# THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED GREEK-SIDETIC BILINGUE FROM SELEUCIA\*

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In Kadmos 27 (1988) 35-43, Claude Brixhe and Günter Neumann have published a recently discovered Greek-Sidetic bilingue from Seleucia in Pamphylia, catalogued by them as Sid. no. 6.1 According to their observations, the inscription is written on a stone which once served as a basis for a votive-offering. In this stone basis the Greek text is engraved first, running from left to right and covering the first line as well as the beginning of the second. Subsequently, the epichoric Sidetic inscription is added, probably by another, less experienced stonecutter, running as usual in retrograde direction and starting in line 2 with large shaped signs, but halfway continuing on a more modest scale and descending to line 3 for the apparent lack of space (see figure 1).

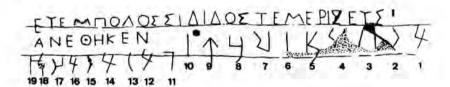


Fig. 1. The Greek-Sidetic bilingue from Seleucia, Sid. no. 6 (after Brixhe/Neumann 1988).

The reading of the Greek text, of which the form of the signs is acknowledged to indicate a date around the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century BC, does not offer many problems. Only

1 C. Brixhe, G. Neumann, "Die Griechisch-Sidetische Bilingue von Seleukia",

Kadmos 27 (1988) 35-43.

<sup>\*</sup> For the numbering of the Sidetic signs, see G. Neumann, "Die sidetische Schrift", Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa VIII, 3 (1978) 875, Abb. 3. I warmly thank my friend Reinier Telling for reading the manuscript and suggesting some improvements of my English writing.

the determination of the fourth sign from the right in line 1 as a zèta and the verification of the fifth sign from the right in the same line, which, if present, is placed irregularly close to the one forementioned, on the basis of the photographs of both the stone and an "Abklatsch" of it presented by the authors seem to lead up to indefinite results. Without effect on the reading of the signs however, in the strict sense of the word, but relevant for the question concerning the possible use of punctuation marks, is the presence of a dot or short vertical stroke placed half-high at the end of line 1. Although discarded by Brixhe and Neumann, it appears to be too clear-cut to be considered incidental and will therefore be regarded here as either a division mark, dividing the preceding words from the one following in the next line, or a combination mark, indicating that the text still runs on.

Serious troubles begin with the interpretation of the text. The first recognizable word, Euempolos, is still convincingly identified by the authors as a personal name, attested in other texts as well and even understandable from Greek as "the good (or clever) trader". The second word however, Sididos, is interpreted as a patronymic for the apparent reason that the third and final word in line 1, Temerizeus, is considered an ethnicon in -eus of a place name comparable to Carian Termera and characterized by an Anatolian suffix -iza.2 Unfortunately, a PN \*Temeriza- is unparalleled so far and a relationship with the Carian PN Termera is dubious for the absence of the first r in the word in question in our present inscription. In other words, the identification of the third word in line 1 as an ethnicon is highly hypothetical and therefore it might just as well be interpreted along an entirely different line of approach. Returning next to the second word, this is, notwithstanding its interpretation as a patronymic, rightly analyzed as a genitive singular of a root \*Sidis, possibly characterized by a suffix -id-.3 Now, the suffix -id- is a well-known element used by the Greeks in non-Greek place names, especially those based upon non-Greek tribal names.4 Similarly, the root \*Sidis, for which even Brixhe and Neumann were forced to draw comparable evidence from the rich source of Anatolian toponymy, bears such a remarkable resemblance

<sup>3</sup> Another possible explanation for the suffix -id-, proposed by the authors on p. 37f. and referred to on p. 41f., is to consider it as Luwian-nt- in Greek transcription.

Note in this connection that the word temerizeus is already staged as an ethnicon on page 36 before its linguistic treatment on page 38!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M. Meier, -id-, Zur Geschichte eines griechischen Nominalsuffixes (Göttingen 1975) 17; F.C. Woudhuizen, "Thracians, Luwians and Greeks in Bronze Age Central Greece", Thracians and Mycenaeans, Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Thracology, Rotterdam 24-26 September 1984, eds. J.G.P. Best & N.M.W. de Vries (Leiden 1988) 191.

to the PN Side (which after all is an approximate, and therefore inadequate rendering in Greek of an indigenous place name, occurring as Sibu or Sibus in epichoric writing on Sidetic coins), that it seems not far-fetched to assume that in the present inscription the non-Greek PN Side is associated by a Greek writer with the for him regular suffix -id-for non-Greek place names. In short, that Sididos means "of Side".

If this be considered a valid assumption, the place from which the dedicator Euempolos originates is already indicated by the second entry in line 1 and we are free to look around for a suitable interpretation of the word temerizeus immediately following it. Again, I think that Brixhe and Neumann, notwithstanding their interpretation, were right in analyzing the word as a compound of the Greek ending -eus and a possibly non-Greek root temer(i)- characterized by an Anatolian suffix -(i)z(a). The Greek suffix -eus however, is not only used for ethnica, but also for names of professions, as it is indeed the case with the word empoleus "trader", referred to by the authors as comparable evidence for the MN Euempolos!

Proceeding along this line of thought, the indigenous Anatolian suffix -(i)z(a) is likely to be identified as the Lycian suffix -(a)z(a) which is attached to roots for exactly the same purpose as Greek -eus in, for example, chalkeus "smith" from chalkos "bronze", hippeus "horseman, chariot driver" from hippos "horse" and hiereus "priest" from hieros "sacred, holy", viz. in order to form the name of a profession. So Lycian maraza "judge" from the simplex mara "law", kumaza "priest" from the simplex kuma "sacred", etc. The root temer(i)-finally, can be elucidated most plausibly with the help of the Hesychian gloss themeros bebaios, semnos, eustathès. Especially the circumscription of the word themeros by semnos, which is a synonym of hieros, seems interesting in this connection, because it enables us to

<sup>6</sup> E. Laroche, "La stèle trilingue du Létôon: version lycienne", Fouilles de Xanthos 6 (1979) 98f. Note furthermore that the regular ethnicon of Side in Greek writing is Sidètès, as attested for the additional "makers-formula" in Sid. no. 2, with genitive

plural Sidèton as attested on the coins.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Brixhe & Neumann (supra note 1) 38; cf. 42: "Sie liesse sich formal als Ethnikon auffassen." For the evidence from the coins, see F.C. Woudhuizen, "Origins of the Sidetic Script", Talanta 16/17 (1984-1985) 123f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> LSJ, s.v. themeros. The same combination of the root temer-"sacred, holy" with the Lycian suffix -(a)z(a) may perhaps be recognized in the Etruscan word tameresca in line 8 of the longer version of the Pyrgi bilingue, corresponding to the expression bbt wbmtw "consisting of the temple and its high place" in Phoenician and provisionally translated as "temple-complex?" in: Jan Best & Fred Woudhuizen, Lost Languages from the Mediterranean (Leiden 1989) chapter 4, § 2, passim. In that case it is evidently characterized here by an additional element -ca.

reconstruct a possibly indigenous honorary title \*temeraza or \*temeriza (the connective vowel is determined by the ending of the root!) "priest" on the close analogy provided by the Lycian example kumaza, referred to above. Having arrived at this point, it seems only logical to assume that in the mind of the Greek scribe this possibly indigenous name of a profession had to be marked by the Greek ending -eus in order to be recognizable as such for the Greek reader.

Together with the verb *anethèken* in line 2, of which the meaning is not open to variance of opinion, this leads us to the following transliteration and interpretation of the Greek version of the bilingue:

1. Euempolos Sididos temerizeus' "Euempolos of Side, priest, 2. anethèken has dedicated."

Turning next to the Sidetic version of the text, it is important to observe that Brixhe and Neumann have convincingly identified the individual signs with their corresponding forms in the known repertory of the Sidetic alphabet. At this level disagreement is confined to their interpretation of the clearly visible dot between the ninth and the tenth sign according to their numbering, placed on top of the line. According to the authors, this is "sicher als Beschädigung des Steins aufzufassen". As compared to the mark at the end of line 1 of the Greek text however, it seems in this particular case even more certain that we are dealing here with a purposely, because sharply and deeply incised, engraved punctuation mark in the form of a high point.

Unfortunately, the possibility of diverging opinions seems to increase considerably in connection with the next level, viz.: the determination of the value of the signs. Of the total number of 12 individual signs distinguished by Brixhe and Neumann, only 2/3rd do have a value which is firmly based upon manifest correspondences with Greek concerning the names in the already known bilingual inscriptions (Sid. nos. 1-2 and the coins) and a Greek word in epichoric transcription (Sid. nos. 3-4). This affects the signs for /e/ (Neumann no. 14), /p/ (Neumann no. 1), /l/ (Neumann no. 3), /i/ (Neumann no. 5), /t/ (Neumann no. 10), /m/ (Neumann no. 13), /s/ (Neumann no. 18), and /a/ (Neumann no. 11). The values of the remaining group of 4 signs, comprising Neumann

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Brixhe & Neumann (supra note 1) 40. Note with respect to the transliteration on p. 39 that the 16th sign is erroneously indicated as damaged by means of a dot placed below it, whereas the 4th sign, which is really damaged, is not distinguished in this manner. As in both cases Neumann no. 14 /e/ is involved, this is probably due to an involuntary exchange during the process of printing.

nos. 8, 15, 20 and 25, are so far not assured by unequivocal bilingual evidence.

Keeping this in mind, we can go on to the third level concerning the interpretation of the Sidetic version of the text and critically follow the authors in their attempt to identify this version as an exact repetition in epichoric writing of the three Greek words from line 1, discussed ' above. The first identification then, according to which Sidetic e25pel is considered to be the corresponding form of the MN Euempolos, seems convincing and promising. As a consequence of this identification however, the sign Neumann no. 25 is likely to represent a nasal, either /m/, in which case it must be considered a variant in retrograde direction of Neumann no. 13/m/, or /n/, in which case it is likely to be a simplified variant of Neumann no. 4 /n/. In the present situation, the latter option seems by far preferable in view of the fact that Neumann no. 25 from an epigraphical point of view shows a greater affinity to Neumann no. 4/n/ and because a sign for the expression of this common value /n/ is otherwise absent in the inscription under consideration.9 This being the case, the last entry of the Sidetic version, which is staged as the corresponding form of Greek temerizeus, reads: temeneśa15. Obviously, this identification is by now much hampered for the simple reason that, as the authors acknowledge, a liquid rather than a nasal should have been expected in the Sidetic form, too. The third identification finally, concerning the sequence of the Sidetic signs 15-8-i-20--15, which is assumed to be the corresponding form of Greek Sididos and as such to provide "den endgültigen Beweis"10 for Neumann no. 8 =/d/ and, to a lesser extent, Neumann nos. 15 and 20 = /s/ and "a dental" respectively, absolutely fails to do justice to the clear dot which, as we have already noted in the foregoing, definitely separates the arrow sign no. 20 from the following vertical stroke catalogued by Neumann as no. 15. In other words: these two signs are unlikely to be part of one and the same word!

At this point the question is naturally raised, whether there is some other approach which leads to less conflicting results concerning the elucidation of the Sidetic version of the text. First of all however, it must be stressed that bilingual inscriptions, in the general sense of the word that information is written down in two different languages (which does not mean that this information is exactly the same in both languages), really provide vital clues for the elucidation of partly understandable scripts or languages, but they are not without hidden

10 Brixhe & Neumann (supra note 1) 40.

<sup>9</sup> Woudhuizen (supra note 5) 127, fig. 11.

traps and pitfalls. In order to illustrate this statement, it might be pointed out that a place name, when mentioned in the foreign language. is frequently omitted from the epichoric version in case it refers to the findspot or its immediately neighbouring region, because this is considered to be superfluous information for the indigenous population. So the word kyšry' "Caere" in the Phoenician version of the Pyrgi bilingue goes without parallel in both indigenous Etruscan versions of the text and the combination bSprd byrt' "in Sardis der Festung" from the Aramaic version of the Sardis bilingue has no equivalent in the Lydian version of the text. 11 Similarly, expressions may vary as a result of the difference in nature of the languages or even have been deliberately adapted to what is apparently thought to be most appropriate for the different groups of readers, foreigners and natives. So the dedicator of the Pyrgi bilingue, Thefarie Velianas, is addressed as mlk "king" in the Phoenician version of the text, whereas his magistracy is specified as themiasa mech thuta "legislator of the senate <and> people" in the longer Etruscan version of the text, which sounds a lot more acceptable for his colleagues at home. 12

What we need therefore—to return to our initial question—, when the expression or information in the different versions of a bilingue tends to be not strictly homogeneous, as appears to be the case in the present bilingue with respect to the entries following the name of the dedicator, is subsidiary clues from a different category of evidence, which in this particular case means subsidiary clues from epigraphy about the 3 signs (Neumann nos. 8,15 and 20) so far not assured by unequivocal bilingual evidence. Now, such clues from the field of epigraphy for the value of still enigmatic signs are either provided by comparison in form to other signs with known values from preferably neighbouring or related scripts or by the determination of the origin of the sign in question. As I have ventured to show in Talanta 16/17 (1984-1985) 115ff., the circumstances of testing the approach last mentioned are especially favourable for Sidetic, because the values of 13 signs in sum of the entire alphabet are firmly established by unambiguous bilingual evidence. Among this group of 13 signs then, 5 correspond in form as well as in value to counterparts in the Phoenician alphabet and may therefore safely be assumed to originate from this particular script

<sup>12</sup> Best & Woudhuizen (supra note 7) chapter 4, § 2, passim. For another instance of deliberate manipulation by the translator, see F.C. Woudhuizen, "The Recently Discovered Greek-Etruscan Bilingue from Delphi", Talanta 18/19 (1986-1987) 125ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> P. Kahle & F. Sommer, "Die lydisch-aramäische Bilingue", Kleinasiatische Forschungen 1 (1927) 80f.; cf. F.C. Woudhuizen, "The Sardis Bilingue Reconsidered", Orpheus 1 (1990).

(this group includes Neumann nos. 1, 5 and 18 with corresponding values /p/, /i/ and /ś/ respectively, from our present bilingue). In addition, 6 signs which do not have convincing parallels in the Phoenician alphabet bear a striking resemblance in form as well as in value to counterparts from the Cypriote syllabary if due attention is paid to their regular value reduction from syllable to alphabet letter according to the acrophonic principle, and may therefore safely be assumed to originate from this particular writing system (this group includes Neumann nos. 3 and 4 [=25] with corresponding values /l/ and /n/ respectively, from our present bilingue). Having tested the bipartite origin of the Sidetic alphabet in this manner, it seems only logical to use this principle as a hermeneutic device for indications about the values of the remaining group of enigmatic signs. According to this approach there can be discovered 4 more signs with an exact equivalent in the Phoenician alphabet and an equal number of signs with an exact counterpart in the Cypriote syllabary, the latter group including Neumann nos. 8 and 20 from our present bilingue, which correspond in form to the Cypriote syllabic signs for /mi/ and /ti/ respectively and are therefore likely to represent the values /m/, and /t/, respectively! According to this very same approach moreover, the vertical bar provisionally labelled no. 15 by Neumann is not a sign in the strict sense of the word, but a punctuation mark, strikingly recalling the one used in the Cypriote syllabary alongside the half-high point (see figure 2).13

| C.L. | c.s.     | value | Sidetic | value            |
|------|----------|-------|---------|------------------|
| Z    | $\Delta$ | /la/  | K K K   | /1/              |
|      | );       | /nu/  | >>>     | /n/              |
| V    | M        | /mi/  | प्रध्य  | /m/ <sub>1</sub> |
|      | 1        | /ti/  | 1       | /t/ <sub>1</sub> |

Fig. 2. Signs originating from the Cypro-Minoan Syllabary.

 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$  Woudhuizen (supra note 5) 116-121, esp. figs. 5, 6, 9 and 10. Note in this connection that the Cypro-Minoan ti-sign is also used in the Lydian alphabet for the expression of the value  $/t/_1$ , see F.C. Woudhuizen, "Lydian: Separated from Luwian by three signs", Talanta 16/17 (1984-1985) 97-100.

In sum, these results lead us to the following transliteration and interpretation of the Sidetic version of the bilingue:

#### comments:

a. Enpel

Nominative of personal name, corresponding to the name of the dedicator, *Euempolos*, in the Greek version of the bilingue.

b. m,i

Accusative of the personal pronoun of the first person singular, corresponding in form to the Luwian Hieroglyphic possessive pronoun of the first person singular, (a)mi-"my" (cf. Lycian ēmi for the loss of the ending -n in the accusative). If In function however, this form is more closely paralleled by Lydian emi, in the Lydian variant of the "makers-formula" (Lyd. no. 30, c. 600-550 BC): Ititisin emi, ti-Sardi, fabil Atal, Kitval, "Titis(in) has made me in Sardis for Atys, (the son of) Kidys" on a fragment of a terracotta boat from the Sardian necropolis. Outside Anatolia proper, our attention is in this connection especially

14 P. Meriggi, Hieroglyphisch-Hethitisches Glossar (Wiesbaden 1962) s.v. (a)mi(a)-; Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period (Leiden 1961) 67. The excellent photograph of Sid. no. 1 by J. Nollé in "Mitteilungen zu sidetischen Inschriften", Kadmos 27 (1988) 57ff., Taf. I clearly points out that the first combination of the epichoric version must be read: m1e Athono, as it was (at least in part) already hinted at by G. Neumann, "Zur Entzifferung der sidetischen Inschriften", Kadmos 7 (1968) 79, so that I can no longer use my reading †m1i Athana, based upon the old photographs presented by Helmuth Bossert, as corroborating evidence for the present reading of the word m1i. Nonetheless, it may still be maintained that the text of Sid. no. 1 is conducted in the first person singular, too, for the apparent correspondence of the word m1e to Greek me (note that this inscription, just like Sid. nos. 3-4 characterized by the Greek word anathèmata in epichoric writing, is dated to the 2nd century BC, in which Greek influence became overwhelmingly strong).

15 F.C. Woudhuizen, "Etruscan Origins: The Epigraphic Evidence", Talanta 14/15 (1982-1983) 112-114. Note that the addition of the place name in this "makersformula" is strikingly paralleled in an archaic Latin inscription from Praeneste, reading: Novios Plautios med Romai fecid (E. Vetter, Handbuch der Italischen Dialekte [Heidelberg 1953] no. 367). For the rest, the inscription closely follows the pattern of Puros m'epoiese Agasilewo in Greek (L.H. Jeffery, The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece [Oxford 1961] "Euboia" no. 22, dated c. 700 BC) and Manios med vhevhaked Numasioi in Latin (on the Praeneste fibula, datable to the latter half of the 7th century BC on account of the use of the Caeretan digraph for the expression of the value [f], typical for this particular period). The use of the first person singular in the two examples last mentioned is ascribable to east-Greek (Smyma!, see Woudhuizen, op. cit., p. 104) and Etruscan (the Praeneste fibula is reported to have been found in an

Etruscan tomb!) influence, respectively.

drawn to Etruscan votive inscriptions of the type: mi Unial "I (am) for the Lady" (T.L.E. 644) on an altar-stone from Cortona and mini muluv[an]ece Avile Vipiiennas "Aulus Vibenna has offered me as a vow" (T.L.E. 35) on a bucchero vase found close to the altar of the Portonaccio temple at Veii. 16 Note furthermore that "redende Inschriften" are a typical feature of epichoric Anatolian writing, attested already in Luwian Hieroglyphic long before the introduction of this style in archaic Greek inscriptions of both secular and religious nature.

The combination of the Cypro-Minoan ti-sign, expressing the alphabetic value  $t_j$  here, with the dot placed high on the line, is obviously indicative of an abbreviated form, recognizable as the verb tuvete "he has erected" known from Lycian (<Luwian duwa- "to erect") thanks to its unabbreviated, but partly damaged occurrence in the (semi-)bilingual inscription Sid. no. 2, reading:  $Poloniv Porbor/Poloniva/maŝara t_juv[ete/]$  "Apollonios, son of Apollodoros, son of Apollonios, has erected for the gods". <sup>17</sup> This view is further emphasized by the fact that both the partly damaged form  $t_1uv[ete]$  in Sid. no. 2 and the present abbreviation  $t_1$  evidently correspond to the verbal form anethèken in the Greek version of the text.

#### d. Temenesa

The word temenesa is analyzed here as a dative singular in -a, for which comparable evidence is emanating from Lycian, of the adjectival suffix -eśi- or -eśa-, corresponding to Lycian -eśi/-eśa (<Luwian -ašši- and Hieroglyphic -asa-, respectively), attached to the root temen-, which bears a striking resemblance to Greek temenos "temple". The possible use of this root known from Greek in the epichoric languages of western Anatolia may perhaps be exemplified by the Lydian PN

<sup>16</sup> M. Pallottino, Testimonia Linguae Etruscae (Firenze 1968<sup>2</sup>) s.v. The additional element -in in the Lydian personal name Titišin from Lyd. no. 30 may, on the analogy of Etruscan -ni attached to the pronoun mi in the second example, perhaps be identified as a suffix, related to the enclitic particle -ne which in Lycian is attached to the first word of a phrase: ebe-ñnē chupā, me-ne prāna[w]atē Sbicaza "this (<Luwian apa-) tomb, Sbigaza has built it" (T.L. 70).

<sup>17</sup> Woudhuizen (supra note 5) 122f.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the adjectival suffix in the Luwian dialects, see E. Laroche, "Comparaison du Louvite et du Lycien", Bulletin de la Société Linguistique 55 (1960) 155ff. As it is indicated here on page 160 that the dative singular of the adjectival suffix -alesi (for the identification of the Lycian sign + as a sibilant, see Best & Woudhuizen (supra note 7) chapter 4, appendix to § 2) is characterized by the ending -i, the present form is likely to be identified as -alese, following the a-stems in its declension.

tèmenothura.<sup>19</sup> The interpretation finally, of the present combination is substantially enhanced by the Greek forms temenios and temenitès, used as epitheta of the GN Hestia and Apollo, Poseidon and Zeus respectively, in especially east-Greek regions.<sup>20</sup>

In retrospect, it may safely be concluded that the newly discovered Greek-Sidetic bilingue from Seleucia, discussed above, is in fact a bilingual inscription in the more general sense of the word or a socalled semi-bilingue, because:

1. only the first word from the Greek version, viz. the name of the dedicator *Euempolos*, is exactly paralleled by the first entry, *Enpel*, from the Sidetic version of the text:

2. the verbal form  $aneth\grave{e}ken$  in the second line of the Greek inscription finds a more or less corresponding expression in the epichoric combination  $m_ii$   $t_i < uvete > ```< has> e< erected> me``, conducted in the first person singular according to an ancient native Anatolian tradition;$ 

3. the indications of the place of origin and the function of the dedicator, expressed by the second (Sididos) and the third (temerizeus) entry in the Greek version of the text, are altogether absent in its epichoric counterpart:

4. the receiving party, which is not mentioned in the Greek version of the bilingue, is rendered in the Sidetic version of the text by the additional entry temeneśa "for (the god) of the temple" (see Table I).

### Greek version

1. Euempolos Sididos temerizeus "Euempolos of Side, priest, has dedicated."

## Sidetic version

2.  $Enpel / m_i i_i < uvete > /$  "Euempolos <a href="mailto:">"Euempolos <a href="mailto:tas">tas</a> e<rected> me for (the god) of the temple."

Table I. Text and translation of Sid. no. 6.

20 LSJ, s.v. temenios (Erythrae, 3rd century BC) and temenitės (Syracuse; Myconus,

3rd/2nd century BC; Amorgos, 4th century BC).

<sup>19</sup> H.Th. Bossert, Asia (Istanbul 1946) 32. Cf. also the possibly related word (e)tami<sub>1</sub>- "temple (vel simile)" in Lydian, of which the identification is ascertained by its affinity to Etruscan tmia "temple".