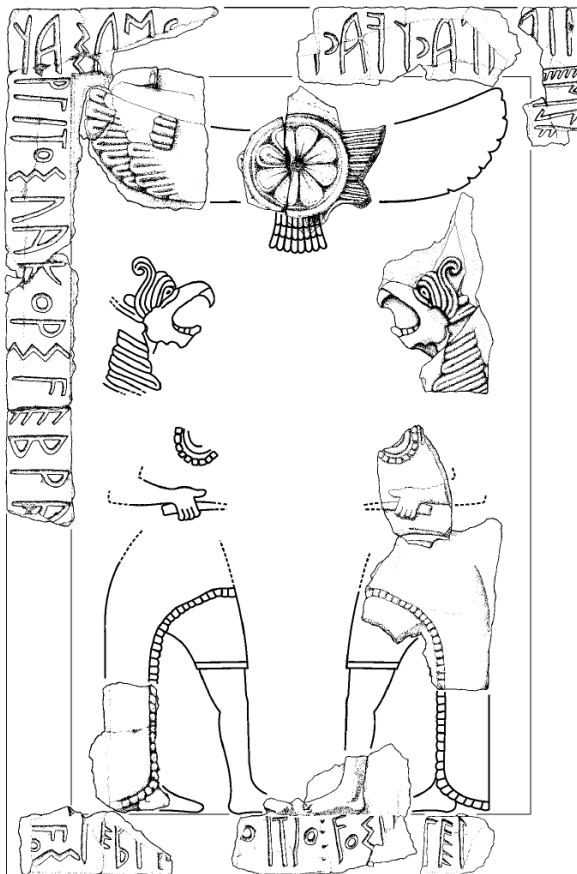


Phrygian linguistics and epigraphy: new insights

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



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Cover: Possible assemblage of relief elements of a sandstone inscribed block found at Kerkenes Dağ. Courtesy of Geoffrey D. Summers.

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Remarks on the Neo-Phrygian Funerary Curse $\text{Apodosis } \mu\epsilon \delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon \text{Τη τιττετικμενος ειτου}$ ¹

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§ 1. *Introduction*

Alexander Lubotsky (1998: 420), followed by Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (2019: 147–9; 2020: 143; 2021: 3), noticed an interesting similarity between a passage from the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription KARKAMIŠ A3, l. 4 (Hawkins 2000: 108–12), datable to the late 10th/early 9th century BCE:

1. This paper was inspired by a conversation with the late Alexandru Avram, Professor of History at Le Mans University, who was one of the members of the jury on the occasion of my dissertation (Anfosso 2019a) defense at Sorbonne University, Paris. He tragically passed away in August 2021 while he was leading archeological excavations at Histria, in Romania. He published on subjects as varied as Greek colonization, the institutional and religious history of Greek cities, and epigraphy of the Black Sea and of Asia Minor (including in Phrygian). Thus, I would like to dedicate this paper to his memory. He was such a generous scholar: I learned so much from him and he always warmly supported my research. Many thanks to Petra Goedegebuure, Craig Melchert, and Philomen Probert for their enthusiastic feedback on this paper on the occasion of the 32nd UCLA Indo-European Conference (Los Angeles, November 5–7, 2021). Jonny Zeller and Anahita Hoose must be thanked for proofreading the English text. All the translations from Hieroglyphic Luwian are taken from Hawkins 2000; all the translations from Greek and Phrygian are mine, except when differently specified. The usual disclaimers apply.

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*wa/i-sá- *a|DEUS-na-za |CAPUT-tá-za-ha |*336-na-na²|*
 |(DEUS)TONITRUS-tá-ti-i |(LOQUI)ta-tara/i-ia-mi-sa i-zi-ia-ru,

“and let him be accursed by Tarhunzas in the sight of/before gods and men,”

and a phrase attested by more than forty Neo-Phrygian inscriptions from the 2nd and the 3rd centuries CE (see Appendix I: Haas 1966 nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, 12, 14, 25, 26, 39, 44, 45, 50, 51, 53, 56, 57, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 75, 77, 80, 85, 87, 92, 94, 97, 101, 102, 108, 112, 114, 120, 123, 127, 131). For the sake of simplicity, the phrase can be reconstructed as follows despite the spelling variations:

με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε τιε τι[τ]τετικμενος ειτου,

“let him become accursed by Ti-³ among gods and men”.

Both sentences are apodoses of curses built with so-called “indeterminate” relative clauses (Yates 2014: 5–6), where the relative pronoun in the protasis refers to an indefinite entity, i.e.: “Whichever X does something bad to [inscribed object] (protasis), [divinity] shall do something bad to X (apodosis)”.

The parallel between the Hieroglyphic Luwian and the Neo-Phrygian curse apodoses has been commented on as an astonishing example of phraseological continuity between the Luwian and the Phrygian civilizations (Lubotsky 1998: 420). More precisely, the Neo-Phrygian formula has been defined as “a calque of a Luwian imprecative apodosis” (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 143), since both curses:

- a) Present the antithetic pairing “gods and men;”
- b) Invoke, according to Alexander Lubotsky (1998: 420; 2004: 230–231) and Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (2019: 147–149; 2021: 3), the same divinity: Tarhunzas and Ti-

2. Federico Giusfredi must be thanked for pointing out that the Luwian postposition is in fact *336-na-na instead of *366-na-na quoted elsewhere because of the typo in the main text of KAR-KAMIŠ A3, l. 4 as found in Hawkins (2000: 110). However, the postposition is correctly noted as *336-na-na in the commentary (Hawkins 2000: 112): “*336-na-na: still an unexplained form, first sign logographic or phonetic?”

3. The nominative of the theonym is still unattested, which is why I prefer Ti- as a transcription.

It is true that contacts between the Phrygians and the Luwians are historically documented in the Tabalic region. Towards the end of the 8th century BCE, the Phrygian king Midas ruled a powerful kingdom which extended southwards to the Cilician plain, and westwards as far as the Aegean sea. His territorial and military aspirations brought him into conflict with the Assyrians under king Sargon II (722–705 BCE), and inevitably the Luwian region of Tabal became contested territory between the two kings⁴ (see D’alfonso 2012). The Phrygian presence of a King Midas in Tuwana/Tyana is attested by some fragments of a basalt stele bearing the Paleo-Phrygian inscriptions T-01, T-02, T-03 (more specifically, T-02b, l. 3: [- - -] *oitumen* ḥ *miḏa*[- - -]); see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 505–507, with references). In light of a Phrygian graffito discovered on a Luwian orthostat, at least one Phrygian must have been to Karkamiš as well during the last quarter of the 8th century BCE (Börker-Klähn 1994: 198).

However, the Hieroglyphic Luwian curse can be dated between to the 10th and the 9th century BCE, whereas the Neo-Phrygian curses are all attested between the 2nd and the 3rd centuries CE. Considering the remarkable temporal distance separating the Hieroglyphic Luwian and the Phrygian inscriptions in question, Alexandru Avram (per personal communication) could not avoid questioning the assumption of a direct Luwian-Phrygian filiation. Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (2021: 49), although supporting this hypothesis, also rightly observed: “We do not know how this formula survived until the Roman Imperial period”.

On the basis of these remarks, I will analyze this parallel in detail in order to better evaluate the extent of continuity between the Hieroglyphic Luwian and the Neo-Phrygian curse apodoses in question (see Fig. 1).

4. Midas’ campaigns against the Assyrian kingdom are recorded in the chronicles of Sargon II, where the Phrygian king is called *’Mitā šār māt Muškī*, “Mitā, king of the land of the Muški”. In these texts, he is accused of being behind conspiracies of two tributary states of the Assyrians (in 718 BCE with Kiakki of Šinuḥtu, and in 717 BCE with Pisiri of Karkamiš), and he is said to have conquered the cities of Ḥarrua and Ušanis, and influenced Tabal. These hostilities continued until almost 709 BCE, when he sent gifts to Sargon II as a tribute on his own initiative. On the equivalence Midas/Mita, see Wittke 2004.

Luw.	10th/early 9th century BCE	<i>wa/i- sá- </i>	DEUS-na-za CAPUT- <i>tá-za-ha</i>	*336- <i>na- na </i>	(DEUS) TONITRUS- <i>tá-ti-i </i>	(LOQUI) <i>a-tara/i-ia- mi-sa</i>	<i>i-zi-ia-ru</i>
Phr.	2nd–3rd centuries CE	(τος)	δεως κε ξεμελως κε	με	τιε	τι[τ]τετικμ ενος	ειτου
Eng.		him	gods and men	among (με)/in the sight of, before (*336- <i>na- na</i>)	by Tarhunzas/Ti -	accused	be made

Fig. 1. Comparative table.

More specifically, I will focus on:

- a) Με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε / *336-*na-na*|DEUS-*na-za* |CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* | (§2);
- b) Τιε / (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-ti-i* | (§3);
- c) The Anatolian Greek counterparts of the Neo-Phrygian funerary curse apodoses (§4).

I will eventually draw the necessary conclusions in the final section of the paper (§5).

§ 2. Με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε / *336-*na-na*|DEUS-*na-za* |CAPUT-*tá-za-ha*

In both the Luwian and the Neo-Phrygian curses, it is possible to isolate the binomial expression “[among/before/in the sight of] gods and men”. According to Yaakov Malkiel’s definition (1959: 113), a *binomial* can be described as “the sequence of two words pertaining to the same form-class, placed on an identical level of syntactic hierarchy, and ordinarily connected by some kind of lexical link”. As I have already had the occasion to explain (Anfosso 2019b: 6–9; in press), whenever language is meant to produce specific effects on the world, i.e., it has a *performative* function (as in the case of curses, spells, incantations, etc.), several rhetorical devices are put in place in order to increase its power. Examples include formulaic language⁵, repetitions, accumulations of elements, code-switching, etc. Building binomial expressions is one of the most common rhetorical devices in curses (or in performative utterances in general), as it slows down the pace of the sentence, conferring a more solemn rhythm. Thus, the presence of binomials in both the Luwian and the Neo-Phrygian curses is unsurprising.

As for the Neo-Phrygian binomial, δεως, ‘gods’, and ζεμελωσ, ‘men’, are in the same case, i.e., Dat.Pl., they depend on the same preposition με < PIE **me* (LIPP: 494, s.v., cf. Greek μετά), and they are connected by the copulative enclitic conjunction κε < PIE **kʷe*, ‘and’. As for the Luwian one, the morphology is exactly the same: DEUS-*na-za* (*massan-(i)-anza*), ‘gods’, and CAPUT-*tá-za* (CAPUT-*t(i)anza*), ‘men’, are both in the same case, i.e., Dat.Pl., they depend on the same

5. By *formula*, I mean a set of words which appears to be prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from a specific repertoire at the time of use (Wood 2015: 1–17). Formulaic language is a device commonly used to increase the power of performative utterances.

postposition *336-*na-na* (*336-*nan*), and they are connected by the connective particle *-ha* (cf. the Hittite conjunction *-a*).

At first sight, the correspondence between the Luwian and the Neo-Phrygian binomials could seem very impressive. However, the pairing “deities and humans” evoked in both the Neo-Phrygian binomial *με δεως κε ζεμελως κε* and in the Luwian binomial *336-*na-na* |DEUS-*na-za* |CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* | to convey the “universality” of the curse derives directly from the common Indo-European heritage (West 2007: 124–125). According to Indo-Europeans, there was a primary opposition between the superior beings of Heaven, the deities, PIE **d̥i-éu-* (IEW, s.v.; NIL: 70–1), and the humble creatures of Earth, the humans, PIE *(*d^h*)*éǵ^h-m-e/on-* (IEW, s.v.; NIL: 87)⁶.

Binomials featuring “gods and men” to express the concept of “universality” can be found, e.g., in Vedic, Greek, Italic, and Celtic:

- a) In *Rig-Veda* 4.54.3, it is possible to read: *devésu* (< **deiṷoisu*) *ca Savitar mánuṣeṣu ca* | *tvám no átra suvatād ánāgasah*, “O Savitar, thou shalt impel (i.e., in the future) sinless us among both gods and men here”. Another passage in 7.46.2 describes Rudra concerned about the fate of both “human and celestial races,” *kṣámyasya jánmanas* [...] *divyásya*.
- b) In Greek, commonly in Homer and Hesiod, Zeus is addressed as “father of men and gods,” *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (see, e.g., *Iliad* 1.544; 4.235, etc.). Interestingly enough, the binomial expression involving “gods and men” in relationship to a divinity was perceived as eminently Phrygian by the Greeks already in 414 BCE, as Aristophanes made this ironic reference to the Phrygian mother goddess *Matar* in *Birds* 876:

IE. καὶ στρούθῳ μεγάλῃ Μητρὶ
 θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων— (876)
ΠΙ. Δέσποινα Κυβέλη, στρούθε, μῆτερ Κλεοκρίτου.

Priest And [let’s pray] to the ostrich the Great Mother
 of gods and men —

6. The preservation of the Indo-European roots in Phrygian is remarkable: Neo-Phrygian Dat. Pl. *δεως*, ‘gods’ < PIE **d^hh₁so-*; Neo-Phrygian Dat. Pl. *ζεμελως*, ‘men’ *(*d^h*)*ǵ^hem-elo-* (with palatalization before a front vowel in Phrygian), cf. Greek *χθαμαλός* ‘low, located at ground level’ (but also, even if with another inflectional theme, Latin *humilis*, ‘low, humble’).

Pisthetairos To our lady Cybele, ostrich, mother of Cleocritos.

- c) As for Latin, Quintus Ennius (239–169 BCE) uses the formula *diuomque hominumque* several times in the *Annales* (Skutsch 1985), and not only to translate the Homeric phrase πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε with reference to Jupiter: see, e.g., *Annales* 6.203, *Tum cum corde suo diuom pater atque hominum rex | effatur*; 8.284, *multorum ueterum leges diuomque hominumque*; fragments, 591 *hominoque diuomque pater, rex*; 592 *patrem diuomque hominumque*.
- d) A Latin-Gaulish bilingual inscription (RIG 2/1, 26–37, E-2) carved on a boundary stone dating back to the 2nd century BCE found at Vercelli designates the land of a certain Acisius as follows in the Gaulish version: *TEUOX-TONION, dēwo-χdonio-* (lines 11–12). Michel Lejeune (1977: 602–606) analyzed this *dvandva* compound adjective applied to *atom* or *atoš*, ‘field’ as “divine and terrestrial, mortal,” therefore “field of gods and men,” translated in the corresponding Latin inscription by the expression *communem deis et hominibus [scil. campum]*.

In light of this brief overview, given the widespread usage of binomial expressions involving “gods and men” in the Indo-European world (and beyond: see, e.g., the Babylonian Moon-god *Sin*, who is called “begetter of gods and men,” and the Ugaritic god *El*, who is “father of the sons of El [i.e., of all the gods], and father of mankind”), the argument of their presence in both the Luwian and the Phrygian curses loses some of its weight in terms of a direct derivation from Luwian to Phrygian, but it appears more like a common heritage.

Moreover, despite the orthographic variations, the Neo-Phrygian phrasing $\mu\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\epsilon$ $\zeta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\epsilon$ is attested several times in the Neo-Phrygian corpus (see, e.g., Haas 1966 nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 25, 39, 40, 63, 73, 93, 96, 112, 118, 121, 128), thus proving to be a constitutive element of the formulaic language that characterizes this kind of texts. On the other hand, the Luwian phrasing *336-*na-na*|*DEUS-na-za* |*CAPUT-tá-za-ha* is a hapax in the entire Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus, although other formulations including “gods and men” to express the concept of “universality” are present: see, e.g., the inscription MARAS 1, §1 h (Hawkins 2000: 263): *DEUS-na-ti* (LITUUS)*á-za-mi-sà* *CAPUT-ta-ti* ¹(LITUUS)¹ *u-ni-mi-sa* |*FINES-ha-ti*||*AUDIRE-mi-sà* *REX-ti-sá*, “the king (*scil.* Halparuntiyas III, king of Gurgum, end of the 9th century BCE) loved by gods, known by men, famed abroad”. Thus, because of its unique occurrence, Luwian *336-*na-na*|*DEUS-na-za*

|CAPUT-*tá-za-ha*, contrarily to Neo-Phrygian με δεως κε ζεμελωσ κε, does not seem to be part of a formulaic repertoire, and it is unlikely that it could have been transmitted as such.

§ 3. ΤΙΕ / (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-ti-i* |

Concerning the invocation to Luwian Tarhunzas and Neo-Phrygian Ti-, a more thorough analysis of the context is required in order to evaluate their supposed equivalence.

The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription KARKAMIŠ A3 makes a continuous text with the inscription KARKAMIŠ A2. They are inscribed on a pair of basalt orthostat slabs in the form of door-jambs for the right and left sides of the entrance of a temple dedicated to the Storm-god Tarhunzas (Hawkins 2000: 108), dating back to the late 10th/early 9th century BCE (Payne 2012: 66). In KARKAMIŠ A2, Katuwas, ruler of Karkamiš, states his personal relationship with Tarhunzas and narrates how he built the temple as a thank offering for the Storm-god’s favors. As a consequence, KARKAMIŠ A3 contains a curse forbidding the removal of the artisans donated by Katuwas to the temple of Tarhunzas. I deem it useful to report the most interesting passages of KARKAMIŠ A3 (see Hawkins 2000: 108–112; Payne 2012: 74–75):

<p>(A3) 1. §16 <i>za-ti-pa-wa/i</i> <i>kar-ka-mi-si-za</i>(URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-<i>ti-i</i> <i>ka-tu-wa/i-sa</i> REGIO-<i>ni-ia-si</i> DOMINUS-<i>ia-sa</i> REL- <i>i-zi</i> (**273")<i>wa/i+ra/i-pa-si</i> DOMINUS-<i>ia-zi-i pi-ia-tá</i></p>	<p>“Those who were masters craftsmen Katuwas the Country-Lord gave to this Karkamišean Tarhunzas.</p>
<p>2. §17 [...]</p>	<p>[...]</p>
<p>§18 POST+<i>RA/I-wa/i-sà-ti-pa-wa/i-ma-'</i> REL- <i>i-sa</i> POST-<i>ni</i> <i>a-tá</i> CRUS-<i>i</i> </p>	<p>In future whoever goes after them</p>
<p>3. §19 [...]</p>	<p>[...]</p>
<p>§20 <i>wa/i-tà-tá- *a</i> <i>za-a-ti-i</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS-<i>ti-i</i> <i>ARHA</i> CAPERE-<i>i</i></p>	<p>and takes them away from this Karkamišean Tarhunzas,</p>

REMARKS ON THE NEO-PHRYGIAN FUNERARY CURSE APODOSIS

§21 <i>pa-pa-wa/i- *a za-a-sa</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>sa</i> (LOQUI) <i>tá-tara/i-ia-tu</i>	him may this Karkamišean Tarhunzas curse!
§22 <i>wa/i-sa-*a ku-ma-na sa-ti-*a pa-la-sa-ti-i</i>	When he shall be ‘off the path’,
4. §23 <i>a-wa/i</i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>sa</i> (DEUS) <i>ku+AVIS-pa-sa</i> (“FRONS”) <i>ha-tá</i> NEG ₃ - <i>sa</i> LITUUS + <i>na-ti-i</i>	let him not behold the faces of Tarhunzas and Kubaba,
§24 <i>wa/i-sá-*a DEUS-na-za CAPUT-tá-za-ha *336- na-na </i> (DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>tá-ti-i</i> (LOQUI) <i>ta-tara/i-ia-mi- sa i-zi-ia-ru</i>	and let him be accursed by Tarhunzas in the sight of/before gods and men!”

The protective curse states that the craftsmen donated by Katuwas to Tarhunzas’ temple must never work for another master, whatever the social status of the aspiring master might be (“a libation priest, a baker, a king, or another country-lord,” see §17 and §19). In case of appropriation of the craftsmen, the culprit will not be able to behold the face of either Kubaba or Tarhunzas in the netherworld (§23). If the mention of the goddess is unsurprising, since she is the most important divinity of Karkamiš⁷, the mention of Tarhunzas is even more obvious, considering the special connection between Katuwas and the Storm-god pointed out in the inscription, and the fact that the curse is carved on one of the orthostats of his temple at Karkamiš⁸.

In this respect, the invocation to Tarhunzas in the protective curse is contingent, since it is *his* temple: if the building was dedicated to another divinity, Tarhunzas would not be invoked. Conversely, the presence of Ti- in a great number of Neo-Phrygian funerary curse apodoses⁹ suggests that Ti- had a precise role in

7. Kubaba had been the city goddess of Karkamiš from at least the Old Babylonian period. She had been adopted into the Hittite pantheon when king Suppiluliuma I (1375–1322 BCE) conquered Karkamiš and made it a vice-regal kingdom. Then, she achieved high prominence in northern Syria and southwestern Anatolia, reflecting the persistence of Hurrian elements in these regions.

8. As specified in §16, we are dealing with a local manifestation of Tarhunzas, “Tarhunzas of Karkamiš,” exactly like Tarhunzas of Arzawa or of Kuwaliya mentioned elsewhere (Hutter 2003: 221).

9. See Appendix I: Haas (1966) nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, 12, 14, 25, 26, 39, 44, 45, 50, 51, 53, 56, 57, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 75, 77, 80, 85, 87, 92, 94, 97, 101, 102, 108, 112, 114, 120, 123, 127, 131.

the funerary cursing process. He was asked for the punishment of the offender, that is, *revenge*, and he could not be substituted with another deity.

Funerary inscriptions are present in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus (Hawkins 2000; for a list of the inscriptions with figures, see Bonatz 2000: 66–72) and they are concentrated in a very precise area, i.e., in the surroundings of the Syrian border, more specifically in Tabal, Tuwana, Karkamiš, etc., where the Semitic influence was very strong. On this respect, I recall that the tradition of protecting the tomb of the deceased by means of funerary curses is inherently connected to inhumation practices and that the earliest funerary curses are attested in a Hamito-Semitic environment, i.e., by ancient Egyptian tombs of the fourth dynasty, around 2600 BCE (Assmann 1992: 56–65, with references).

The deities invoked in the few preserved Hieroglyphic Luwian funerary curses vary. On the funerary stele of Uwawas (TILSEVET, Hawkins 2000: 178–180, 8th century BCE), we only read that unspecified “gods” shall litigate against whosoever tramples on said stele (§6–7). The same curse can be found (§4-5) in the funerary inscription of Zitis (KARKAMIŠ A18 h, Hawkins 2000: 180–181, 8th century BCE). The stele of Kupapiyas, wife of Taitas (SHEIZAR, Hawkins 2000: 416–419, doubtful dating, possibly from the 9th to the 7th century BCE) invokes a certain “Queen of the Land” (probably Kubaba). Finally, in the funerary inscription of Paunis (KULULU 2, Hawkins 2000: 487–490, mid-8th century BCE), Santa (a warrior god; see Hutter 2003: 228) and the *Marwainzi*-deities, “the dark ones” (§6-7), are summoned to attack the violator’s memorial and set their seal on his house. Thus, in the Luwian tradition, there was not a deity specifically connected to funerary curses, as was the case in the Phrygian tradition.

However, there was a Luwian divinity specifically connected to the act of cursing, although not necessarily in a funerary context: *Tiwat-*, the Sun-god. In the Luwian imaginary, *Tiwat-* can easily curse the evildoers since on his daily journey across the sky he sees everything men do (Hutter 2003: 226). The involvement of *Tiwat-* in the act of cursing was so firmly rooted in the perception of the speakers that a denominative verb was derived from his theonym: *tiwatani-(ti)-*, ‘to swear by the Sun-god, to utter a curse’ (Watkins 1993: 470; Melchert 1993: 230; Rieken 2017: 242–243; Sasseville 2020: 278), with a formation parallel to that of the Oscan verb *deiua-*, ‘swear’, participle *deiuatedu<n>s*, ‘having sworn’ (Fortson 2010: 189). The verb is attested several times within rituals, which allows us to recon-

struct its paradigm pretty well¹⁰ (Melchert 1993: 230). A substantive *tiwatani(ya)*-derived from the verb *tiwatani-*, and referring to the action of ‘swearing by the Sun-god, uttering a curse’, meaning therefore simply ‘curse’, exists as well, although it is attested only in Hittite contexts¹¹ (Sasseville 2020: 278).

It should be noted that Ti- is not the only Phrygian divinity mentioned in the Neo-Phrygian funerary inscriptions. Indeed, a divinity called *Bas*, whose etymology has been reconstructed by Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (2017: 311) as “the shining one” (< PIE **b^heh*, ‘shine’, LIV²: 68–69, s.v.) comes in the second place in the Neo-Phrygian corpus¹² (see Haas 1966 nos. 33, 36, 48, 86, 99, 111, 128). Interestingly enough, the first attestation of *Bas* seems to be in the Paleo-Phrygian inscription T-02b carved on the basalt stele from Tuwana/Tyana that I mentioned in 1.5: [- - -]n̄ ÷ *batan* ÷ e-[- - -] (l. 5). Unfortunately, the inscription is very damaged and, as far as our knowledge of Phrygian goes, we cannot translate it. Ti- and *Bas* are mentioned together in several inscriptions (see Appendix II: Haas 1966 no. 33 = Obrador-Cursach 2020: 597 no. 62.2; Haas 1966 no. 36 = Obrador-Cursach 2020: 599–600 no. 62.5; Haas 1966 no. 64 = Obrador-Cursach 2020: 589–590 no. 56.3). Let us focus on the following ones:

a) Haas 1966 no. 86 (Obrador-Cursach 2020: 535 no. 8.1, with references). This inscription, carved on a bomos of white marble, broken on top and worn at the edges, was found at Güney, in a pile of building material (MAMA I: 212, no. 405):

ιος νι σεμουν κ[νου]-
μανι κακουν αδδ[α]-
κετ αινι μανκης, βα[ς]
ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ]
ατ τη κε τιτετικμ[ε]-
νος ειτου.

“Whoever does harm to this tomb or to this stele, **let Bas not bring bread to him**, and **let him become accursed by Ti-**”.

b) Haas 1966 no. 99 (= Obrador-Cursach 2020: 533 no. 7.1, with references). This inscription was “copied in or before 1934 by Süleyman Gökçe at Erten Yayla,

10. Pres.3Sg. *ti-wa-da-ni-it-ti* (VBoT 111,6), Pres.3Pl. *ti-wa-da-ni-in-ti* (KBo XII 89 iii 9), Pret.1Sg. < *ti-wa-ta-ni-ah-ha* (XVIII 3 Vo 24), Pret.3Sg. *ti-wa-ta-ni-ya-at-ta* (39 i 23; KBo XXII 254 Vo 9*), Ptc. *ti-wa-ta-ni-ya-am-ma-ti* (58 ii 3).

11. Gen. Sg. *ti-wa-ta-ni-ia-as* (KBo 41.210 obv. 12'), Dat. Sg. [*ti-wa-t*]a-ni-ia (KBo 54.99+ iii 35).

12. Actually, the Mother Goddess *Matar* is the second most invoked divinity in the entire Phrygian corpus, but she is attested only by Paleo-Phrygian inscriptions (see, e.g., Brixhe and Lejeune 1984: B-01, B-08, M-01c, M-01d I, M-01d II, M-01e, W-01a, W-01b, W-04, W-05b, W-06; usually her name is followed by an epithet).

in front of the Kale. [...] The stone has since disappeared” (MAMA VII: XXVIII, no. (c)):

ΙΟΣ ΝΙ ΣΕΜΟΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕΙ ΚΑ-
 ΚΕ ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ, ΤΙΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ
 ΑΣ ΤΙΑΝ ΕΙΤΟΥ, ΜΕ ΚΕ ΟΙ
 ΤΟΤΟΣΣΕΙΤΙ ΒΑΣ ΒΕΚΟΣ.

“Whoever does harm to this
 tomb, let him become accursed
by Ti-, and **let Bas not give**
bread to him”.

In light of these inscriptions, it looks like Ti- and Bas have two specific and different functions:

- a) First, Ti-, must “universally curse” the violators of the tombs;
- b) Then, Bas must “not bring bread” to them, i.e., he must make their fields infertile, following the interpretation by Hämmig 2019: 294, subsequently accepted by Obrador-Cursach 2020, *contra* Obrador-Cursach 2019. As already posited by Otto Haas (1966: 236–237), με is here a *Prohibitivpartikel* comparable with Sanskrit *mā*, Avestan *mā*, Greek μή,¹³ Armenian *mi*, and Tocharian A and B *mā*, all derived from PIE **meh₁*, and it is always found in apodoses where the verb is in the subjunctive mode (με βερε[τ] < PIE **b^her-* (LIV²: 76–77, s.v.); με...τοτοσσειτι < **deh₃-* (LIV²: 105–106, s.v.)). βεκος¹⁴ is the well-known Phrygian word for ‘bread’ (as found in Hipponax, fr. 125 West = 124 Degani, and Herodotus, 2.2).

Thus, Bas seems to be a Weather- or Storm-god connected to the success or failure of the harvest. Among the Luwians, *Tarhunzas* was the god in charge of the various manifestations of the weather, especially thunder, lightning, rain, clouds, and storms. It was Tarhunzas who decided whether there would be fertile fields and good harvests, or drought and famine (Hutter 2003: 224). His close connection with grapes and grain lives on to the first millennium, as can be seen in many reliefs from the region of Tabal, above all in the monumental İvriz relief datable to

13. The reason why the common Phrygian shift PIE **ē / *eh₁* > *ā* did not operate here remains unclear; see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 63, with references.

14. Probably derived from PIE **b^heg-* (LIV²: 66–67, s.v.), ‘to break’, comparable with Armenian *beknem* (Martirosyan 2010: 174–5), or alternatively from PIE **b^heh₁*. (IEW 113), with the same enlargement *-g-* found, e.g., in Greek φάγω, ‘bake’ (Lubotsky 2004: 233).

the late 8th century BCE (see Fig. 2a and Fig. 2b). The relief pictures the king Warpalawas of Tuwana/Tyana on a stone platform in a gesture of worship towards the Storm-god Tarhunzas. Ripe stalks of wheat emanating from his feet and grape clusters in his hands indicate that he brings about fertility (Weeden 2018: 343–345).



Fig. 2a. Picture of the İvriz Relief, Aydıncıkent, Konya Province, Turkey.



Fig. 2b. Drawing of the İvriz Relief (Hawkins 2000, plate 295).

The same concept is expressed, e.g., in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription SULTANHAL (Hawkins 2000: 463–472), also from the region of Tabal. The inscription contains the dedication of a stele to Tarhunzas by Sarwatiwaras, vassal of Wasusarmas of Tabal (740–730 BCE). Following Tarhunzas' acceptance of the offerings, (plausibly) rain will descend from the sky, and corn and vines will grow up from the soil.¹⁵ The phrasing *ma-na(-)wa/i-su-na-tà* (Neut.Pl.) in SULTANHAL

15. For other examples of the topos of abundance coming down from the sky and up from the earth, see ALEPPO 2 (Hawkins 2000: 235–238), §§ 15-16; AKSARAY (Hawkins 2000: 475–478), §§2–3.

§14 clearly denotes something positive, but what does it mean exactly? Craig Melchert (per personal communication) had already supposed that *manawa sunada* (divided thus) referred to beneficial rains, in the sense of “invigorating outpourings”. Elisabeth Rieken (2019; forthcoming) arrived independently at a similar conclusion, as part of her larger finding that Luwian *mannu-* (and much else in “Luwic”) is related to the PIE root of ‘man, male’ (cf. Sanskrit/Avestan *mánu-*, Slavic *mǫž*, Proto-Germanic **manūaz*, etc., see IEW s.v. *manu-s* oder *monu-s*). The only point of debate on the semantic side is whether one should suppose “fecundating outpourings” (with the standard image of a male heaven that fecundates a female earth) or just “invigorating,” as Craig Melchert supposed before Elisabeth Rieken’s convincing broader connections. In any case, what matters here is the idea of Luwian Tarhunzas as a fructifying deity.

<p>§14 <i>wa/i-ta</i> (“CAELUM”) <i>ti-pa-sa-ri+i</i> <i>ma-na(-)wa/i-su-na-tà</i> INFRA-<i>ta</i> “PES”-<i>wa/ i+ra/i</i></p>	<p>“and from the sky <i>ma-na(-)wa/i-su-na-tà</i> will come down in great quantities,</p>
<p>§15 (“TERRA”) <i>ta-sà-REL+ra/i-ri+i-pa-wa/i-ta-’ pà²+ra/i-wa/i-li-sá</i> SUPER+<i>ra/ i-’</i> “PES₂”(-) <i>tà-i</i> <i>wa/i-ia-ni-sá-ha</i> </p>	<p>and from the earth corn will come up, and the vine”.</p>

It is important to remember that the coexistence of the categories of an omniscient Sun-god who can spot and curse evildoers from the sky and of a Storm-god who brings rainy seasons and, consequently, soil fertility, was already attested in the Mesopotamian religion. For the Sumerians, *Utu* – in Akkadian, *Šamaš* – was the Sun-god who, holding the power of light, incarnated the natural foe of darkness and its deeds. This prerogative translated into an aspiration for justice and equity. *Utu* was the judge of gods and men, presiding in the morning in courts where demons and other evildoers were sued by their human victims, and at night he settled dispute among the dead of the netherworld (Jacobsen 1976: 134). As explained by Charles Steitler (2017: 31), Hittite scribes continue to use the Sumerogram ^dUTU to represent any one of the various types of solar deities.¹⁶ On the other hand, *Utu*’s

16. A more precise identification of ^dUTU must be based on a number of factors such as the language of the text in which it occurs (i.e., Hittite, Hattic, Luwian, Palaic, Hurrian, Akkadian, or

brother, *Iškur* – in Akkadian, *Hadad* – was a god of rain and thundershowers. He was called “King of abundance,” “King of verdure,” and “King of making grass and herbs grow long”. *Iškur*’s early non-human forms were those of the bull and the lion since their roars were heard in the thunder. Humanized, he appeared as a warrior driving his thundering chariot across the skies, throwing hailstones and raindrops out of it (Jacobsen 1976: 135).

The function of Bas in the Phrygian pantheon, as inferable from the Neo-Phrygian funerary curses, is that of a so-called Weather- or Storm-god, and it can be considered equivalent to Tarhunzas’ in the Luwian pantheon, above all in the Tabalic region. On the other hand, the function of Ti-, as deducible from the Neo-Phrygian funerary curses, is more akin to that of a Sun-god with an omniscient knowledge, which allowed him to instantly detect and curse all tomb violators. From this perspective, his role is somehow equivalent to Tiwat-’s one in the Luwian pantheon. The number of funerary curses in the name of Ti- attests the importance of said god in the Phrygian pantheon to the extent that we could consider him a “father god” – although that is never explicitly stated in the inscriptions. As Calvert Watkins (1995: 8) pointed out, the most ancient inherited Indo-European juncture attested for a “father god” referred indeed to the Luwian Sun-god Tiwat-: *tātiš* ^D*Tiwaz* (see, e.g., KBo 9.143 iii 10; KUB 35.107 iii 10), ‘father Tiwat-’ (to be compared with Greek Ζεῦ πάτερ, Latin *Iu-ppiter*, Vedic *dyaus pitá*, and Hittite *Attaš Šiuš*, written with Sumerograms as ^dUTU-uš).

The parallel between Tiwat- and Ti- can be successfully defended also on etymological grounds, since they both derive from the PIE root **d̥i-éu-*, meaning ‘sky’ (NIL: 70–71, s.v.). As for Anatolian, Kazuhiko Yoshida (2000: 182), supported by Craig Melchert (2019), persuasively argued that Hittite *šīwatt-* ‘day’, Luwian *Tiwat-* ‘Sun-god’, and Palaic *Tiyaz*, ‘Sun-god’, all continue an original amphikinetic paradigm **d̥i-éu-ot-*, **d̥i-ut-*, leveled already in Proto-Anatolian to **d̥i-éu-ot-*, **d̥i-éu-ot-*. From this, Luwian generalized the strong stem, leading to [*tiwad-*] with a “lenited” or voiced stem-final stop (also rhotacized in Iron Age Luwian to [*tiwar-*]). Hittite, on the other hand, generalized the weak stem, where raising of the unaccented short **e* led to **d̥jiwot-*, and affrication, deaffrication, and devoicing produced via **dzjiwot-* and **zjiwot* attested *ši-i-wa-at-t°* with “unlenited” or voiceless stem-final stop. Concerning Phrygian, Alexander Lubotsky (2004: 229–230) first identified the i-stem theonym *Ti-* in the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions (see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 358–359, with references). The

Sumerian) and the relationship of ^dUTU with other deities mentioned in the text, or the religious milieu associated with it.

nom. is not attested. The acc. form $\tau\alpha\nu$ goes back to PIE $*d_{i}em$ (comparable to Greek Ζῆν, Δία, Δίφα), the gen. form $\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ to PIE $*diu\acute{o}s$, with the common drop of $*u$ before the vowel $*o$ (comparable to Greek Διός, Διφός), the dat. forms $\tau\iota$, $\tau\iota\epsilon$, $\tau\eta$ to PIE $*diu\acute{e}j$, with drop of $*u$ as leveling from the other cases. As for the initial sound change PIE $*d$ (voiced stop) > Phrygian $[t]$ (voiceless stop), the devoicing of PIE voiced stops is a common development in Phrygian (see Obrador-Cursach 2020: 70–74).

Concerning the temptation to identify Neo-Phrygian Ti- with Greek Zeus tout court, we must be very careful. This parallel can be successfully assessed only on *etymological grounds*, i.e., both theonyms derive from PIE $*d_{i}-\acute{e}u-$. There are two important elements to keep in mind when comparing these divinities on a *functional/structural level*:

- a) Martin West (1997: 114–116) underlined that, in Greek mythology, Zeus has taken over the functions of a Storm-god, although his original Indo-European identity was as “the god of the bright sky, not the god of weather and storms”. The Homeric epithets and attributes relating to this role of Zeus indicate some assimilation to Near-Eastern Storm-gods: see, e.g., ὑψιβρεμέτης (*Iliad* 1.354, 12.68; *Odyssey* 5.4; Hesiod, *Works and Day* 8), ‘high-thundering’, like the Sumerian Storm-god Iškur;¹⁷ ἀστεροπητής (*Iliad* 1.580, Hesiod, *Theogony* 390), ‘lightener’ and νεφεληγερέτης (*Iliad* 1.511), ‘cloud-gatherer’, like the Akkadian Storm-god Hadad, celebrated as *bēl birqi*, ‘lord of lightning’ and as *šākin upē*, ‘establisher of clouds’ (Seux 1976: 305–307, 311).
- b) Christian Marek (2016: 509), from his side, recalled that in Anatolia under the Roman rule, “in many places an Artemis or a Zeus was not brought in by Greeks but was instead an indigenous divinity. Non-Greek names were still in use, surnames (*epikleses*), or the qualities that are attributed to them or can be inferred from images reveal their Non-Greek character and indicate the level to which they should be assigned”. So, literally, in most cases, these divinities are Greek only in name.

17. “Lion of heaven, noble bull [...] / At your roar the great mountain Enlil lowers his head / At your bellow Ninlil trembles” (ANET 578).

§ 4. *The Anatolian Greek counterparts of the Neo-Phrygian funerary curse apodoses*

At this point, it might be worthwhile to compare the apodoses of the Neo-Phrygian funerary imprecations in question with their Greek counterparts, since funerary curses were written mostly in Greek in Anatolia under the Roman rule. In order to collect at least some clues concerning the mysterious identity of the divinity mentioned in the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, let us turn to Johan Strubbe's corpus APAI EΠITYMΒIOI (1997).

As noticed for the first time by Otto Haas (1966: 92), an imprecative apodosis featuring a binomial that includes “gods and men” to express the “universality” of the curse can be found only in two contemporary Anatolian Greek inscriptions from the 2nd or the 3rd century CE:

a) Strubbe 1997 no. 32 (= Robert 1962: 331), an inscription found in a house at Seferihisar, near ancient Teos (Ionia):

[...] καὶ γενήσεται παρὰ
θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐπικατά-
ρατος καὶ ὀλέθριος.

“[...] and let him become in the
sight of gods and men accursed
and in danger of death”.

b) Strubbe 1997 no. 126 (= Robert 1962: 330–331, plate XXIV no. 3), an inscription from Yesilyuva, in the ancient region of Diokaisarea:

[...], θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώ-
πων κεχολωμένων τύ-
χοιτο.

“[...] may he become the object
of the rage of god and men”.

We can affirm without any doubt that these two inscriptions, albeit in Greek, are the result of the same culture that fueled the production of the inscriptions in the Phrygian epichoric language under the Roman rule. Thus, they can be considered indirect translations of Phrygian models. Geography confirms this hypothesis. The Paleo-Phrygian inscription HP-101 (Brixhe 2004: 103–106 = Obrador-Cursach 2020: 519) on a clay spindle whorl found in a höyük from Çamönü (ancient Karasonya, northern Lydia) attests, if not a regular Phrygian presence, at least a Phrygian influence in the area already during the Paleo-Phrygian period, as Seferihisar and Çamönü are very close (less than 50 km far away from each other). On the other hand, the inscription from Yesilyuva is in the Neo-Phrygian area not too far from Uluborlu, where the Neo-Phrygian inscription

Haas 1966 no. 25 = Obrador-Cursach 2020: 566 no. 35.1 has been found. However, contrarily to the Neo-Phrygian funerary inscriptions, the mention of a specific divinity in charge of the cursing of the culprit among gods and men in case of violation of the tomb is absent.

Actually, a god and/or several gods are explicitly invoked to inflict the punishment on the wrongdoer in only one-third of the Anatolian Greek funerary imprecations. Most of the time they are just anonymous θεοί, but they can also be called by their name. About thirty different gods are mentioned in the texts, and some of them appear only once or twice.¹⁸ The most popular gods in the Anatolian Greek inscriptions are the καταχθόνιοι θεοί, the “gods of the underworld,” and sometimes they are mentioned together with the οὐράνιοι θεοί, the “heavenly gods”. In second place come the lunar gods, more specifically *Men* and *Selene*, and the related goddess *Hecate* with her *Erinyes*. They were commonly invoked in black magic, more specifically in the frame of so-called *defixiones* or *katadesmoi* (Gager 1992: 12–13). Quite astonishingly, it is the Sun-god *Helios* who ranks third in Strubbe’s corpus.

According to Wolfgang Fauth (1995: xvii–xxi, with references), *Helios* was not a popular deity in Greek mythology. He was always treated with reverence in early Greece but received little cultic attention. Then, *Apollo* began to gradually take over the role of Sun-god around the 5th century BCE. The transition was complete by the Hellenistic period, which resulted in *Apollo* and *Helios* becoming almost synonymous. The cult of *Helios* was somehow relegated to Dorian locations, more specifically Corinth and the island of Rhodes, where *Helios* — subject in fact of the original “colossus of Rhodes” — was the chief god and had an important festival, the *Halieia*. Thus, the resurgence and popularity of *Helios* in Anatolia under the Roman rule in connection with funerary curses cannot be overlooked. Indeed, as shown by Louis Robert (1965: 271–273), the invocation “Ἡελιε βλέπε”¹⁹ (“*Helios*, look out!”), is one of the most powerful formulae used to invoke the wrath of the gods on the violator of a tomb.

18. This might be due to the fact that the gods summoned were foreigners, such as, e.g., as in the case of the unique mention of θεοὶ Περσῶν, “the gods of the Persians,” at Acipayam in Pisidia (Strubbe 1997 no. 127). Another possibility was that the imprecation was set up in an intellectual milieu which diverged from popular belief. The curse engraved in 170 CE by the anonymous Second Sophistic rhetor from Neokaisareia (who studied in Athens under Herodes Atticus) constitutes a good example since he mentions, uniquely in the corpus, Zeus Olympios (Strubbe 1997 no. 155).

19. See also the Christian derivative +βλέπε+ in, e.g., MAMA I 403.

Helios was indeed an all-seeing god: already in Homer, *Odyssey* 12.323, he is described as ὅς παντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει, “the one who sees and hear all,” a verse echoed in the Second Sophistic rhetor’s funerary inscription as Ἡλίου τε τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος, “and Helios who sees all” (Strubbe 1997 no. 155, 170 CE), but he can also be simply called παντε[πό]πτης Ἡλιο[ς] (see, e.g., SEG XXXVII no. 1036, on a boundary stone from Esençiftliği datable to between the 2nd and the 3rd century CE). Like the Sumerian Utu and the Babylonian Šamaš, he could see everything that happened on earth, even hidden crimes, as were the violations of the tombs. Therefore, he could be summoned as an executor of revenge, capable of restoring justice. The wish that the offender of the tomb shall not be concealed from the god Helios and suffer the same fate as the deceased can be found in an imprecation from Parion in Mysia (Strubbe 1997 no. 6): μὴ λάθῃ τὸν Ἡλίον ἀλλὰ πάθῃ ἅ καὶ αὐτῇ, “may he not stay hidden from Helios, but may he suffer what she [has suffered]”. The same urge for vengeance fuels the epitaph of a supposedly murdered child near Germa in Galatia (RECAM II, no. 110): ὅς τούτῳ γλύκῳ φέν-/γος ἀφείλετο, Ἥλιε Τειτάν, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀντιλάβοιτο χάριν, “May the one who took away the sweet light from him receive, Helios Teitan, the same favor in return”.

Several gravestones in Strubbe’s Anatolian Greek funerary corpus present a very interesting iconographic trait: the motif of human raised hands²⁰ with open palms (see Fig. 3), as explained by the expression χειρᾶς ἀεί[ρω] in, e.g., an inscription from central Mysia invoking the messengers of Helios, Hosios and Dikaios²¹ (Strubbe 1997 no. 19, datable to between the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE). The motif of raised hands is frequent on the tombs of children and young persons or, more in general, anybody who could not have died because of natural death, but was supposed to have been killed in a criminal way or by means

20. The motif of raised hands might remind of the (downward-pointing) hands and (upright) heads on the hieroglyphic Luwian inscription KARKAMIS A1a (Hawkins 2000: 87–91). In both the Luwian and the Anatolian Greek inscriptions, these body parts have something to do with the curses, but their function is totally different. The inscription KARKAMIS A1a interrupts the “Long Wall of Sculpture”, which represents a procession of triumphant warriors: some of them lead naked prisoners or hold severed hands. Thus, the isolated hands and heads can be interpreted as severed body parts in connection with the “trophies” brought by Suhis to Tarhunzas after the victorious military responses that followed Hatamanas’ desecration. It is possible to infer that, in the context of the Luwian inscription, the severed hands and heads represent both warnings and evidences of punishment. Conversely, in the Anatolian Greek inscriptions the raised hands are not severed, they are just a symbol of the pious invocation to Helios.

21. On some new-found inscriptions featuring Hosios and Dikaios, see Güney 2018 with bibliographic references.

of black magic (Graf 2007: 142–144; 2014: 390–394). The raising of the hands symbolizes the invocation to Helios for divine vengeance and/or protection for the grave (Cumont 1923; Robert 1965, 271–273; Graf 2007: 145–146): see, e.g., Strubbe 1997²² no. 168 (= MAMA I, 399), from Nakoleia, in Phrygia, and datable to around 200 CE on stylistic grounds:

[...] ἐάν τις τούτῳ τῷ ἠρωεῖῳ χεῖρα κακὴν [προσοίσει],
Ἥλιε Τειτάν, τὴν αὐτὴν [χ]άριν ἀντάποδος

“[...] If somebody lay a malevolent hand on this monument,
Helios Teitan, do the same favor in return”.

See also the final part of this contemporary prose epitaph (Ricl 1994: 170–171 no. 26 = SEG XLIV no. 1059) from Eskişehir (Fig. 4):

[...] [...] τὸν Ἥλιον [κὲ]	“[...]Helios and
πάντας	all the gods,
θεοὺς ἵν' ἐγ[δική]-	so that they will
σουσιν ἡμ[ᾶς]	avenge us”.



Fig. 4. Detail of the raised hands on the top of the stele (Ricl 1994, plate no. 26).

22. In the same catalogue, see also Strubbe 1997 nos. 209, 284, 359. Other similar inscriptions are listed in Graf 2007.

Helios' epithet *Teitan* was due to the fact that he was the son of the Titans Theia and Hyperion (Strubbe 1997: 145). In an inscription from the territory of Olba in Cilicia, the usurper of the tomb is adjured by the gods of the underworld and Helios, who bears the epithet *Patrios*, 'ancestral', this time: ὀρκίζω τοὺς χθονίους καὶ τὸν πάτριον Ἥελιον, "I adjure [him] by the gods of the underworld and the ancestral god Helios". The invocation Ἥλιε Κύριε, "Lord Helios," can be found all over Asia Minor: see, e.g., an epitaph from Pessinous against the supposed murderer of the young Menodoros: Ἥλι Κύρι, μὴ σ' ἄρεσι (Waelkens 1986 no. 753), "Lord Helios, may he not please you," or the inscription on a female bust from Mopsouhesta in Cilicia (Strubbe 1997 no. 392). Since Helios was the avenger par excellence in funerary curses, he could be designated even by a simple ὁ θεός²³, as underlined by Johan Strubbe (1983: 269; 1997: 101; SEG XXXVII no. 1072): see, e.g., ἴ τις δ' ἂν τολμήσι, μετελθῆ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός (Strubbe 1997 no. 140), "if somebody dares, may the God [Helios] go after him".

As I have already mentioned *supra*, in Anatolia under the Roman rule the theonym "Zeus" was commonly adopted to refer to an indigenous god that had little or nothing in common with Greek Zeus, apart from the fact that they were both considered powerful masculine divinities. In light of this principle, it will be unsurprising to find that even Zeus himself could bear the epithet "Helios," ἠέλιε Ζεῦ, as in the epigram that Diogenes Laertios (3rd century CE) dedicated to Thales (*Anth. Pal.* 7.85.1 = *Diog. Laert.* 1.39), and that he was associated with solar symbolism.²⁴ As a sample, let us turn our attention to the votive stele dated 171/172 CE from Maionia in Lydia, now at Koloe, in the İzmir province (Fig. 5). The Moon-god Men, Μηνὶ Τιάμου Μηνὶ Τυραννῶ, is associated with the radiate bust of a local Lydian Sun-god, here called Zeus Masphalatenós, Διὶ Μασφαλατηνῶ (CIG II no. 3439 = TAM V no. 536).

23. The usage of ὁ θεός in funerary inscriptions was not limited to monotheist Jews and Christians.

24. Γυμνικὸν αὖ που ἀγῶνα θεώμενον, ἠέλιε Ζεῦ / Τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα Θαλῆν ἦρπασας ἐκ σταδίου. / Αἰνέω ὅτι μιν ἐγγύς ἀπήγαγες ἧ γὰρ ὁ πρέσβυς / Οὐκέθ' ὀρμᾶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀστέρας ἠδύνατο (Pontani 1979: 48–49). "Once, Zeus Helios, you carried off from the *stadion* the sage Thales while he was watching the games. I praise you for taking him away to be close to you, for in truth the old man could no longer see the stars from earth".



Fig. 5. Drawing of the stele featuring the Moon-god Men and Sun-god Zeus Masphalatenós (Cook 1914 fig. 142).

Casting a glance at Johan Strubbe's corpus *ΑΠΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΙ* (Strubbe 1997), it is evident that Zeus was rarely invoked in the Anatolian Greek funerary curses.²⁵ However, he had a primary role in another context. Since life in central Anatolia was essentially agricultural, Zeus was primarily summoned in prayers and dedications to ensure the safety of crops and livestock (Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1914). It is possible to list some of the epithets of Zeus in this capacity: he is *Ἀμπελείτης/Ἀμπελικός* ('of the vine'), *Ἀναδότης* ('causing the plants to sprout'), *Ἀρότριος* ('ploughing'), *Γεωργός* ('fertilizing'), *Ἐκατοστήτης* ('who makes crops bear a hundredfold', see Riel 2017: 139), *Ἐπικάρπιος* ('fruit-bearing'), *Εὔκαρπος*

25. The only inscriptions in the whole corpus that mention Zeus are the following ones: Strubbe 1997 nos. 155 (Zeus Olympios, together with Helios, Pluto, Kore, Artemis Hecate, the Erinyes, Hermes Chthonios, Ara), 218 (together with Helios and Ge), 300 and 302 (Zeus Eurydamenos).

(‘fruitful’), Θαλιῆς/Θαλλός (‘of the young shoots’), Καρποφόρος/Καρποδότης ‘fruit-giving’, see Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1949–1951), Ὀπωρεύς (‘bringing fruit to ripeness’), Τελέσφορος (‘bringing fruit to perfection’), Τρεφόνιος (‘nourisher’), Φύτιος (‘generative’), etc. He was represented with long wavy hair and a beard, often in conjunction with oxen (sometimes yoked), grapes, and craters. It is worthwhile to cite this dedication to Zeus from Çukurhisar, near Eskişehir, ancient Dorylaion²⁶, datable ca. 170 CE, and first published by Alfred Körte (1900: 421):

[... βρέχε γαῖ]αν, καρπῶ [ῶ]π[ως] βρι[θη]
[καὶ ἐν]ι σταχύεσσι τεθήγη. Τ[αὔτ]ά
[σε] Μητρεόδωρος ἐγὼ λίτομαι, Κρο-
[ν]ίδα Ζεῦ, ἀμφί τεοῖς βωμοῖσιν ἐπήρ-
ρατα θύματα ῥέζων.

“... that it may rain upon the earth, so that the earth may be heavy with fruit and blossom forth in ears of corn. These things I, Metreodoros, beseech you, Zeus, son of Kronos, making sacrifices pleasing (to you) around your altars”. (Translation by Gibson 1978: 234).

From this prayer, the role of Zeus as a Storm-god connected to seasonal rain, soil fertility, and abundant crops is self-evident. I might add that this dedication strongly reminds me of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription SULTANHAL (Hawkins 2000: 463–472) that I cited *supra*: indeed, after the acceptance of the sacrifices, Zeus, exactly like Tarhunzas, will let the beneficial rain come down from the sky, so that there will be abundant crops. Thomas Drew-Bear and Christian Naour (1990: 1992–2013) collected several dedications connected to the specifically Phrygian²⁷ cult of Ζεὺς Βροντῶν, meaning “Zeus Thunderer”. Thus, Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (2017: 316) is correct in observing that the image of

26. On the other epithets of Zeus in Phrygia Epiktetos in the Roman Era, see Riecl 2017: 136–140.

27. “Il est notable que les documents viennent pratiquement tous soit de la Phrygie, soit des zones voisines où l’influence phrygienne a été profonde”. Another specifically Phrygian cult was the one dedicated to Ζεὺς βέννιος (Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1952–1992), where the epithet is derived from the Phrygian word βέννος meaning ‘association’, especially in the sense of a local cult association.

Zeus evoked by this epithet is very reminiscent of the Luwian Storm-god Tarhunzas' one.

§ 5. Conclusions

In light of what has been outlined in the previous sections, we are now able to draw our conclusions.

The binomial expression involving the antithetic pairing “gods and men” in Hieroglyphic Luwian *336-*na-na*|DEUS-*na-za* |CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* and in Neo-Phrygian $\mu\epsilon \delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon$ aims to express the concept of “universality,” and it is widespread throughout the Indo-European world (see, e.g., examples in Vedic, Greek, Latin, Celtic, etc.). The Luwian phrasing *336-*na-na*|DEUS-*na-za* |CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* looks like an isolated case within the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus, whereas the vast number of attestations of the Neo-Phrygian phrasing $\mu\epsilon \delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon$ proves its belonging to the formulaic language that characterizes funerary curses in Phrygia. The possibility that a phrase which was not included in the formulaic repertoire of a civilization was transmitted through generations and transcended civilizations is very low. Thus, the argument in favor of a direct filiation from Luwian to Phrygian loses most of its weight, and we would more appropriately consider the parallel to be the result of common heritage.

As for the theoretical equivalence between Tarhunzas and Ti-, these two divinities do not seem directly comparable. First of all, the curse in KARKAMIŠ A3, l. 4 is not a *funerary curse*, but a *protective curse* prohibiting the removal of the artisans donated to the Storm-god's temple by Katuwas. In this respect, the invocation to Tarhunzas is contingent, since it is *his* temple. On the other hand, the presence of Ti- in more than forty Neo-Phrygian funerary curses testifies to his crucial role in the cursing process. A very small number of funerary inscriptions are attested in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus, but they do not mention a specific divinity in charge of the protection of the tomb. However, there was a Luwian divinity specifically connected to the act of cursing: *Tiwat-*, the Sun-god, as proved by the denominative verb derived from his theonym *tiwatani-(ti)-*, ‘to swear by the Sun-god, to utter a curse’. In this respect, Ti-'s function has more in common with *Tiwat-*'s one rather than with Tarhunzas' one.

Other divinities are summoned in the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions: Bas is the second most invoked god after Ti-. Since Ti- and Bas are mentioned together in several inscriptions, it is possible to state that these two divinities have two different functions: Ti- must “universally curse” the violators of the tomb and Bas must not “bring bread” to them, i.e., he must make their fields infertile. Thus, Bas

is connected to the sphere of fertility, exactly like Tarhunzas who, according to the Luwians, was held responsible for the outcome of the harvest on the basis of his control over the weather.

Funerary curses were written mostly in Greek throughout Anatolia under the Roman rule, so we compared the Neo-Phrygian funerary imprecations with their Greek counterparts in the catalogue APAI EPIITYMBIOI (Strubbe 1997). Quite astonishingly, the Sun-god Helios is one of the most invoked divinities in the corpus. Since he received little cultic attention in Classical Greece, his resurgence in Roman Anatolia must count for something. Indeed, the Sun-god Helios became the avenger god par excellence in funerary curses to the extent that he could be simply called ὁ θεός and that the iconographic motif of raised hands symbolized his call for vengeance.

Although the etymological analysis confirms the kinship between Phrygian Ti-, Luwian Tiwat-, and Greek Zeus, all deriving from a common PIE root **d̥i-éu-*, meaning ‘sky’ (NIL 70–71, s.v.), a caveat must be made. In Roman Anatolia, the theonym “Zeus” was commonly adopted to refer to an indigenous god who was considered a powerful masculine divinity like Zeus. In light of this principle, Zeus himself could bear the epithet “Helios,” or the attributes of an omniscient Sun-god. However, most of the epithets characterize him as a Weather- or Storm-god responsible for the success or failure of the harvest, like Ζεὺς Βροντῶν.

Thus, it is possible to imply the continuity over the centuries of the following divine categories in rural Anatolia:

- a) a Storm-god in charge of the weather and, consequently, of soil fertility, like Tarhunzas, Zeus Brontôn vel. sim., and Bas;
- b) an omniscient Sun-god able to spot and universally curse the perpetrators of a crime, like Tiwat-, Helios, and Ti-.

In this connection, I cannot share Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach’s (2017: 316) proposal of considering “Βας and Tı- two epikleseis of the Phrygian Superior Male god”. Other divinities are mentioned, e.g., in the inscription Haas 1966 no. 48 = Obrador-Cursach 2020 no. 1.1, i.e., Μιτραφατα, Μας Τεμπογε|ιος and Πουντας | Βας, which proves that Phrygians worshipped several divinities in the Roman Era without the need of positing the existence of a unique masculine divinity equivalent to Paleo-Phrygian *Matar*.

In conclusion, we can argue that the parallel between KARKAMIŞ A3, l. 4 and the Neo-Phrygian funerary curse apodoses is only formal and somehow dictat-

ed by chance: it does not necessarily imply the survival of a Hieroglyphic Luwian curse in Roman Phrygia.

§ 6. *Appendix I*

...τιε τιτ[τ]ετικμενος ειτου...(2)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τος νι με [δ]ε[ως κε ζεμελωσ κ]ε τιε τιττετικμενος ειτου (3)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-among gods and men".
...τος νι με ζεμελωσ κε δεος κε τη τιττετικμενος ε[ι]του (6)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-among men and gods".
...οι ειροι α τιε τιττετικμενοι εινου (7)	"...let the ειροι become accursed by Ti-".
...ζειρα κε οι πετες κε τιττετικμενα ατ τιε αδεινου (12)	"...let his hands and feet become accursed by Ti-".
...τιττετικμενος ας τιαν ειτου (14)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τος νι δι[ως ζ]ιμελωσ τι μεκα τ[ιε] τιττετικμενος ειτου (25)	"...let him become accursed by the great Ti- in the sight of gods and men".
...τιε τιττετικμενος ειτου (26)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ατ τη κε αδειτου (39)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
[...ατ τ]ι αδειτου (44)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τιττετικμενος ατ τιε αδειτου (45)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ατ τι αδει[του] (50)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ατε[τικμενο]ς ατ τ[ι] (51)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τιττετικμεν[ος] ας τιαν ειτου (53)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...[τ]ειττετικμενος ατ τιε ειτου (56)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ττιττετικμενος ατ τι αδειτου (57)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".

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...τιτετικμενος ατ τι αδειτου (61)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ατ τη κε δεως κε τιτετικμενος ειτου (62)	"...let him become accursed by Ti- and the gods".
...ατ τη θιτ[τ]ετικμενο[ς αδ]ειτου (65)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...ατιτετικμενος ατ τι αδειτου (67)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
[...ατ τι]ε τιτετικ[μενος ειτου] (68)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...[τιτετικ]με[νος ατ τι]ε α[δειτου] (70)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τιτετικμενος ατ τι αδειτου... (72)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...δεως ζεμελωσ τιε τιτετικμενος ειτου (73)	"...let him become accursed by Ti- in the sight of gods and men".
...ζεμελωσ τιε τιτετικμενος ειτου (75)	"...let him become accursed by Ti- in the sight of men".
...τιτετικμενος ατ τι αδειτου (77)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...τιτ[ετ]ικμενο[ς] ατ τι αδειτου (80)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
[...τετικμεν]ος ατ τι αδειτου (85)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...α τι αδειτου... (87)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
[...με ζεμ]ελωσι κε δεως [κε τιε] κε τιτετικμ[ενος ειτου]... (92)	"...let him become accursed by Ti- among men and gods..."
...ατ τιε τιτετικμενος ειτου (94)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
...με ζεμελωσ κε δεως κε τιε τιτετικμ[ενος ειτου] (97)	"...let him become accursed by Ti- among men and gods".
[...τιτετικμε]νος ατ τι αδειτου (101)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".
[...α] τιε τιτετικμενος ειτ[ου] (102)	"...let him become accursed by Ti-".

...το[ς] [νι με] ζι[μελως] α τι ατιτετικμενος [ειτ]ου (103)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-among men”.
...τιτετικμε[νος α]τ τι αδειτου (108)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-”.
...με δεως τιε τιτετικμενος ειτου (112)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-among gods”.
...τη τιτετικμενος ειτου (114)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-”.
...ις τιε τι[τετικ]μενος ειτ... (120)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-...”
...τιε τιτετικμενος ειτ[ου] (123)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-”.
...τι•ε τιτ•τε[•]τι[κμενος] ειτου (126)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-”.
...τιε τιτετικμεν[ος ειτου] (127)	“...let him become accursed by Ti-”.
...τος νι με σζεμελως κε τιε κε τιτετικμενος ειτου (131)	“...let him become accursed before men and Ti-”.

§ 7. Appendix II

ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακον
αδδακετ γεγειμεναν ε-
γεδου τιος ουταν ακκε οι βεκος
ακκαλος τιδρεγρουν ειτου
αυτος κε οα κοροκα γεγα- vac.
ριτμενος ας **βαταν** τευτους. (33)

ιο-ς κε σεμουν κνουμαν-
ι κακουν αδακετ, ερα γεγ-
ρειμεν[α]ν εγεδο[υ]
τιος ουταν αυτος κ'ου-
α κορακα [γ]εγ[αριτ]με[ν]ο-
ς α **βαταν** τευτους. (36)

“Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Ti-, and let the bread be inedible to him, and ... **cursed by Bas**”.

“Whoever does harm to this tomb, let him suffer the written curse of Ti-, and ... **cursed by Bas**”.

αι κος [σεμουν του κνουμαν]-
 ει κα[κουν αδδακετ],
 γεγρ[ειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν <με>
 κε τοτο]-
 σσειτι βαζ βεκος. (64)

“Whoever does any harm to this tomb,
 let him become accursed by Ti-, and let
Bas not bring bread to him”.

ιος νι σεμουν κ[νου]-
 μανι κακουν αδδ[α]-
 κκετ αινι μανκης, βα[ς]
 ιοι βεκος με βερε[τ]
 ατ τη κε τιτετικμ[ε]-
 νος ειτου. (86)

“Whoever does harm to this tomb or to
 this stele, let **Bas not bring bread to
 him**, and let him become accursed by
 Ti-”.

ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κα-
 κε αδδακετ, τιτετικμενος
 ας τιαν ειτου, με κε οι
 τοτοσσειτι βαζ βεκος. (99)

“Whoever does harm to this tomb, let
 him become accursed by Ti-, and let
Bas not give bread to him”.

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