

## LYCIAN AND PHRYGIAN NAMES.

ACCORDING to a theory which has been very commonly accepted by archaeologists in this country, the local names of Greece prove that a single language was once spoken there and in Asia Minor which was totally different from Greek, Thracian, Illyrian, or Phrygian. It was neither Aryan nor Semitic, and resembled that of the Lycian inscriptions. At a later date, whether before or after the arrival of the Greeks, certain Thracian and Illyrian elements were added, but they contributed little to the sum of geographical names.<sup>1</sup>

This belief is founded on the occurrence in Greece of local terminations in  $-\sigma\sigma-$  and especially in  $-\nu\theta-$ , which are considered to be foreign, and on their identification with the suffixes  $-\sigma\sigma-$  and  $-\nu\delta-$ , which are well known in Lycia, as well as in other districts of Asia Minor, and are derived from the native Lycian language.<sup>2</sup> It is supported by the collection of a long list of geographical names from the islands and the mainland of Greece which are not recognisably of Greek origin, and show resemblances, so close and numerous that they can hardly be accidental, to names of places in Asia Minor.

The case as stated by Pauli, Kretschmer, and Fick has a very convincing appearance. But the facts on which it is based seem to be in general inconclusive and in part erroneous. In the case of  $-\sigma\sigma-$ , the doubling of the  $s$ , which is the most important point in common between the suffixes found in Greece and Asia Minor, is not present in the original Lycian.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the same suffix occurs in several European countries: as in

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<sup>1</sup> See especially Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, etc. (here cited as Kretschmer); Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* (cited as Fick) and *Hattiden und Danubier*, etc.; and Pauli, *Altitalische Forschungen*, vol. ii. parts 1 and 2, *Eine Vorgriechische Inschrift*, etc. (cited as Pauli, ii. 1 or 2). Vol. iii. of the same work, *Die Veneter*, etc., is cited as Pauli, iii. Names from Asia Minor quoted without a reference will be found in the index to Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier*, and from Thrace in Tomaszek, *Die alten Thraker*, ii. 2. Other geographical names without reference are to be found in Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>2</sup> If Lycian were an Indo-European lan-

guage, related to the Phrygian, there would be no need to go to Asia Minor for the origin of any of these suffixes. The argument must proceed on the assumption that it is not. The differences are in fact, in my opinion, fundamental and irreconcilable. The resemblances hitherto verified are not beyond the range of coincidence. But Professor Kalinka's belief (*T.A.M.* i. p. 10) that it is a mixed language may prove to be correct. It is probable at least that the vocabulary has been deeply affected by one or more Indo-European languages, and the same may be the case with the grammar to some extent.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 53.

Thrace, where it is common;<sup>4</sup> in Illyria, as Ὀργησσός; and the Illyrian region of Italy, as Τυλησσός. In the last instance, at least, the double *s* is native, as the Messapian inscriptions shew.<sup>5</sup> In the case of -*νθ*- the Greek suffix is not identical with the Asianic, and if, as Kretschmer supposes,<sup>6</sup> the Lycian -*νδ*- represents an earlier *nt*, no sufficient reason is given why the Greeks should have regularly altered this *nt*, which was a common suffix in their own tongue, into a -*νθ*- which was *ex hypothesi* foreign to it. But in Illyrian the actual suffix -*νθ*- is found in local names, and is formed in accordance with known laws of the language.<sup>7</sup> It is also found not uncommonly in Thrace.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, at least one of the Greek names in -*νθ*-, Mount Βερέκυνθος in Crete,<sup>9</sup> is unquestionably derived from the Phrygian, a dialect which was closely connected with the Thracian on one side and the Illyrian on the other.<sup>10</sup> The object of this article is not however to discuss the forms which appear in Greece, but the argument based on their resemblance to names found in Asia Minor.

The fact that the same stems occur in both countries is in itself of no value as evidence that a language of the Lycian type was ever spoken in Greece. For it is not disputed that Asia Minor was inhabited by two distinct races, one (allied to the Lycians) of native descent, the other (allied to the Phrygians) of European origin.<sup>11</sup> Unless the names quoted can be proved to belong to the older population, their evidence may tell indifferently on either side. But it is almost always extremely difficult, and very often quite

<sup>4</sup> Kretschmer, p. 405, only mentions five instances, but he might have added at least ten more.

<sup>5</sup> *S*, like other consonants, is doubled before *i*, which itself disappears, as *Arnisses* for \**Arnisies*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> P. 296. It is certain that *nd* is always written in Lycian with a *t*, and that the sound almost always arises out of a *t* preceded by a nasal. That -*νδ*- in this particular suffix so arose is not proved, but it is highly probable.

<sup>7</sup> As in Cocynthus, Ἀρίνθη and Ἀριάνθη, in the Illyrian region of South Italy, which regularly represent names with the common Illyrian suffix -*ntia* (also -*ntium*, etc.). For in Messapian *t* before *i* turns to *θ*, and the *i* is usually dropped. The word *inθi* occurs in Messapian.

<sup>8</sup> See Kretschmer, p. 402.

<sup>9</sup> This name (Diodorus v. 64), which is omitted by Pauli and Kretschmer, is certainly connected with that of the Phrygian tribe of the Berecyntes. The existence of a Βερεκύνθιον ὄρος in Phrygia is denied in Pauly-Wissowa (*s.v.* Berekyntes), but without any assigned or discoverable reason.

<sup>10</sup> See Conway, *B.S.A.* viii. p. 154, who himself has overlooked the name Βερέκυνθος,

which would have considerably helped his argument. His contention that the language of the Eteocretan inscriptions is Indo-European and allied to the Venetic-Illyrian, is highly probable. It seems to me to have no kind of resemblance to Lycian. It will be seen that I accept his conclusions in general in respect of local names in Greece, though on grounds which are only partly the same as his.

<sup>11</sup> The question has not been simplified by the discovery, by American excavators, of Lydian inscriptions written in a language strikingly unlike either Lycian or Phrygian. The greater part of the proper names contained both in these and in the Greek inscriptions of the country seem to be Phrygian, and probably belong to the Maeonians, who preceded the Lydians. A few are akin to the Lycian, and may be assigned to a yet older population. The true Lydians seem to have been a race of comparatively late intruders, after the time of Homer. If so, the common worship, on which was based the belief in their blood-brotherhood with the Carians and Mysians, was taken over from the Maeonians as part of their title to the soil. See below, p. 72.

impossible, to decide to which stratum any particular local name belongs. The structure, in the case of towns, is generally the same in both languages. They are usually derived from a personal name followed by a suffix; and most of these suffixes are of an ordinary type, which is found in various countries.<sup>12</sup> Some of them are certainly common to the two groups. Even the *-νδ-*, which is rightly considered not to be Phrygian but distinctively Lycian, is sometimes attached to a Phrygian stem: as in *Βαγανδα*,<sup>13</sup> a town in the Ormelian district, which is evidently derived from the Paphlagonian proper name *Βάγας*, and connected with the Phrygian Zeus *Βαγαίος*.<sup>14</sup> As for *-σσ-*, there are, as will be seen, stronger reasons for supposing it native to Phrygia than to Lycia.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, *-ειον*, *-εια*, as in *Γορδέειον*, *Νακόλεια*, etc. (as well as *-ιον* and *-αιον*, etc.), are peculiarly Phrygian,<sup>16</sup> but *Μολύνδεια* is claimed (though I believe erroneously) as genuinely Lycian.<sup>17</sup>

The affinities of local names in Asia Minor cannot necessarily be inferred from their geographical position any more than from their structure. For though a comparison both of them, and of personal names, shews convincingly enough that a language allied to the Lycian was once spoken over the whole of the southern and western part of the peninsula, it does not prove that no other language was ever spoken there. On the contrary, there appear to be indications of subsequent occupation or penetration by Phrygians or kindred tribes in every country of Asia Minor west of the Halys, except in the small district of Lycia proper.<sup>18</sup>

The limits of the Lycian people and their language in the fourth century B.C., shortly before the hellenisation of the country, are proved by the area within which the native inscriptions are found. This coincides very exactly with the national frontiers as defined by Greek authors except towards the east, where the boundaries are rather vague. There can, however, be little doubt that Strabo is following an older authority in those passages in which

<sup>12</sup> In Lycia the commonest (after *-νδ-*, and *-σ-*, *-σσ-*) are *-δα*, *-λα*, *-ρα*, *-μα*, *-να*. These all have parallels in Phrygia, as in *Σύνναδα*, *Μάνταλος*, *Ἄγκυρα*, *Δίνδυμος*, *Μόσσυνα*. They are also to be found in Thrace and Illyria, and other European countries. By no means all such words are formed from proper names in the manner usual in Asia Minor, but there is no general test by which they can be distinguished from the Lycian.

<sup>13</sup> Probably for *Βαγαντα*, with the Phrygian *-ντ-* as in *Ἰχαντα*, *Ριμενιαντά*, *Θιονντα*, *Πεσσινουντ-*, *Γορθεουντ-*. The Lycian, Cilician, and Pisidian change of *nt* to *nd* spread to the Greek dialect of Pamphylia (Kretschmer, p. 300), and may easily have affected the Greek or the original Phrygian forms in this mixed region (see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishopricks*, i. p. 286). *Κυλλανδιοι-Κυλλοντιοι* in Caria (Kretschmer, p. 301) may be explained in the same way.

<sup>14</sup> See below, p. 62.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 52.

<sup>16</sup> Kretschmer, pp. 183 and 194. Mostly they represent *-Φιον*.

<sup>17</sup> See below, p. 60, note 118.

<sup>18</sup> It is necessary to observe that the name Lycia is used both by Kretschmer and Sundwall in a very wide sense, so as to include districts which were not Lycian until Roman or even Byzantine times. Therefore many names will be found in their works which appear to be exceptions to general statements made in this article. It is impossible in every case to enter into explanations, but on verifying the references it will, I believe, be found that such discrepancies are due to this difference of definition. A good many names are quoted in Sundwall's book from unpublished inscriptions simply as Lycian without mention of the place of discovery. Such names are quite as likely as not to come from places outside Lycia in the sense in which the word is here used.

he describes the Chelidonian islands as the beginning of Pamphylia.<sup>19</sup> Beyond this point no Lycian inscriptions or tombs are found, and the name of Olympus cannot be Lycian.<sup>20</sup> Westward of this frontier, Lycia runs in a narrow semi-circular strip, only from twelve to twenty miles wide, between the sea and the mountains which bound the tablelands of inner Asia Minor. The high uplands thus surrounded belonged to Milyas, which was ethnically as well as geographically an extension of the Phrygian plateau, and was only politically united to Lycia by the Persian government.<sup>21</sup> It included Nisa (Ptolemy v. 3), and even Arycanda (Pliny v. 27), on the south side of the main chain. Here again archaeological evidence confirms that of the geographers, and leads to the further conclusion that Acalissus, Idebessus, and Cormus lay outside the boundaries of Lycia when it was a distinct native state. Even of the Xanthus valley only the lower part was included, from the point where the river breaks through the mountains about eighteen miles from the nearest coast. North of this lay Cabalia, which had no connexion with Lycia until Roman times.<sup>22</sup> On the west, the Carian frontier lay only a few miles beyond Telmessus.<sup>23</sup>

Within the district thus defined the Lycian language is known to have been directly superseded by Greek without any considerable change of population. Therefore, though Greek and afterwards Latin names were commonly adopted, a large proportion of native names survived. These were sometimes completely and occasionally imperfectly hellenised, but in general they were transliterated as faithfully as the Greek alphabet allowed.<sup>24</sup> For

<sup>19</sup> Strabo, p. 520 (probably from Eratosthenes), and p. 651. See Kalinka's remarks, *Jahreshefte*, viii. Beiblatt, p. 42.

<sup>20</sup> In Lycian  $\mu\pi$  always turns to  $\mu\beta$ . Kretschmer (p. 301) takes the word (rightly in my opinion) to be Phrygian.

<sup>21</sup> Thracum suboles Milyae (Pliny, v. 27) means no doubt that they were Phrygians: Hecataeus called them *ἔθνος Φρυγίας*, *fr.* 206. The words of Arrian about Milyas, *ἥ ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας, ξυνετέλει δὲ ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν τότε οὕτως ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου τεταγμένον*, i. 24, mean that it was geographically and probably racially part of Phrygia, not that in his own day it was administratively joined to it instead of Lycia, for that was not the case. Alexander entered Milyas from the Xanthus valley, no doubt over the main pass north of Ak Dagh, and went on to Phaselis. This confirms Ptolemy's account of the Lycian part of Milyas (v. 3), which Sir W. Ramsay unnecessarily doubts (*Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 317). The country extended also far to the north (*ibid.*), and included the country of the Ὀρμηλῆϊς (*ibid.* p. 280), but it was all counted as part of Phrygia in the time of Alexander, who is described as leaving Pisidia and entering Phrygia near the Ascanian (*i.e.* the Phrygian) lake, (Arrian, i. 29). The country of

the Ὀρμηλῆϊς, which was certainly in Milyas, is proved to be Phrygian by the proper names found there (see p. 69), and is probably the Cillanian plain of which the population was a mixture of Phrygian with a certain amount of Pisidian, Strabo, p. 629. See Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 278.

<sup>22</sup> The Cabalian towns of Bubon, Balbura, and Oenoanda were only taken from Cibyra, and added to Lycia by Murena about B.C. 81. Four languages were spoken in the district (Strabo, p. 631) but Lycian was not one. In philological discussions Cabalian names should not be quoted as Lycian, as is commonly done.

<sup>23</sup> *J.H.S.* xv. p. 95.

<sup>24</sup> This is less true of local than of personal names, which, no doubt, were put into Greek letters originally by the bearers of them, in most cases. Names of places on the contrary were adapted, not by Lycians, but by Greeks before the hellenization of the country. In many instances this is known to have been the case, and it was probably so in all. For the proximity of every part to the sea and the nearness of Greek colonies, especially Megiste on its very shore, made the whole country familiar to the Greeks at an early date.

this reason they remained subject to most of the strict and peculiar phonetic laws which were characteristic of the native speech. It will be shewn that all certain exceptions to these transmitted rules are probably and almost all unquestionably either hellenised or borrowed from some other region.<sup>25</sup>

In all the other countries of the peninsula in which names of the Lycian type are found, the proportion of exceptions is much higher. Dialectic difference may, as far as the vowels are concerned, possibly account for some of these divergent forms. But, in respect of the consonants at least, they may, so far as they really belong to Asia Minor, be apparently divided into two classes. Some of them are purely Phrygian. Others are originally Lycian, but have undergone changes which are not in accordance with the laws of the Lycian but of the Phrygian language.

Of vowels Lycian possessed *a*, *ä* (generally written as *e*),<sup>26</sup> *i*, and *u*.<sup>27</sup> Phrygian had all the Indo-European vowels, and in this respect Lydian agreed with it. The same may safely be said of Carian also.<sup>28</sup> In the other provinces no inscriptions in a native alphabet are preserved, and the evidence is therefore insufficient.

The subject of the long vowels *ē* and *ō* in Asia Minor is rather obscure. It seems certain that Lycian had no equivalent for *η*. In two of the three cases where a Greek word containing *η* is rendered into the native alphabet it is represented by *a*, and in the third by *ä*.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, *η* is not used in Greek transliterations of Lycian names except in three ways.<sup>30</sup> It may stand for *ew*, as in *Σηο* for *ssewa* in a bilingual inscription.<sup>31</sup> It is not uncommonly used as an equivalent for the native *ē* before *m* and *n*, as in *-νηνις* for *nēni*. In both these cases the lengthening is in compensation, and originates in the Greek transcription. The third case is when *e* is lengthened before a double *s*. But it seems almost certain that this is not native. For among personal names, which give the most reliable evidence,<sup>32</sup> there is no certain and only one possible instance.<sup>33</sup> Among local names in Lycia proper,<sup>34</sup> there are

<sup>25</sup> Names were borrowed from Greek, Persian, and Phrygian before the Greek period, as *pericle*, *artuūmpara*, *mida*. Some were so entirely naturalised as to form part of native compounds, as the Phrygian *Κωκος* (Kretschmer, p. 188) and *Κοτας* (Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 50) in *epū-kuka* and *Ερμα-κοτας*. But these were subject to the phonetic laws of the native language.

<sup>26</sup> In this respect I shall follow the practice of *Tituli Asiae Minoris* in employing *e*, which though less accurate is more convenient.

<sup>27</sup> It had also the nasalised vowels *ā* and *ē* (which appear in Lydian likewise), and the sonant liquids *m̄* and *n̄*. These are not found in Phrygian, nor so far as is known in Carian, where the *m* is apparently syllabic with a suppressed vowel, not itself a vowel.

<sup>28</sup> Though the Carian alphabet is very obscure, the great number of different vowels would almost be enough to prove that *o* and *u* were distinguished.

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<sup>29</sup> *Jahreshefte*, ii. p. 55.

<sup>30</sup> Apparent exceptions are *Κτησκειτος* (*J.H.S.* xv. p. 112) and *Σαρητιος*. The first however, is hellenised so as to resemble the Greek names beginning with *Κτησ-*. The second has a termination *-ητιος* which is quite alien to Lycia, and markedly Indo-European: it is therefore probably a foreign name.

<sup>31</sup> The *η* in *Δαρηος* is due to the same cause. *Κενδηβις* (Sundwall, p. 92), in an unpublished inscription, may not be from Lycia proper, as the place of origin is not mentioned (see note 18). But in any case it probably stands for *Κενδεφεβις*, from *Κενδεας* (for *ΚενδεFas*) or *Κενδεος*, found in Pisidia, Pamphylia and Cilicia.

<sup>32</sup> See p. 48, note 24.

<sup>33</sup> *Σεμενδησις* may perhaps be for *\*Σεμενδεσσις*. But it is at least equally probable that it stands for *\*ΣεμενδεFεσις*.

<sup>34</sup> *Ιδβησσός* does not apparently properly belong to Lycia (see p. 48).

only three,<sup>35</sup> and two of these come from literary sources, which on this point are not reliable.<sup>36</sup> The only example attested by the evidence of inscriptions or coins is that of *Τελμησσός*, or *Τελμησός*, and here the forms are variable, since *Τελμισσός* is not uncommon, and *Τελεμεσσός* is also found. The last comes nearest to the original *Telebehi* for \**Telebēsi*. The name was known to the Greeks before the hellenisation of the country, and the transliteration is due to them, not to the Lycians, a fact which accounts for its want of exactness. It is most probable that they simply assimilated it to that of the far more famous *Τελμησσός* in Caria,<sup>37</sup> where both the lengthening of the vowel and the doubling of the consonant seem to be regular. It appears certain, at any rate, that in Lycia the long *e* in the suffix *-ησσός*, as in other cases, is not native, but is due to the Greek transcription. Indeed, since the doubling of the *s* is not found in the Lycian, there can be no reason for the lengthening of the vowel.

The Lycian language had no equivalent for *ω*. The vowel *u*, which was the sound nearest to the Greek *ο*, was apparently always short. It is always rendered by *ο* or *υ* in proper names, never by *ου* except in one instance.<sup>38</sup> Otherwise, in all Lycian names written in Greek letters, *ου* represents an original *uw*, not *u*.<sup>39</sup> The Greek *ω* was evidently impossible to reproduce in Lycian, since *Ἀπολλωνίδης* is rendered by *ῥυλενίδα*, *Πιξώδαρος* by *ῥικεδερε*, and *Ἰωνικός* by *ἰῃάνις*. Moreover, in Greek transliterations of native names *ω* is almost entirely absent, and, in the two certain instances where it is native, it represents *uwa* and *auwa*.<sup>40</sup> It never stands for a naturally long vowel, nor, except possibly in one doubtful instance,<sup>41</sup> for the lengthening of a vowel before a double consonant. The same rule holds good in Cilicia Tracheia, with few possible exceptions.

Proper names in *-ων* and local names in *-ων* and *-ωνη* are, as might be expected, foreign to Lycia. They are either Phrygian, as *Βαλλίων* (p. 56), or hellenised, as *Ὀπλων*, *Στομῶν*, *Καλιβρύων*.<sup>42</sup> An apparent exception is *Κονδίων*, but this occurs at Idebessus, which does not seem to have been

<sup>35</sup> *Τελμησσός*, *Καρμυλησσός* (only in Strabo, p. 665) and *Ἀρτύμνησος* (only in Stephanus Byzantinus). *Καθησσός* in Lycia is a misquotation; the form cited from Hellanicus is *Καβασσός* (St. Byz. s.v.). The name occurs in connexion with Homeric commentary, which makes it rather suspicious. *Ξαρησσός* (St. Byz.) 'near Lyrnessus' must even if the text is correct have been in Pamphylia.

<sup>36</sup> For instance, Stephanus gives *Ἀκαλησσός*, though the correct form is certainly *Ἀκαλισσός*. There is great uncertainty among Greek authors in general about these terminations, both in respect of the vowel, and the doubling of the *σ*.

<sup>37</sup> Herodotus, i. 78, 84.

<sup>38</sup> *Κουνδαλι* (gen.) though ungrammatical seems certain (*Reisen*, ii. 7). *Σούρα* is for the Lycian *sure*, but the transliteration of local

names is not always exact (see p. 48, note 24).

<sup>39</sup> An apparent exception, *Ουλλίας*, (compared with the Cilician *Ολλίς*, Sundwall, p. 227) is not so in reality, as the man or his father is described as *Και[σ]αρεύς* (*Reisen*, ii. 107), probably from Cappadocia. There was no Caesarea in Lycia.

<sup>40</sup> *Ωμαρας* (*C.I.G.* 4303e) for \**uwamara* and *Τλῶς* for *tlawa*.

<sup>41</sup> If *Ωσσεου* (gen., *C.I.G.* 4300d) is connected with the Carian *Οσσεας*, it is probably a Carian name. There is no certain instance of a Lycian name in *-εας*, or *-εος*. But *ω* may represent *uwa*, a common element in proper names. *Κοδρωνας* (quoted by Sundwall) should represent *Κοδρ-οανας* (\**uwana*), unless it is meant for a Latin *Quadrionius*, like *Κοδρᾶτος* for *Quadratus*.

<sup>42</sup> For *Καλλι-* as often in inscriptions.

a Lycian town in the exact sense (see p. 48).<sup>43</sup> In Cilicia Tracheia the very rare names in *-ων*, when they are not Greek, appear to be Phrygian.<sup>44</sup> In Phrygia itself the termination is common, as in *Κυρων*, *Κρυσίων* (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 142), *Δραυκων*, *Βιρων*, *Δαρων* (*ibid.* 314), etc., etc. As *ω* generally turned into *ου* (Kretschmer, p. 224), *-ων* may represent a native *-ουν*, as in the Isaurian *Μαθουν*. So the local names *Κασωνια*, *Μικκωνια*, and *Τωτωνια* appear side by side with *Αλγουνια*.<sup>45</sup> Proper names in *-ων* are not uncommon in Caria, but a good many are hellenised. Of the remainder, at least half seem certainly to be Phrygian,<sup>46</sup> and it is very doubtful if any have any connexion with Lycian words.

In the matter of long vowels, Lycian names contrast most strikingly with the Carian, in which they are remarkably common.<sup>47</sup> The chief cause is the rule by which *ε* and *ο* are lengthened before certain consonants when they are either doubled or followed by another consonant. Before liquids this lengthening is common, especially in the case of *ο* before *-λλ-* and *-λδ-*.<sup>48</sup> It also takes place before *σ*. This is shown by a comparison of the local name *Θυησσός* with *Θυεσσός* in Lydia, and of the ethnics *Λωσεις* and *Λοσεις* which indicate an intermediate *\*Λοσσεις*. Before *-στ-* it is found in *Κωστοβαλον*, as compared with *Κοστωλλιος*. Altogether it occurs before *σ* in nearly twenty names, personal as well as local. Clear instances of lengthening before other consonants are not found, but it probably takes place in the case of gutturals in the proper name *Πελδηκος*, possibly for *Πελδεκκος*, as compared with Artemis *Πελδεκειτις*, in *Κωκος* (which is also Phrygian), as compared with the Pisidian *Κοκκαλος*, and in the name of the Carian Zeus *Σπάλωξος* or *Σπάλαξος*, from which an intermediate *\*Σπάλοξος* might be inferred.

Examples of a similar lengthening are found in Lydia in the local names *Κορησσός*, *Καστωλλός*, etc. But these appear to have been inherited from their predecessors the Maeonians, one of whose chiefs is described in the *Iliad* as the son of *Βῶρος*.<sup>49</sup> This is certainly connected with the Phrygian *Βορας*<sup>50</sup> and *Βορισκος*,<sup>51</sup> the Thracian *Burus* (*Βουρος*), and the Illyrian *Borius*, *Burius*, *Burrus*, etc.<sup>52</sup> If so, it should represent *\*Βόρρος*. Since the Maeonians are generally supposed to have been of Phrygian race, and the Phrygian origin of this name is evident, the question arises whether the lengthening of the vowel of which it is an example originates in the Phrygian language. Instances are certainly to be found there, and it is significant that parallel cases appear in Europe in

<sup>43</sup> *Δήμαρχος Τάρωνος Λύκιος*, Dittenberger *Syll.* 2 183 (inscr. found at Samos), may also have been Lycian in the wider sense only.

<sup>44</sup> *Κομων* (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 337), *Μαριων* (*Studies in History, etc.*, p. 326) are Phrygian; *Νονων* is Isaurian, and probably Phrygian in origin; *Μάρων* is Thracian.

<sup>45</sup> Ramsay, *Studies*, pp. 363, 365, and 371.

<sup>46</sup> *Βατων*, *Βοσθων*, *Βοτων*, *Βωλιων*, probably *Βαβιων*, see below p. 60. Also *Κοτυλων*

(Phrygian and Thracian *Κότυς*, Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 50), *Μαριων* (see the last note), *Μιωνιων* (Bithynian *Μινας*, Tomaschek, *op. cit.* p. 24).

<sup>47</sup> Kretschmer, p. 364.

<sup>48</sup> Kretschmer, p. 364.

<sup>49</sup> *Iliad*, v. 44.

<sup>50</sup> Ramsay, *Studies, etc.*, p. 322.

<sup>51</sup> Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 288.

<sup>52</sup> See index to *C.I.L.* iii.

the districts from which the Phrygians migrated to Asia, in Paeonia, Mygdonia, and Macedonia.

For instance, the Carian proper name Βωλιων is no doubt connected with the ethnic Βολλι-εως and the Lydian Βολεας. But it is derived from the Phrygian Βωλας, which itself is identical with the Illyrian \**Bolles* and *Bulus*, and the Paeonian \**Βυλας* in *Βυλα-ζωρα*.<sup>53</sup> Here the lengthening of *ο* before a doubled liquid is evidently Phrygian. So also the Phrygian town of *Νωνουλα* derives its name from *Νωννος*, *Νουννος*, etc. The native Phrygian *Ηλιος*,<sup>54</sup> connected with the *Ηλις* of inscriptions written in Greek, cannot easily be separated from the *Ελας* and *Ελιας* found in Isauria and Pisidia: it implies a form \**Ελλιος*. Local names in *-ησσοσ*, *-ησος*, and *-ωσσοσ* are not uncommon in Phrygia and the Troad, of which the population in historic times was Phrygian,<sup>55</sup> but they are claimed as survivals from an older race. This explanation is improbable in the case of *Πειρωσσοός*, at least. For, as this does not appear in the Homeric enumeration of places in the Troad, there is a certain presumption that the name is of later origin, and it is obviously derived from that of the Thracian chief *Πείροος*,<sup>56</sup> and connected with that of the Illyrian tribe of *Πειροῦσται*. Among proper names *Μανησσοσ*, from which the Phrygian town of *Μανήσιον* is probably derived in the regular way (p. 47) though found in Pisidia, is certainly Phrygian (Kretschmer, p. 200). Lengthening before a double guttural probably occurs, as has been already stated (p. 51) in *Κωκος* for \**Κοκκος*, a genuine Phrygian name which is also found in the European Dardania and Illyria.<sup>57</sup> Before a double dental it takes place in the local name *Τωπωνια*, undoubtedly derived from *Τοττης*, *Τουττης*, etc.

Examples of a similar lengthening among the kindred European tribes are found before liquids in *Πωλα*, from Paeonia,<sup>58</sup> compared with the Odomantian (Paeonian)<sup>59</sup> *Πόλλης* (Thucyd. v. 6), and the Dacian *Ρώλης* compared with *Ρολλι-γεραί* (Tomaschek, ii. 2, 29). The probably Paeonian *᾽Ωρησκιοι*, *᾽Ορησκιοι*, or *᾽Ορρεσκιοι* may afford another instance of this, as well as of lengthening before *σ* followed by another consonant. The *η* in the neighbouring towns of *Γάρησκος* and *Δράβησκος* no doubt arises in the same way. There is no good reason to doubt the Thracian origin of the local names *᾽Οδησσοός*, *᾽Αγησσοός*, and *Σαλμυδησσοός*.<sup>60</sup> The name of the Bisaltian king *Μωσσης* or *Μοσσης*<sup>61</sup> is another example. The Thracian *Κωτυς* and *Κοτυς* for *Κότυς* shew a lengthening before a double dental.

This very imperfect list of examples from the allied European dialects is sufficient to make it appear highly improbable that the lengthening of vowels before a double consonant arose among the Phrygians after their

<sup>53</sup> See p. 59.

<sup>54</sup> Calder, *J.H.S.* xxxi. pp. 188, 190.

<sup>55</sup> Kretschmer, pp. 186, 188.

<sup>56</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 844.

<sup>57</sup> Dardanian Cocaius (Naissus), *Jahreshefte*, iii. Beiblatt 131; Dalmatian Cocus, Pauli, iii. p. 365.

<sup>58</sup> *Jahreshefte*, vi. Beiblatt, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> Herodotus, v. 16. The tribes round Mount Pangaeum (of whom the Orescii were probably one) were Paeonian.

<sup>60</sup> Kretschmer, p. 405.

<sup>61</sup> Only known from coins.



migration to Asia. If, as seems likely, it was native to their language, it does not necessarily follow that the Carians, who in this respect agreed with them and differed from the Lycians, either spoke their tongue or learnt the usage from them. But the fact becomes important as part of a cumulative argument if the native names found in these countries respectively shew a similar agreement and a similar difference with regard to other phonetic peculiarities.

In a previous paper,<sup>62</sup> I have shewn that *Τελμησσός*, *Τυμνισσός* (therefore presumably also *Ἄρτυμνησός*), and probably *Τυβερισός* (or *-σσός*), all ended in *-ehi*, for an earlier *-esi*: the same may by analogy be safely assumed about *Καρμυλησσός*. These are the only authentic local names in *-σσος* (*σος*) found in Lycia proper.

There is nothing at all in the original Lycian corresponding to the double *σ*. For though *-σσ-* is sometimes found in other words, in every case it represents an original *-z-*, not *-s-*.<sup>63</sup> But *z* had the sound of *sh*,<sup>64</sup> and in these instances *σσ* is merely an attempt to express in the Greek alphabet a sound for which it had no equivalent letter. In the case of *s* no such reason existed, and though the *-s-* suffix is remarkably common in personal names, the doubling never took place among them, but is confined to the local names just mentioned. It seems therefore that the *-σσ-* is entirely due to the Greek transcription. The most probable explanation of it is that the early colonists on the mainland of Asia settled among Carians and Maeonians with whom the *ss* was native and very common. It thus became so familiar to them that they sometimes introduced it by analogy into names which were not entitled to it. That the *-σσ-* in Caria was a double letter, not a *sh* as in Lycia, seems proved by the lengthening of the vowels which took place before it in the same way as before other double consonants.

In Greek renderings of Lycian words, *-μμ-* and *-νν-* represent an original *-ñm-* and *-ñn-*, where a nasal is preceded by a sonant nasal. It does not seem that *l* could be doubled between vowels except in crases and contractions, for otherwise *ll* only appears in the late bilingual inscription *T.A.M. 6*, which was evidently engraved by a Greek.<sup>65</sup> It is therefore doubtful if any of the few names in the later Greek inscriptions which contain *-λλ-* are really native.<sup>66</sup> In the other countries of Asia Minor, intervocalic *-ll-* is often found. It is rather common both in Caria and in Phrygia.

<sup>62</sup> *J.H.S.* xxxv. pp. 102, 103.

<sup>63</sup> The proper name *Ουασσος* is certainly for *\*uwaza* as in *ap-uwaza*, and *Ερμαδεσσα* for *\*erñmedeze* as in *hana-daza*. *Οσσυβας* is probably for *\*uzube*, as in *uz-el[ī]ēmi*; compare the Carian *Παν-αβλημυς*. *Ωσσεας* is probably foreign, see p. 50, note 41. Other cases are outside the boundaries of Lycia.

<sup>64</sup> See *Jahreshefte*, ii. p. 68. It corresponds to a Persian *sh* and to an Aramaic *shin*.

<sup>65</sup> In the name *mullijesh* (gen.) = *Μολλισιος*. The engraver has twice written a Greek *ι* by mistake for a Lycian *i*.

<sup>66</sup> *Λαλλα* is not uncommon, but may like some other names be borrowed from Phrygia (*Λαλα* from Galatia, *C.I.G.* 4123, also Thracian, Kretschmer, p. 352). *Βαλλίων* is certainly Phrygian (p. 56). *Μαυσαλλος* is Carian. *Σολλασος* and the Isaurian-Cilician *Σουλλις* are probably Phrygian (compare Thracian *Sola* and *Sulu*; Illyrian *\*solas*, Messapia, *Soleiu*, Venetia, Pauli, iii. p. 358, *Solia*, Noricum, *ibid.* p. 376). *Μολλισις*, mentioned above, is also Phrygian in origin; compare *Μολυξ* from the Phrygian region of the *Ἰορμηλείς* (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i.

If there is an uncertainty about *-ll-*, there is none about *-rr-*, which is entirely foreign both to the native Lycian, and to the Greek versions of Lycian, names. But examples are found in Phrygia, and in all the countries of southern and western Asia Minor, including Cilicia, where it is not uncommon. The doubling of *r*, as well as *l*, is found both in Thrace and in Illyria.

In Lycian neither gutturals nor labials are ever doubled between vowels, and the rule is observed in Greek transcriptions. In the case of gutturals the only exception is *Ακκα*, which is a Phrygian name, evidently borrowed.<sup>67</sup> In Phrygia *-κκ-* is not uncommon, and is found in the late native inscriptions.<sup>68</sup> It occurs also in Lycaonian and Isaurian names which are certainly of Phrygian origin, as *Μικκος* (compare the town of *Μικκωνια* in Phrygian Pisidia, and the Illyrian proper name *Μικυ*, *C.I.L.* iii. 4459), *Δουκκου* (compare the Messapian *\*Dokies*); also in Pisidia, as *Κικκος* (compare the Venetic *Cicca*, Pauli, iii. 359), *Κοκκαλος* (compare the Illyrian *Cocus*, *ibid.* p. 365; *Cocceius*, *ibid.* p. 371, etc.), and in Milyas, as *Ποκκεις* (*J.H.S.* xv. p. 121; compare the Illyrian *Pocca*, Pauli, *op. cit.* p. 377, and *Poccia*, p. 360).

The doubling of a labial is only found in Lycia in *Πάππος*, *Πάππων*, and *Παππίων*,<sup>69</sup> and in *Ἀππίων* and *Ἀππαδης*. Each of these occurs once only, and they are, I believe, certainly either Greek or borrowed from Phrygia. For except the names mentioned and *Πάπου* (genitive probably of *Πάπος*, Kretschmer, p. 345), which is once met with, the whole class of names formed from *Παπ-* is absent in Lycia. *Παπας*, *Παππας*, *Παπιας*, and *Παππιας*, which are so extraordinarily common in Phrygia and Lycaonia, are here not to be found. Such names are also uncommon in Cilicia and southern Pisidia. But they occur in the northern parts of Phrygia as well as the southern, and are evidently connected with the Bithynian *Ζεὺς Πάπας* or *Παππῶος*, who is admittedly a European god.<sup>70</sup> They are likewise found in Thrace.<sup>71</sup> Similarly names formed from *Απ-* are rare in Lycia, for besides the two mentioned we only find *Ἀφφίων* twice, *Ἀφφίον* once, and *Ἀφφαρους* once. But these forms are entirely foreign to Lycia, for the letter *φ* is not found in any other word. In fact, *Απφ-* and *Αφφ-* are especially characteristic

p. 314), the Macedonian *Μόλυκος* (Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 211) and *Μόλων* (*ibid.* p. 228), also found in Caria, *C.I.G.* 2748. Compare the Illyrian *Mollico*, Pauli, iii. p. 362, and the Venetic *\*molos, molo, Mollo, Mollonius*, etc., *ibid.* p. 328. In Lycia proper, the only other related name is *mula*, *Μολας*, in an inscription in which Carian names are mixed with Lycian (*T.A.M.* 32). *Μολης*, *Μολεσις*, etc., quoted as Lycian are really Cabalian, Milyan, Pamphylian, and Pisidian. The reading *Σελλις* (*Reisen*, ii. 156) is uncertain: *Σεδδης* is perhaps more probable. *Σιλλης* and *Σιλλ[ε]ας* are also quoted in Sundwall's work. The last, at least, if rightly restored is foreign to Lycia, in which the ending *-εας* does not

occur in native names, see note 41.

<sup>67</sup> *E.g.* *J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 182, in an inscription partly written in Phrygian; *cf.* Kretschmer, p. 351.

<sup>68</sup> As in *J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 181.

<sup>69</sup> *Πάππος* occurs also once at Olympus. Otherwise the form does not belong to Asia Minor, but is simply a not uncommon Greek name. As such only it was introduced into Lycia; *Πάπος* is a variant. The derivatives *Πάππαν* and *Παππίων* are Greek in form, and foreign to Asia Minor, especially to Lycia, where names in *-ων* cannot be native; see p. 50.

<sup>70</sup> Kretschmer, pp. 199 and 241.

<sup>71</sup> Kretschmer, p. 345.

of Bithynia, as well as Phrygia (compare Kretschmer, pp. 346 and 347, with p. 223),<sup>72</sup> but seem to be absent in Cilicia and southern Pisidia, and all names of this class are rare on the southern side of Mount Taurus.

In Greek transcriptions of Phrygian words ζ is often found. It arises in two ways, from a guttural and from a *d*.<sup>73</sup> In Lycian the sound is not native, for the letter which is transcribed by *z* corresponds to σ not ζ in Greek. Ζερμουνδης is the only certain example of a name containing ζ, and this is probably Milyan, as it is found at Arycanda as well as once at Myra. Ζερμ- here represents a native Lycian Δερμ- as in Ουι-δερμα and Σεμρι-δαρμα, but has undergone the same Phrygian change as Ζαρμος, which occurs in Phrygia itself (*C.I.G.* 4061). The Cilician Ια-ζαρμας, Ρω-ζαρμας, and Τροκο-ζαρμας are also examples of the alteration of δ to ζ which appears in several other names from the same province. It may be taken as evidence of the Phrygian influence of which other traces are found.

It has long been observed that no Lycian word begins with *b*, and the rule holds good of native names, both personal and local, written in Greek letters. There is only one apparent exception in an inscription at Limyra, which reads, according to Loew's copy, Βισιναρις Αβασος Ιυμνις κατεσκεύ[ασ]ε τὸ μνήμα ἑαυτῆς, κ.τ.λ.<sup>74</sup> The second and third words are meaningless as they stand, and, assuming the first to be correct, we must certainly read Βισιναρις Αβασ[ι]ος [Τ]υμνίς.<sup>75</sup> The woman was therefore a foreigner from Τύμνος in Caria,<sup>76</sup> and this is one of the exceptions which prove the rule. All other instances are evidently foreign, and most of them are not really found in Lycia at all.

Βειθυς (*Reisen*, ii. 83) is a very common name in Thrace,<sup>77</sup> but is also Phrygian (*C.I.G.* 3837, addenda). From Phrygia it passed into Lycia and into Cilicia (Βιθυς, *J.H.S.* xii. 27, 26). Βιτος at Pergamum has the same

<sup>72</sup> It seems to me certain, however, that the forms in Αφ- from which Αφφ- and Αφ- are formed, are hellenised on the model of the Greek ἀφφύς. Ἀφφάριον, Ναννάριον, and Τατάριον seem to be Greek in form, as Μαμμάριον certainly is (Kretschmer, p. 339), and with these must be classed Ἀφφαρούς, Ἀμμαρούς and Ταταρούς, with the common late Greek feminine suffix -οῦς. Except in obviously hellenised or Latin or Persian names, φ is generally of the rarest occurrence in Asia Minor. Neither in words allied to the Lycian nor the Phrygian does it seem to be native. Its extreme frequency in this one class of names at a late date can hardly be explained except as the result of Greek influence. Of the two other names beginning with Ἀππ-, already mentioned, Ἀππιων seems foreign to Asia Minor.

<sup>73</sup> Kretschmer, pp. 230 and 196.

<sup>74</sup> *C.I.G.* iii. addenda 4315d. That Loew was not infallible as a copyist may be seen on

the same page, by comparing 4315 and 4315b with *T.A.M.* i. 139 and 152.

<sup>75</sup> It is not improbable that the first word should also be corrected to \*Πισιναρις on the analogy of Πισινδηλις etc. But I do not think that the initial Β can actually represent a native initial *p* as Sundwall suggests (p. 181). No instance of such a transliteration appears to be well established, except the change of an initial *pd*, unpronounceable in Greek, to Βδ in the Pisidian Βδεασις, which is not analogous. The change of *mp* to *mb* took place within the Lycian language. On the contrary a native *b* was often altered into a Greek π; see below, p. 62, note 132.

<sup>76</sup> St. Byz. *s.v.* He gives the ethnic as Τύμνιος, but the typical Carian and Lycian ethnic was -εύς (ibid. *s.v.* Ξύλος, Ἀγάθη, etc.), which commonly has the feminine in -ίς.

<sup>77</sup> Also from Upper Moesia (Dardanian and Mysian), *Jahreshefte*, iv. Beiblatt, pp. 85, 86.

form as *Bitus*, which is found among the Paeonian Dentheletae. The feminine *Βιττω* is Carian.<sup>78</sup>

*Βρησαις*, at Olympos, which is not properly to be counted as a Lycian town, is Greek, the feminine of *Βρησεύς*,<sup>79</sup> a well-known epithet of Dionysus, which properly belongs to Lesbos.<sup>80</sup> *Βιλλος* does not occur in Lycia but at Celenderis in Cilicia,<sup>81</sup> and *Βατάκης* is a Phrygian name from Cabalia.<sup>82</sup> *Βαλλίων*,<sup>83</sup> which is quoted as Lycian, is certainly of Phrygian origin,<sup>84</sup> connected with *Βαλήν* or *Βαλλήν*, *king*, from an Indo-European root meaning 'power.'<sup>85</sup> The Isaurian feminine *Βαλαθθις* is formed according to Phrygian rules from *Βαλατ-*, and recalls the numerous Illyrian names in *-atus* and *-atius*, as well as the Messapian-Illyrian *Baleties* (genitive *Baletthi*).<sup>86</sup> Names in *-ατος* are also Phrygian.<sup>87</sup> The stem appears in the Isaurian *Βαλιος*, the Pamphylian *Βαλος*, and the Lycaonian *Βαλαβιος*. From the last is formed the Lycaonian *Βαλβιοας* (feminine *Βαλβιοα*), for *Βαλαβιοφας*, which has no resemblance to any native personal name in Asia Minor but shews an evident connexion with that of the Phrygian district *Βάλβαδον* and the Cabalian (not Lycian) town of *Βάλβουρα*.

This, like most local names, is no doubt formed from a personal name (*Βαλβος*, probably for *Βαλαβος*). The ending is not to be classed with the *-ρα* of the Lycian *Λίμῦρα*, but with the *-ουρα* of the Phrygian *Κάρουρα*, which is also found in *Γαρσάουρα* in Lycaonia,<sup>88</sup> *Γαζίουρα* in Pontus, *Κόλουρα* in Ionia, *Τοβαλμουρα* and *Αλμουρα*<sup>89</sup> in Lydia, and possibly *Μάσουρα* in Pamphylia. It appears also in the Dardanian (Illyrian) *Βρίττουρα*, and with a slight change in the Thracian *Βέλλουρος*; and in two places *Βόλουρος*, one in Epirus, the other a town of the Tralles in Illyria. It is very probable that *-ουρα* in *Βρίττουρα* represents the *-vora* in *Clevora*, also in Upper Moesia, and corresponds to the Greek *φόρος*, a word which was certainly represented in closely allied languages. It appears in the Phrygian *ορου*, *ἄνω* (Kretschmer, p. 235), and in the names of the Epirotic *Ὀρέσται*,

<sup>78</sup> Kretschmer, p. 318.

<sup>79</sup> See Boeckh's note on *C.I.G.* 2042.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* The Carian *Βρησιον* is similarly derived. Names beginning with *Βρ-* akin to Lycian are hellenised forms of originals in *Μν-*, just as *Μλαυδος* was changed by the Greeks to *Βλαῦνδος*. Thus the Carian *Βράσσις* corresponds to a Lycian *mrw[ʷ]jasi* (to be so read in *T.A.M.* i. 55, 4), compare *mē-mrwī*: as the Cilician *Βλενδιος* is for *mē-tije* (like *mizre-tije*, compare *mē-tederi*). There is no question in such cases of any exchange of consonants in the native languages, but only of the substitution of a possible for an impossible combination in the Greek transcription. Names in *Βρ-* and *Βλ-* may therefore be left out of consideration.

<sup>81</sup> See below, p. 62.

<sup>82</sup> See below, p. 59.

<sup>83</sup> Sundwall, p. 283. As the locality is not mentioned, it may not be Lycian in the exact

sense.

<sup>84</sup> *Βαλας* is found at Thessalonica, in the native land of the Phrygian Mygdonians.

<sup>85</sup> Kretschmer, p. 242<sup>1</sup>; Tomaschek, ii. 2, pp. 11, 12. The Dardanian *Βαλλανστρα* may be for *Βαλλαν-στορα*, 'stronghold of the king,' see Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 81. The root appears also in the name of the Dacian king *Δεκέβαλος* (cf. Dacian Balius, *C.I.L.* iij. 1629, 3) and the Illyrian king *Βαλλαίος*: probably also in the Bithynian Zeus *Βάλης*, and perhaps in the Thracian *Βαλιός* (Dionysus).

<sup>86</sup> Possibly the Lydian *Βελετρος* is from the same stem; see *American Journal of Archaeology*, xvi. p. 28.

<sup>87</sup> Kretschmer, p. 202.

<sup>88</sup> Also *Γαρσουρα*, which makes it probable that *Ἰσαυρα* represents *Ισαουρα*.

<sup>89</sup> The root *Alm-* is Illyrian and Paeonian; see *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, xvi. p. 51.

the mountaineers, and of the probably Paeonian *Ορρησκιοι* or *Ωρησκιοι*, a tribe of Mount Pangaeum. It is also very probable that the *-ωρος*, so remarkably common in all districts which were or had been Paeonian,<sup>90</sup> is connected with *φόρος*, and means a fortified height or burgh. It was carried by Phrygian tribes into Asia Minor, where the Bottiaei founded *Ἀγκώρη* near the Ascanian lake, similar in termination to their native *Ἄλωρος*, and in stem to the Illyrian *Ancus*<sup>91</sup> and the two Phrygian cities of *Ancyra*. *Κοτύωρα* in Pontus is undoubtedly formed from the proper name *Κότυς*, which is Phrygian and Illyrian as well as Thracian; *Ἰβωρα* is found in the same region. The Paphlagonian *Κύτωρος* seems to be derived from a probably related proper name, Thracian *Cuta*, *Cuties*, etc., Illyrian *Cutio* (Pannonia, *C.I.L.* iii. 4083). It may be concluded that *-ωρα* is certainly, and *-ουρα* almost certainly, of European origin, and that *Βάλβουρα* is a Phrygian, not a Lycian, word meaning probably the borough of *Βαλβος*.<sup>92</sup>

The name of the second Cabalian town, *Βουβών*, seems to be Phrygian also, in spite of its Greek appearance. The suffix is Phrygian, not Lycian.<sup>93</sup> It is evidently derived from the name *Βουβας*, found in Bithynia (*C.I.G.* 3795), which stands in the same relation to the Phrygian *Βαβης* as *Δουδας* to *Δαδας* and *Νουνας* to *Ναυας*. It must be remembered that the genuine Phrygian origin of the class of names derived from baby-language which are so common in the province is not disputed. It is merely denied that they are exclusively due to immigration from Europe.<sup>94</sup> It follows that the origin of each particular name of this type must be determined separately, partly from its geographical distribution and partly from a comparison of similar names in other districts. Judged by these tests, *Βα*,<sup>95</sup> *Βαβα*, and a whole group of connected names are certainly Phrygian. They are entirely unknown in Lycia, and of the extremest rarity south of Mount Taurus and in the south-west.<sup>96</sup> They are found in the northern part of Phrygia,<sup>97</sup> where survivals of the older population are at least exceedingly uncommon, as well

<sup>90</sup> *Ἄζωρος*, *Ἄλωρος*, *Γάζωρος*, *Θέστωρος*, *Μίλκωρος*, *Πίλωρος*, *Τάρπωρος*.

<sup>91</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*

<sup>92</sup> *Βόλβαι* in Caria, a presumably older name of Heraclea (St. Byz. *s.v.*) does not seem related to *Βάλβουρα*, but rather to the town and lake *Βόλβη*, in Mygdonia, whence one of the Phrygian tribes migrated. If Tomaschek's derivation (ii. 2, p. 94) is correct, from the root *bhol*, Armenian *bol*-, 'to swell, to be round,' the Greek *βολβός* would seem to be borrowed from a dialect akin to the Phrygian. The islands *Bolbulae* (Pliny, v. 137, which should be emended to *Bolbusae*) off the Ionian coast derived their name from the Greek word. But the district *Βολβοσός* in Cilicia Tracheia (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 371) no doubt had a native name.

<sup>93</sup> See p. 50.

<sup>94</sup> Kretschmer (p. 356) states this most

distinctly. It appears to me that all the names he collects (pp. 334, *seqq.*) are genuinely Phrygian, but that he over-estimates the number of those which are also Lycian.

<sup>95</sup> In *C.I.G.* 4009, *b*, probably *δμοίως ἀνέστησεν καὶ Νερσιων(α) καὶ Βάν, Βᾶ θυγατέρα*, should be read instead of *Βανβα*. The Phrygian local name *Βανβουλα* (p. 58) is probably a contraction of *Βαναβουλα*, and akin to *Βαναβα* in Cilicia (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 371).

<sup>96</sup> *Βα* appears once in Cilicia at Dalisandus. The Pamphylian *Ἐλαμβαβης* seems, like most Pamphylian names (see p. 68), to be unrelated to the Lycian. Otherwise no names are compounded with *baba* in the second part. No related names seem to be found in Caria, unless the Milesian *Βαβιαν* be reckoned, as it probably may, as Carian.

<sup>97</sup> *E.g.* at Cotiaem, Kretschmer, p. 223.

as in the ancient native inscriptions in the heart of the country.<sup>98</sup> Βᾶς is known as the name of a Bithynian king, and Βάβας as that of a Thracian general (Pauly-Wissowa, *sub vv.*). There can hardly be a doubt that Βουβας, like Βάβας, is one of the names which are common to the Phrygians and the Thracians, and consequently that Βουβών is of Phrygian origin. The town of Βυβασσός or *Bubassus* (\*Βουβασσός) in Caria is also to be derived from Βουβας, and has a Phrygian name. The termination, as has been already shewn, is not necessarily Lycian (p. 53).

A parallel case is found in Βάργασα, also in Caria. This cannot be separated from the Carian Βαργυλία, which shews marked Paeonian and Illyrian affinities, both in stem and suffix. It is identical in name with *Bargullum* in Illyria and with Βράγυλος near the Strymon.<sup>99</sup> The same stem is found in Βάργαλα in Pelagonia.<sup>100</sup> The termination of Βαργυλία is found exactly in Σερμυλία in Chalcidice and Mt. Κερδύλιον at the mouth of the Strymon, and almost exactly in Τέρπυλλος and Μόρυλλος in Mygdonia, whence the Phrygian tribe of Mygdonians migrated to Asia Minor.

As a man's name, Βαργος at Cyzicus recalls on the one hand the Bisaltian Βεργαιος,<sup>101</sup> and on the other the Cilician Βαργαιος. Side by side with this is found Βαργαθοης, a name which is shewn to be of Phrygian origin not only by the initial B but also by the presence of θ, which is as foreign to Cilicia as it is to Lycia (see p. 67).

Another Carian town, Βρίουλα,<sup>102</sup> has a Phrygian name. It has the same suffix as the Phrygian Ατζουλα, Βανβουλα, and Ναζουλα,<sup>103</sup> as well as the Dardanian Ἄμουλος, and the Thracian Βεργούλη, Ρακούλη, and Γίνουλα. The stem is Phrygian, as well as Thracian, Paeonian, and Dardanian.<sup>104</sup>

Other Carian names with initial B are evidently Phrygian, not Lycian, in affinity. The proper name Βάλαγρος is not only Macedonian but also Illyrian, as is shewn by the Messapian *Balakrahi-aihi*.

The Carian Βοτων is identical with the Illyrian *Boto, Buto, Butto*.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Old Phrygian *Bala*, Kretschmer, p. 336.

<sup>99</sup> The neighbourhood of this place to Parthicopolis confirms its relationship to Bargullum, among the Parthini, Tomaschek, ii. p. 62.

<sup>100</sup> Hierocles, 641. This cannot possibly be the same as Bargullum, as suggested in Pauly-Wissowa, *sub vv.* It was in Macedonia, probably Pelagonia, while the other was near the Illyrian coast among the Parthini.

<sup>101</sup> This may however be derived from the town of Βέργα.

<sup>102</sup> The north side of the Meander valley was Carian in Homer's time as far as Mycale (*Iliad* ii. 869), and was still so reckoned by Ephorus (see frags. 35 and 86). Later it was generally called Lydian. The population was mixed in Strabo's day (p. 648), but the Lydians were probably immigrants. Native Carian (not Lydian) inscriptions have been found at

Tralles (Sayce, *Proceedings of S.B.A.* xxvii. Nos. 8 and 9).

<sup>103</sup> These two places (Ramsay, *Studies* etc. pp. 361, 371), together with almost all those named in the group of inscriptions in which they are mentioned, must be reckoned to Phrygia *παράρειος*, to which Apollonia and Antiochia are distinctly assigned by Strabo (see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 397, and *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 316). Late Phrygian inscriptions are found in this district (Ramsay, *Jahreshefte*, etc. viii. Beiblatt, p. 85). The names, local and personal, which occur there, are almost exclusively Phrygian, and I shall quote them as such. It was only under the Roman empire that this part of Phrygia was included in Pisidia.

<sup>104</sup> See Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 63.

<sup>105</sup> Pauli, iii. pp. 374, 366.

The related Phrygian \*Βοτιος (in Βοτίειον) is the Illyrian *Bottius*, *Buttus*.<sup>106</sup> The Lydian Βουτας is found again exactly in Paeonia.<sup>107</sup> The Bithynian Βοτειρας represents the Illyrian *Bouterius*,<sup>108</sup> whence the Thracian place Βουτεριες. Nothing similar occurs in Lycia or in compounds of the Lycian type.

The Carian Βατων is also one of the most characteristic of Illyrian names, which occurs in Dalmatia and Upper and Lower Pannonia. It is likewise found in Dardania.<sup>109</sup> The Phrygian feminine Βαττα, and Βαθθις from Isaura, are from \*Βαττος, whence also the Pannonian<sup>110</sup> and Peucetian gentile *Battius*.<sup>111</sup> From the same stem are derived the Cilician Βατεης, the Pisidian Βατασις, and the Phrygian Βαττάκης and Βατάκης, which is also found in Cabalia and has been incorrectly classed as Lycian.<sup>112</sup> It has no Lycian analogies, and is not found in any compound proper name.<sup>113</sup>

The Carian Βωλιων is derived from the Phrygian Βωλας, whence Βωλανος. By a change common in Asia Minor,<sup>114</sup> though not Lycian, Βωλας would stand for \*Βολλας. From the same stem is derived the Lydian Βολεας, and probably the Carian ethnic Βολλι-ευς. The same name appears as *Bolles* in Messapian, and as \*Βολος in Βόλουρος, a town of the Tralles, an Illyrian tribe, the legendary founders of the Carian Tralles.<sup>115</sup> It is also found as *Bulus* in Pannonia and \*Βυλας in the Paeonian town of

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 371, 377.

<sup>107</sup> Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 224. It is also Thracian, Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 16. The Phrygian \*Βουδας in Βουδεια is a form of Βουτας, like the Illyrian Αυδο- Αυτο- (Kretschmer, p. 247), Μεδέων-Μετέων (*ibid.* p. 257). The Thracian Βούζης is for Βούδης as e.g. Δορ-ζενθης for -δενθης: it is identical with Βωζής from Pergamum. The Phrygian town of Βοζα is probably from the same stem, if it really existed (see P.-W. s.v. *Bozenos*). See Kretschmer, p. 199<sup>1</sup>. By a slip in Sundwall, p. 176, Βοζα is confused with Βαζις in Cappadocia.

<sup>108</sup> *C.I.L.* iii. 4944.

<sup>109</sup> Kretschmer, p. 245.

<sup>110</sup> Pauli, iii. p. 370; also *Bataro*, p. 369, *Bateia* and *Batelus* are found in Noricum. *ibid.* p. 373.

<sup>111</sup> Conway, *Italic Dialects*, index.

<sup>112</sup> The Isaurian or Cilician Βαδας is probably for \*Βατας, as Βουδος for Βουτας (note 107). With it is connected the Cappadocian feminine name Βαζεις, and the town of Βαζις, in the same way as Βουζης with Βουδας. The dative Βαδι in Heberdey-Kalinka, p. 7, from Milyas, is probably from Βās, genitive Βāδος, as Παππās, Παππāδος.

<sup>113</sup> Καλαβώτης found in Caria is certainly a Greek word 'lizard,' a known form of ἀσκαλαβάτης. Thence, I believe, is derived the

Lycian place Καλαβαρία, a corruption arising from the fact that the Lycians could not pronounce the Greek ω (see p. 50). Most places on the coast had Greek names. The river Κολοβατος is not likely to be a compound, as local names are almost always formed with a suffix. It is probably from the same stem as the neighbouring town of Κολβάσα. That district, afterwards reckoned Pisidian, was originally part of Phrygia.

<sup>114</sup> See p. 51. The name does not, I believe, occur in any compound proper name of the Lycian type. Even for one of these, the supposed Cabalian Μολεβουλουβασιος (gen.) would be too long. It is certainly a double name, Μολεβης Λουβασις, such as are common enough in Asia Minor (see Sundwall, p. 265). In an inscription of the same family we find Μόλης δις τοῦ Λουβασιος (Heberdey-Kalinka, p. 47).

<sup>115</sup> Through Strabo, p. 649, and Hesychius call them Thracians, Stephanus Byzantinus, in describing them as Illyrian (*sub vv.* Τραλλία, Βήγης, and Βόλουρος), cites the better authority of Theopompus, and Livy (no doubt following Polybius) expressly mentions several times that they were Illyrians (xxvii. 32; xxxi. 35; xxxiii. 4). They were much used in the armies of the Macedonian kings, who are more likely to be the βασιλεῖς referred to by Hesychius than the kings of Pergamum. See Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 112.

Βυλάζωρα.<sup>116</sup> The Carian Βοσθων corresponds to the *-bostes* of the Dacian *Burobostes*, and the *-busta* of the Moesian *-obusta* (Tomaschek, ii. 2. p. 15); it is found also in the Dardanian Διτύβυστος (*ibid.* p. 33) and the Pannonian *Busturo* (*C.I.L.* iii. dxxxix). By a change very characteristic of Thracian, it probably appears in that language as Μόστις, whence the Lydian ethnic Μοστηνοι. Βοσθων has no resemblance to any proper name in Asia Minor.

It should be observed that the Carian Βαβιων, Βοτων, Βατων, Βωλιων, and Βοσθων, which are so markedly Phrygian, Illyrian, or Thracian in the stem, have also the suffix *-ων* which is very characteristic of Phrygian and Illyrian but as wholly foreign to Lycian as the initial B (see p. 50). These instances justify the presumption that the few remaining Carian names with initial B are likely also to be Phrygian, not Lycian, in affinity.<sup>117</sup>

The Carian place Βερραβλωιον is certainly for Βερραβλοφιον, which seems clearly to have the suffix *-φιον*, remarkably characteristic of Phrygian local names,<sup>118</sup> but probably unknown in Lycian.<sup>119</sup> It should by analogy be derived from a proper name \*Βερραβλος, or more probably \*Βερραβαλος, like the Dacian Δεκέβαλος, from the Phrygian root *bal-*, power, already mentioned; if so, it would be equivalent to the Greek Φερεκράτης. The first part appears in Βέρροια or Βέροια in the traditional Macedonian home of the Phrygians, of which the typical Phrygian suffix (see Kretschmer, p. 203) appears still more distinctly in the form Βερόεια, carried with them by the settlers in the Syrian town.<sup>120</sup> The name was derived from a traditional founder Φερων, but is Phrygian not Greek.<sup>121</sup> There seems to have been another Βεροια on the west coast of Chalcidice in territory that was probably once Phrygian (Mygdonian),<sup>122</sup> as well as Βεροίη or *Beroe* in Thrace and *Beroe* in Moesia. From the same root may be derived the proper name Βερλας from Cilicia, for \*Βερελας with the diminutive suffix so common in Phrygia (Kretschmer, p. 201), which may be connected with the Pisidian Μερλας and Μερλατος.<sup>123</sup>

It is also probable that the Carian feminine name Βερθας may be derived from the same root. It does not seem to be connected with the Lycian

<sup>116</sup> Also in the Illyrian tribe of Bulini and the district of Bullis or Βυλλίς.

<sup>117</sup> Βιτω (p. 56), Βοβαί (note 92), Βυβασσός (p. 58), Βάργασα (*ibid.*), Βαργυλία (*ibid.*), Βρίουλα (*ibid.*), and Βάλαγρος (*ibid.*) have been already discussed.

<sup>118</sup> See p. 47.

<sup>119</sup> It is very likely that Μολυνδεια, quoted from Alexander Polyhistor (St. Byz. *s.v.*), may be formed in the Phrygian way from a proper name \*Μολυνδας. But, if so, it was probably in Milyas (see p. 48), which in Alexander's time was part of Lycia, and where names in Μολ- are remarkably common: in Lycia they are almost unknown and probably foreign, see note 66. The termination *-νδας* is also especially Milyan. The only Lycian place

in *-ια*, Καλαβατια, is probably meant for Greek, see note 113. The suggestion (Sundwall, p. 175) that Βερραβλωιον is derived from a possible Lycian \*para-pluwa with a suffix *-ija* is not therefore convincing enough in itself to give any support to the view that a Lycian *p* may be rendered by β.

<sup>120</sup> St. Byz. *s.v.* Βέροια.

<sup>121</sup> Tomaschek's derivation (ii. 2, 58) from the root *bher*, in the sense of fertile, is peculiarly suitable to the garden of Midas, Herod. viii. 138.

<sup>122</sup> Grote's argument is very convincing and has other support, Pauly-Wissowa, p. 306 (2).

<sup>123</sup> The change of *b* to *m* is Thracian, Kretschmer, p. 236.



*part-*, *pert-*, in *pert-ina*, *ddawā-parta*, *parttalu*, and *Παρτασις*. For *Παρδαλας*, which evidently corresponds to *parttala*, and is no doubt connected with *πάρδαλις*, or *πάρδος*, a leopard, occurs not only in Lycia and Lydia but also in Caria. There is abundant evidence that a Lycian *p* is represented by *π* in Caria, and a Lycian *-rt-* may correspond to a Carian *-ρδ-*.<sup>124</sup> It is not probable that the same stem should appear in the same language both as *Παρδ-* and *Βερθ-*, and still less that the change should be produced by its conversion into Greek, in which the word was already naturalised as *πάρδος*. It will also be shewn that the letter *θ* is not Lycian but Phrygian (see p. 67).

The Carian *Βοιωμος* is probably for *Βοφι-*, and connected with the Phrygian \**Βοαλος* in *Βοαλια*<sup>125</sup> for *Βοφαλος* and the Paphlagonian *Βοα*.<sup>126</sup> It may be compared with the Illyrian *Boviada* (Pauli, iii. p. 360), *Boatius* (*C.I.L.* iii. 1934),<sup>127</sup> and probably with *Bovierius* from Noricum (*ibid.* 6513). The Dalmatian feminine *Βιο* (Pauli, iii. p. 365) for *Buvo* is certainly Illyrian, but *Βιο* (masculine), common in Pannonia, may be Gaulish, like *Boius*. In this case the connexion which has been suggested with the Carian *Ποιης*,<sup>129</sup> the Lycian *Ποαλα* (\**ρνωαλα*), etc., would perhaps in itself be preferable to the Phrygian and Illyrian derivation, if there were any clear cases of the change of a Lycian *p* to *β*, and if convincing Lycian analogies could be found for the other Carian words with initial B. These conditions however do not seem to be fulfilled, and the whole class may probably be considered as Phrygian in origin. The same may be said with confidence of the few remaining examples from southern and western Asia Minor.

The Phrygian, Thracian, and Illyrian connexions of the ancient Maeonian *Βῶρος* have been already mentioned.<sup>130</sup> It is not related to any Lycian word.<sup>131</sup> The name of another Maeonian chief in the *Iliad*, *Μεσθλης*, is almost identical with the Dardanian *Mestula* (*Jahreshefte*, iv. Beiblatt, p. 85) and akin to the Thracian *Mestitu*, and *Μεστος* at Thasos (*J.H.S.* xxix. p. 100). Other related names are collected by Perdrizet (*Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 217–233) who shews that *Μέστος* is a native name of the river *Νέστος*. If it is the more ancient form, the Maeonians may once have dwelt in that region. The Maeonian god *Κανδαύλης* had an Indo-European name (Kretschmer, p. 388), and the possibly Maeonian king *Ἄγρων* (*ibid.* p. 389) had a later

<sup>124</sup> As Carian *Αρ-δυβερης* compared with Lycian *Τυβερης* in *Τυβερισσός* and *Περπεν-δυβε-ρις*.

<sup>125</sup> In the region of Antiochia Pisidia, which was certainly really Phrygian (see p. 58, note 103). The proper name *Βούβαλος* occurring in the same district is a Greek word 'antelope,' but is almost certainly hellenised from *Βοφαλος* for fashion's sake, as often happened.

<sup>126</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. p. 358.

<sup>127</sup> Boatius also occurs as a gentile name in Italy, but only in the Illyrian Daunia (Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, ii. index).

<sup>128</sup> The Venetic *φοήιος* (= *boiios*) is taken by Pauli (iii. p. 350) for Gaulish, but it might be Illyrian for *Bovios*, as *arajos* for *aravos*, *ibid.* p. 386.

<sup>129</sup> This however may very easily represent \**Βοιης*, as there is ample precedent for the conversion of a native *b* into *π*, though not for the reverse change.

<sup>130</sup> P. 51.

<sup>131</sup> The Lycian *Κινδ-αβυρις* (*Kñt-abura*) is compounded with the word *abura* (*T.A.M.* 55, 2), whence also by a common change of vowel *Κεν-οβορ*[ις].

namesake who was king of Illyria (Polybius, ii. 2, 4). The name *Μαίονες* may well be identical with that of the European *Παίονες*, from a common original \**Βαιονες*.<sup>132</sup> This is the more probable since their neighbours the Phrygians, Mysians, and Trojans (Dardanians), were all considered to be related to the Paeonians, and lived near them in their European homes.<sup>133</sup>

*Βάγεις*, a town in Lydia, may be connected with the Paphlagonian proper name *Βάγας*,<sup>134</sup> the probably Phrygian town of *Βαγανδα*, and the Phrygian Zeus *Βαγαίος*.<sup>135</sup> It may also be compared with *Βήγεις*, a town of the Illyrian *Τράλλοι* (p. 59).

The native Lydian *Bakivās* is translated by *Διονυσιελῆς* in a bilingual inscription.<sup>136</sup> This points to an alternative form *Βακος* by the side of *Βάκχος*, which probably appears in the Isaurian feminine name *Βακου*.<sup>137</sup> Such a form is also indicated by the Greek word *βύκιδες*, inspired prophets, and perhaps by the name *Βακων* (*C.I.G.* 165), as well as the Illyrian *Baccius*, *Baculus*, and *Bacausus*. *Βιρων* (compare *Βιρριος*, *J.H.S.* viii. p. 251) is a Phrygian (Milyan) name from the Ormelian district, with no Lycian affinities, but no doubt connected with the probably Macedonian *Βιρρονυ*.<sup>138</sup>

Another name from the same region, *Βιλλιος*,<sup>139</sup> is rightly claimed as Phrygian by Sir William Ramsay. It is from the same stem as the Paphlagonian *Βίλλαρος* at Sinope (Strabo, p. 546), which is connected by Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 94, with the Paphlagonian river *Βιλλαῖος* and the proper names *Βιλληρός* and *Βιλληνή*. *Βιλλις* is also found in Cilicia, as well as

<sup>132</sup> The change of *b* to *m* in Thracian, especially where an *n* follows, is well-established (Kretschmer, p. 236). The substitution of a Greek Π for a foreign Β is not uncommon in regions bordering on Paeonia. The people of *Βριαντική* in Thrace were also called *Priantae*: the Macedonian *Πέργαμος* is almost certainly for *Βεργ-*: *Παλλήνη* represents a Macedonian *Βαλλήνη* (*L. & S. s.v.*). *Μτ. Βόιον* on the Epirotic frontier is also called *Ποῖον*. On the Asiatic side we find *Παρταρας* for *Bartaras* in a Lydian bilingual at Pergamum, *Πάργασα* for *Βάργασα*, *Πρίουλα* for *Βρίουλα*, and other instances.

<sup>133</sup> Some held that the Paeonians were a colony from Phrygia, others that the Phrygians were a colony from Paeonia (Strabo, p. 331). The Mygdonians, from whom a Phrygian tribe were descended, were a people of Paeonia (Pliny iv. 10). Herodotus believed that the Paeonians were descended from Teucrians, by which he meant Trojans (Dardanians), as appears from ii. 114 and 118; from a comparison of vii. 20 with v. 13 it is to be inferred that Mysians were mixed with these Teucrians. Hellanicus (fr. 46) says that in the time of Macedon, son of Aeolus, the Mysians were the only inhabitants of the country besides the Macedonians. The true country of the

European Mysians or Moesians was the district about Ratiaria. There they bordered on the Dardani, whom they probably accompanied or followed in their migrations. The neighbours of the Dardanians on the south and south-east were Paeonians.

<sup>134</sup> Strabo, p. 553. The derivation of Bagadaonia in Cappadocia is obscure.

<sup>135</sup> On this disputed name, see Kretschmer, p. 198. Torp's objection to the derivation from *bhāga-*, on account of the suffix, does not seem to me so irresistible as to Kretschmer. For several parallel cases are found in Asia Minor, as Zeus *Παπῶος* by the side of *Πάπας* (*ibid.* p. 199), the goddess *Ἀμμαία* by the side of *Ἀμμά* (Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* *Ἀμμάς*), and possibly *Σαβάζιος* by the side of *Σάβος* (Kretschmer, p. 196), and *Κακασβεύς* by the side of *Κακασβος* (*ibid.* p. 351).

<sup>136</sup> Littmann, in *Sardis*, vol. vi, pt. i, p. 39.

<sup>137</sup> It is uncertain if the Cilician local name *Βάκα* (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 386) has any connexion with this.

<sup>138</sup> Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 53. The name occurs at Pharsalus, but the bearers were not natives.

<sup>139</sup> Genitive of *Βιλλις*, according to Sundwall, p. 61.

Βιλλος, which is incorrectly described as Lycian.<sup>140</sup> The last form occurs in the epitaph of a little boy, whose parents had given him the name of Συνέγδημος, but everyone else called him Βιλλος. The word was evidently significant, and might easily be taken to mean 'darling,' connected with φίλος.<sup>141</sup>

The town of Βάρις in Pisidia bore a Phrygian name, which is found also in Hellespontine Phrygia, quite outside the region of Lycian affinities. It is also Illyrian, for it was the older name of the Messapian Veretum, and appears in the Peucetian *Barium*, and possibly in the Dalmatian *Bariduum*. From the same stem is probably derived the Lycaonian *Barata*, *Baratta*, or *Bareta*, and the Lydian *Baretta*, which again resemble the Italian-Illyrian *Βαρήτιον*; compare also the Phrygian *Βαρουκλια*.

The Pisidian Βωξος seems to have no affinities in southern or south-western Asia Minor, nor apparently in Phrygia. It closely resembles the Venetic *φοχσος* (*Bogšos*) and *φοκκνο[s]*<sup>142</sup> (*Bōkknos*, cf. Kretschmer, p. 269). If these are really Celtic names, as Pauli infers from the comparison of *Bogionius* (iii. 350), it is possible that Βωξος may be borrowed from Galatia. But it is not at all certain that *Bugius*, *Bucius*, *Buctor*, *Bucio*, *Buccio*, and other names from *Buc-* common in Pannonia and Noricum,<sup>143</sup> are not genuinely Illyrian, as *Buccio* appears more than once in Dalmatia.

There remain a few names in which an initial B arises out of an original F (*w*). Such a change is quite unknown in Lycia, but in Phrygian it is both well-established and ancient.<sup>144</sup> It is not due to Greek transliteration, for in that case it would equally affect the rendering of the Lycian *w*. It occurs also in Thracian, where *-δανα* often turns into *-δαβα*. The towns of *Berbis* or *Verbis*<sup>145</sup> and *Binda* or *Vinda*<sup>146</sup> were both within the old boundaries of Phrygia. The Isaurian *Βαναλις*, for the commoner *Οναναλις*, has no resemblance to anything in Lycia, and little to anything in southern or western Asia Minor.<sup>147</sup> It may be connected with Illyrian names, *Vanus*, *Vannius*, and *Vanamiu*, to which the Venetic *vantes* is apparently related (Pauli, iii, p. 308). The Isaurian or Cilician *Βασση* may be compared with

<sup>140</sup> *C.I.G.* 4322; see also Addenda. Müller, who found the inscription among Beaufort's papers, evidently mistook Chelindreh, by which Beaufort meant Celenderis (*Karamania*, p. 201) for Chelidoniae. No ancient remains seem to have been found by Beaufort on those barren rocks (p. 35), but he noted inscriptions at Celenderis (p. 201). This particular one seems to have been copied at Celenderis by three other travellers (*C.I.G.* iii. p. 1152).

<sup>141</sup> It may be borrowed from the Greek, like the Macedonian Βίλιππος for φίλιππος. Such a change could not take place in Lycian, which had no initial β, and would tend to prove that Phrygian was spoken at Celenderis. But it is more probable that a Macedonian colony was at some period settled there, and retained traces of its original

dialect in colloquial phrases. If so, Βιλλος has no direct connexion with the Phrygian Βιλλις, which in that case may be better compared with the Illyrian, Venetic *fila* (*bila*), Pannonian *Bilisa*, Messapian *bilitas*, *bilionas*, etc. (Pauli, iii. 344).

<sup>142</sup> Pauli, iii. p. 344.

<sup>143</sup> See the index to *C.I.L.* iii.

<sup>144</sup> As in *Σαβάσιος* for *ΣαΨασιος*, Kretschmer, p. 195.

<sup>145</sup> Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 324.

<sup>146</sup> Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 326.

<sup>147</sup> The Isaurian or Cilician *Bavis* may be for *Vanis*, but in a native Pisidian inscription (Ramsay, *Revue des Universités du Midi*, i. p. 360, No. 10) *Ονα Νις Βαβου[s]* should probably be read, not *Οναβις*.

the Messapian \**vaššnes* and probably with the Venetic \**vassenos* (*ibid.*).<sup>148</sup> The Carian proper name *Βωρανδευς* is evidently identical with the Lycaonian *Ουρανδευς*, which also appears in Lycaonia as *Ουρουνδεις*, and in Isauria as *Ορονδης*, *Ωρονδης*, and *Ορονδιανος*. These are all originally ethnics, meaning 'a man of the tribe of the 'Ορονδεῖς,' on the borders of Lycaonia and Pisidia,<sup>149</sup> and the variant forms make it clear that they represent a common *φορονδ-* or *φορανδ-*. It seems almost certain that this mountain-tribe must derive its name from *φορο-*, mountain, which was a Phrygian word (p. 56), in the same way as the Epirotic 'Ορέσται, and the Orescii of the Paeonian Mt. Pangaeum.<sup>150</sup>

It has seemed desirable to examine every example of initial B quoted from the area in which languages akin to the Lycian are supposed to have been spoken when these names were in use in their native form. They offer a convenient test, as in this case the distinction between Lycian and Phrygian is particularly clear. The result seems to me to be that they are all shewn to be Phrygian. Their distribution therefore gives valuable evidence about the relative extension of the two languages at the time when they were superseded by Greek in the several provinces.

Taking the index to Sundwall's book as a basis,<sup>151</sup> it is necessary to strike out various names which are Greek or completely hellenised, and others which do not belong to Asia Minor. Names beginning with Βλ-, Βρ- and Βδ- must also be omitted,<sup>152</sup> in which the B sometimes certainly is, and always may be, due to the Greek transliteration. Three quoted from Cappadocia must not be counted, as no attempt is made to give a full list in the case of that country. There remain seventy-seven names with initial B. Of these, nineteen are either described as Phrygian or come from the Phrygian part of Milyas, west of the Ascanian lake, or from Phrygia Παρώρειος;<sup>153</sup> both districts are reckoned to Pisidia, according to the late Roman usage. Of the rest, sixteen belong to Caria, fourteen to Lycaonia and Isauria,<sup>154</sup> ten to Cilicia, six to Lydia, five to Pisidia, three to Cabalia, two to Pamphylia, and two to Lycia. If the commonness of particular names and their relative number in proportion to the known total is considered, the figure in the case of Lycaonia and Isauria must be considerably raised, on account of the frequent occurrence of *Ba* and *Baβεις*.

<sup>148</sup> On p. 350, Pauli says that the Venetic name is Gaulish, on account of its resemblance to Celtic names formed with *Vass-*. But the Messapian form cannot be explained in that way, and there are many resemblances between Celtic and Illyrian names which are due to relationship, not to borrowing (*ibid.*).

<sup>149</sup> See Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 398. There is no sufficient reason to suppose that 'Οροαννέυς (Hall, *Classical Review*, xii. p. 276) is synonymous with 'Ορονδεύς. The supposed assimilation of δ (Kretschmer, p. 307) depends on a mistaken identification of Τρέβενδα near

Myra in Lycia with Τρέβεννα in Pamphylia. The two places had the stem in common, but not the suffix.

<sup>150</sup> P. 57.

<sup>151</sup> P. 45, note 1.

<sup>152</sup> P. 56, note 80.

<sup>153</sup> The number of examples in Phrygia is of course far greater. The author's object was only to include such names from Phrygia as he believed to be of Lycian or kindred origin. For the districts mentioned, see pp. 48, and 58, note 103.

<sup>154</sup> Names from Isauria proper are indistinguishable from those of Lycaonia.

Lycian possessed no aspirated consonants.<sup>155</sup> Except in hellenised names,  $\chi$  is almost entirely absent in southern and western Asia Minor, and  $\phi$  is exceedingly rare. There is no good evidence that either of these sounds existed in Phrygian any more than in Lycian. But it is clear that Phrygian had a  $\theta$ , arising out of a  $\tau$  followed by a consonant  $i$  (Latin  $j$ ), which is also found in some dialects at least of Thracian and Illyrian. In Messapian  $t$  before  $i$  regularly turns to  $\theta$ , and the  $i$ , when followed by another vowel, disappears, as in *Balethas* on coins of Baletium, *Avithos*<sup>156</sup> (compare the Peucetian gens *Avittia*); the  $t$  is often doubled, as in *Blatthihî*, genitive of *\*Blatthes*; in Latin letters *Blattius*. In transcriptions into Latin this  $\theta$  is rendered by *ti*, but in Greek it is sometimes preserved. It is also found before  $e$ , as in *Θeotorres*, but here also the  $e$  may disappear, as in *Θotoria*, and in the Latin form *Tutorius*,<sup>157</sup> as well as in the Noric *Tutor* and *Tutuia*, the Venetic *Tuticanus*, and the Pannonian *Tutia*.<sup>158</sup> *Tutius* occurs also among the Paeonian Dentheletae.<sup>159</sup> But in the Illyrian *Teυτα* the  $e$  remains. In Thrace *Τιοῦτα* is found for *Τοῦτα*. Similar forms appear in Phrygia and on its borders. The word *teutous* or *teuteus* in the late native inscriptions seems to be connected on the one hand with the Phrygian proper name *Θιουθιους*, the Isaurian *Θουθου*, and the Lycaonian *Θουθους*, and on the other with the Isaurian *Τουτης*. In the same way the Phrygian town of *Τυτα* is written also as *Τευτα*.

The form *-θιαρις* which appears in Lycia,<sup>160</sup> but is evidently foreign, with the Isaurian *Θαθεας* and *Θαθους*, cannot be separated from the common Phrygian names in *Tar-*. It has an exact parallel in the Thracian *Θιαθιους*, which itself is formed from the Dacian *Tiatus*;<sup>161</sup> but the feminine *Tara* is also found in Thrace, as well as *Taras* and *Tataza*.<sup>162</sup> *Tattia* and *Tatoia* occur in Dalmatia, *Tatulo* in Pannonia, and *Tatue* and *Tatucus* in Noricum.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>155</sup> In *J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 100, I have shewn that the supposed  $\theta$  in Lycian is a sibilant.

<sup>156</sup> For the Messapian names see Deecke, *Rheinisches Museum*, xxxvii., where many other examples are given. For the Latin equivalents, see the index to Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, vol. ii. The same change in Thracian is proved by the names *Bitus*, *Bitius*, *Βιθυς*; *-centus*, *-κεντιος*, *-κενθος*; *Cuta*, *Cuties*, *-κυθης*, *Κουθεις*; and other examples.

<sup>157</sup> In some cases the Messapian  $o$  certainly represents  $u$ , which is otherwise wanting in the inscriptions, and it may be questioned whether it does not always do so, as an original  $o$  regularly turns to  $a$ ; Kretschmer, p. 263, holds that  $o$  stands for  $\bar{o}$  in some instances.

<sup>158</sup> Pauli, iii. pp. 374, 377, 353, and 368.

<sup>159</sup> Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 23.

<sup>160</sup> All names in Lycia containing  $\theta$  are either hellenised or unquestionably foreign, except *Παθαριαρις*. This should very probably

be divided into *Παθαθιαρις*, in which case the woman, who may have been descended from Phrygian immigrants, bore a Lycian as well as a Phrygian name. *Taras* and all the related names seem to be of Phrygian origin, as they are common in all parts of that country, but are of the greatest rarity in Lycia and Cilicia. None of the examples quoted by Kretschmer and Sundwall, where the place of discovery is given, are found in Lycia proper except *Tarapods*, which in form is Greek (see p. 55, note 72), and *Tarasiov*, of which the termination at least is hellenised. The native name *tettimpe* is correctly divided by Sundwall (p. 210) as *te-tt̃impe*, and probably has no connexion with *Taras*.

<sup>161</sup> Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 36.

<sup>162</sup> *Tatta*, from Servia (Kretschmer, p. 348)—that is, Upper Moesia, is probably Dardanian.

<sup>163</sup> Pauli, iii. pp. 365, 370, 372, 374, 375.

But the Messapian  $\Theta$ ator, for \**Tiator* or \**Teator*, resembles the Phrygian forms.

In these names the *i* appears to be an inserted letter, the stem being originally *Tut-*. This raises the question whether the same insertion has taken place in the case of *Tut-* in the similar names already mentioned. The derivation of  $\Theta$ eotorres from \**teutā*, people, is made questionable, not only by the analogy of  $\Theta$ ator but by the occurrence in Messapian of the name *Taotinahiaihi* (for *Taut-*), which cannot well be separated from the Dacian *Tautomedes*.<sup>164</sup> This comparison makes it probable that in Illyrian and in Thracian *teut-* turned into *taut-*. It is perhaps better to class the names *Tut-*, *Tiut-*, *Teut-*, and  $\Theta$ eut-<sup>165</sup> with the Illyrian *Totto*, *Tottia*, and *Tottulo*, and derive them all from the baby-name  $\tau\omicron\tau\tau\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ , and similar forms, just as *Tut-*, *Tiat-*, and  $\Theta$ iat- are related to  $\tau\alpha\tau\tau\eta\varsigma$  and its variants, which are to  $\tau\omicron\tau\tau\eta\varsigma$  and  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  as *Navvas* to *Novvos* and *Nouvnos*, and *Δαδας* to *Δοδα* and *Δουδας*.<sup>166</sup> The Paphlagonian  $\Theta$ υς may be derived through \**Tιυς* from an unreduplicated form of the same name, like *Βας* for *Βαβας* and *Τας* for *Τατας*. With this the Phrygian local name  $\Theta$ ιουντα may be connected.

The Phrygian local name  $\tau\epsilon\tau\theta\alpha$  or  $\Theta\epsilon\tau\theta\alpha$ , for  $\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\alpha$ , the town of  $\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\eta\varsigma$ , shews that  $\tau$  may turn into  $\theta$  before  $\epsilon$  as well as  $\iota$ , as in Illyrian. The termination is formed as in the Messapian *Blutθihi* already mentioned. The Lycæonian town of *Βάραθθα* or *Βάρατα* with the same suffix shews Illyrian affinities in the stem also.<sup>167</sup>

The Isaurian proper name  $\Theta$ ιης is probably for \**Τιφηης* and allied to the Phrygian  $\tau\iota\epsilon\iota[a]$  for \**ΤιΦια*.<sup>168</sup> The Paphlagonian town of  $\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$  (for \**ΤιΦιον*) seems to be connected with the proper name  $\tau\iota\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (for \**ΤιΦιος*) very common in that country.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>164</sup> The derivation of this name from *teutā* (Tomaschek, ii. 2) is considered certain by Kretschmer, p. 228. Compare the Lithuanian *tauta*, country. Philippon, *Les Ibères*, p. 25, besides several names formed from *taut-* in Spain, quotes the Armenian proper name *Tautukas*, which may be taken as evidence with regard to the Phrygian form, if the relationship between those two languages is real (Kretschmer, p. 208).

<sup>165</sup> In that case the Isaurian  $\Theta\omicron\upsilon\theta$ - and  $\Theta\alpha\theta$ - for  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau$ - and  $\tau\alpha\tau$ - would be analogous to the European-Dardanian *Thithi* (nom. masc. *Jahreshefte*, iv. Beiblatt, p. 85), as compared with the Lycæonian  $\tau\tau\tau\iota\varsigma$  (Kretschmer, p. 349), Illyrian *Titio*, etc.; see *C.I.L.* iii. index. Cf. also the Thracian  $\Theta\iota\theta\iota\text{-}\tau\alpha\tau\tau\alpha$  (Tomaschek, ii, 2, p. 48) and  $(\text{B})\upsilon\upsilon\text{-}\theta\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\varsigma$  (*ibid.* p. 37) with Tithites and Nusa-tita.

<sup>166</sup> The Phrygian 'youths,'  $\tau\omicron\tau\tau\eta\varsigma$  and  $\Theta\omicron\nu\nu\eta\varsigma$ , who brought the mysterious *ιερά* of the Cabiri to Assesus in a chest and introduced their worship into Miletus, were evidently the two male Cabiri themselves, the son and

father, *F.H.G.* iii. 388.  $\Theta\omicron\nu\nu\eta\varsigma$ , *Novvos*, and *Navas* are the masculine forms of  $\Theta\omicron\nu\nu\alpha$ , *Novva*, and *Nāva*, variant-names derived from the mother-goddess,  $\Theta\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$  *Nāva* (Kretschmer, p. 355).  $\Theta\omicron\nu\nu\eta\varsigma$  was her mate, the father-god.  $\tau\omicron\tau\tau\eta\varsigma$ , like  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\eta\varsigma$ , is a variant of the name of her son,  $\Theta\alpha\tau\tau\upsilon\varsigma$ , who is identical with  $\Theta\alpha\tau\tau\eta\varsigma$ .

The words  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\kappa\epsilon$   $\omicron\upsilon\alpha$   $\kappa\epsilon$   $\rho\omicron\kappa\alpha$   $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\iota\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\iota\beta\alpha\tau\alpha\upsilon$   $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  in a late Phrygian epitaph (*J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 181; cf. p. 183) do not seem to be connected with the curse which precedes them. For  $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\iota\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  should represent the Greek  $\kappa\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , and if so,  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  probably refers to the dead man, and the phrase either commends him to the favour, or describes him as the favourite, of some god.  $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  in that case would be the son-god  $\tau\omicron\tau\tau\eta\varsigma$ .

<sup>167</sup> See p. 63.

<sup>168</sup> *J.H.S.* xxii. p. 118. The name may more probably be  $\tau\iota\epsilon\iota$ , dative feminine from \**ΤιΦις*.

<sup>169</sup> Strabo, p. 304.

The Paphlagonian name *Thuyis* (Θουυς for \*Τοϋϋς)<sup>170</sup> seems to be related to the Lydian *Tuios* (for \*Τυϋιος), which is identical with the Illyrian *Tuia* (Pauli, iii. p. 360); *Tuio* (p. 370) and *Twillus* (p. 357) are also Illyrian. The Isaurian Θουης, and possibly the Lycaonian Θουων and the Pisidian and Cabalian (not Lycian) Θουας,<sup>171</sup> may be connected with *Thuyis*.

In southern and western Asia Minor names containing θ are rare. In the index to Sundwall's work, when those which are manifestly hellenised<sup>172</sup> are excluded, there remain thirty-three at most. Of these, fifteen are found in Lycaonia and Isauria,<sup>173</sup> where Phrygian was, I believe, certainly spoken,<sup>174</sup> eleven belong to Caria;<sup>175</sup> Lycia and Cilicia,<sup>176</sup> in which the sound was certainly foreign, have each one; three are in Pisidia and two in Lydia, but it may be doubted whether all of these are really native. The evidence of the native alphabets coincides closely with that which is given by the distribution of these names, and it may be concluded that the Greek transliteration really represents the original sounds. For in the Lydian, as well as the Lycian, there is no sign for θ, but in the Carian the letter is present in shape and presumably also in sound. It occurs in the late Phrygian inscriptions, not only in borrowed Greek but also in apparently native words.<sup>177</sup> On the ancient native monuments it does not appear, but its absence may easily be accidental, and it was certainly present in the alphabet, since it is found in the foreign inscription of Lemnos.<sup>178</sup>

In summing up the results of this long discussion, it becomes very evident that Phrygian influence is far more predominant on the northern side of Mt. Taurus than on the southern coast. The contrast with Lycian in all phonetic peculiarities and the agreement with Phrygian make it almost

<sup>170</sup> Kretschmer, p. 207.

<sup>171</sup> These may be hellenised, to resemble the Greek Θούας. There is also a Lycian name *turada*, of which the stem is found in *Ερμανδοας* and the Pisidian *Νανι-τοας*, etc. The resemblance to the Paphlagonian and Illyrian names is, I believe, merely a coincidence. The Cilician *Βαργαθους* must on the other hand be considered as a Phrygian name, not only because the first part is Phrygian, not Lycian (see above, p. 58), but also because the change of *t* to θ is foreign to Cilicia as well as to Lycia; no other Cilician name contains a θ, except the Phrygian *Βιθους* (see p. 55).

<sup>172</sup> Such as Θύμβρα, Θεμίσιων, Θύρα, Ἰθαρός, Ὀρνίμυθος, etc., etc.

<sup>173</sup> *Θαβεις*, *Θαθους*, *Θαννις*, *Θιης*, *Θουας*, *Θουων*, *Θουθους*, *Θουθου*, *Ιμμαθις*, already discussed: *Βαθθις* (p. 59), *Βαλαθθις* (p. 56), *Βαραθθα* (p. 63). All these appear to be Phrygian names. *Μαθουν* and *Γουλαθεις* (if correct) may be Phrygian adaptations of Lycian names, but the evidence is insufficient. *Θήβασα* is probably hellenised on the model of *Θήβαι*.

<sup>174</sup> See p. 68.

<sup>175</sup> *Βοσθων* (p. 60), *Βερθας* (*ibid.*), *Θυσσος*, and the local names *Θασθαρα*, *Θεμβρια*, *Thymnias*, *Thabusion*, and *Συμμαιθους* seem native. *Θεμισσός*, *Ορθονδουκα*, and *Θηησσός* may be partly hellenised. *Θεκυλωνης* is omitted.

<sup>176</sup> *-θιατις* (p. 65) and *Βαργαθους* (p. 58). *Βειθους* and *Βιθους* should be added (p. 55).

<sup>177</sup> *J.H.S.* xxxi. pp. 161-215, Nos. xxxi., xlviii., and possibly lxxv. The borrowed *θαλαμει* (No. iv.) goes far to prove that the sound was native, as in other languages θ in words taken from the Greek usually appears as *t*. The frequent substitution by native engravers of θ for τ in writing Greek (*ibid.* p. 211) suggests that they were accustomed to such a substitution in their own language. In Lycia, where there was no θ, such an alteration is, I believe, unknown; it is certainly most exceptional.

<sup>178</sup> The alphabet in this is not merely similar but identical, and unless the Phrygians obtained theirs from Lemnos, which is most unlikely, they must themselves have taken θ from the Greek parent-alphabet, presumably because they required it.

certain that a Phrygian dialect was spoken in Lycaonia and Isauria. The conclusion is confirmed by the prevalence of names like *Ba*, *Βαβεις*, and *Μανης*, and by the occurrence with the same extraordinary frequency as in Phrygia itself of *Παπιας*, *Ἀππια*, and similar forms which do not belong to Lycia. If frequency of repetition is reckoned as well as the number of distinct names, the nomenclature is Phrygian in a large majority of instances, and even if this be disregarded, the cases of Phrygian affinity are still in excess.<sup>179</sup> This is true of local as well as personal names.<sup>180</sup>

In Cilicia, on the contrary, the great majority of names of both classes are manifestly Lycian. But it is very doubtful if only Lycian was spoken there at the time when Greek superseded the native dialects. Not only is the number of Phrygian names far greater than in Lycia, but those of native origin often shew signs of Phrygian influence in the lengthening of *e*, the doubling of *r*, and the change of *d* into *ζ*.<sup>181</sup> Some local names are not Lycian, but Phrygian.<sup>182</sup> It is probable that, besides numerous immigrants, there were settlements or colonies where Phrygian was spoken, but there is no evidence that the native language was entirely displaced by it.

In Pisidia the population was probably mixed. Names of the Lycian type seem to predominate in the southern part of the country, but even there they are mingled with others like *Μανης*, *Μανεις*, and *Μανησος*, *Κοττης* and *Κοτυσις*, *Δαος*, etc., which are certainly Phrygian. The same may be said of the local names *Βάρης*,<sup>183</sup> *Πάππα*,<sup>184</sup> *Μίσθεια*,<sup>185</sup> and *Ἀνάβουρα*.<sup>186</sup> The native inscriptions<sup>187</sup> are too brief to give any certain information, but in the two grammatical points which seem fairly clear, the language apparently agrees with Lycian.

In Pamphylia, though some of the inscriptions in the local Greek dialect contain names which are not Greek, hardly any of these are akin to the Lycian, and the Lycian type is generally rare. There are about an equal number of Phrygian proper names. Among local names *Πέργη* is probably

<sup>179</sup> As a test I have taken at random fifty names from *J.H.S.* xix., xxii., xxiv., and xxv., and *B.C.H.* x., which happened to be at hand. Of these seventeen are certainly or probably allied to the Lycian and twenty-three to the Phrygian: ten are doubtful.

<sup>180</sup> *Δύστρα*, *Κύβιστρα*, and *Ἰλιστρα* have the same ending as *Λαπιστρα* and *Πλουριστρα* in the region of the Phrygian Antiochia, *Sostra* and *Κάναστρα* in Thrace, *Βαλλανστρα* in Upper Moesia or Dardania, and *Ἄλιστρος* in Illyria. *Δέρβη* is synonymous with *Derba* in Dalmatia, and probably with the Thracian *Ζαρβα* and *Zervae*. *Βάρατα* has also an Illyrian name (p. 63). No local name has any special Lycian affinities, unless it be *Κοροπασσός*.

<sup>181</sup> See pp. 54 and 55.

<sup>182</sup> As *Βαραβα* (note 95), *Βολβοσος* (note 92), and possibly *Βακα* (note 137). *Ἄνα-ζαρβά*

seems to be compounded from the Thracian *Ζαρβα* with the preposition *ἀνά*. The older name *Κύινδα* is Lycian.

<sup>183</sup> P. 63.

<sup>184</sup> P. 54.

<sup>185</sup> The name is probably formed in the Phrygian way (p. 47) from a proper name *Μεστος* or *Μεστιος* (p. 61), slightly hellenised.

<sup>186</sup> Probably from *ἀνά* and *βουρα*, 'house'; see Fick, p. 95.

<sup>187</sup> Ramsay, *Revue des Universités du Midi*, i. p. 356. Sundwall is, I believe, right in stating (p. 255) that the nominative both in masculine and feminine names ends in a vowel, and that the genitive ends in *-s* in both genders. In both these points Pisidian agrees with Lycian, for the Lycian 'genitive' in *-h* represents an earlier *-s* (*J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 106). If there is no grammatical gender, the agreement is more significant.



Phrygian,<sup>188</sup> and Ὀλυμπος (p. 48) should be included in Pamphylia. The historical evidence that Milyas was a Phrygian district (p. 48) is entirely confirmed by the proper names found in the territory of the Ὀρμηλεῖς, which was certainly in Milyas.<sup>189</sup>

The names of the cities Βουβών and Βάλβουρα are sufficient evidence of a Phrygian population in Cabalia (pp. 56 and 57).

The evident relationship to the Lycian of a great proportion of Carian names, personal and local, has established a presumption that the languages were nearly connected. It might well be supposed that the existence of a large number of Carian inscriptions would determine this question beyond dispute. But it must be admitted that they cannot be satisfactorily deciphered. Even the intuition of Professor Sayce has only been able to determine the value of a few letters with real certainty. In other cases it has to be assumed that they have the same sound as those letters of the Greek alphabet which they most resemble. This method is always uncertain, and in this instance it leads to results which may fairly be called impossible. In the Carian alphabet there is no letter corresponding in shape to the Greek ι. Both κ and τ are so rare that their existence is doubtful, and the same may be said of both labials β and π.<sup>190</sup> All these sounds are abundantly present in the Carian proper names preserved in Greek inscriptions, whether of Lycian or Phrygian affinities, and they are common in both those languages themselves. The inference seems unavoidable that the Greek alphabet is not a reliable guide.<sup>191</sup> As in most cases we have no other, the value of the Carian letters remains too uncertain to allow the inscriptions to be used as positive evidence. A negative conclusion may possibly be drawn: If the proper names in which they chiefly consist corresponded to those of Lycian origin which abound in the Greek inscriptions of the province, or with the native Lycian, they could hardly fail to be recognisable, and the alphabet would then be decipherable without difficulty. But after every possible value for the many uncertain letters has been tried, no such correspondence appears, and it seems to me almost certain that the relationship does not exist in the great majority of examples.<sup>192</sup>

The only grammatical point known with any kind of certainty is that

<sup>188</sup> The derivation from *bhergh* is too intrinsically probable to be easily set aside; see p. 62, note 132.

<sup>189</sup> The list of nearly thirty names given by Ramsay, *Cities and Bishopries*, i., p. 314, contains six or seven which seem to be of Lycian origin. The remainder are, I believe, rightly claimed by him as Phrygian.

<sup>190</sup> In the inscriptions published by Sayce in *S.B.A. Transactions*, ix., and *Proceedings*, xvii., xxvii., and xxx., β only occurs in xxx., No. vii. (if this is Carian). A letter β, which is taken to be β, is found twice, ix. i. 1 and ix. ii. 4, but in the same name, in which elsewhere it is replaced by the vowel ⊕ (*e.g.* ix.

i. 7). Γ is found in ix. i. 7; xxvii. ii. (?); and xxx. i. But in all cases the writing is so irregular that exceptional forms are suspicious.

<sup>191</sup> The Carian alphabet appears side by side with the Ionic at Abu-Simbel, already fully developed and so unlike any Greek alphabet as to indicate a separate evolution of some duration. It must therefore be derived from a very primitive form of the Greek.

<sup>192</sup> The commonest name (occurring in various forms at least seven times), and one of the most legible, is *M(e)sna* . . ., which resembles the Venetic (Illyrian) *mesne*, Pauli, iii. p. 327.

the genitive of proper names generally ends in a vowel  $\ominus$ , which interchanges with *o*, and is taken by Sayce to be a kind of *u*, and by Kretschmer to be a kind of *o*.<sup>193</sup> The Lycian genitive (so-called) ends, on the contrary, in *-h* (also *-he*, rarely *-hi*) in proper names, which almost certainly represents an earlier *-s*, *-se*, *-si*.<sup>194</sup> The discrepancy is explained by Kretschmer on the hypothesis that the Carian  $\ominus$  is a form of the ending which is commonly rendered by  $\ominus he$ , and sometimes appears in words which may be patronymics. He supposes an apocope of the *-e*, followed by a loss of the sound of *-h*. Apart from several difficulties in this theory,<sup>195</sup> it seems almost certain to me that the letter which is taken to be *h* is really *t*. For, since in the Greek renderings of names in Caria,  $\tau$  is one of the commonest consonants, it seems impossible to doubt that it was present in the native alphabet, and if so, it can only be represented by this supposed *h*,<sup>196</sup> which commonly appears as  $\chi$ . In the inscriptions at Abu-Simbel, which are presumably the most archaic, this letter has the form  $\dagger$ , and especially in No. 3 the lower limb is distinctly the longer. It is identical in shape with the  $\tau$  of the ancient Campanian-Etruscan and other Italic alphabets, which in this respect are more archaic than the Greek, and preserve the original Phoenician form nearly as in the Baal-Lebanon fragments. Signs of great archaism are naturally to be expected in the Carian letters. It is probable that the ending in question should be read as *-ute*, and compared with the demotic  $\text{Μνιεστῆς}$  and the phyle of  $\text{Ταρβεστῆς}$ . As these seem to be in form patronymics,<sup>197</sup> the native Carian words may be so also. It is also probable that the common genitive ends in *-u*,<sup>198</sup> and has no connexion at all with the Lycian ending in *-h*.

If the Carian inscriptions differ so widely from the Lycian as they seem to do in their language and in the names which they contain, the question arises why so large a proportion of the proper names found in the Greek inscriptions of the country are of Lycian derivation. The explanation is that these happen to come chiefly from a district of which the population is said on good authority to have been distinctively Lycian. Apollodorus, accounting for the absence in Homer of some of the known names of races in Asia Minor,

<sup>193</sup> Kretschmer, p. 382. The theory of Sundwall that it is a guttural *is*, in my opinion, untenable; *J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 104.

<sup>194</sup> In this respect the Pisidian seems to agree with it (p. 68). The Lydian has a patronymic in *-l-*, quite unlike the Carian, and unknown in Lycian. It has also, I believe, an ethnic in *-m-*, equally foreign to Lycian. But the subject of Lycian cannot at present be discussed, as the material is largely unpublished.

<sup>195</sup> If my contention is right that the Lycian *h* represents an earlier *s*, and that the change was still in progress about B.C. 300 (*J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 104), it would be surprising that *h* should appear in Carian at Abu-Simbel about

300 years earlier. Another difficulty is the great frequency of *s* in the native and Greek inscriptions.

<sup>196</sup> The letter which has the shape of  $\theta$  is probably required for that sound, and in any case is not common enough for *t*, and the same may confidently be said of various consonants of unknown value.

<sup>197</sup> From proper names \* $\text{Μνιεστῆς}$  (\* $\text{m}^{\text{h}}\text{m}^{\text{h}}\text{-ijesi}$ , cf.  $\text{m}^{\text{h}}\text{m}^{\text{h}}\text{-u}^{\text{h}}$  and  $\text{ar}^{\text{h}}\text{ar}^{\text{h}}\text{-ijesi}$ ) and \* $\text{Ταρβεστῆς}$  (\* $\text{ar}^{\text{h}}\text{-er}^{\text{h}}\text{besi}$ , cf.  $\text{ar}^{\text{h}}\text{-ita}$  and Carian \* $\text{Αρβηστῆς}$ ). The names are Lycian, but the suffix  $\text{-της}$  is quite unknown in that language.

<sup>198</sup> The Carian letter  $\vee$  may not be *u*. It might, for instance, be *l*.

maintains that some were omitted because they had not yet settled in the districts which they afterwards occupied, and others 'because they were comprised in other races, as the Idrians and Termilae among the Carians, and the Doliones and Bebryces among the Phrygians.'<sup>199</sup> No one can suppose that that marvel of erudition<sup>200</sup> was ignorant of the identity of the Termilae with the Lycians, who were certainly not omitted by Homer. He undoubtedly refers to an *enclave* of Lycians in Carian territory, whose existence was so well known that their absence in the *Iliad* required explanation. Stephanus no doubt means the same settlement when he speaks of a *Τερμίλη* in Caria, which he takes to be identical with *Τέλμερα* (meaning *Τέρμερα*).<sup>201</sup> The near connexion of the Termerians with the Lycians is recorded in a mythic form by Philip of Theangela (a neighbouring town), in his book on the Carians and Leleges, who says that Termerus and Lycus were Leleges, and the first to practise piracy, not only on the coast of Caria but crossing over to Cos on rafts; Termerus founded the town of *Τέρμερον*.<sup>202</sup> The myth is purely local, and Lycus is probably the eponymus of local *Λύκιοι*, the Termilae of Apollodorus.<sup>203</sup> In using the term Leleges, Philip concurs with Strabo, when he talks of Leleges expelled by Achilles from the Troad, who founded eight towns near Halicarnassus.<sup>204</sup> It is more than doubtful if the name was in actual use in historic times, but there is no reason to question another statement of Philip that the Carians, both in antiquity and in his own day, used the Leleges as servants (*οϊκέται*), like the Helots in Lacedaemon and the Penestae in Thessaly.<sup>205</sup> He evidently refers to the same Lycian population as in the former passage, and

<sup>199</sup> Strabo, p. 678, διὰ τὸ ἐτέροις γένεσι περιέχεται, ὡς Ἴδριεῖς μὲν καὶ Τερμίλαι Καρσί, Δολιῶνες δὲ καὶ Βέβρυκες Φρυγί.

<sup>200</sup> Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ θαυμασιώτατος, St. Byz. s.v. Ὀρικός. He appears to have been also one of the sanest and most scientific of ancient critics, as might be expected of the pupil of Aristarchus and follower of Eratosthenes.

<sup>201</sup> The *Τέρμερα* of Stephanus in Lycia is not an error, but a reference to Asclepiades of Myrlea (*F.H.G.* iii. p. 300), whom he quotes elsewhere (s.v. *Μύρλεια* and *Νίκαια*). The myth probably refers to the foundation of Patara (cf. St. Byz. s.v. Ἄπτερα).

<sup>202</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. p. 475.

<sup>203</sup> In *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 207, the *Τερμίλη* of Stephanus is identified with a fort at Tremil. It is very probable that his tentative identification with *Τέρμερα* is wrong, but possibly the name of the district rather than a town may have survived at Tremil. The archaeology of the region is discussed in two valuable articles by Paton and Myres in *J.H.S.* xvi.

<sup>204</sup> P. 611. In their earlier days they spread and multiplied greatly, ὕστερον δ' ἅμα τοῖς Καρσί στρατευόμενοι κατεμερίσθησαν εἰς ὄλην

τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἠφανίσθη τὸ γένος. He certainly means that this dispersal took place in prehistoric times. Therefore, when he goes on to say that six of the eight towns were joined to Halicarnassus by Mausolus, he cannot imply, as is sometimes supposed, that they were then inhabited by a people bearing the name of Leleges. The whole story, which is a continuous narrative, seems to come from the Homeric commentary of the notoriously untrustworthy Callisthenes (Strabo, pp. 680, 814, etc.), who told a similar legend about the expulsion of the Homeric Cilices and their migration to Pamphylia (*ibid.* p. 667). Eratosthenes (Pliny, v. 30) described the Leleges as an extinct race, and it may be noted that Apollodorus does not mention them among the historical peoples of Asia Minor. If Herodotus had known of existing Leleges near his native town, distinct from the Carians, he could hardly have speculated on the relative accuracy of Cretan and Carian myths about their identity (i. 171). It is, in fact, evident that he considered them extinct as a people.

<sup>205</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. p. 475.

though the name by which he calls them is probably a piece of archaeology,<sup>206</sup> he must certainly have known the facts. The Ἰδριεῖς of Apollodorus formed another *enclave* in Carian territory. They were the inhabitants of the Ἰδριᾶς χώρα of Herodotus (v. 118), in the upper valley of the Marsyas, the territory of the later Stratonicea. According to Apollonius (a learned Greek from Egypt, who settled at Aphrodisias and wrote on the archaeology of Caria), Ἰδριᾶς was a city founded by Lycians and originally named Χρυσσαορίς.<sup>207</sup> Afterwards (as we are told unquestionably on the same authority)<sup>208</sup> it was named Ἰδριᾶς, after Idrieus the son of Car, meaning that it came into the possession of the Carians. The relationship of the original population to the Lycians was recorded in the genealogy which made Chrysaor the brother of Bellerophon. He was also the father of Μύλασος, the founder of Mylasa,<sup>209</sup> which was apparently in tradition once a Lycian town.

It is evident that the Ἰδριεῖς, as well as the Τερμίλαι, of Apollodorus were held to be of Lycian descent, and he especially records that they were a different race (ἕτερον γένος) from the Carians. To them, no doubt, Herodotus particularly refers (i. 171) when he says that all those who, though of another race, were speakers of the same language as the Carians were excluded from the temple of the Carian Zeus at Mylasa. If so, it would appear that, though they had lost their original language along with their independence, they were still a distinct people.

It so happens that our knowledge of Carian proper names was originally based and still largely depends on an inscription containing about eighty from the district of Halicarnassus,<sup>210</sup> and on others from the same region. Among these there is a small proportion (probably about 10 per cent.) related to the Phrygian, but the great majority are of Lycian origin as far as the stem is concerned. Phonetically, however, they show marked differences from the Lycian, and seem to approximate to the Phrygian. This is exactly what might be expected if a population which remained essentially Lycian (as this seems to have done) became politically subject to a race of Phrygian invaders and acquired their language.

The words of Herodotus may be taken in evidence against the relationship of the Carians to the Lycians. But the statement which he reports about the brotherhood of the Carians, Lydians, and Mysians is ambiguous,

<sup>206</sup> The story about Leleges and Minyae who once existed as a degraded caste at Tralles (Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* 46) represents them as originally invaders. It is frankly archaeological, like the legends about the foundation of Aphrodisias by Leleges (St. Byz. *s.v.* Νινώη and Μεγάλη πόλις), but may well contain elements of real tradition.

<sup>207</sup> St. Byz. *s.v.*

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.* *s.v.* Ἰδριᾶς. The statements here given without the author's name are ascribed to Apollonius under Χρυσσαορίς and Εὔρωμος.

<sup>209</sup> St. Byz. *s.v.* Μύλασα. The kinship with the Mylasians which was claimed by the Pisidians of Termessus (Kretschmer, p. 395) was probably based on a similar genealogy. The name of Termessus seems to be connected with *trēmisis*, which is, I believe, the adjective corresponding to the substantive *trēmīli*, 'Lycian.'

<sup>210</sup> First published by M. Haussoullier, whose learning continues after the lapse of nearly forty years to throw light on these obscure studies.

since the Mysians were almost certainly of European origin;<sup>211</sup> but their language was a combination of Lydian and Phrygian,<sup>212</sup> while the Lydian cannot well be an Indo-European language, but seems to have some Indo-European admixture,<sup>213</sup> and the nomenclature is largely Phrygian. Since, however, Carian names also shew a Phrygian element, it is probably this which is common to the three.

In any case, it is quite unsafe to assume that Carian names as a class are allied to the Lycian. The relationship requires to be demonstrated in each individual case. Even in Cilicia and southern Pisidia it can, at most, only be presumed. In all other districts the presumption is the other way. As to any derivation of local names in Greece and the islands from the original language of Asia Minor, if that language is really represented by Lycian nothing is proved by a comparison with any name from any other region, unless it can be shewn to be related to the Lycian. With regard to the suffixes which are held to be specially characteristic, *-νδ-* is generally, though not invariably, a proof of Lycian origin; *-σ-* affords no evidence on either side; and *-σσ-* in local names is probably native to Phrygia, but not native to Lycia.

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<sup>211</sup> Kretschmer, p. 391.

<sup>212</sup> Xanthus Lydus, frag. 8.

<sup>213</sup> Littmann, in *Sardis*, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 75.