

The Goddess Cybele

by **Nicholas Adontz**

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The goddess Cybele and her favorite, Attis, were deities worshipped the world over. All countries in the most important civilizations [of the ancient Western world] recognized and paid homage to them. [In Asia Minor], their images adorn Hatti monuments of the second millennium B.C. In Crete, at the center of Aegean culture, the most ancient type of idol discovered is the figurine of a woman. In Greece, this most ancient goddess took the name of Rhea, or merged with her (1). In 205 B.C., even almighty Rome was forced to allow entrance to the goddess Cybele and to place her statue on the Palatine Hill. Cybele's appearance in the capital of a world state subsequently was to lay the groundwork for the appearance of another religion. As is known, no other pagan deity had as much influence on the formation of the Christian cult as did this Phrygian goddess. Cybele and her son, Attis, were the real forerunners of the Virgin Mary and her son, Jesus of Nazareth.

In searching for the origin of this cult, modern scholars have looked upon the ancient world with the biases held by their own contemporary world. Consequently, they could not conceive that the Caucasian peoples—who then [in modern times] were absent from (2) performing grand deeds—could have been capable of creating anything of great value, even in the remote past. However, these scholars' investigations have led nowhere. The idea of a Semitic origin for the Phrygian cult has now been abandoned. One of [the Western scholars] known for his work in comparative mythology says, as a result of his research, that the principle of women's rule is not attested as beginning among Semites or Aryans (3). As for Attis, the name itself indicates his distinctive character and, in any case, one cannot speak of it as being borrowed from Mesopotamia (4).

Another English scholar has advanced a sociological argument in favor of the mother-goddess Cybele's origin in Asia Minor. To a certain extent, religion reflects the social structure of a given milieu [188]. A female supreme deity only could arise in a milieu where social life is based on matriarchy (5). As is known, such a system existed in Asia Minor in the period before the emergence of the Indo-Europeans, and traces of it were preserved among the Lycians even to the time of Herodotus [about 484-425 B.C.] (6).

All this leads to recognizing Asia Minor as the birthplace of Cybele and Attis. However, the notion of ethnicity in Asia Minor is very complex. To which ethnic group did our deity belong? One might suggest the Hatti; however, this term, Hatti, turns out to be the designation of a state, comprising diverse ethnic groups. The archives at [the Hittite capital Hattusa], [Turkish] Bogaz-koy have revealed four or eight different languages, according to recent investigators (7). The authentic Hatti language has still not been determined. It belongs to a group of aboriginal languages along with Lycian, Etruscan, *etc.* However, among the mass of unknown ethnicities one group is more clearly visible. These were the tribes appearing on the stage of world history after the collapse of the Hatti state, namely: Alzi, Purukkuzi, Muski, Musri, Tubal, Kurhi, Kaski, Kummuhi, Kummani, Subari or Subarti, and others. This group has long been claimed by the Japhetites. To the present, some of the peoples belonging to this group have physical descendants in the Caucasus, while others have left their traces in the geographical nomenclature. The Mushki—known in the classics under the name Μόσχοι [Mosxoi]—were a tribe on the borders of Armenia and Georgia (relating to them are Georgian "mesxi," and

probably Mtsexei <Mos-he-θi); Musri—the Armenian region Mts'ur-k on the Euphrates (present-day Muzurdagh); Tubali—Τιβάρηνη [Tibarene], Kummuhi, leaving their memory in the name Commagene, doubtless ancestors of the modern Kumuxs of Dagestan. Kummani has a relation to Kuban, as does Subari to the Armenian region of Sper or Σασπέροι [Sasperoi], in the classics. We shall discuss other names later.

We encounter these tribes in the 12th century B.C. [189] on the southern borders of Armenia, in the vicinity of the state of Assyria. The inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I [1112-1074 B.C.] say that the Muski occupied the area of the Alzi and Purukkuzi tribes and after 50 years entered the country of the Kummukhs, *i.e.* Commagene. The Assyrian king rebuffed them, but soon the Kummukhs themselves rebelled against him, and the neighboring Kurkhs came to their aid.

Where and how did they find themselves on the Assyrian border?

It would be most natural to assume that they were originally in the Caucasus Mountains and—with the weakening and disintegration of the Hatti state organization—feeling themselves more at ease, rushed to new countries and established themselves there. But theoretically, the opposite is also possible; it is possible that the aforementioned tribes went from west to east and that the basin of the Upper Euphrates served them as an intermediate station, from which they were subsequently pushed back to the Caucasus mountains. There is reason to believe that at least some of them had representatives in the western part of the peninsula. The famous Assyriologist, F. Hommel, made an interesting observation about the Purukkuzi people at the XIII Congress of Orientalists. He compared them to the "Berekintas" of classical authors. According to the ancients, the Berecynti were a Phrygian tribe. Strabo (X, 3.12), based on the words of the Scepsian [Demetrius of Scepsis] (8), reports that they lived in the vicinity of Mount Ida in the vicinity of the Trojans and were known for practicing the orgiastic cult of Rhea, *i.e.*, Cybele. The Phrygian goddess is therefore often called Berecynt(h)ia, especially among Latin poets. The Phrygian chant in Sophocles is called βερεκύντα βρόμων (9). According to the etymology of the ancients, and accepted today, the very name Berecynt(h)i comes from Brigi, which is considered the Thracian form of Phryges (10).

In Hesychius we find Βρέκων τὸν Βρέκυντα, τὸν Βρίγα. Βρίγες γὰρ οἱ [190] Φρύγες (11) (see also Herodotus VII, 73). If we accept this comparison as correct, then in the final particle -thi one can see the well-known Japhetic suffix -θi, -eθi; thus *berecynthi* would mean "a person from the land of the Phrygs, or Phrygian." This does not prejudge [an answer to the question (12)] about their relationship with the Phrygians. Similar to "Russian" which does not mean necessarily an ethnic Russian [Slav], "Phrygian" may not mean "Phryg" in the ethnic sense of the word. Other local tribes also may have dwelled in Phrygia and been so-designated.


In the 12th century B.C., Berekinti from the western coast of Asia Minor spread to the southern border of Armenia, next to Assyria, where they, together [with] the Alzi, collided with the Muski. The Assyrians call them Purukkuzi <* Purukkun-zi; where -zi is the equivalent of -θi and can be matched with the unambiguous -zi suffix in Lycian, as in Atenäzi, Spartäzi (13).

The resettlement of the Berekints far to the east is connected with the large popular movements caused by the first appearance of Thraco-Phrygian tribes in Asia Minor, on the eve of the fall of the Hattian state. The invasion of the warlike Aryo-European tribes was probably the main reason for the disintegration of the Hattian autocracy. One of the consequences of it was that, under the onslaught of the newcomers, some tribes from the aboriginal ethnic group moved eastward. Among them are the peoples mentioned above with which we are concerned. Of these tribes, the most powerful were the Moschs, who played an important role in the political life of the new homeland. Under Tiglathpileser, they were ruled by five kings and were considered a threat even to the Assyrian monarchy. Perhaps this is why the English historian [H. R. Hall] identifies Moschs with the Hatti and considers *muski* the name of Asia Minor adopted in Mesopotamia (14).

Under Sargon (722-705), King Mita stood at the head of the Muski and led the fight against Assyria. Winkler correctly recognized him as Midas [191], king of the Phrygians (15). On this basis, the English scholar Garstang (16) believes that the Muski were a people of Aryo-European origin, related to the Phrygians and representing the vanguard of the Thraco-Phrygian tribes which later flooded into Asia Minor. Arguing against this view, however, is the name "Muski" itself, with the characteristic Japhetic suffix -hi or -ki after the sound -s: Muski =

Μόσχοι. If under the command of Midas there were foreign Phrygians of Aryan origin, then the Assyrians could continue to designate them using the name Muski as before. At the same time, the possibility is not excluded that the conqueror of Phrygia had in his troops, in addition to the Phrygians, Muski who had been conquered or ousted from their native places. The opinion of the English scholar is important in the sense that he recognizes the movement of Muski from the Phrygian plateau to the borders of Assyria. Obviously, they were driven by the same fate as the Berekints. Apparently, a third nationality, namely the Kurkhs, shared this fate with them. This was the name of the allied and neighboring Kummukh tribe as mentioned above. The name Kur-hi ends with the same sign in cuneiform as Kummu-hi, which Japhetic linguistics recognizes as plural. The original meaning of the suffix is "son," as can be seen from the Khaldian/[Urartian] inscriptions. Some prefer reading this as Kurti, obviously tempted by the similarities with the name of the Kurds. But the correct reading is Kur-hi which, it seems to me, is the name of a people well-known in antiquity, the Colchi. Along with Kol-hi there was a form Kor-hi, *i.e.* an –L sound in place of the –R, something established in the works of Marr with reference to the name of the Chorokh river, Arm. Ճորճի. Similarly, muski or mos-hi gives Biblical Moso-hi and Kur-hi gives Koro-hi, with the usual interruption of the initial sound to the affricate A - AoroB = Chorokh. Those familiar with Japhetic linguistics know that full-voiced forms are a feature of Chano-Laz vocalization. It is clear why the name of the river in Laz retained a fully-voiced form Chorox.

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In the same cuneiform inscription of Tiglathpileser I, the king of the Kurkhs bears [the name (17)] "Kili -  son of Kali + the same sign". In the neighboring city Ur-ra-hi-na-as the king is called Sadi + again the same sign. The sign repeated in these three names is read phonetically an-te-ru. The English cuneiformist deciphers these as Kili-anteru, Kali-anteru, Sadi-anteru respectively. But this same sign also is the ideogram of the god Hadad or Rammon. German scholars prefer reading it as an ideogram, and they believe that instead of the Semitic god['s name], one should choose the local Asia Minor [god's name] Tišup [Tishup], as a result of which they read: Kili-tišup, Kali-tišup, Sadi-tišup (18).

As will be seen below, we consider that the Semitic god Adad or Rammon corresponds to the god Attis, the most popular deity accepted among the peoples in question. Therefore, it would be more correct to look for Attis, rather than Tishup, in the theophoric names of their kings. With this, we get the well-known names: Kili-ates, Kali-ates, Sadi-ates. The last name, perhaps, and Kaliates <'Aliates lead us to Lydia, and the first name is similar to the Philistine Goliath.

Thus the Kurkhs, like their neighbors the Muski and Purukuzzi, are transferred from the Assyrian borders, where we find them, to the western part of Asia Minor. More precisely, through these three tribes an ethnic connection is established between the eastern and western edges of the peninsula of Asia Minor. We find Kurkhs-Kolkhs, as well as Muskis-Moskhs, on the Black Sea coast in a country called Colchis. They were inseparable there, inseparable on the Assyrian border; and it is not surprising if they also were together on the Lydian plateau. The above question of whether the movement went from east to west or vice versa refers to the general problem of the settling of the Japhetic peoples. For our purpose, it is enough to establish that the Caucasian peoples in the distant past had their representatives in the centers of Asia Minor culture—in Lydia and Phrygia. It is theoretically conceivable that there may be elements in the spiritual heritage of these countries that go back to these ideas. Therefore, our attempt to find such elements [193] should be seen as valid from an ethnological perspective.

The names of the Phrygian deities Cybele and Attis themselves are among these elements. There is a story known from Herodotus (II, 2) about how the Egyptian king wanted to learn which language was the most ancient, and about how the issue was resolved, in favor of Phrygian. Phrygia owes this glory, obviously, to the non-Aryan population—since the Aryan population established itself there relatively late, in the 9th century B.C. It should be attributed to the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the country, just as another feature of Phrygia, its reputation as a "well-fortified" country εὐτειχῆτοιο (19), also goes back to its former ethnicity, as Ramsay thinks. Phrygia's reknown for its iron and quarry art and construction make it akin to the Japhetites, who were reputed to be real masters in this regard. This renown not only is reflected in remarks of the ancients and in the

Bible about the Chalybes/Khalybes and Tubal-Kains, but also is demonstrated by the Cyclopean buildings of the Khalds in Armenia, which have survived to this day.

The belief in the antiquity of the Phrygian language was so deep that even the gods seemed to be speaking it. This circumstance, obviously, must be explained by the fact that in the cult of Aryan Phrygia one could still feel the lexical heritage of the former inhabitants. Cybele and Attis go back to the Japhetic Caucasian strata of the population.

Even the ancients were interested in the etymological meaning of the name Κυβέλη [Kibele/Cybele]. Some derived it from κύβος = *cubus*, ἀπὸ τοῦ κουβικοῦ σχήματος ["from the shape of a cube"]; others from ἀπὸ τοῦ κυβιστᾶν τὴν κεφαλὴν, *i.e.* "[From] shaking the head," *capitis rotatione quod proprium est eius sacerdotis* ["turning of the head, peculiar to her priest"]. Strabo and after him Suida associate it with the name of the mountain: Κυβέλη ἢ Ῥέα · παρὰ τὰ Κυβέλη ὄρη · Ὀρεία γὰρ ἡ θεὸς ["Cybele is Rhea; <a name received from> a mountain <named> Cybele: for this mountain goddess"]. The last interpretation suggested the idea of identifying the name with the Semitic *geb*, *gab*, Arab. *djebel* - "mountain" (21).

Others compare it to the *Kaaba* in Mecca, considering [194] Κυβέλη a diminutive form of *kuba* (22). An even more challenging etymology has been suggested by Ramsay: Κυβέλη ostensibly is another form of the name Sipylus, which itself goes back to Semole (23). Graillot, the author of a monograph on Cybele, came up with the idea of bringing Κυβέλη closer to some Assyrian god Gibil (24). Finally, let us mention the well-known Orientalist Mordmann who, in view of the aerolitic origin of the Pessinous stone, the emblem of the goddess, derived her name from the word *kobjel* - probably the Armenian կոբել [kop'el] "to hew, polish" (25).

All these etymologies, equally implausible, are unacceptable primarily because they are episodic in nature and do not correspond to the ethnological conditions of the word's formation.

Hesychius undoubtedly had an excellent source, interpreting Κυβέλη· καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θάλαμοι ["Cybele: and the caves, and chambers"]. The interpretation is not based on any folk etymology or artificial approach. This is out of the question. The author undoubtedly had a good source. The usual form indeed is Κυβέλη or Κυβέλα, but the more ancient and more correct pronunciation was Κυβέλις, as in Hipponax (6th century) (26) and has an adjectival meaning. It is confirmed by the famous inscription on the Phrygian monument of King Midas, where we read *Matar Kubile*. The word *kub-ile* can be decomposed into the stem *kub-* and the suffix *-ile*. In the Georgian and Armenian languages there is a word that completely covers *kub-* phonetically and semasiologically. In Georgian *qwabi* *qwabi* means a cave, σπήλαιον - as can be seen, incidentally, from the context of the Greek Holy Scripture (27) (for example, Matthew 21,13, John 11,38). In Armenian, the word occurs in the geographical name **Քոբայր**, K'obayr, which decomposes into *k'ob* and *ayr*. This locality lies in [195] the Gogarene region which has a mixed Armenian-Georgian population, and is famous as the birthplace of David, a spiritual leader of the Armenian Church [Dawit' K'obayrets'i]. The Armenian *ayr* (28) "cave" to which is prefixed the Georgian word *k'ob* serves as an interpretation of its meaning or a simple equivalent.

The word *qwabi* represents the plural of *qwa* "stone". But probably in the final element we do not have a pluralizing particle, but another word, *ube*, with the meaning of "depression, hole," hence "bosom," etc. *Quabi*, therefore, means "depression or cave" in a stone or a rock. Its component parts are also found in Armenian in the form of **քիլ** (*k'iw*) "stone", and, in particular, a corner stone in the wall and **ոփ** (*op'*) "pit, depression". The Georgian *ube* (= Armenian *op'*) itself expresses the concept of a cave. *Qwa* identifies more precisely and points to a cave dug into the rock. Semantically, *quabi* is equivalent to the Armenian **քարայր** (*k'arayr*), "stone cave" or **քարանձավ** (*k'arandzaw*).

As for the final *-ile*, there is nothing mysterious about it (29). Georgian still uses this suffix *-ili*, *-eli* in the formation of adjectives. The suffix *-ile* is found with the same meaning in the Lydian language (30).

Analyzed in this way, the word receives an adjectival meaning of "cave dweller." The suggested *qwa + ube = *qob* or **qub* explains the twofold form of the name being parsed, **Κυβέλη** and **Κωβέλλις**, which occurs in one inscription in Phrygia (**Κωβέλλις, δις τοῦ Ἀττῆ Ποσειδῶνι ἐπηκόω εὐχίην**) (31). [196] If we assume that the

Georgian word *upe* "navel" (properly, "pit") is a twin of *ube*, then the form *Κυπέλλα* in Tsetz will become clear (32).

The dual meanings of *ἄντρα* and *θαλαμοί*—"cave" and "room"—are noteworthy. Those familiar with the Khaldian antiquities in Armenia know that the caves carved into the rock are, in fact, rooms, sometimes beautifully finished. The peculiarity of the building art of the Khalds was that they chose isolated rocky heights and carved spacious rooms in them, which served them primarily as palaces for kings and temples for the gods. Khaldian buildings, which have survived the ravages of centuries, still surprise us. The successors of the Khaldians in the country, the Armenians, imitating them, also carved rooms in the rocks: the Geghard monastery near Erevan is an astounding example of this and is often called *Արիվանք* from *<Արավանք*, that is, "cave monastery".

According to our interpretation, *Kubile* is not, strictly speaking, the name of the Phrygian Mother of the Gods, but one of her many epithets. She owes this nickname to the cave-temple where her shrine was located. The common name, as applied to the area on Pessinous, where its popular temple was located, acquired the meaning of its own name, like the Armenian *Թրբայր* *k'obayr* ["cave"]. *Matar Kubile* - the same name as *Meter Sepylene*, *Meter Dyndimene*, etc. The [renown of the] temple on Pessinous advanced thanks to legends that were attached to this area.

The relationship between the cave and the temple can be illustrated by another striking example. In Armenian we have *պարեխ* (*parex*), meaning "cave" and *փարախ* (*p'arax*), which means "sheepfold." Both words have penetrated into Georgian and are pronounced *parexi* "cave" and *farexi* - "sheepfold." This is the same word with a dual meaning. To this day, caves are natural sheepfolds in Armenia and Georgia. The difference in vocalization and in the initial sound is of a dialectal character. Both forms go back to the more ancient *պառակ* (*par'ak*) with the meaning of "sheepfold, herd." This word [197] can be compared with the well-known Assyrian word *parakku* or *parak*, which means "palace." The true meaning of the Armenian *պառակ* was preserved in the Meghri dialect, where *պառակ* (*par'ak*) means "rock," and corresponds to *փառական* (*p'ar'akan*) (33).

In all likelihood, the Georgian *bragi bragi* < *praki* (34) also goes back to this word.

Cybele's companion, Attis, appears as a young god accompanying the Mother of the Gods. Based on this role, scholars have tried to explain his name. They were looking for an etymology that would correspond to the general lines of such a relationship, and to the legend. This already was attempted in antiquity. According to Arnobius, some considered At(t)is to be a Lydian word supposedly meaning "young man," *scitulus*, while others derived it from Phrygian *atagus* "goat," since according to legend, the god was fed by a goat (35).

Basically similar analytical methods underlie the etymological attempts made in modern times. Ramsay believes that since Attis is the son of Agdistis (36), his name is an abbreviation of the mother's name (37). According to Tomasek, **Atis** is a Phrygian transmission of the Syrian *Ἄδων ὁ δεσπότης* ["Lord Adon"], with this proviso "jedoch mit Anlehnung an das Lallwort *ata*, *ἄττα*" ["but also in imitation of the children's word *ἄττα* (38). Kretschmer also classifies it as a Lallwort [198] ["children's word"] (39). Others, based on the well-known phrase in Arrian, put forward the meaning of "father" (40).

F. Hommel's opinion is of a completely different order and deserves more attention: he associates Attis with the ethnic name Khattu, Kheta (41).

There is no need to conduct analyses of these etymologies. Our aim is to defend our own interpretation, which sheds new light on the original nature of the Asia Minor god. Let us first note that *Ates* should be recognized as the most ancient form of the term under consideration. It appears on the monument to King Midas (42). Closer to our [present] form is *Atus* in Herodotus (I, 34), Xanthus of Lydia, (43) and Lucian (*De Syria dea*). The double -t [in the name] is first encountered in the comic poet Theopompus, a contemporary of Aristophanes, (44) and this form, Attis, was most popular with subsequent authors.

All three forms—Ates, Atus, Attis—find their explanation in Caucasian words meaning "month" and "moon."

In Georgian **Tve** or **Ttve** θwe , $\theta\theta we$ is the usual word for month, and in Old Georgian it is also the word for moon. The latter is often called **mTvare** $m-\theta wa-re$, that is, a word derived from the same root. The Lazo-Mingrelian group has the same word in the form $TuTa \theta u\theta a$ with the same double meaning. In Svan it is vocalized as **doSdul(i)** $doshd$, $doshd-ul(i)$; to illustrate the sound change cf. Georgian **daTvi** $da\theta wi$ "bear" = Svan **daST**, **daSdv**, $dash\theta$, $dash\theta wi$; or Georgian **aTi** $a\theta i$ "ten" = Svan **ieSd** $yeshd$, etc. The Svan word is also present in the name of Monday - *doshdis*, *deshdish*, which is similar in composition to European Monday, Montag or Lundi. In the Avar language in Dagestan, Monday is called *itniko*, [199] which decomposes into *itni-* and *-ko* (45). The last syllable means "day," and *itni* contains, undoubtedly, the word that concerns us. It is curious that in Avar the moon is denoted by the word *mozh*, which is equal to the Georgian *mza*, which means "the sun," and the Svan *mish* with the same meaning (compare Mishladeg "Sunday" with the European Sonntag, Sunday). In Svan there is also the word θew with the meaning of "month." It reproduces the Armenian **թիւ** ($t'iw$) θiv "number" (from the original concept of the moon as a unit of measurement; compare *mensis* from the root $*m\bar{e}$ - "to measure"), whence Armenian **թուիլի**, Georgian **Tvla** "to count." The similarity of the Armenian and Svan words should be explained by a common source, such as, perhaps, the Moskh language, the language of the tribe which stood closer to the Svans and to the pre-Aryan population of Somkhети in the narrow sense of the word. These forms should be based on θe or θwe in the sense of light, whence the concept of the moon as a luminary and the concept of "white" (Georgian *TeTri* $\theta e\theta-ri$). Similarly, we have in European [languages] *Lux*, *luna* $<*luqsna$, [л]у (loys), "light", [л]уиу (lusin) "moon" and λευκός "white" and in Semitic - *lebānāh* "white" and "moon."

It is very significant that this word also is found in the Etruscan language. In the phrase *avils XX tivrs śas* the first word means "year", the second, "month", and *śas* means "six" (46); the final *-s* in *avil-s*, *tivr-s* is the genitive case. It could also be that *-l* and *-r* both are genitive. *Tivr*, resp. *tiv-* means month, probably in a double sense. That the moon in Etruscan was called this or a similar word is evident from the following. Latin writers derived *id* from the Etruscan *itus*: *Idus ab eo, quod Tusci itus, vel potius quod Sabini Idus dicunt* ["*Id<s>* comes from that <word>, which the Etruscans pronounce as "*it<s>*", and the Sabines rather as "*id<s>*"], says Varro (47). Macrobius asserts the same: *Apud (Tuscos) is dies itus vocatur* ["The (Etruscans) call that day 'its' "], while giving different opinions about the origin of the word itself. Some associated *idus* with the Etruscan verb *iduarē* = *dividere* [200] ["To divide"], others derived it from the word *idulis* "sheep," since on the day of the *id* they sacrificed sheep; but there was also an opinion that *idus* was [so] called because on that day ["the full moon is visible"] "*plena luna videatur*," that is, *idus* was considered to come from *videre* ["to see"] (48). These etymologies are secondary for us (49); what is important is the reference to the moon. The name *idus* through the Etruscan *itis<itus* we attribute to the concept of the moon. *Ides*, the period of the full moon, is the time of the moon *par excellence*. It is quite natural for this period to be named after the moon, that is, *idus itus* would mean simply "moon" or "lunar" (time). In that case, we would be justified in equating *itus* with the Etruscan *tiv* or *tivr* "moon." Armenian **թիւ** ($t'iw$), Svan θew also confirm Etruscan $*tiv$, while Etruscan *tivr* has a fine Ingiloy equivalent in *θora* "moon." On the other hand, *Itus* fully corresponds to the Sumerian word *itu*, which also means "moon, luminary" (50), and *iti-s* is found in Khaldian and in three Achaemenid inscriptions with the same sense. This circumstance reveals the fundamental meaning of the word under discussion: linking the Etruscans with the Khaldi, and both with the Sumerians, it serves as an eloquent indicator of the former ethnological relations between pre-Aryan Asia Minor and pre-Semitic Mesopotamia, from the shores of Ionia to the Persian Gulf. The word meaning moon, common to all three worlds, obviously owes its persistence to the fact that the moon was perceived as a supreme being. Naturally, the thought suggests itself that in this group of words deriving from the base θe , θu , $\theta\theta w$, the name of the popular Asia Minor god—Ate-s, Atus-s, as well as Attis-s—also is included.

The initial **a** should not puzzle us. It has an equivalent in other forms, and may have a prosthetic or other, elusive origin. The Semitic Tammuz (51) [201] passed into Greek as A-donis, *i.e.*, with the same prosthetic **a**. This linguistic feature was not alien to the Phrygian environment of Attis: the Aryo-European word *genus* ["family"] gives in Phrygian **ἄ·ξήν**; ["month"] *mensis*, **μήν** - Armenian **ա-միս**, etc. In geographical names, the name of Attis is found even without the initial **a**, for example, Tottaion (in the upper reaches of Membris with the cult of

Meter Ciclea) or Tottes, along with Attalia (now Adalia), Attyda, Attaia, Attanassus (<'Αττις ἀνάξ), Atoukome, Ateous kastron, etc. (52).

Our linguistic analysis has led to the recognition of the lunar deity in Attis. This is the god's original nature. However, our conclusion by no means contradicts the traditional concept of the companion of the Mother of the Gods and finds justification in the latest data from cuneiform literature. We will return to this subsequently. Let us now dwell on some of the phenomena from the historical environment of Attis which support our position.

A moon god named Men is known to have been part of the pantheon in Asia Minor. Investigators have long noted his similarity to Attis. Men's fame and popularity went beyond the modest tribute paid by the Aryo-European peoples to the Moon, among other minor deities. Men undoubtedly was nourished by ancient roots: he sprouts from of a cult of long-standing, being a reflection of Attis in a new ethnic environment. In essence, Men is no different from Attis, except in name, and to us, even his name is the Greek translation of Attis. The god Men is young like the Attis; both gods are dressed alike, both wear the Phrygian cap of Attis; they have common attributes—poppy, pomegranate, pine cone; the crescent moon is painted over them both—an eloquent indication of their former nature.

It is usually thought that Attis and Men—different deities—gradually drew closer and finally merged, and that all the qualities of Men passed to Atis. However, it is not entirely clear why the god of vegetation, with the most popular mysteries, the god recognized even in Rome, had to adopt his qualities from the lunar deity; [202] or why the lunar deity had to merge with Attis, a god of another nature.

If our view of the original nature of Attis is accepted, then everything becomes clear. Men is the Greek aspect of Attis. With the strengthening of Greek culture in Asia Minor, the lunar nature of the local god, who became predominantly a god of vegetation, was singled out into a special being under the guise of Men. During the period of national revival of ethnic groups after the Battle of Magnesia, the image of Attis was restored in full and he came into his rights, which had been ceded to Men. That is why, in the Phrygian city of Eumeneia, Men Ascaenos is called Ἀγδίστεως, ["(belonging to) Agdistis"] *i.e.* Attis, because he is the son of Agdistis-Cybele (53). Or it might be that Men Karou who resided in the city bore the name of Attis, Attuda, and was worshiped as a local deity, apparently inheriting the glory of Attis. The Orphic hymn reads Μητέρα τ' ἄθάντων Ἄτιν καὶ Μῆνα κυκλήσκω ["I call upon the Mother of the Immortals, Attis and Men."]. Roscher's (*Lexikon*) interprets quite correctly that here we are not talking about two deities, but one deity with two names Attis - Men (54). In Latin inscriptions, there are expressions like Attidi Menotyranno ["Attis Meno-tyrannus"], that is, Men with his characteristic title has been absorbed by Attis (55). Among cities cited by Roscher as centers of the cult of Men, some bear names which apparently have preserved the memory of Attis, for example Ἀξίεττηνός or Ἀξιοττηνός

Regarding the lunar origin of Attis, it is also said that in the legends reflecting the archaic features of belief, he is called "the shepherd of bright stars," attributed to him, as befits a shepherd, *fistula* and *virga*—a pipe and a staff (56). The shepherd designates the moon, and this is not just a figurative expression that determines the relationship of the moon to the stars: the god of flora was considered at the same time the patron of the flock, and both concepts, as we shall see, were associated with the moon.

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Curiously, other scholars also felt that the cult of Men had roots in the country's oldest pantheon. Ramsay seeks Men's background in the Phrygian solar deity Manes (57). He is right in principle, since he believes that Men had a local progenitor. But his comparison is not entirely correct: Men goes back to the lunar deity Attis, and not to the solar god Manes.

The moon god apparently enjoyed great respect in Asia Minor in general, and among the Japhetic peoples in particular (58). Strabo's words about the cult of the moon in (Caucasian) Albania/Aghbania/Aghuania deserve particular attention. Aghuanians "revere as gods - says Strabo - the Sun, the Sky, the Moon, especially the Moon. They have a sanctuary near Iberia. Their priest is the person most respected after the king; he has charge of the

sacred land, which is extensive and well-populated, and also of the temple slaves, many of whom are subject to religious frenzy and utter prophecies," etc. (59).

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The word *διαφερόντως* ["especially"], as well as all descriptions of the sanctuary and the conditions in which the sacrifices were performed, show that the moon occupied the leading position among the gods in Aghbania. Human sacrifices were brought to this god with special ceremonies. Recall that Artemis of Tauride, also originally a lunar deity, demanded human sacrifice. Is there a genetic connection between the Aghbanians' human sacrifice and the well known amputation performed in the Attis cult, as a symbolization of the initial custom of human sacrifice?

Especially interesting is Strabo's indication that the slaves dedicated to the moon wandered in the sacred forest and that many of them prophesied. The gift of divination and inspiration apparently came from the god to whom the slaves were dedicated. In other words, the moon among the Aghbanians was still considered the god of prediction and witchcraft. Could the Armenian word *թոյլ* (*t'ov*) with the meaning of "a spell, witchcraft" also go back to the same root as the name of the moon god?

The moon god was, of course, held in high esteem in Armenia. Echoes of the old cult are observable in the Armenian sects, for example, in Paulicianism. Cybele and Attis were very popular among Armenians, although under different names. This is also indicated by the legend of Diorph, cited by Pseudo-Plutarch, which is the Armenian version of the Pessinous myth of Cybele and Attis. The question of the cult of the divine couple among Armenians will be considered in a special article.

If we now turn to the established views on the cult of Attis, we will see that they are quite compatible with our own conception of Attis. Our point of view, rather, complements the accepted views and coincides with the result of the latest research on the Assyrian equivalents of Attis.

In his excellent monograph, the German scholar Hepding (60) has collected together scattered historical and literary materials and [205] information about Attis and has illuminated his cult with sufficient clarity. The conclusion he reached can be formulated in the words of an authoritative specialist, Cumont: "Attis personnifie probablement la végétation, brûlée par les ardeurs de l'été avant d'avoir atteint sa maturité et que durant d'hiver paraît s'affaiblir et pour ainsi dire perdre la virilité puis mourir, pour renaître au printemps avec un nouvel éclat" ["Attis probably personifies the vegetation, burned by the heat of summer before reaching maturity and which, during wintertime, seems to weaken and, so to speak, lose virility and then die, to be reborn in spring with a new radiance."] (61).

The ancients thought the same thing. The philosopher Porphyry [A.D. 234 to about 305] characterizes Attis in almost the same words, as Augustine reports (62). In his opinion, Attis is "the spring face of the earth," that is, the god of vegetation and flora. But since the sun, with its life-giving rays, is considered the source of life among the people, it is natural that Attis had to merge with the concept of the sun. Arnobius says bluntly: "Atis sol est" ["Attis is the sun"] (63). However, in more remote times, at the dawn of Attis' life, his admirers had a different opinion about plant and animal life generally. They connected them with the moon rather than the sun.

The great night luminary with its bizarre phases amazed and riveted to itself the consciousness of primitive shepherds. It seemed to them a kind of "self-producing fruit" (64) that grows and dies in order to be born again and to die again. This heavenly fruit seemed to be the prototype of plant and even animal life on earth. From her, from the moon, depended "das Wachstum der Pflanzen und das Gedeihen der Herde" ["the growth of plants and the thriving of herds"] (65). The influence of the moon on [206] flora and fauna was recognized by classical writers, even by Aristotle (66). Based on a document from the Nippur archives (B.C. 2500-2400) published by Langdon (67), the suspected astral character of Inanna, the Sumerian Ishtar, must be considered established and proven. Langdon shows that "Die Babylonischen Höllenfahrt-Legenden nicht nur das Leben und Sterben der Vegetation, sondern auch das Verschwinden und Sichtbarwerden innerhalb des Gestirnhimmels zum Ausdruck bringen. Beide Erscheinungen am Himmel und im Naturbuch galten in der altorientalischen Geisteswelt als Entsprechung" ["The Babylonian legends about the descent into the underworld reflect not only the life and

death of vegetation, but also the processes of disappearance and appearance in the starry sky. In the ancient Eastern spiritual world, both phenomena—in heaven and in the book of nature—were considered mutually corresponding"] (68).

Ishtar descends into the underworld in search of Tammuz (= Attis). It is Tammuz-Attis who has disappeared into the underworld for three days. After three days he is shown resurrected, greeted by the joyful *hillal* (= alleluia)—this is how Gudea, the governor of Lagash, spoke about the phases of the moon. The life of the moon, in this view, is the astral prototype of the death and resurrection of Attis-Tammuz on the third day. Attis is the personification of the moon (69).

Hommel (70) affirms that Hadad originally was a Syrian moon god ("ursprünglich der Syrische und auch Assyrische Mondgott" ["originally a Syrian as well as an Assyrian moon god"]). His epithet was *rimmon*, *i.e.* "Pomegranate", which is quite consistent with the Mesopotamian concept of the moon. We mentioned earlier that the moon god Sin was called *inbu* = "fruit." In Babylon, *rimmon* was perceived under the influence of folk etymology as *Rammanu*, that is, "thundering," whence the Babylonian name Adada. The same scholar compares Adad with "mayin" (71), also the moon god Wadd.

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Curiously, the god Wadd had the nickname "father," *Wadd ab* (72), which is reminiscent of Attis's epithet, *παπαῖος*. On this basis, some scholars thought that Attis meant "father." But this would also be true if, because of the expression *Ζεὺς παπαῖος*, a similar conclusion were made about the meaning of the name Zeus. Adad is known to be the companion of the mother goddess Atargatis, *i.e.* Syrian Cybele (73). Consequently, Attis as a lunar deity is not an exceptional case among the favorites of the Mother of the Gods.

When analyzing the legends about Attis and Cybele, we find peculiar features in them which speak in favor of the thesis that we are defending.

The myth of Attis is known in various versions, but the essence of these versions is the same. According to the version of Hermesianacta (74), the author of elegies, Attis was the son of a Phrygian, born of a mother *οὐ τεκνοποιός* ["unborn"]. When he grew up, he moved to Lydia, and established the cult of the Mother there, becoming her favorite to such an extent (75) that he aroused the jealousy of Zeus. The vengeful god sent a **boar** against the Lydians, from which they and Attis died. According to Syrian tradition, Attis, wounded by a boar, escaped to Syria (76). This version apparently goes back to the story of Herodotus about the son of Croesus named Attis, who also died because of a boar. In a dream it was foretold to Croesus that his son would die from an iron spearpoint. Despite the precautions taken by his father, the dream came true. A ferocious boar appeared in neighboring Mysia. To fight him, Croesus dispatched a group of young men, with the prince at the head. Adrastus, a Phrygian prince who was in Sardis at the time, asked the king for permission to accompany Attis. While chasing the wild boar, Adrastus accidentally struck Attis and killed him (77). It is on the basis of Herodotus' story that the Syrian version of Queen Stratonike (= Cybele) and the handsome young man Kombaba (= Attis) has been woven (78).

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According to another version, the Pessinous version (79), a sleeping Zeus spilled semen on the ground, and a bisexual creature named Agdistis grew from it. Frightened by this monster, the gods cut off his male half and abandoned him. From the now female Agdistis grew an almond tree, the fruit of which the daughter of the Sangara River raised and hid in her bosom; she became pregnant from it and gave birth to Attis. To hide her shame, she threw the child out. But the boy did not die, thanks to a **goat** that fed him. The lad grew up and turned into a handsome man. Agdistis fell in love with him. When Attis was sent to Pessinous to be married to the daughter of a local king, Agdistis came to the wedding. Attis castrated himself in a fit [of insanity (80)] and died. Agdistis, overwhelmed by grief, asked Zeus to protect Attis' body from damage and decay.

In the composite edition of Timothy (81) who lived under Ptolemy I, the rock where Zeus rested was named Agdus, the monster born from it was Agdestis. Sangara's daughter was called Nana. The discarded child was fed

with goat's milk and named Attis—"from the fact that the child is called that in Lydian, or from the Phrygian word Atagos 'goat' ": *et quoniam Lydio scitulos sic vocat vel quia hircus Phryges suis Atagos elocutionibus nuncupant, inde Attis nomen ...* The King of Pessinous was named Mida(s) and the tree under which Attis mutilated himself was the pine.

In all versions, a wild boar or a goat plays an important role. The boar is the culprit responsible for the death of Attis, and the goat is the nurse, the giver of life. It is hardly possible to take seriously the interpretation according to which the boar is the personification of a harsh winter or, as others think, a sultry summer that kills spring in the person of Attis. The boar has a more real meaning here, no doubt. The attitude of Attis to him, as well as to the goat, should be interpreted in the sense of the continuity of their cult: the boar and the goat were once objects of worship and were revered as gods, but had to give way to the deity of Attis. The gods, although debunked, never quit the world of beliefs without leaving a trace [209]; instead, they get stuck there in debased positions. It is known that the boar served as the national emblem of Lycia, as can be seen from the coins that have come down to us (82) bearing its image. This means that the boar was considered their national god, was recognized as a sacred animal (83). The same can be said about the goat.

Like Attis, Cybele was discarded by her parents at birth and fed by a panther (84)—a legend related to the epithet of the goddess μήτηρ Θηρῶν ["Mother of beasts"]. And Semiramis, the Syrian Cybele, endured the same fate, was nursed by pigeons and saved from death thanks to their care (85). These animals have the same relation to their wards, as the boar and goat have to Attis. The cult of animals and beasts was part of the early religion (86). Cast down from their thrones, they subsequently remained in the world of beliefs—as sacred beings assigned to the corresponding gods, or dedicated to them. The choice of the god in each individual case, of course, requires explanation. How can we explain our situation, namely, that the god Attis found himself in the company of a boar and of a goat? If our thesis is true that Attis represents the lunar deity or that he is a vegetative god, then how should we understand the connection of the aforementioned animals to him?

Even in antiquity, there was an attempt to resolve this question on the basis of the etymological convergence of names. Folk etymologies were of great importance in the composition of myths and legends: they are often almost the only basis for the variation of the legend. According to Hesychius, Ἄδαγος...Θεὸς τις παρὰ Φρυγῶν Ἐρμαφρόδιτος ["Adagus is a Phrygian god, a hermaphrodite"] *i.e.*, Adagus is identified with Attis. Adagus, as mentioned above, means "goat" in Phrygian. Eustathius says (87) that Iones dixisse ἄττηγόν hiscum ["The Ionian [210] called the goat ἄττηγός"]. The goat appeared on the stage due to the fact that the name Attis sounded like the word meaning goat. This equation was all the more appealing since the goat itself still had the halo of a sacred animal in the pantheon of the gods. It must be assumed that the same motives underlie the appearance of the wild boar in the legend, *i.e.*, that its local name also sounded similar to the word that served as a [link (88)] between Attis and the goat.

The words we are seeking are present in Caucasian languages. In Georgian **taxe**, **'taxe** means "boar," in Svan there is **tax tax**. In the same languages, an almost homonymous word means "goat"—in the form **Txa txa** in Georgian (whence **Txieri 0xieri** "wineskin" < goat fur), Lazo-Mingrelian **Txa txa**, **day-ul** in Svan, in Abkhazo-Adyghean - **tekezu** "goat", Shapsug - **tecezu**. Related to them are Phrygian **atag-us**, Greek δίζα (89) < dig-i-a, Persian **take**, Armenian տիկ **tik** < *dig with the meaning of "wineskin," and Germanic **Zicke**.

By mingling together the like-sounding words **tax/day** "goat" and **taxe** "boar," the discrepancy in the legend about Attis becomes clear: the double sense of the word created a double version: in one, the boar acts; in the other, the goat.

The fact that our word is found in Aryo-European languages, seemingly complicates things. However, the point is that this word is not of Indo-European origin in any case. The Iranian form of the word **take**, whence the Turkic **teke**, has spread throughout the Middle East and is now a common expression for "goat," especially a goat that leads the herd. If it were of Aryo-European origin, it could not be vocalized in Greek as δίζα < *dig-i-a from * dig-i-a, and in Persian as **take**. It seems to us that the word goes back to **Tarku**, the name of the popular Hattian god. This deity concealed within himself the germ of the original cult [211] of the goat (90). Greek τράγος "goat" has no plausible Greek etymology; surely it depends on **tarku**. The name of another Hattian god

is read in cuneiform sometimes as Tushpa, sometimes as Turushpa; in the same way, the Assyrians transmitted the name of the Khald/Chald (Van) king both as Sar-durri and Se-duri, where Se = Sar (91). This shows that **r** was pronounced very weakly and therefore sometimes, as Jensen thinks, not voiced. The **r** sound in Tarku had this same quality. Therefore, it vanished in living languages: *tax*<Tarku, just as the Greek word *Τυρσανοί* produced in Italy **tursci** and **tusci**.

The question of the origin of the word, in view of the uncertainty of the linguistic essence of Hattian, can be resolved by the fact that it was, in any case, a living element in the Caucasian languages in the sense of a goat, and has survived there to this day. Deification, the cult of animals among the Caucasian highlanders is still not an extinct phenomenon. The inconsistencies in sound in the forms of the words noted above lose their criticality and find their explanation in the fact of borrowing. The attitude of Attis to the goat, to his nurse, acquires real historical ground: the image of the goat-god, which influenced the folk etymology of Attis from Atagus, becomes clearer.

Apparently, there was another attempt at folk etymology—to derive the name Attis from Mount Agdus. According to Timothy's version, it was on this mountain that Zeus languished with love for the Mother of the Gods. A monster born here from the seed of Zeus was named Agdistis, which is Attis. In the original myth, the rock of Agdus plays the role of Cybele; the child born from her bore her name, Agdistis, whence Attis. In other words, Agdus is *Μήτηρ ὄρεϊα* ["Mountain mother"]; that her child was related to the mountain is evident from the curious archaic custom of the Bithynians who, when making appeals to the god Attis, climbed "to the top of the mountains" *εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὄρων* (92). Then Agdistis as a bisexual being (cf. Hesychius: Ἄδαγούς...Ερμαφρόδιτος) is identified with Cybele, and for her son and pet [212] a new etymology is sought, through comparison with the word *atagus* "goat."

Agdos/Agdus is a rock in Phrygia. Agdos resembles Greek ὄχος, ὄχη "cliff," the origin of which is unknown. Probably Armenian *խուլթ* *xut'* "hill" also should be included here. These words may be related to Georgian **Txemi** *t'xemi*, Svan *t'xum*, *t'xvim*, which means the top of a mountain, ἄκρα τῶν ὄρων. The root consonants are the same sounds that we have in the words *t'ax* "boar" and *tax* "goat". The consonants in these three words provided the basis for folk etymologies which then derived the name Attis from a rock *agdos*<*t'x, from a goat - tx, and from a boar - t'ax

In the myth of Attis, an important place is given to the area of Pessinous. It owes its name to a pine tree: Attis castrated himself under a pine tree; the memory of the pine was honored in the ceremony "arbor intrat" ["the tree enters"] (93). Πέσσινον from *πιτυς* "pine", Lat. *pinus*< *pit(s)nos. In Georgian the words **fichvi** p'itvi, [and in] Armenian *փիճի* (94) p'ichi still mean "pine," but it is most likely that [both forms] were borrowed [from] Greek, especially since the form **fitvi** p'itui is also found, cf. Greek *pivssa* "resin" = Georgian **fisi**.

The word Attis was adopted by the royal dynasty of Lydia as a theophoric name. According to the genealogy of the ancients, the Lydian king Attis had two sons: *Λυδος* and *Τυρρηνός*. As a result of a terrible famine that lasted 18 years, King Attis decided to divide the population into two parts - one remained in Lydia, and the other, headed by Attis' son, Tyrrhenus, moved to Italy (95). This story reflects the memories of the relationship of the Tyrrhenians and Etruscans with the Lydians. In support of this, the ancients also referred to the similarity of their clothing (96). No matter how one looks at this question, which [213] has not yet received an indisputable solution, one thing is certain: that in the environment where there was a tradition of a relationship between the Lydians and the Etruscans and their genealogy—according to which *Τυρρηνός* is the son of Attis—in this particular environment, in any case, the etymological relationship of their names, father and son, Attis and *Τυρρηνός* was felt.

We have explained above that the Etruscan word *tivr* "moon, month" through Arm. *թիլ* *t'iv* "number," Svan *t'ev* "month" goes back to Georgian *t'(t')we* "moon," from the root *t'u t'i* "light." The origin of *Τυρρηνός* from Atys Ἄτος, from the linguistic standpoint, is in fact justified. We believe that, like Attis, the Etruscan eponym also comes from a word meaning a lunar deity: *τυρρηνοί, τυρσηνοί, τυρσανοί*, which consists of *turs* - and *-Ani*; *turs*<*tivrs*, the genitive case of the word meaning the moon. *Tivrs-anoi* means belonging to *tivr* or followers of *tivr'a*. The Khalds (in Armenia) bore the name of their national god Khaldi, calling themselves Khaldi-ni. The

Italian forms of the words Tus-ci, Etrus-ci (97) have -ki instead of -ni as suffixes. Both suffixes, incidentally, appear as plural signs (ki = xi) in the names Kummu-hi, Κολ-xi, Mos-xi, Ταυ-xi). It is curious that instead of Τυρρηνός one encounters the form Τυρρηβός: the name of Attis's son from *turs-ēbi*, in which we recognize other pluralizing particles *-bi*, *-ēbi*. These three particles continue to function in Caucasian languages. The appearance of -ki along with -bi and -ni does not permit us to recognize in it the Aryo-European suffix -sk = Russian "-ski", cf. English "English" etc.

A modern etymology of the word derives τυρρηνοί from τύρσις, τύρσος "tower," in the sense of "tower builders" - {an explanation (98)}, which does not inspire much confidence. The relationship of these two words, if any, could be illuminated differently, by recognizing the cult significance of the towers. From Xenophon we learn that among the Mosinoiks, a people related to the Caucasian Svans, the king lived in a high tower (99). The king was regarded simultaneously and above all as a priest, and his residence was a sanctuary, a temple of the moon god. [214] That is why the towers bore the name of the god *turs-is*. No wonder the Bithynians climbed to the mountaintops and called to Attis from there. Attis himself, after his castration, concealed himself in the Dindymon mountains. Shepherd and son of the Μητηρ ὄρεία ["Mountain mother"], he lives in the mountains. The tower with the dwelling of the king-priest—the earthly image of the heavenly god-luminary—comports with this idea.

Be that as it may, it is more likely that *tursis* derives from an ethnic name, and not the other way around. According to Xenophon, in Pontus the "tower" was called μούσσοι, from which μούσσοιχοι "tower dwellers" (100). *Mosuni* really means "a Svan", "Svanetian"; and present day Svans call themselves *Moshuni*. Folk etymology derived the word from *mo-shun-i*, where *shun* <*she'n* շէւ, *shaena* means "building."

Plutarch retained the tradition that the Tyrrhenians came to Lydia from Thessaly, and to Italy from Lydia (101). This tradition owes its origin to the fact that Etruscan Tyrrhenians once lived in Thessaly. But whether they went from there to Asia Minor is doubtful. Rather, the opposite seems likely: that [they] went to Thessaly from Asia Minor. If not Etruscans, then peoples practising the Attis cult, apparently, flooded not only Thessaly, but all Attica. One of the scholars particularly engaged in studying the cult of Attis, expressed an opinion about the origin of the very name of Attica in favor of our god Atis, Attis (102).

According to Hesychius, Ἄτιόλοφος was the ancient name of Ilion; Ἄτης λόφος ἔκαλεῖτο πρότερον ἢ Ἴλιος (103); της Φρυγίας Ατης λόφος (104); ["Ilion at first was called the mountain (hill) of Ata - the hill of the Phrygian woman of Ata"]—apparently, folk etymology saw here the word ἄτη ["insanity, atrocity, misfortune"], but it is more likely that the name of this area has preserved the memory of Attis. Among the theophoric names, in addition to Attalus, Atilios, Αθίς [215], the name Titias appears. This was the name of one of the Korybantēs of the Mother of the Gods in Miletus. Since in this case Korybant replaces Attis, it is likely that their names are related. Titias resembles the Greek word τιώ,-οῶς with the meaning of "aurora, jour, soleil", ("dawn, day, sun") which, on the other hand, is comparable with the Sanskrit *Tilhi* "un temps de la revolution lunaire" ["time of the moon's changing, lunar cycle"]. Also related to the root of the name Titias are Τιάν, -ἄνος, Τιτήν, -ῆνος "dieu solaire" ["moon god"] (105).

Both in sound and meaning these words are close to the name of the deity we are investigating. What is their mutual relationship, is it an accidental coincidence, or is the similarity to be explained by borrowing? These questions are still open. Noteworthy is the encounter of another Caucasian word discussed above with the Aryo-European: *taχ*, *a-tag-us*, Persian *taka*. These phenomena relate to the general problem of the position of the Caucasian (Japhetic) languages among other language families. Our thesis retains its validity irrespective of the resolution of that problem.

1922, September

Notes

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1 W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Hildesheim, 1884-1937, Bd. II, S. 1569.

2 [The text's откинутые, "thrown back" has been emended to отринутые, "rejected"].

3 L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon: A Comparative Sketch of Mesopotamian, Anatolian and Hellenic Religions*, Edinburg, 1911, p. 98.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[188]

5 W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. I, Oxford, 1895, p. 7; also A. J. Evans, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1901, p. 168.

6 *Historiae*. I, 173.

7 F. Hrozny, *Über die Völker und Sprachen des Alten-Chatti-Landes*, Leipzig, 1920; also D. E. Forrer, *Die acht Sprachen der Boghaz-koï-Inshriften* (Sitzber.d. Preuss. Ak. D. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1919, LXIII); C.I.S. Mastrander, *Caractère indoeuropéen de la langue hittite*, Christiana, 1919.

[189]

8 Further "Xanthus of Lydia" - crossed out (ed.).

9 [Hesychii Lexicon, beta 523 = Sophocles, fr. 470.]

10 [There is more on a separate sheet without reference to the main text]:

Herodotus.

Strabo VII 3, 2. "Phrygians are none other than the *brigs* of Thracian origin, equally the Migdons, Bebriks, Medovithins, Bithins, Finns, and Mariandinis".

Strabo. XIV 5, 29

XII 8, 21

[190]

11 ["Brekina: brekinta, briga. Also Brigi – that is, Phrygians". Hesychii Lexicon, beta 1087,1.]

12 [вопроса]

13 P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 311 and 329.

14 H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East. From the Earliest Times to the Battle of Salamis*, London, 1913, p. 327.

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15 L. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Bd. II, Leipzig, 1896, p. 71.

16 [The reference is to John Garstang (1876-1956), an English archaeologist who made a significant contribution to the study of the ancient history of Asia Minor and Palestine. N. Adontz probably was familiar

with his monograph *The Land of the Hittites*, 1910.]

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17 [название, name]

18 Brünow und Winckler, *Forschungen* I, 460.

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19 *Hymni Homerici*, IV 112.

20 *Hymni Homerici*, V, 113.

21 H. Lewy, *Die Semitische Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, Berlin, 1895, p. 249.

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22 R. Eisler, *Kuba-Kybele*, *Philologus*, t. LXVIII, 1909, p.118.

23 W. M. Ramsay, "Sipylus and Cybele," *JHJ* III, p.33.

24 H. Grailot, *Le Culte de Cybèle, Mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1912, p. 198: "le nom de Cybèle ne serait-il pas à rapprocher de Gibil, le dieu-éclair des Assyriens" ["could not the name of Cybele be compared to Gibil, the lightning god of the Assyrians?"]

25 Mordmann, *Altphrygische Sprache*, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der München*, 1862, p. 32: "kobjel polieren im Bezug auf das zu Pessinunt von Himmel herabgefallene steinerne Bild der Grossen Göttin" ["kobjel' to hew/polish in relation to the stone image of the Great Goddess that fell from heaven at Pessinous"].

26 T. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, Leipzig, 1843, Fr. 121.

27 [That is, from a comparison of the Georgian translation with the Greek text of Scripture.]

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28 [In fact this is, of course, the root which simply means "cave."]

29 [энигматичного, mysterious, incomprehensible].

30 E. Littmann, *Sardis*, vol. VI. *Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis*, 1916. In Lycian, there is one word that has a sepulchral meaning that is close to our word: it has the sound *cupa* (E. Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, vol. II: *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, Vindobonae, 1901 20(3), 83(12), and elsewhere). It's connection with the Arm. գոլբ *gub* "ditch" seems undeniable to me. But the Armenian word is a borrowing from the Aramaic. And it is unclear what the relation of the latter is to the Lycian *cupa*. Most likely, the word penetrated into Aramaic from Asia Minor (see Autran, *Tarkondemus*, p. 87). Does this relate to Greek Κύπη· τρωγλή, as Hesychius interprets it? And is the Indo-European etymology of Sanscrit Kūpa-h "moat/ditch/trench" correct?

31 [Thus it is in the manuscript of N. Adontz. Unfortunately, we were unable to find the inscription to which he refers. Its approximate meaning is: "Kobellis <devotes> twice (or: two) to Attis and Poseidon, heeding prayer." The genitive case of the article in front of Attis' name is a problem — perhaps just the author's slip.]

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32 [The note is missing in N. Adontz' text. The author probably found some conflict here: in the treatises of John Tsetz there is no such word, but in the epics and their commentators we encounter the word κύπελλον with the meaning of "bowl," as well as the epithet ἀμφικύπελλος "hollow on both sides."]

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33 In Armenian, պառակ (par'ak) also means "group" when applied to animals (literally "according to the sheepfolds"). It is curious that this word [which] occurs in Georgian in the form fara, p'ara, is borrowed from Armenian. Պառակաւ (Par'akan) "hunting dog" means rather "shepherd dog." Chubinov gives the word parexi the meaning "fluffy tail of a dog", and he refers to S. Orbeliani. Apparently, the source read պառակաւ (par'akan). There is also the word փարակ (p'arak) "hunting dog" in Armenian, but it is possible that it refers to բարակ (barak), also meaning "hunting dog."

34 [The passage ends with sentence fragments]: We leave aside the question of the origin of the word. Greek μέγαρον "room" has been compared by some to Arabic mağara "cave." This comparison cannot be neglected.

35 Arnobii Adversus gentes, V, 6.

36 [Since Agdistis is a hermaphrodite, this name [in Russian] may be equally feminine and masculine. We retain the author's spelling.]

37 W. M. Ramsay, "Some Phrygian Monuments," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 3 (1882), p. 56.

38 W. Tomaschek, *Die Alten Thraker*, Sitzungberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie in Wien, B. CXXX, 1894, p. 42.

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39 P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, S. 350 and following.

40 Flavii Arriani fragmenta, Eustathii Commentarii ad Homeri Illiadem. 565,3 Βιθυνοὶ ἐκάλουν πάπαν τὸν Δία καὶ Ἄττιν τὸν αὐτόν [The Bithynians called Zeus father, and also Attis] Vaniček, *Fremdwörter in Griechischen und Lateinischen*, 1878. See Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, p.10. J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religions*, vol. I, London, 1919, p. 281.

41 F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients*, 1904, p. 39.

42 W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, I, 132. G. Perrot et C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1890, vol. V, p. 82.

43 *Dionysii Halicarnassensis Antiquitates*, I 28

44 *Fragmenta Comicoorum Graecorum*, ed. Meineke II 801.

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45 C. Graham, "The Avar Language," *Journal of Roial Asiatic Society*, vol. XIII, II, 1881.

46 *Paulys Realencyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Neue Bearbeitung begonnen von G. Wissowa unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen, hrsg. von W. Kroll, v. Etrusken.

47 Varro, *De lingua Latina* VI, 28.

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48 Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 15.

49 A. Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1910, reckons with these etymologies.

50 S. Langdon, *A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy with a Vocabulary of the Principal Roots in Sumerian and a List of the Most Important Syllabus and Vowel Transcriptions*, Paris-New York, 1911, compare. M. Tzereteli, "Sumerian and Georgian," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1913, January.

51 The assumption that Adonis derives from the Canaanitic *adōn* = Assyrian and Sumerian *umun* "lord" (Zimmer, *Abh. d. Phil. Kl. Kön. Sächs. Gesch. D. Wiss.*, 1909, XXVII) is hardly sound.

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52 Murray's *Handy Classical Maps. Asia Minor*, by J.G.C. Anderson, 1903; also W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London, 1890.

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53 *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3886 add.

54 *Hymni Orphici*, Prooemium, 40.

55 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI 499, 500 etc.

56 Hippolitus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, V.9, ποιμὴν λευκῶν ἀστρῶν ["shepherd of white stars"]; also Arnobius 4, 35 [Homeri Ilias, IV, 275] αἰπόλος ἄνῆρ; [Scholia] in Theocritum [VIII, 30] συρικτή, Tertullian and others, see C. Bruchmann, *Epitheta deorum, quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur*, Leipzig, 1893.

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57 *JHS*, 1889, p. 229.

58 However, the cult of the moon was prominent in India. "The Moongod as Joma forms the centre of Vedic belief and cult," A. A. Macdonell, *History of Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 113: "being the creator and ruler of the world much more than the sun: while Indra is the most popular Vedic God only next to the moon." *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II, p. 113.

7. Θεοὺς δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἥλιον καὶ Δία καὶ Σελήνην, διαφερόντως δὲ τὴν Σελήνην. ἔστι δ' αὐτῆς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἰβηρίας πλησίον· ἱερᾶται δ' ἀνὴρ ἐντιμότητος μετὰ γε τὸν βασιλέα, προεστὼς τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας, πολλῆς καὶ εὐάνδρου, καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἱεροδούλων, ὧν ἐνθουσιῶσι πολλοὶ καὶ προφητεύουσιν· ὃς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλεόν κατάσχετος γενόμενος πλανᾶται κατὰ τὰς ὕλας μόνος, τοῦτον συλλαβὼν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀλύσει δῆσας ἱερᾶ τρέφει πολυτελῶς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον, ἔπειτα προαχθεὶς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν τῆς θεοῦ, σὺν ἄλλοις ἱερείοις θύεται μυρισθεὶς. τῆς δὲ θυσίας ὁ τρόπος οὗτος· ἔχων τις ἱερὰν λόγχην, ἧπέρ

ἔστι νομος ἀνθρωποθυτείν, παρελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, παίει διὰ τῆς πλευρᾶς εἰς τὴν καρδίαν, οὐκ ἄπειρος τοιούτου· πεσόντος δὲ σημειοῦνται μαντεῖά τινα ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀποφαίνουσι· κομισθέντος δὲ τοῦ σώματος εἷς τι χωρίον, ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἅπαντες καθαρσίῳ χρώμενοι.

[The part of the passage cited, but not translated by N. Adontz, reads: "And any one of those who, becoming violently possessed, wanders alone in the forests, is by the priest arrested, bound with sacred fetters, and sumptuously maintained during that year, and then led forth to the sacrifice that is performed in honour of the goddess, and being anointed, is sacrificed along with other victims. The sacrifice is performed as follows: Some person holding a **sacred lance** [underlined by Adontz], with which it is the custom to sacrifice human victims, comes forward out of the crowd and strikes the victim through the side into the heart, he being not without experience in such a task; and when the victim falls,

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they draw auguries from his fall and declare them before the public; and when the body is carried to a certain place, they all trample upon it, thus using it as a means of purification" [*The Geography of Strabo*, with an English translation by H. L. Jones, volume 5 (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), pp. 228-230].

60 H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mithen und sein Kult*, Giessen, 1903, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten von A. Dieterich und K. Wünsche, hrg. K. Wünsche und L. Deubner, Bd. I, Berlin, 1903.

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61 F. Cumont, *Notice sur un Attis funéraire* (Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique liégeois, t. XXIX, 1901, p. 5).

62 Augustini *De civitate Dei*, VII 25: propter vernalem quipped faciem terrae, quae ceteris est temporibus pulchrior, Porphyrius, philosophus nobilis, Attin flores significare perhibuit, et ideo abscisum, quae flos decedit ante fructum [Because of this spring face of the earth, which is more beautiful than all other seasons of the <year>, says Porphyrius, the noble philosopher, Attis means flowers, and he is castrated because the flower falls off before the fruit <appears>].

63 Arnobius, V, 42.

64 Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament*, p. 33. Rocher's *Lexikon*, Sin, IV, p. 895.

65 Rocher's *Lexikon*. II 3152.

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66 *Ibid.*

67 S. Langdon, *Tablets from the Archives of Draham*, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology, 1912.

68 Jeremias, Roscher's *Lex.* III, 1436.

69 *Ibid.* III, p. 892.

70 F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie, Geographie der Vorderasiens*, p. 88 and following.

71 [N. Adontz has "с минейским." Mayin was a kingdom in Northern Arabia, whose supreme deity was the god Wadd—"love"].

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72 *Ibid.* p. 85.

73 Luciani *De Dea Syria. Macrobian Saturnalia*, 23, 17, and elsewhere.

74 In Pausanias, VII 179 and following.

75 The manuscript reads ἦκων ... παρ' αὐτῆς (*i.e.* Mother) τιμῆς ["appeared in <such> honor to her"], although the publishers corrected it, though hardly thoroughly, to παρ' αἰγυπτῶν (that is, among the Lydians).

76 Luciani *De Dea Syria*.

77 Herodoti *Historie*, I 34 and following.

78 Luciani *De Dea Syria*.

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79 Also in Pausanias VII 17 10-11.

80 сумасшествия ("madness")

81 In Arnobius, *Adversus gentes*, V. 5. The composite nature of the version may be seen, incidentally, from the fact that the author has the rock give birth twice—to the Magna Mater and to Agdestis, mistaking them for different beings.

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82 V. E. Babelon, *Traite des monnaies grecques et romaines*, p. II.

83 [Note missing].

84 Diodori Siculi *Bibliotheca historica*, III, 58.

85 *Ibid.* II.

86 See Ramsay. *Hastings Dictionary*, Extra volume.

87 Eusthatus ad Odysseam, I, 1625. [The interpretation of this passage, obviously, does not belong to N. Adontz himself, but is taken from some dictionary or scholarly commentary to the *Odyssey*. In fact, Eustathius, reasoning about the words denoting the age of goats and sheep, with reference to Aristophanes' grammar,

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reports: "And some Ionic <authors> also call some age in males ἄττηγός."]

88 {цепью; "chain"}

89 [The word is attested only in the *Lexicon* of Hesychius. Other authors (Herodotus, Aelius Herodian, Hellanicus, Stephen Grammaticus) have a toponym Τυρόδιζα (a city in Thrace), probably derived from δίζα. Publius Aelius Phlegon, in his list of Italians who have lived to be one hundred years old, includes a certain Aidesius Didza (Αἰδέσιος Δίζα) and Bityus, the son of Didzasta (Βίθυς Διζάστου), both are *Macedonian* settlers.]

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90 [Subsequently, N. Adontz changed his mind and connected the Hittite Tarku and, accordingly, the Armenian Tork' with a group of words meaning different kinds of birds of prey. See Ն. Ադոնց, Տորք աստված հիւ Հայոց, Երկեր հիւզ հաստորով, հատ. Ա, Երեւան, 2006, էջ 79-86] [N. Adontz, "Tork', God of the Ancient Armenians," *Works in Five Volumes*, Volume 1 (Erevan, 2006), pp. 79-86].
[See also, in English: [Tarku among the Ancient Armenians](#)].

91 Jensen, *ZA* VIII p. 375.

92 Flavii Arriani fragm. in Eustathii Comment. in Homeri Illiadem, 565, 4.

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93 [This refers to the Roman ceremony that was performed annually in honor of the goddess Cybele during the spring solstice: a pine tree was cut down and brought with divine honors to the temple of Cybele, where it was decorated with violets, symbolizing the blood of Attis. A few days later, ecstatic Galli priests sprinkled their own blood on both the altar of the goddess and the sacred tree.]

94 [Note in the right margin]: "Although there are other trees with the ending -ճի: խճի, սոճի, nochi, kapchi, sochi [cf.] Pers. [nājū] وجاند."

95 Dionysii Halicarnassensis *Antiquitates Romanae*, I, 27. Herodoti *Historiae*, I, 94.

96 Dionysii Halicarnassensis *Antiquitates Romanae*, III, 61.

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97 Noteworthy is the initial e-; although in similar positions it has a local meaning, here it may be compared with the prosthetic a- in *a-tis*, *a-tus*.

98 {название}

99 [*Anabasis*, 5.4, 26].

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100 [Actually, this is according to Strabo: Strab. *Geogr.* 12.3.18. In Xenophon, both the ethnonym and the name of the tower are written with a double sigma: no attempts to etymologize the name of the tribe through the name of the tower, or *vice versa*, are observed in Xenophon.]

101 Plutarchi Vitae parallelae, Romulus, 2.

102 Eisler, "Kuba-Kybele," *Philol.* LXVIII, 1909, p. 118.

103 Lycophronis Alexandra, 29 [the reference is incorrect].

104 Pseudo-Apollodori Bibliotheca 3, 143 and [Hellanici Historiae fr. in] Joannes Tzetzes, 3, 12, 3.

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105 E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, Étudiée dans ses rapport avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, Heidelberg – Paris, 1923.