

# TITLES OF MIDAS

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THE TEXT OF THE LARGE INSCRIPTIONS upon the façade of the so-called “Tomb of Midas” at Yazılıkaya was given in transcription by J. Friedrich in his *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*<sup>1</sup> as follows:

1 → ατες ∣ αρκιαεφαις ∣ ακενανολαφος ∣ μιδαι ∣ λαφαλται ∣ φανακτει ∣ εδαες

2 → βαβα ∣ μεμεφαις ∣ προιταφος ∣ κφιζαναφεζος ∣ σικενεμαν ∣ εδαες

These inscriptions are of great interest, because the titles of Midas in the first of them are similar to the names of classes of ruler written on the Mycenaean tablets of over half a millennium earlier. It is important that the titles of Midas should not be dismissed on the grounds that they are peripheral and have nothing to do with the early history of Greece. We have here precious evidence of political continuity in Asia Minor after the collapse of Mycenaean power in mainland Greece about 1200 B.C.

In his valuable article “Helladic Kingship and the Gods”<sup>2</sup> Jaan Puhvel, observing that the Mycenaean king may have had two titles, remarks: “. . . we are reminded of the old Phrygian inscription on the Tomb of Midas: μιδαι λαφαλται φανακτει. Whatever the detail of λαφαλται, perhaps the whole phrase is a latter day Helladic reminiscence in the backlands of Asia Minor.” It is generally agreed that the second of the epithets should be read φανακτει. Concerning the correct transcription of the first of them there has been some variety of opinion. I give first a revised text of the two inscriptions, the readings of which are based on a close study of photographs and of the reports of visitors to the monument. Having determined the correct transcription, I shall discuss the titles of Midas with regard to the early history of relations between the Greeks and the Phrygians.

The two inscriptions are clearly by different hands, since in the upper one the sigmas have three bars, but five in the lower. The former runs diagonally along the upper left hand

<sup>1</sup> *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, 163 (Berlin, 1932), 125 Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Minoica*, Festschrift J. Sundwall, ed. E. Grumach (Berlin, 1958), 327–333.

side of the monument from left to right towards the cornice, and the latter is inscribed at the lower right hand side and is read upwards, from left to right. According to E. Brandenburg<sup>3</sup> the letters of the upper inscription are about 45 cm. high. In both the epsilons are three and four stroked. I indicate the number of strokes above each epsilon of the transcription.

YAZILIKAYA. "TOMB OF MIDAS," UPPER INSCRIPTION (1)

Α<sup>3</sup>τες ∶ Α<sup>3</sup>ρκιδε<sup>3</sup>φαι<sup>3</sup>ς ∶ Α<sup>4</sup>κε<sup>4</sup>να<sup>4</sup>νο<sup>4</sup>λα<sup>4</sup>φος ∶ Μιδαι ∶ λα<sup>3</sup>φα<sup>3</sup>γ<sup>3</sup>ται ∶ φα<sup>4</sup>να<sup>3</sup>κ<sup>3</sup>τει ∶ ε<sup>3</sup>δα<sup>3</sup>ες

Ατες — Ατις Von Reber, *AbhBayr*, 21 (1897), 566.

Ακε<sup>4</sup>να<sup>4</sup>νο<sup>4</sup>λα<sup>4</sup>φος — Ακε<sup>4</sup>να<sup>4</sup>νο<sup>4</sup>γα<sup>4</sup>φος (?) Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (London, 1824), 21.

λα<sup>3</sup>φα<sup>3</sup>γ<sup>3</sup>ται — γα<sup>3</sup>φα<sup>3</sup>τ<sup>3</sup>ται (?) Leake. λα<sup>3</sup>φα<sup>3</sup>γ<sup>3</sup>ται C. O. Müller, *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, transl. H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis, 1 (London, 1839), 9 note M. Luria, (1957), *infra* note 4. λα<sup>3</sup>φα<sup>3</sup>γ<sup>3</sup>ται ο<sup>3</sup>ι λα<sup>3</sup>φα<sup>3</sup>λ<sup>3</sup>τ<sup>3</sup>ται F. de Saussure, in E. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1898), 172 note I. λα<sup>3</sup>φα<sup>3</sup>λ<sup>3</sup>τ<sup>3</sup>ται W. M. Ramsay, *JRAS*, 15 (1883), 121. J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1932), 125 No. 1. E. Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graecorum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora* (Leipzig, 1923), 404 Nos. 1 and 2. Von Reber, *loc. cit. supra*. Ga<sup>3</sup>varta-ei A. Fick, *Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, 14 (Göttingen, 1888), 50–51. λα<sup>3</sup>φα<sup>3</sup>π<sup>3</sup>ται (?) A. Körte, *AM*, 23 (1898), 85.

ε<sup>3</sup>δα<sup>3</sup>ες — ε<sup>3</sup>δα<sup>3</sup>ε Leake *loc. cit. supra*.

A possible meaning: "Ates, son of Arkeaevas (?), grandson of Akenanolas made < this > (?) for Midas the *lawagetas*, the king."

YAZILIKAYA. "TOMB OF MIDAS," LOWER INSCRIPTION (2)

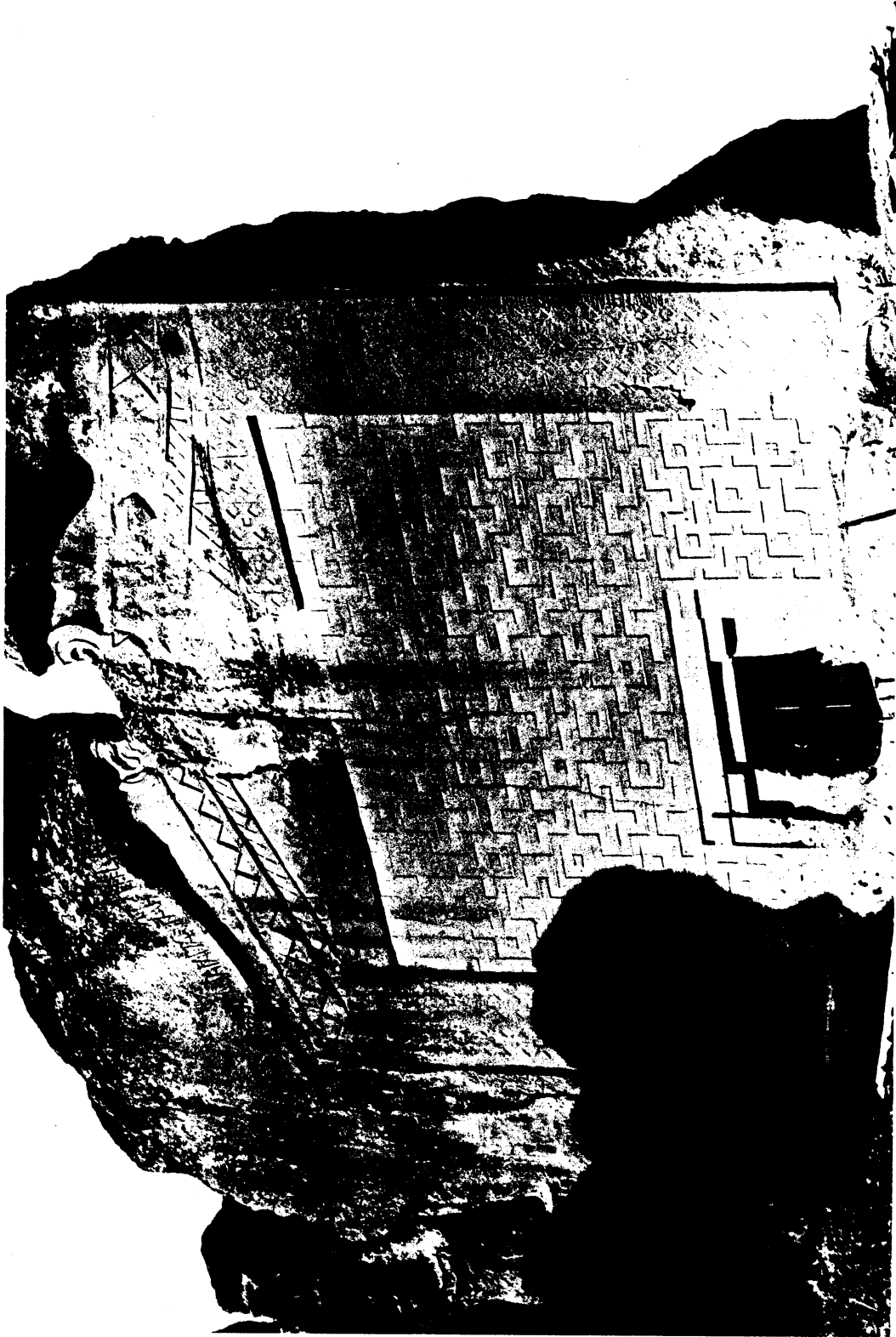
βα<sup>3</sup>βα ∶ με<sup>3</sup>με<sup>3</sup>φαι<sup>3</sup>ς ∶ προ<sup>4</sup>ι<sup>4</sup>τα<sup>4</sup>φος ∶ κ<sup>3</sup>φι<sup>3</sup>ζα<sup>3</sup>να<sup>3</sup>φε<sup>3</sup>ζος ∶ σικ<sup>3</sup>ε<sup>3</sup>νε<sup>3</sup>μαν ∶ ε<sup>3</sup>δα<sup>3</sup>ες

κ<sup>3</sup>φι<sup>3</sup>ζα<sup>3</sup>να<sup>3</sup>φε<sup>3</sup>ζος — κ<sup>3</sup>ο<sup>3</sup>ι<sup>3</sup>ζα<sup>3</sup>να<sup>3</sup>φε<sup>3</sup>ζος Schwyzer, *Exempla*, 404 No. 2.

σι<sup>3</sup> κ<sup>3</sup>ε<sup>3</sup>νε<sup>3</sup>μαν — σικ<sup>3</sup>ε<sup>3</sup>νε<sup>3</sup>μαν Leake. οικ<sup>3</sup>ε<sup>3</sup>νε<sup>3</sup>μαν Brandenburg.

ε<sup>3</sup>δα<sup>3</sup>ες — ε<sup>3</sup>γα<sup>3</sup>ες Ramsay. Λ = Δ according to A. H. Sayce, *JHS*, 46 (1926), 32. Each sigma is five barred as in the text transcribed by J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1932),

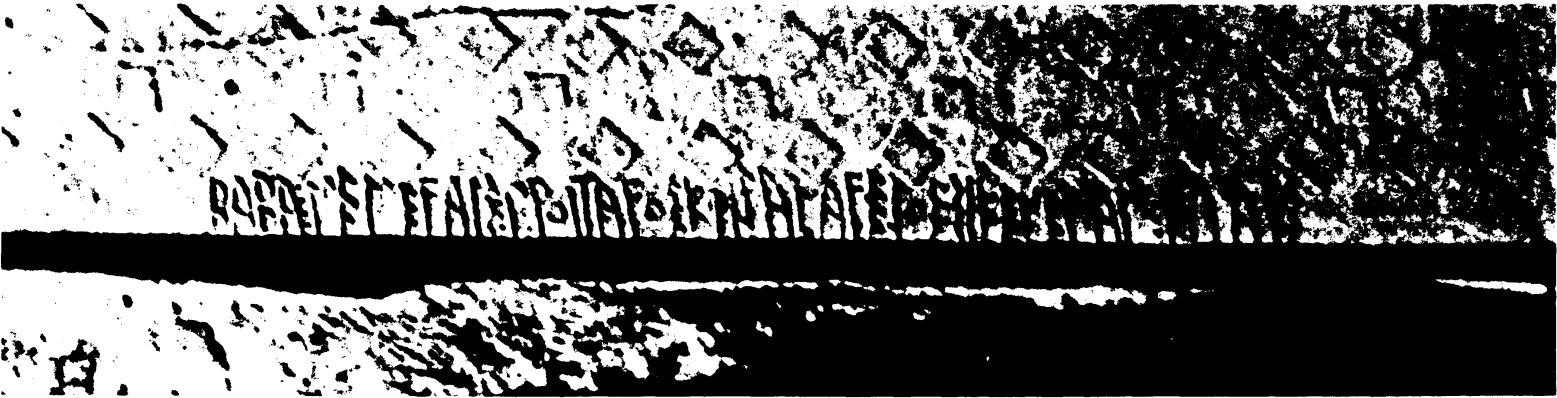
<sup>3</sup> *AbhBayr*, 23 (1906), 644–645.



YAZILIKAYA. "TOMB OF MIDAS"



YAZILIKAYA. "TOMB OF MIDAS," UPPER INSCRIPTION (1)



YAZILIKAYA. "TOMB OF MIDAS," LOWER INSCRIPTION (2)

126 No. 14, and illustrated by H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin, 1942), No. 1102.

A possible meaning: "Baba, son of Memewas (?), grandson of Proitas, a man of Gordion (?), made this monument."

Luria,<sup>4</sup> allowing for the possibility that *λαφαλται* and not *λαφαγται* should be read in the upper inscription, compared the Lelegean name \**Αλτης* (Homer, *Iliad* Φ 85,86. X 51), but he was unwilling to discount all connection between Mycenaean *λαφαγέτας* and the Phrygian royal title. If *λαφαλται* is retained, then it can only be explained as a formation from *λαφο-* and *αλτα-*, "nourisher of the people."

The Midas monument was discovered by W. M. Leake in 1800.<sup>5</sup> He copied the inscriptions carefully and at once saw that both titles in inscription (1) applied to the Phrygian king. He wrote: "The distinguishing appellation of the particular Midas to whom the monument was dedicated, seems to be contained in the word of the upper inscription between *Μίδα* and *ἄνακτι*. . . ." He noted that the first letter of the word appeared to be the old gamma; the sixth was perhaps a T, of which part of the upper line had been effaced. He therefore assumed that the name in Greek was ΓΑΦΑΤΤΑΗΣ, which he compared with the Lydian royal names Sadyattes and Alyattes. In his copy of the inscription, however, the first and the fifth, and the fifth and the sixth, letters are clearly distinguished from each other, thus: ΓΑΦΑΓΤΑΕΙ. If the sixth letter is a T, then the fifth is a Γ. Therefore the first letter is a Λ. It follows that Leake correctly copied the appearance of the word, but misinterpreted the letters. Phrygian lambda and gamma are confusingly alike. Ramsay could read *λαφαλται* where Leake saw *γαφατται*, and conversely *Ακενανολαφος* where Leake gave *Ακενανογαφος*. A close inspection of an enlarged photograph of the upper inscription suggests strongly that the correct readings are *λαφαγται* and *Ακενανολαφος*. The gamma of *λαφαγται*

<sup>4</sup>S. Luria, *Язык и культура микенской греции* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1957), 217-219.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. K. Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (Istanbul, 1942), 76, who recalls other later visitors, besides Leake.

is quite distinct from the lambda of the same word and of *Ακενανολαφος*. It differs also from the pi of the name *Προιταφος* in inscription (2), where the top of the letter is looped over in a semicircle to the right hand side of the hasta.

The word *εδαες* at the end of each inscription was read *εγαες* by Ramsay in (2). It is true that no horizontal bar at the bottom of the letter can be clearly seen, but the cutter may have feared that the edge of the monument would be spoiled if he cut deeply so close to it. It is remarkable that the two persons named in the upper and lower inscriptions, Ates and Baba, perform the same act *εδαες*. One would naturally be taken as the dedicant and the other as the builder of the monument. The word has been compared with root *dhe* "set" or "make" and so translated "dedicated" or "made." Since both inscriptions were surely cut while the scaffolding was still in place in front of the monument, Baba and Ates were probably joint makers or dedicants. Baba made *σι κενεμαν* "this tomb," or "this monument," but there is no expressed object of *εδαες* in (1). It is difficult to suppose that *σι κενεμαν* is understood as object, because the inscriber cannot have assumed that a visitor to the monument would read the lower inscription first. He made or set up something for Midas the king; what he set up would have been placed close to the inscription for it to make sense. The letters lead the eye to the top of the cornice; a separate dedication such as a small staupe may once have stood where the top of the façade has broken away. The early tradition of the presence of a bronze maiden on top of the tomb of Midas shows that such dedications once stood on the top of Phrygian monuments.

Baba is a "lallname." The expression *σι κενεμαν* is comparable with the *κνουμαν* and *κνονυμαν* of later Phrygian tomb formulae. In (1) *φανακτει* corresponds to the form *wa-na-ke-te* found at Pylos.<sup>6</sup> Inscription No. 6 in Ramsay's list is relevant here. Ramsay gave the reading: *ακινανολαφαν τιζες μογρο φανακ αφαρζ* (*modrovanak* A. H. Sayce, *JHS*, 46 [1926], 32 No. 6.) Friedrich's text is:

<sup>6</sup>J. Chadwick, *Minoica* (Berlin, 1958), 118.

1 → ακινανολαφαν ῥ τιζες      2 ← μοδροφανακ ῥ αφαρζ<sup>?</sup>

Ramsay said that he was unsure of the punctuation after *μογρο*, and added that the second and the third digammas were uncertain. Yet he compared *φανακ* with *φανακτει* of the Midas monument. If *φανακ* is the nominative of *φανακτει*, then it will represent the true Mycenaean nominative *wa-na-ka*, to which it is closer than *φαναξ*: the correct spelling of final ξ in Mycenaean is far from clear, but by analogy with the later Cypriote syllabary *wa-na-ka-sa* would possibly be a more accurate rendering of *φαναξ* than *wa-na-ka*. If Meister<sup>7</sup> was right in thinking that *φανακ* is a nominative, then we should possibly render Mycenaean *wa-na-ka* by *φανακ*. But if *φανακ* is in agreement with *Ακινανολαφαν* it is then an accusative and an abbreviation of *φανακταν*.<sup>8</sup> At Athens the Dioscuri were known both as *\*Ανακτες* and *\*Ανακες*. They also appear in the dual as *\*Ανακε*.<sup>9</sup> The accusative singular of this form of *φαναξ* would analogously be *\*ἄνακα* or *φανακα*. It is therefore possible that *φανακ* in Ramsay's inscription No.6 is not an accusative but a nominative. Conversely *wa-na-ka* in Mycenaean may sometimes represent the accusative of the form *φανακ*, *φανακα*, rather than the nominative *φαναξ*. If the name *wo-no-qa-so* at Knossos is correctly interpreted as *φουνοψ*, then *φαναξ* should appear as *wa-na-ka-sa*, but the form is not found. It is most unfortunate that Ramsay's inscription No.6 cannot be read surely.

Midas, then, was both king and war-leader. A single man bore both Mycenaean titles. Can the Midas of the monument be the great Midas who ruled at Gordion about the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. before the disastrous onslaught of the Cimmerians? There are good reasons for thinking that the great Midas is named on the monument. Until recently the date of the monument had not been fixed with certainty. Before the recent excavations at Gordion opinion had inclined to a date later than the Cimmerian invasions owing to the supposed absence of any writing of the eighth century B.C. in

<sup>7</sup> *IGForsch*, 25 (1909), 317 note 3.

<sup>8</sup> F. Solmsen, *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*), NF 14 (Gütersloh, 1897), 40 note 1.

<sup>9</sup> M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, 1 (Munich, 1955), 407.



Phrygia. On archaeological grounds A. Körte,<sup>10</sup> Von Reber,<sup>11</sup> R. D. Barnett,<sup>12</sup> and E. Akurgal<sup>13</sup> have all proposed a date about 600 B.C. for the monument. However, writing has now been found in wax on a ring-handled shallow bowl from the Royal Tomb at Gordion.<sup>14</sup> The tomb was built earlier than the coming of the Cimmerians, and shows that the Phrygians were using the Phoenician script in the eighth century B.C. The geometrical decoration upon the façade of the Midas monument calls to mind the patterns on the back of the throne found in Tumulus P at Gordion,<sup>15</sup> which is also earlier than the Cimmerian invasions. Since both the script and the decoration of the façade have analogies in Phrygian objects of the eighth century B.C. it is reasonable to suppose that the Midas monument was erected not long after the death of the great king, when Phrygia was still rich enough to afford such a magnificent structure. The Midas of the monument is the great contemporary of Sargon II of Assyria.

Since the Midas of the monument bore two titles, it is possible that the same man was sometimes both *wa-na-ka* and *ra-wa-ke-ta* in Mycenaean society. The Midas monument also shows that in Homer's day the title *φαναξ* may still have had political significance amongst the Ionian and Aeolian neighbors of the Phrygians. Because in the eighth century B.C. Phrygia was prosperous, powerful, and monarchical, the Mycenaean titles of her kings lost none of their ancient significance. Cyprus also may have preserved such archaisms, since members of the Cyprian royal families were called *ἄνακτες* and *ἄνασσαι* according to Aristotle, and may have kept those names even in his own day. (Harpocration v. *ἄνακτες καὶ ἄνασσαι οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καλοῦνται ἄνακτες, αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναικες ἄνασσαι*: Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Κυπρίων πολιτείᾳ. *Harpocration et Moeris*, ed. Bekker [Berlin, 1833], 18.) In Galatia the title *φαναξ* seems to have developed into a proper name *Ουαναξος*, having lost its royal significance; whereas *Ουανακταν* became a

<sup>10</sup> *AM*, 23 (1898), 140.

<sup>11</sup> *AbhBayr*, 21 (1897), 531ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 10 (1953), 78–82.

<sup>13</sup> *Phrygische Kunst* (Ankara, 1955); cf. M. J. Mellink, *AJA*, 61 (1957), 394.

<sup>14</sup> R. S. Young, *AJA*, 62 (1958), 153 and plate 25.

<sup>15</sup> *AJA*, 62 (1957), 330.

title of Attis and the Pamphylian nature goddess was called *φανασσα*.<sup>16</sup>

The form *λαφαγται* comes (I suppose) from a nominative \**λαφαγτας*, which is not found in Mycenaean. The Mycenaean nominative is *ra-wa-ke-ta*. Since there were variants of the word *φαναξ* in use until a late period, the same may well have been true of the word *ra-wa-ke-ta*; \**λαφαγτας* would appear as *ra-wa-ka-ta* in Mycenaean. The etymologies of *φάναξ* and of *λαφαγέτας* are unknown, and it is possible that neither was originally a Greek word. If so, both Greek and Phrygian could have borrowed them from another, and possibly non-indoeuropean, language independently. Both words, for instance, could have been taken over from the language of Minoan Linear A. However, the hypothesis of direct Phrygian borrowing from Mycenaean Greek is less speculative, and can be supported by historical arguments, as will be shown later. At Pylos the duties of *φάναξ* and *λαφαγέτας* seems to have been undertaken by different persons. Midas combined them. A similar combining of the functions of king and war-leader had been the practice of the Hittites. Normally both offices were held by one man (cf. O. R. Gurney, "Hittite Kingship," *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, ed. S. H. Hooke [Oxford, 1958], 105–121), but in his autobiography Hattusilis III stated that while his brother Muwatallis sat on the throne of their father, he himself became chief of the armed forces. In Mycenaean Greece the duties of king and war leader need not have always been held by different people; and when Homer made his heroes both kings and war leaders during the Trojan War, his account of them came as close to the facts as is possible in heroic poetry. Homer was not writing a socio-economic guide to Mycenaean Greece, but neither was he completely ignorant of Mycenaean conditions. It is a great error of method to infer a rigid social structure from the Pylos tablets, and then to assume that the same structure existed in all other Mycenaean states in the late Bronze Age. The political organization of Greece at the time of the Trojan War was very different from

<sup>16</sup> J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS*, 19 (1899), 300. W. M. Calder, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, 1 (London, 1928), 217.

that of Pylos in the emergency before the sacking of the palace of the Neleids. In so far as Homer has an historical conception of Achaean society, he looks back to the age of greatest Mycenaean power rather than to conditions before the fall of Pylos, when Greece had already ceased to be a political unity whose centre was Mycenae. But the king of Mycenae about 1250 B.C. may well have been both *wa-na-ka* and *ra-wa-ke-ta*, since the Hittite emperors with whom he corresponded were both kings and war-leaders. When Midas took both titles, he was perhaps recalling the great overlords of the Achaean commonwealth.

Kretschmer compared the arrangement of the names at the beginning of the inscription with *Publius Annaeus Quinti (filius)*,<sup>17</sup> and Meister showed that there is good reason to think that both *Ακενανολαφος* and *Προιταφος* are genitives.<sup>18</sup> He compared an inscription from Kebren in Aeolis: *στ[άλλ]α ἐπὶ Σθενείαι ἔμμι τῷ Νικαίοι τῷ Γλανκίῳ*. Since Phrygian does not employ the article the similarity is close. Here Aeolian affinity with Phrygia may be supposed. In each case the possessive adjective indicates paternity and the name of the grandfather is given in the genitive (cf. O. Hoffmann, *Die Griechischen Dialekte*, 2 [Göttingen, 1893], 99).

The word *κφιζαναφεζος* seems to be formed from the name of a place. Leake read *κφιζαναφεζος* and so did Ramsay, who, however, was not sure that the second letter had the sound of phi. The word is possibly an adjective formed from the place name *εν Κυρζαναζον* on Ramsay's inscription No.9 (Schwyzer, *Exempla*, 404 No.3 [c]. Friedrich No.7 [c]), a part of the Arezastis inscription at Doganlu Deressi. Meister suggested that Phrygian *Κυρζον* or *Κυρσον* corresponds to Greek *Γόρδιον*, and *Κυρζανεζος* to *\*Γορδιανησός*. Then *Κφιζαναφεζος* may be the Phrygian equivalent of Greek *\*Γορδιανησσεύς*. Therefore if *Κφιζαναφεζος* and *Κυρζανεζον* are cognate, Baba the dedicant or maker came from Gordion.

If the Akenanolas of the Arezastis inscription is the same man as the Akenanolas grandfather of Ates, then we have the name of the grandmother of Ates, since Arezastis is called

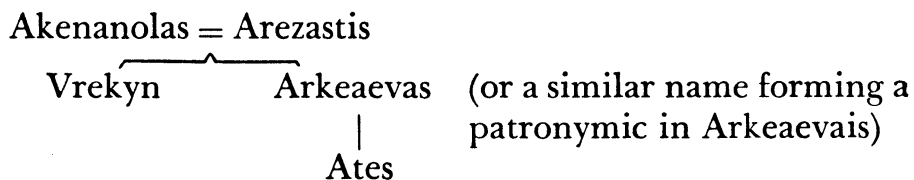
<sup>17</sup> *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 13 (1899), 358.

<sup>18</sup> *βονά* in Cyprian. *βανά* in Boeotian. Cf. *βανήκας · γυναικας*. *Βοιωτοί* Hesychius.

βονοκ, "wife" of Akenanolas.<sup>19</sup> Then the Arezastis inscription may be dated two generations earlier than the Midas monument, and well back in the eighth century B.C. The dedicant to Arezastis seems to be her son *φρεκυν*. The Arezastis inscription illustrates Phrygian mother worship, such as is recalled in the Hesychian notice *Μίδα θεός*. I give the text after the edition of J. Schmidt (Ed. minor<sup>2</sup> [Jena, 1867], 1046), since the Hesychius of K. Latte is not yet published as far as M.

*Μίδα θεός · οί ὑπὸ Μίδα βασιλευθέντες ἐσέβοντο καὶ ᾠμνον τὴν Μίδα θεόν, ἣν τινες μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἐκτετιμῆσθαι λέγουσιν.* (Compare Plutarch, *Caesar* 9 and Suid. v. ἔλεγος). A graffito on the right hand side of the Midas monument contains the words ΜΙΔΑ and ΜΑΤΕΡ on adjoining lines. Possibly the writer of the graffito chose to regard the monument as a shrine of the Phrygian king's mother, although that was not the intention of the builders. The graffito is given inadequately by Brandenburg in *AbhBayer*, 23 (1906), 644-645.

If the Akenanolas of the Midas monument and of the Arezastis inscription are the same man, the following stemma may be constructed:



The *Akinanolas* of Ramsay No.6 is possibly the same person.

Besides the mother worship of the Phrygians, the shrines have also been connected with river worship. Probably an early cult going back to Hittite times was fused with the mother worship of the Phrygian newcomers. It is true that most of the Phrygian rock monuments are close to the headwaters of rivers and streams, and even the Midas monument may have had water near it at one time. In the Arezastis inscription the element of mother worship is dominant, and the same is obviously true of the graffito on the Midas monument. Sayce (*JHS*, 46 [1926], 32) supposed that Midas city, where

<sup>19</sup> R. Meister, *Leipzig Berichte*, 63 (1911), 21-25.

most of the rock monuments are situated was called Metropolis by the Greeks, because Stephanus wrote: *Μητρόπολις, πόλις Φρυγίας, ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν οἰκισθεῖσα, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Φρυγίας. ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Φρυγίας ὁμώνυμος.* There are several places called Metropolis in Phrygia, but the suggestion is attractive. If Midas-city was called Metropolis by the Greeks, then the Phrygian name of the place is likely to have been similar, since MATEP is "mother" in Phrygian also. If Midas-city was called Metropolis, then *κφιζαναφεζος* cannot have been the name of an inhabitant of the place. Baba the dedicant of inscription (2) is more likely to have come from Gordion.

Heraclides Lembus,<sup>20</sup> in his excerpts from Aristotle, and Pollux<sup>21</sup> stated that the daughter of Agamemnon of Kyme married a Midas, king of Phrygia. It has been assumed that this Agamemnon lived in the eighth century B.C.<sup>22</sup> and if he did, his daughter Hermodike or Demodike may well have married the great Midas of Gordion at some time before Phrygia succumbed to the onslaught of the Treres and the Cimmerians. However, her marriage may have been to a later Phrygian prince, since she is associated with an early form of coinage, and true coinage in eighth century Aeolis is inconceivable; either then Demodike married a later Midas or she had nothing to do with coinage proper. On the first hypothesis her husband would have been a dependent of Lydia, who lived about 600 B.C.; possibly even the Midas grandfather of the Phrygian Adrastus the contemporary of Croesus.<sup>23</sup>

Whatever the date of the marriage alliance between Phrygia and Kyme, it is probable that about 700 B.C. the relations between the great Midas and Kyme were close, for at that time Phrygia was strongest. Kyme lay at her natural outlet to the Aegian, and according to Strabo (xiii.622) the people of the place woke to the commercial possibilities of their port three hundred years after the city had been founded. That

<sup>20</sup> Aristotle Fr.611.37. ed. Rose. On the authorship of the excerpts see H. Bloch, *TAPA*, 71 (1940), 27-39, a reference due to J. J. Keaney. Cf. C. von Holzinger, *Philologus*, 50 (1891), 442ff., and G. F. Unger, *RM*, 38 (1883), 504.

<sup>21</sup> 9.83.

<sup>22</sup> H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge, 1952), 65.

<sup>23</sup> Herodotus 1.35. G.-A. Körte, *Gordion* (Berlin, 1904), 25.

would have been in the eighth century B.C. In the third quarter of the eighth century the Phrygian thalassocracy is conventionally dated.<sup>24</sup> If Phrygia traded through Kyme, we would perhaps expect to see some Greek influence at Gordion before the coming of the Cimmerians; but apart from the alphabet, which presumably came to Phrygia from the Greeks, the surprising fact remains that no Greek imports have yet been found at Gordion earlier than the seventh century B.C.<sup>25</sup> Yet Phrygia was certainly a trading power, with connections extending eastwards to Urartu and westwards to Campania. Her outlet to the Black Sea probably lay at Sinope; to gain access to the Aegean she needed the friendship of Kyme. The far flung interests of Midas are recalled by a surprising passage of Pliny (*N.H.* 7.56; 197): *Plumbum ex Cassiteride insula primus adportavit Midacritus*, where the emendation of Hardouin *Midas Phryx* should be adopted.<sup>26</sup>

It is quite possible that Midas through Kyme assisted in the foundation of Chalcidian Cumae in Campania. Midas "the great" was interested in Delphi: he dedicated his throne there even earlier than Gyges sent offerings to Apollo.<sup>27</sup> The Phrygian sibyl also visited Delphi,<sup>28</sup> and since the Erythraean and Samian are both stated by Eusebius to have been active in the eighth century B.C., she may well have been busy when they were. Sibyls in that age had political and military value, as the Priensians found when they used the Samian sibyl in a war against the Carians.<sup>29</sup> It would be possible to connect the

<sup>24</sup> J. L. Myres, *JHS*, 26 (1906), 122ff. Cf. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2 (Leipzig, 1901), 285.

<sup>25</sup> R. S. Young, *AJA*, 61 (1957), 328 note 19.

<sup>26</sup> *RE*, 30 (1932), 1534 v. Midas. Cf. G. Knaack, *Hermes*, 16 (1881), 595. R. Burn, *JHS*, 49 (1929), 15 note 11. Hyginus *Fab.* 274. Cassiodorus *Var.* 3.51.

<sup>27</sup> Herodotus 1.14. On the early political importance of Delphi in the age of colonization see W. G. Forrest, *Historia*, 6 (1957), 160-175.

<sup>28</sup> Heraclides Ponticus (the elder) *περὶ χρηστηρίων*, ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I p. 139.48 (*FHG* 2.197).

<sup>29</sup> Val. Max. 1.5. Ext. 1, p. 24 ed. C. Kempf (Leipzig, 1888). *Sami Priensibus auxilium adversus Caras implorantibus adrogantia instincti pro classe et exercitu sibullam eis derisus gratia miserunt, quam illi velut divinitus datum praesidium interpretati libenter receptam vera fatorum praedictione victoriae ducem habuerunt.* Despite some variant MSS the reading *sibullam* is certain.

Phrygian sibyl, and her Delphic interests in the age of colonization, with Campanian Cumae, if Aeolic Kyme could be shown to have sibylline associations of her own, thereby completing the link. Evidence that there was a sibyl in old Kyme as well as in new Cumae is not entirely lacking. The coins of Kyme show that she claimed under the Roman Empire a sibyl of her own,<sup>30</sup> but that may be mere antiquarianism. However, Varro did attempt an Aeolic etymology for the word sibyl: *σιούς, βυλήν* (Lactant. *Inst.* 1.6.7). He may therefore have supposed that sibyls originated in Aeolis. But these arguments cannot be pressed too far. They suffice to show that the eighth century B.C. sibyls were probably connected with early colonization of the West and with Phrygian maritime interests. I have sometimes been tempted to see in the paradoxical lines of the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* (109–110, p. 230 ed. Allen) an allusion to the maritime power of Phrygia in the eighth century B.C.: the line

*καὶ Φρύγες, οἱ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἄριστοι*

referring to their prosperity, and

*ἀνδράσι ληιστήρσιν ἐπ' ἀκτῆς δόρπον ἐλέσθαι*

to the terrible effects of the Cimmerian and Trerian invasions.<sup>31</sup>

There are a few other hints that the Phrygians used Kyme as their outlet to the Aegean. There was an *Ascanius portus* nearby, and its name, as Kretschmer saw, suggests Phrygian influence in the area.<sup>32</sup> "Homer" was invited to compose an epigram for Midas king of the Phrygians when he was at Kyme (Ps-Herodot. *Vita Homeri* ch.11, line 132 ed. Allen), and Phrygian poetical influence on Aeolis is suggested by the career of Terpander, who lived according to Hellanicus *κατὰ Μίδαυ*, early in the seventh century B.C. in Lesbos (*RE*,

<sup>30</sup> F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 20 (1897), 279 Nos. 31 and 32. Taf. x Nos. 15 and 16.

<sup>31</sup> For the chronology of the invasions see now H. Kaletsch, *Historia*, 7 (1958), 25ff. Cf. H. W. F. Saggs, *Iraq*, 20 (1958), 203.

<sup>32</sup> Pliny *N.H.* 5.121. P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1896), 206.

9 [1934], 785–6. Cf. Schmidt-Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* 1.1 [Munich, 1929], 404 note 8. F. Jacoby, *CQ*, 35 [1941], 100 note 1). The Plutarchan *De Fluviiis* (7.2), calls Demodike a sister of Pactolus, a stream renowned for its gold. Possibly Midas married her as much for her riches as for her beauty. It is probable that when the Phrygians reached the greatest extent of their power in the eighth century B.C. they drew some of their wealth from the Pactolus, as the Lydians did after them. The area about Mount Sipylus was certainly in Phrygian hands at one time, as Strabo remarked.<sup>33</sup> He also recalled that the wealth of Tantalus came from the country about Sipylus.<sup>34</sup>

Phrygian affinities with early Aeolis are also suggested by certain Aeolic features of the Phrygian language,<sup>35</sup> but since many of them are shared with Cyprian they may go back to the Mycenaean age before the arrival of the Aeolians and the Phrygians in Asia Minor. In particular the titles *φανᾶξ* and \**λαφαγτας* may have been taken over by the European ancestors of the Phrygians in the late Bronze Age.

However, it is important not to overlook the archaic nature of early Aeolis where the ruling families claimed descent from Mycenaean heroes. Agamemnon of Kyme surely acknowledged some kinship with the great Achaean king of Mycenae, while the Penthelidae in Lesbos certainly claimed to be descendants of Penthilus the son of Orestes.<sup>36</sup> It is possible that at some time during the Dark Ages the Phrygians borrowed their Mycenaean titles from the families that claimed heroic lineage in Aeolis and preserved amidst straitened conditions the dignity of their Mycenaean forebears. In the late Mycenaean age some of the Aeolians had passed through Thrace and the Troad before settling in the coastlands opposite Les-

<sup>33</sup> Strabo xii.571. τὴν περὶ <τὴν> Σίπυλον Φρυγίαν οἱ παλαιοὶ καλοῦσι. Cf. P. Kretschmer, *op.cit.* (supra note 32) 204.

<sup>34</sup> Strabo xiv.680 ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ Σίπυλον μετάλλων ἐγένετο. ὑπὸ Σιπύλῳ (?) Kretschmer, *op. cit.* (supra note 32) 205.

<sup>35</sup> R. Meister, *IGForsch.*, 25 (Strassburg, 1909), 312–325.

<sup>36</sup> T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London, 1958), 145. F. Cassola, *La Ionia nel Mondo miceno* (Naples, 1957), 119–121. Cf. D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford, 1955), 149.



bos.<sup>37</sup> The Phrygians themselves had passed the same way from their home in Macedonia to Asia Minor.<sup>38</sup> Therefore it is possible that the two peoples influenced each other during the period of migrations at the close of the Mycenaean age; the royal titles of the Mycenaeans could have been taken over by the Phrygians in northern Greece.

The borrowing could even have taken place earlier still. The leaders of the Phrygians were probably affected by the Mycenaeans to their South when during the late Bronze Age their people dwelt in Macedonia, long before their great migration to Asia Minor about 1200 B.C. hastened the collapse of the Hittite Empire. According to Xanthus the Lydian they crossed the Hellespont after the Trojan War,<sup>39</sup> and indeed the main migration may have occurred after the sack of Troy opened the way into Asia Minor. But Strabo claimed with reason that some of them had crossed before the war against Troy,<sup>40</sup> because Phrygians are found on the side of Troy in Homer; and if the story that Priam fought beside them in his youth, during their campaigns in the country about the river Sangarius, has any historical basis, they had arrived in Asia Minor long before the Achaeans attacked Troy. Konon recalled that a Midas king of the Phrygians led a migration to Mysia in Asia across the Hellespont from the country about Mount Bermion in Macedonia,<sup>41</sup> but some Phrygians seem to have penetrated further eastwards, since according to Herodotus the Armenians were colonists of the Phrygians.<sup>42</sup> His statement is possibly borne out by the appearance of a certain Mita or Midas of Pakhuwa in the mountains of Armenia well to the East of Hattusas, where he caused much trouble to the Hittites shortly before the collapse of their empire in central Asia Minor.<sup>43</sup> These scattered pieces of evidence suggest that

<sup>37</sup> Strabo xiii.582.

<sup>38</sup> Herodotus vii.73.

<sup>41</sup> Konon *FGrHist*, 26 F 1.1.

<sup>42</sup> Herodotus vii.73, Steph. Byz. v. 'Αρμενία following Eudoxus. Cf. P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1896), 208.

<sup>43</sup> O. R. Gurney, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 28 (1948), 32ff. J. Garstang, *ibid.* 48ff.

<sup>39</sup> Strabo xiv.680.

<sup>40</sup> xiv.681.

the name Midas was in use amongst Phrygian leaders as early as the Trojan War. Mycenaean influence in Macedonia in the Late Helladic III period is slight, but definite.<sup>44</sup> At the end of the Mycenaean period the influence is stronger. It is not fanciful to suppose that the Phrygians adopted the titles of Mycenaean princes while they still lived in Europe, whence they took them to Asia Minor. They continued to use them until the eighth century B.C. or later.

Midas, the great king of Gordion, claimed for himself the dignities of the Achaean lords of mainland Greece, who had lived half a millennium earlier. About 700 B.C. Phrygia had attained a power like that of the Mycenaean kingdoms. The old titles had lost none of their significance during the Dark Ages that had followed the Mycenaean collapse. There can be no better illustration of the continuity of tradition throughout the centuries from the Mycenaean age to the renaissance of the Aegean world in the eighth century B.C. than the ancient titles that were inscribed upon the monument of the greatest monarch of Phrygia.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> W. A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia* (Cambridge, 1939), 231.

<sup>45</sup> I thank Professor Sterling Dow and Dr and Mrs Cornelius C. Vermeule for much helpful advice given when this paper was being written. Professor Hugh Hencken drew my attention to an analogous archaism in Britain after the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West: Voteporix of Dyfed was called *Protector* on his tombstone. See H. O'N. Hencken, *The Archaeology of Cornwall and Scilly* (London, 1932), 210.