatik Naumann 71, lot 124 (as Uncertain). Very rare. Condition: Nearly very fine. Weight: 0.18 g. Diameter: 6 mm.”



Fig. 4. Leu Numismatik. Web Auction 16, Lot 1011 (22.05.2021)

“Greek. LYDIA. Uncertain. Aia..., circa 450–400 BC. Tetartemorion (Silver, 7 mm, 0.31 g, 11 h). Head of Athena to right, wearing crested Attic helmet. Rev. AIA ('aia' in Lydian) Eagle standing right with closed wings; all within a dotted square within an incuse square. Cf. CNG E-Auction 318 (2014), 245 var. (anepigraphic) and corr. ('dynasts of Lycia'). Naumann 77 (2019), 271 corr. (as 'dynasts of Lycia' and legend not noted). Peus 427

(2020), 321 var. (hemitartemoron with eagle to left and a longer legend) and corr. (legend misread as 'lykisch oder aramäisch'). Extremely rare and of great interest. Lightly toned and beautifully struck, a very charming coin. Minor edge crack, otherwise, very fine condition.

This beautiful little coin offers, for the first time, a clear reading of the legend on this issue, which was previously either overlooked or misread. In the light of the discovery of small silver coins from western Asia Minor with Lydian legends (see the very interesting coin of Ifes in Leu Web Auction 15 (2021), 502), there can be little doubt that 'AIA' on the reverse of our coin is not Greek, but composed of the Lydian letters AIA. This is likely the beginning of a personal name Aia... rather than an ethnic, but we do not know much about Lydian names and thus cannot expand this idea with any certainty. It is worth noting, however, that foreign names are often absorbed when cultures intermix (which is why this cataloguer's first name is 'scandinavized' Latin, even though he was not born either in Scandinavia or in Italy); thus, as a wild guess, Aia... perhaps even bore the Greek name Aias (modern Ajax)".

The first coin is attributed to a "Lycian dynast", as was the case of some Iman coins, and no reading of the legend is offered. Conversely, the second exemplar is accompanied by an unusually long note, in which the coin is classified as coming from Lydia. Other attributions are ruled out, and the text is read as AIA and explicitly taken as Lydian. The onomastic speculations that follow are rather curious but in principle not unreasonable, and a Lydian attribution is also a possibility, as we will see below.

Leaving aside the two specimens with a legend, there are some others of anepigraphic character that also show a right-facing bird of prey, in parallel to the existence of anepigraphic issues of Iman. Here are the four anepigraphic exemplars we noticed (Fig. 5, 6, 7 and 8):



Fig. 5. CNG E-Auction 318, Lot 245 (15.01.2014)

“Dynasts of Lycia. Uncertain dynast. Circa 4th century BC. AR Hemiobol (6mm, 0.25 g, 6h). Helmeted head of Athena right / Eagle standing right within a pelleted square within an incuse square. Unpublished in the standard references. Near EF”.



Fig. 6. Numismatik Naumann. Auktion 71, Lot 124 (04.11.2018)

“Southern Asia Minor. Uncertain. Tetartemorion (Circa 5th–4th centuries BC).

Obv: Head right, (wearing helmet or bashlyk/satrapal headdress?). Rev: Bird standing right within a pelleted square border; all within an incuse square. Cf. CNG E-400, lot 300 (bird left); cf. CNG E-385, lot 276 (same). Very rare. Condition: Very fine. Weight: 0.12 g. Diameter: 6 mm.”.



Fig. 7. Numismatik Naumann. Auction 79, Lot 195 (07.07.2019)

“Dynasts of Lycia. Uncertain dynast (Circa 4th century BC). Hemiobol.

Obv: Helmeted head of Athena right. Rev: Bird (eagle?) standing right within pelleted square border; all within incuse square. CNG E-318, lot 245; Numismatik Naumann 71, lot 124 (as Uncertain). Condition: Very fine. Weight: 0.20 g. Diameter: 7 mm.”.



Fig. 8. Leu Numismatik. Web Auction 19, Lot 1584 (26.02.2022)

“Asia Minor. Uncertain. Late 5th to 4th century BC. Tetartemorion (Silver, 7 mm, 0.19 g, 12 h). Male head to right, wearing bashlyk (?). Rev. Eagle with closed wings standing right within linear square within incuse square. Cf. CNG E-Auction 418 (2018), 367 (eagle to right and with legend). SNG Kayhan -. Rosen -. Klein -. Very fine”.

Turning to the two exemplars with a legend, a first problem is the exact reading of the three letters that appear in the reverse, to the right of the bird of prey. The copious note accompanying the most recently auctioned coin gives a reading <AIA> as certain. However, both an attentive study of this coin and a comparison