Old Phrygian *bevdos* 'statue, image', Greek βεῦδος 'woman's dress'

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The rare Greek word βεῦδος 'sumptuous woman's dress' is a borrowing from Old Phrygian *bevdos* 'statue, image (of a goddess)', which goes back to PIE $*b^heud^h$-*os*- 'perception'.

The Old Phrygian Germanos inscription (B-01) is written on a rock immediately beneath a niche which most probably served for a statue of Kybele. Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: 64) give the first two lines as follows:

1. *s[-]bev[-]osadi[—]*
2. *kavarmoyo[-]imroyedaesetovesniyo[-]*

About the second letter of the first line Brixhe and Lejeune say: "un trou rond suivi d'une haste verticale: lequel de ces deux éléments (*o* ? *i* ?) est accidentel?" Considering the position of the letters, *i* seems certain (*o* would be too close to the preceding *s*; a ligature *oi*, proposed by Orel 1997: 138, is less likely). About the sixth letter they write: "barre transversale non évidente ni sur l'estampage ni sur les photographies: *a* ou *d* ?" Since the combination *ao* is unknown in Old Phrygian inscriptions, we must decide for *d* (cf. Lubotsky 1993: 96, fn. 4, Bajun and Orel 1988: 186, Orel 1997: 138). The end of line 1 is unreadable.

As to the second line, I have argued (Lubotsky 1993: 93) that the "traces d'une lettre non identifiable" between *kavarmoyo* and *imroy* are accidental. The same is true for the final letter of the line ("absence de traces certaines"). Further, the empty spaces between *kavarmoyo* and *imroy*, on the one hand, and on both sides of *edaes*, on the other, must be taken seriously (ibidem, p. 94). This means that the distances indicated word boundaries. We thus arrive at the following divisions: *sibevdosadi[---] kavarmoyo imroy edaes etovesniyo.*

The beginning of the inscription is reminiscent of M-01b

baba : memevais : proitavos : kΦiyanaveyos : sikeneman : edaes,
which is usually analysed as 'Baba (+ epithets) has made this
keneman', *si°* being acc.sg. neuter of the demonstrative
pronoun. Old Phrygian inscriptions often start with an object
in the accusative, e.g. M-04 *a̠kinanogava̠n : tiyes / mo̠d̠rovanak :
avar̠a,* Vezirhan *sint imenan kaliya titeda̠t* ---, W-01 *materan :
areyastin / bonok : akenanogavo̠s / vrekun : tedatoy* (cf. for the
reading order of this inscription Lubotsky 1988), so that it is
likely that *sibevdos* must be analysed *si* + *bevdos*, *bevdos* thus
being acc.sg.n. of an *s*-stem.

    Orel (1997: 139f.) takes *bevdos* to be a proper name in
the nominative. He refers to Zgusta (1984: 121), who
mentions Phrygian place names like Παλαιὸν Βεῦδος, Βευδου
Οἶκος. Zgusta further connects the gloss found at *EM* 195.52,
viz. βεῦδος ... ἄγαλμα (at Hermione) 'statue of a god' and
writes: "es kann sich um eine phrygische Glosse handeln, und
das ἄγαλμα konnte das Bild einer Gottheit sein". I would add
that Gr. βεῦδος n. 'sumptuous woman's dress' (Sappho, Call.,
etc.) might be the same word. Greek may have borrowed this
word from Phrygian in the meaning 'statue of a goddess', but
since these statues presumably were lavishly adorned and
dressed, βεῦδος was used in the narrower meaning of a specific
woman's dress. Pfeiffer (1965: 14) writes in his comment to a
Callimachos' passage ἐν δὲ Πάρῳ κάλλη τε καὶ αἰόλα βεύδε'
ἔχουσαι (Aetia I, Fr. 7 11): "vestes purpura tinctae grammaticis
et κάλλη et βεύδεα erant; in Call. prob. β. significant χιτῶνα
longum et κ. ἱμάτιον, quibus Gratiae in anaglypho Thassico
vestitae sunt" ("according to the grammarians, both κάλλη and
βεύδεα were purple clothes; in Callimachos, βεύδεα probably
refer to a long tunic and κάλλη to an outer garment which the
Graces on a Thassos relief were wearing"). He also mentions
Hesychius' gloss βεῦδος· στέμμα τι καὶ ἱμάτιον γυναικεῖον
(βεῦδος = garland and a woman's outer garment). The
meaning στέμμα 'wreath, garland' may also point to the
adornment of a statue.

    In view of syntactic considerations, mentioned above, it is
much more probable that OPhr. *bevdos* is not a name, but the
word for the statue (of a goddess). As already surmised by Orel
(1997: 140), this word is derived from IE *b^heud^h- 'to perceive'.
I take it as a regular *s*-stem *b^heud^h-os- (cf. Gr. ἀ-πευθ-ής

'ignorant', Av. *baoδah*- n. 'perception'). The original meaning of this formation must have been 'perception, idea', which seems to be a suitable term for the image of a god or a goddess.

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