Studies about Cybele and Attis and Their Cults

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JSTOR

XVII

THE MOST ANCIENT GODDESS CYBELE

By F. LEGGE

IN the year 204, exactly two centuries before the date generally accepted as that of the birth of Christ, the Roman State had passed through an experience much like that of our great Ally across the Channel in the autumn of 1914. Hannibal, the lifelong enemy of Rome, had surmounted obstacles thought to be insurmountable, had swept into Italy like a whirlwind, and in a few pitched battles had destroyed six consular armies. After one of these victories, his Moorish cavalry had raided right up to the walls of Rome, then only defended by old men and boys, and the Eternal City seemed to be at his mercy. Yet at the last moment he turned aside, as did von Kluck in our day, and pushed into the rich province which was afterwards Naples, whence it took all the nibbling strategy of Fabius to dislodge him. When Capua at last fell, he still kept his grip on the Calabrian coast, where he waited for reinforcements which never reached him, to again attack Rome. So long as he was on Italian soil, there could be no rest nor peace of mind for those Romans who, like the elder Cato, had seen the fierce African spearmen galloping through the Campagna, firing the thatched huts and driving off the cattle which formed all the wealth of the peasant farmers, then the backbone of the Republic. During all this time, too, the Roman populace had behaved beautifully. Even after Cannæ they had not despaired of the Republic; they had suspended their long quarrel with the patricians; and, after a few very unsuccessful experiments with mob-appointed generals, had left the conduct of the war in the

more capable hands of the Senate. But when a shower of stones—probably *lapilli* from some volcano on the coast—fell upon the city, they were seized with one of the superstitious panics to which they were prone. They cried out that the gods were angry with them, and, as the unknown is sometimes more terrible than the known, there was more fear of their weakening before this menace than before Hannibal.

What a modern government would have done in these conditions, it is difficult to see; but Roman statesmen had a remedy at hand for all such troubles in the Sibylline Books. These were now consulted in due form, and pronounced that if the Mother of the Gods could be brought to Rome, Hannibal would be driven out of Italy. Now the Mother of the Gods, sometimes called merely the "Great Mother", was worshipped all over the Eastern Mediterranean under the names of Gê, Rhea, or, most often, Cybele. At Athens, the Metrôon, or House of the Mother, had been built in her honour, and Phidias himself had carved her statue. But her most famous image at this time was the baetyl or black stone said to have fallen from Heaven at Pessinus in Phrygia, which it made the centre and Holy City of the religion. All Phrygia, or Central Asia Minor, had been tossed about like a tennis-ball during the wars between Alexander's marshals which broke out upon the great conqueror's death; but in 204 was under the rule of Attalus of Pergamum, the Asiatic king who had earliest foreseen the great future before the Republic and was most anxious for the title of "Friend of Rome". Hence the special embassy that was at once sent to him had little difficulty in persuading him to give up the statue; and as Rome, though defeated on land, was still mistress of the seas, it was announced before long that the Mother of the Gods had arrived at Rome's seaport of Ostia.

The reception of the famous stone was stage-managed with a care that shows how real had been the peril it was

expected to conjure. The Oracle of Delphi, which the Roman embassy had consulted on its way to Pergamum, had advised that the goddess should be attended in her new home by her accustomed priests and priestesses and should be received by the most virtuous man among the citizens. The Senate had no difficulty in deciding this to be Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, one of the great patrician house that was later to break the Carthaginian power at Zama, and in the Third Punic War to wipe it off the face of the earth. Nasica therefore went to Ostia: but the passage of the goddess from Ostia to Rome could not be accomplished without a miracle. The barge containing the statue ran upon one of the mudbanks common in the undredged Tiber, and neither sailors nor landsmen could get it off until Quinta, a Roman lady of the Claudian House whose virtue had been unjustly suspected, declared that only the girdle of a pure woman would be effective, and fastening her own to the prow of the vessel, drew it off as easily as a child drags after him a toy-boat. Medals have come down to us commemorating this episode, which has been described by Ovid.[1] But other versions of the story seem to show that Claudia Quinta had from the first been appointed by the Senate to help in the reception of the goddess. There was seldom much love lost between the Cornelian and the Claudian Houses, and the lady's association with a Scipio in the affair is therefore some proof that the invitation to the goddess to come to Rome was the result of a transaction amongst the patricians entered into for some political end.[2]

The scene which followed on the statue's arrival in the city has been described by poets and historians writing centuries after the event, but may perhaps be reconstructed

[1] *Fasti*, iv, 76.

[2] Probably the transfer of the war to Africa, in which policy the Scipionic party was opposed by Fabius.

with fair probability from what we know about the worship in later times. The procession which the astonished Romans then saw for the first time was probably headed by priestesses playing flutes and pipes, clashing castanets and cymbals, and beating tambourines. Then came the bearers of the sacred emblems, the mystic chest, the pine-cones, and the drum, together with other assistants brandishing snakes.[1] Then the statue of the goddess, represented as a seated matron of majestic beauty, holding in her right hand a sceptre, and on her head a turreted crown in which was set the famous aerolite or black stone,[2] which in earlier days had itself been worshipped as divine. The statue was probably fashioned in ivory and gold, and was shown in a shrine in which the goddess' chair was flanked by lions, which in later times at all events were of silver. The car bearing it was escorted by the Corybantes or male attendants of the goddess, armed with sword and buckler, which they rhythmically clashed together with a ritual significance.[3] Then followed—strangest sight of all to Roman eyes—the eunuch-priests of the East, dressed as women, with long perfumed hair, painted faces, and eyes darkened with kohl. They were led by the high priest or *archigallus*, a man chosen for his tall stature, clothed in royal robes, and wearing a golden crown from which floated a long white veil. The procession was closed by the male novices, who with the eunuchs danced along with wild

[1] Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 259 sqq.

[2] The pains taken to build a ship on purpose for its transport (see Ovid, *ubi cit.*) shows that the statue and not only the stone, probably a very small affair, was sent. Pergamum had a school of art of its own, and it is probable that its statue gave the type that we find on coins (see Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, Paris, 1912), pl. x. The still more beautiful one carved by Phidias for the Athens Metrôon probably lacked the crown of towers and other specially Phrygian attributes. See Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iii, p. 298.

[3] Sometimes called Curetes. The noise was said to have been made by the orders of Rhea (another form of Cybele) to prevent Kronos from hearing the cries of the infant Zeus.

yells, tossing themselves about as if in ecstasy, lashing themselves with scourges and cutting themselves on the arms and shoulders like the Biblical priests of Bāăl. To such a pitch did the frenzy of these last sometimes reach that now and again one of them would dash away and mutilate himself in memory of the god who; as we shall see, was worshipped together with Cybele. After this, he was given women's clothes and passed the rest of his life as a priest.

All this must have been extremely shocking to the ideas of the Romans, to whom any public display of emotion was repulsive in the highest degree. They had always a very exalted idea of their personal dignity, and to the last were marked with that *gravitas* which may be likened to the *morgue* or phlegm with which we English used to be credited on the Continent. Particularly was this the case in religious matters, the ancient State rites being as coldly restrained and as purely symbolical as those of the Chinese worship of Heaven. Hence the Scipios and other patricians responsible for the presentation of this charivari must have felt very much ashamed of themselves. But what were they to do? To send back the Mother of the Gods to her Phrygian home would have been at once to offend Attalus mortally and to imperil the re-establishment of the public *moral* which was the object of her importation. On the other hand, the last thing they wanted was any increase of public hysteria in the very crisis of the war. In face of this dilemma, they took the middle course and wisely compromised. The Mother of the Gods was given a habitation on the Palatine and an establishment maintained for her at the expense of the State; but no Roman was allowed to join in her worship, which was restricted to foreigners. The sacrifice of virility with which it sometimes culminated was made an offence punishable with exile and later with death. Once a year the priests might hold a public

festival, and once a month might beg in the streets like Buddhist monks or mendicant friars. At other times the worship had to be kept to the Palatine. The goddess does not seem to have resented these restrictions, for that year gave Rome the best harvest she had enjoyed for ten years, and the next Hannibal left Italy for ever.

What, now, was this foreign divinity who was thus brought from Asia Minor to save Rome in her hour of need? Every god of classical antiquity had his or her myth or legend, and that of Cybele was so opposed to all our conventional ideas as to show that it must be referred to a very primitive state of society indeed. Cybele or Agdistis—both are names taken from mountains in Phrygia and have no special significance—was said to have sprung by a kind of accident[1] from a rock, and to have been originally an androgyne or man-woman. The terrified gods, on beholding this monster, took from her her manhood, but in doing so gave life to an almond-tree, the fruit of which was plucked by the virgin daughter of the River Sangarios, who thereby became the mother of Attis, the most beautiful of men. Attis, at his birth, was exposed on the bank of the River Gallos, but was rescued, brought up as a goatherd, and was later sent to Pessinus, where he was given as a husband to the king's daughter. But at the marriage feast Cybele, who had conceived a passion for her son—or rather grandson—broke into the town by beating down the walls with her head, and so frightened him that he mutilated himself under a pine-tree and died of the hurt. Then Cybele repented, and after mourning over the body of Attis, prayed to Zeus to restore him to life. The prayer was granted by making him a god, and Attis became the companion and charioteer of Cybele, driving with her in her car drawn by lions over the wooded mountains of the earth, where the noise of its wheels is heard by men as thunder.

[1] A *pollutio nocturna* of Zeus.

This extraordinary story, which we have from both Pagan and Christian sources,[1] is amply confirmed by what we know of the Megalesia or festivals of the Great Goddess, which from her first arrival were celebrated in Rome at the Spring Equinox. They began on March 15 with the *Canna Intrat* or Day of Reeds, when the guild of the Cannophori, mostly children, entered the temple in procession carrying reeds in memory of those among which the infant Attis had been exposed, like Sargon of Akkad or the Hebrew Moses. Then followed a *novena* or fast of nine days, during which the faithful had to observe strict continence and to abstain from bread and everything made from cereals, from roots, pomegranates, dates, quinces, pork, fish, and wine. On the 22nd came the *Arbor Intrat*, when the Dendrophori or guild of tree-bearers cut in the wood sacred to Cybele a young pine-tree, which they wrapped in wool and crowned with violets in memory of those which were fabled to have sprung from the blood of Attis, a small image of whom was attached to the top branches. The procession bearing this on its way to the temple, chanted funereal hymns in Greek with much beating of the breast in sign of grief. The tree, which was considered as the body of Attis himself, was set up outside the temple for three days, and surrounded day and night by a mourning crowd of worshippers, while a priest cried at intervals "Wail for Attis! Smite yourselves for Attis!" On the 24th this mourning reached its height in the *Dies Sanguinis* or Day of Blood, when the priests with yells and dancings lashed themselves with scourges and cut themselves with knives so as to sprinkle the tree with their blood; and the day finished with the solemn burial of the tree within the temple, to be dug up and burnt when its successor

[1] Pausanias, vii, c. 17; Arnobius, *adv. Gentes*, v, cc. 5 sqq. Diodorus Siculus gives a third version and Ovid a fourth, but without essential variation.

arrived the following year. During the night of the Day of Blood, the faithful might eat nothing and drink only milk, while they watched in silence round the darkened temple.

Their reward came the next day, called *Hilaria* or Day of Joy. At midnight a solitary light was seen to shine from the inner sanctuary, and the public were admitted to see Attis, this time in human form, dressed in silk and gems, lying on an ivory bed before the statue of the Great Mother. Something like a modern service followed, with hymns and perhaps prayers in Greek, and the high priest delivered a discourse on the joys reserved for those who believed on Attis. Then he purified all present by anointing them upon the lips with the whispered formula, evidently reserved for those fully initiated: "Be of good cheer, ye mystæ of the god who has been saved; for, for us too there will be salvation from our ills." Then, as dawn broke, the throng of worshippers poured out into the streets, to find them decorated for the triumphal marriage procession of Attis and Cybele, when everyone had either to be dressed in gay colours or to wear a disguise as in a modern carnival. The centre of the procession was the silver car in which the bridal pair were seated, and the faithful who surrounded it were crowned with flowers, carried torches, and cried as they went along: "Attis is risen." But this was not the end. The following day, called *Requietio*, was given up to much-needed rest, but on the day after this, called *Lavatio*, the procession set forth again, bearing this time the silver statue of the goddess only. It was taken by the Appian Way to the brook Almo, where it was solemnly bathed, together with the car and the knives used by the *galli*. Then, having been implored to return to Rome by the Quindecemvirs, or Committee of Fifteen whom the State set to look after exotic cults, the goddess was taken back to the Palatine, there to remain till the next spring, while

banquets, games, and performances in the theatres were given in her honour.

These ceremonies were annually celebrated from the first arrival of the Mother down to the last day of the Republic. During this time the faith was evidently making itself slowly known among the citizens; and although no formal sanction was given to the cult, the restrictions imposed by the Senate must have been somehow relaxed. When a Phrygian *archigallus* in his costume of office visited the Forum and was driven out by the tribune Aulus Pompeius for daring to bring emblems of royalty into the Republic's Holy of Holies, it is recorded with some satisfaction that the goddess avenged the insult by a fever which carried the tribune off in the night. Doubtless this increased popularity was in great part due to the other foreign cults which were now beginning to pour into Rome as the result of her Eastern wars, and to many of these the little church on the Palatine acted as a temporary shelter. Particularly was this the case with the worship of Mithras, with which that of Cybele formed such intimate relations as to give rise to the likely theory that the worship of the Mother was considered especially suited to the wives and daughters of Mithraists. At all events, the establishment of the empire removed all bars to its extension. Its privileged position as a State establishment saved it from the dislike with which Augustus regarded all exotic religions; and, under his successors, Roman men and Roman women of good birth began to join the guilds or associations for its practice until then given up to foreign slaves, freedmen, and merchants. The Emperor Claudius greatly extended its public ceremonies and made its clergy more than ever officers of State. Its apogee was probably reached under the Antonines, when Faustina the elder became its devotee, and henceforth the emperors were the official heads of the cult and

Rome took the place of Pessinus as the metropolis of the religion.

It was during this period that a new rite made its appearance in the worship of the Mother. This was the ceremony of the blood-bath or *taurobolium*, in which the votary was placed in a pit covered with a grating of planks pierced with holes, on which a bull and a ram were slaughtered, so that the blood dripped through on to the recipient below. This disgusting rite, which by a natural confusion with the subject of the Tauroctony, or altar-piece of the Mithraic temples, has been thought peculiar to the worship of Mithras, was certainly introduced into the West by the priests of Cybele, and to the last, perhaps, was administered by them alone. It was thought to have a magical effect on the votary, who often records on votive tablets and altars that he or she has been by it "reborn unto eternity". It also seems to have been sometimes performed, like the Catholic Mass, for the benefit of others, since we hear of it being celebrated for the health of the emperor, the success of the Roman arms, and other like purposes. It is fairly certain that its celebration, instead of forming, as has sometimes been suggested, a regular incident in the initiation of a new votary, was always a rarity,[1] and it is said, although it is not easy to see why, that it was so costly that only the rich could afford it.

Beside this there were secret rites, or Mysteries of the Mother, at the nature of which we can only guess. Those who are curious in the matter can read the attempted reconstruction of them by M. Henri Graillot in his great work *Le Culte de Cybèle*, which, had it been written by a German instead of a French scholar, would before now have been hailed with a chorus of admiration

[1] Graillot's theory (*Culte*, p. 232) that it was sometimes substituted for the ritual mutilation is enticing, but has, I am afraid, little evidence to support it.

by every teacher of classics in England and America.[1] Thorough as he is, however, M. Graillot seems to me to arrive at his conclusions on this part of his subject only by throwing together all the hints we have from various sources as to what took place in the Mysteries of the Eleusinian deities, of the Greek Isis, of Mithras and of other gods, and then assuming that those of Cybele proceeded on the same lines. It may be so, and he has the support of Dr. Farnell in thinking that the initiate of Cybele, after many purifications, fastings, and trials, was himself actually married to the goddess, and enthroned with her as "part of the mesmeric process which aimed at producing the impression of deification in the mortal".[2] I prefer here to confine myself to the two pieces of direct evidence from eye-witnesses that we have as to the secret ceremonies of the Mother of the Gods. Clement of Alexandria,[3] who was himself initiated before conversion, tells us that the initiate in the Phrygian rites was taught to say: "I have eaten out of the tambourine, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have carried the Kernos, I have stolen into the bridal-chamber," which seems to point to something like a sacramental feast, and the witnessing of some divine nuptials like those which were performed in pantomime in the Eleusinia. Hippolytus, also, gives us in his *Philosophumena*[4] some stanzas of what he calls "a song of the great mysteries" (of Cybele), which may be translated—

"Hail, Attis! whether thou art the offspring of Kronos, or of blessed Zeus, or of great Rhea whose sad mutilation thou art.

[1] It forms vol. cvii of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*. Full references to the original authorities for all the statements in the earlier part of this paper are there given.

[2] *Cults of the Greek States*, iii, 301. On the analogy of the Eleusinian Mysteries, however, it was the hierophant who was married, and it was certainly the archigallus and not the initiate who was called Attis (Graillot, *Culte*, p. 235).

[3] *Protrept.* ii, 15. His initiation is vouched for by Eusebius, *Prep. Evang.* ii, 2.

[4] *Philosophumena*, v, 1, 9, pp. 176, 177, Cruice.

The Syrians call thee the much longed-for Adonis, Egypt names thee Osiris, the Greeks Sophia (Wisdom) or the heavenly horn of Mên, the Samothracians the revered Adamna, the Thessalians Corybas, but the Phrygians sometimes Papas, once dead or a god, at others the unfruitful one, or the goatherd, or the green ear of corn reaped, or he to whom the flowering almond-tree gave birth as a pipe-playing man." [1]

This was apparently intended to tell the initiates that the Attis they adored was the same god as Zeus, as Adonis, Osiris, the moon-god Mên, the Cabiric deity whom the poet calls Adamna or Adamas, the Corybas of whom Clement of Alexandria tells a story like that of the Orphic Dionysos, and as the Syrian Papas or the Father. Another hymn, of which Hippolytus gives an extract, runs—

"I will sing Attis, son of Rhea, not with a humming noise or the nasal sound of the Idæan Curetes' flutes; but I will mingle with the song a Phœban strain of lutes, hailing him with Evohe, Evan, as Pan, as Bacchus, and as the Shepherd of white stars,"

which adds Pan, Bacchus, and Hermes to the list. No doubt such identifications were often made.[2] But the third century, in which Hippolytus wrote, was an age of syncretism, or what Max Müller used to call *henotheism*, when every pagan asserted that the god he worshipped by preference included within his own godhead that of all the rest; and no one would then have been shocked had this doctrine been proclaimed upon the housetops.

[1] Schneidewin's reconstruction of the poem is slightly different. All the epithets here attributed to "the Phrygians" can be referred to episodes in the Attis legend, and are dealt with in detail by the "Naassene" or Ophite author whom Hippolytus quotes. For the "reaped ear" see *Philosophumena*, vi, 1, 8, p. 171, Cruice, where it is said to have been copied from the Phrygians by the Eleusinian Mysteries, in which it forms "the great and wonderful and most perfect visible (or epoptic) mystery" shown to the epopts.

[2] So Isis in Apuleius' romance tells her votary immediately before his initiation that she is the goddess adored in various places as Hera, Athena, Cybele, Artemis, Nemesis, and so on.

Yet the hymns quoted are evidently very old, and may have come down to us from a time when this fusion of deities could only be whispered about in secret.[1]

Everyone, I think, must be struck with the likeness between these spring ceremonies of the Megalesia and what goes on in Catholic churches at the present day during Eastertide. From the Day of Reeds, which is like Palm Sunday, down to the rejoicings on Easter Day, the parallel is fairly close, and even the appearance of the solitary light is found in the office of *Tenebræ*. Hence those who write about "Pagan Christs" and "Dying Gods" have tried to show that the Christian festival is imitated from the heathen. It would not be surprising if there had been some conscious borrowing in the matter, especially in point of date; because it can be shown from other instances that the Catholic Church adopted as her own many heathen festivals, and perhaps a few ceremonies. This has been acknowledged by writers of such different views as Mgr. Duchesne, Père Loisy, Professor Harnack, Count Goblet d'Alviella, and others. It was, indeed, the openly avowed policy of the Church, and it is recorded that Pope Gregory instructed the missionaries to the heathen that if they found among them customs harmless in themselves or which with a little alteration could be given a Christian meaning, they were to adopt them. Hence we ought not to be astonished that the mourning for Attis and the rejoicing over his resurrection so closely resemble the ceremonies of Good Friday, Easter Eve, and Easter Sunday. Spring festivals hailing the awakening of Nature from her winter sleep are common enough all over the world, and it is possible—although there is no record of the fact—that some Christian emperor, or his ecclesiastical advisers, may have decided to turn the

[1] One fairly strong argument in favour of their antiquity is that they nowhere identify Attis with any sun-god, which they would certainly have done if written after (say) the reign of Trajan.

Megalesia, so firmly rooted in the people's affections as not to be abandoned without danger, into a solemn commemoration of the Death and Resurrection of Christ. In like manner, it may be that the prototypes of the paten and chalice are to be found in the *tympanum* and *cymbalum* from which the initiate of Cybele took his sacramental meal, and that the rite of baptism common to both faiths had certain similarities of practice.

The copying tendency probably worked both ways, and if we had more detailed information about the worship of Cybele we might find that, alike in its fasts and in their management of the confraternities, the priests of Cybele were not above taking a hint from the infant Church. But that there was any community of doctrine between the two faiths, or that the Church ever regarded the worship of Cybele as a serious rival, I cannot bring myself to believe. Anything of the kind was made impossible by the extreme crudity of the older faith's legend, which must always have prevented it from appealing to the same order of minds as Christianity. Apart from its promise of the coming of the Kingdom, Christianity seems to have appealed to the masses of the Roman Empire by its insistence on morality, the help which its members rendered to each other, and its entire freedom from those incredible and indecorous stories about the gods of which even the heathen were ashamed. In these respects, many of the new Oriental religions lately introduced into Rome were much nearer to it than the worship of the Great Mother. Osiris, the good king who brought the gentler arts of life to his subjects before succumbing to the forces of disorder and chaos, and Mithras the soldier of Jupiter Best and Greatest against the powers of darkness, might be held up as examples to their votaries; but even Catullus, in his poem on Attis, shudders at the thought of imitating the effeminate divinity, and begs Cybele to take someone else for her service. So,

too, Isis, the faithful wife seeking for her dead spouse and watching over the divine child in which he is reborn, is a true type of the *Mater Dolorosa*; but what mortal would feel sympathy with the imperious deity who thrusts her unlawful love upon her irresponsive descendant and thus terrifies him into suicidal madness?

Nor should I be inclined to see, as some have done, in the whispered words of the *archigallus* any assurance of the immortality of the soul or the deification of the votary. The words might just as easily be taken to mean that death would prove "the poppied sleep, the end of all", and would therefore put a term to his sufferings. But I do not think that either construction is the true one. The purpose of all initiations in the ancient world seems to have been to give the initiate a privileged position in the life beyond the tomb. The Homeric Hymn to Demeter and the great Greek poets alike assure the Eleusinian mystæ that after death they will not have the same lot as the common herd, that they will be exempted from the bath of mud in which the uninitiated dead were supposed to lie, and so on. What is probably meant by the comforting assurance to the initiates of Cybele that as the god was saved so will they get salvation from their troubles, is that they, like him, will enjoy the favour of the goddess after as before death. So (the Greek) Isis in Apuleius[1] tells Lucius that if he is initiated,

"Thou shalt live blessed—thou shalt live proud of my protection, and when the term of thy life is spent, and thou at length dost descend to the Shades, there also, even in the subterranean hemisphere, thou, dwelling in Elysian fields, shalt continue to adore me still propitious to thee, and shalt see me shining amidst the darkness of Acheron and ruling over the secret places of Styx."

A perception of the fundamental discrepancy between

[1] *Metamorph.* xi. 6.

Cybele-worship and Christianity seems to have affected the Christian Fathers, who, although they hold the legend of Attis and Cybele up to ridicule as a monstrous and indecorous fable,[1] never appear to have felt towards the priests of the Great Mother the violent hostility which they displayed towards the Isiacists and Mithraists. The downfall of Cybele-worship was marked by none of the scenes of violence that attended the sacking of the Roman Mithræa under Gratian or the destruction of the Alexandrian Serapeum under Theodosius. On the withdrawal of the State subsidy and the confiscation of the funds of the confraternities, the establishment on the Palatine which had endured since the Second Punic War fell into disuse, and the site of the last *taurobolium* is now covered by the Vatican.

The real interest which this outworn faith has for us at the present day is that its origins can be traced to the very earliest civilization of whose existence we have any proof. The Phrygian Cybele whose worship we have seen brought to Rome was herself a Cretan goddess, and as such is called by Livy the Idæan Mother in his account of the transaction with Attalus. Remains of her worship have been found by Sir Arthur Evans at Knôssos, which go back to the fifteenth century B.C. But her pedigree can be traced a long way beyond that. All over Western Asia, from the very dawn of history, there was worshipped a divinity known as the Great Goddess, who combined the gentler attributes of her sex with those of a fierce and arrogant warrior, and of this goddess Cybele was only one form. Known as Mâ in Lydia, as Atargatis or the Syrian Goddess of Nero's adoration, as Bellona in Cappadocia, as Adrasteia or Nemesis in Mysia, and under other analogues elsewhere, her earliest name seems to have been Ishtar of Babylon. Her distinguishing mark under all her forms is that her sex is always doubtful, or rather

[1] See Graillot, *op. cit.*, pp. 546, 547.

that when worshipped as a female she usurps all the privileges of a male. Thus, in the legend of Ishtar, it is always the goddess who makes advances to her lovers with disastrous consequences to them, and it is she who, when Thammuz is done to death, ventures into Hades to rescue him. The same feature is visible in all later forms of the myth, including even its most artistic and beautiful one of Aphrodite and Adonis, while the goddess' lover is always represented as a more or less effeminate being, without a will of his own, who is unable to resist the goddess' advances. This inversion of the attitude of the sexes towards each other in classical times—which Swinburne sums up in the words

"The god pursuing, the maiden hid,"

—has been thought to be due to a state of society in which a scarcity of women has produced the practice of polyandry, which Mr. Kipling describes in the "Woman of Shumleigh" episode in *Kim*. It is significant in this respect, that the widespread story of an Amazonian nation somewhere in Asia has always had its scene in those countries where the worship of the Great Goddess was prevalent, and that these female warriors were generally represented in classic art with the double axe and bilobed shield associated with the worship of Cybele in Crete and Asia Minor. The tradition, too, of the matriarchate or descent through the mother only which polyandry implies, is to be found chiefly in Lydia, Lycia, and other prominent seats of the cult. Not less marked is the way in which the Great Goddess or the lover who is really her male counterpart is represented as having once possessed both sexes at the same time. This, as we have seen, was a feature in the myth of Agdistis. We are told that Adonis was bewailed by the women of Byblos with cries of "Alas, my lord! Alas, my lady!" and the Asiatic Dionysos, who was often identified with Attis, was not only represented in art with

markedly feminine characteristics, but is described in an Orphic Hymn as "of a double nature", or both male and female. The same idea goes back to the story of Thammuz, Ishtar's lover, who, as Dr. Pinches has shown, in some of the earliest Sumerian hymns known, is called "Princess" and "Mother" as well as by exclusively male epithets. Still earlier we have one of the many Sumerian accounts of the Creation, deciphered by Dr. Stephen Langdon, which makes the first beings created as a pattern for mankind to be of both sexes at once.[1]

One explanation of this attribution of a bisexual nature to the goddess and her lover may be found in the fact that the Great Mother is always an earth-goddess, or rather, is herself a personification of the Earth. Sophocles already treats Gê or Gaia, the earth pure and simple, as the same person as Rhea, the mother of Zeus,[2] and Cybele and Ishtar are, like her Greek analogue the earth-goddess Demeter, "the life of fruits and corn." But nearly all primitive people have a myth in which the earth and sky figure as locked so closely together as to form one being, and everyone will remember the Egyptian group in which the Earth, there made not a goddess but a god, is separated from the overarching and female heaven by the air-god Shu, who supports her on his outstretched hands.[3] Some such myth may well have

[1] PSBA. xxxvi, 1914, p. 196, n. 23. This is what I understood Mr. Langdon to mean, but I do not think his published words bear out the contention. For the bisexual nature of the earliest beings, according to the traditions of the Greeks, Jews, Samaritans, Ophites, and Manichæans, see my *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, i, pp. 182, 189, 195; ii, pp. 37, 40, 298, 329.

[2] *Philoct.* 391. Cf. Farnell, op. cit., iii, p. 379.

[3] Maspero, *Hist. Ancienne*, i, p. 86. Many instances were given in the discussion which followed the reading of this paper of the worship in India of the Earth as an androgyne being like the Orphic Phanes. The observed fact that the Earth appears to bring forth without male assistance, and therefore must contain both sexes within herself, may have been the idea underlying such stories. That the division of this androgyne deity into two sexes brings about the castration of the male

been the foundation of all the stories of hermaphrodites or men-women which we meet with not only in classical literature but, as we have seen, in the very oldest legends known to us. Be that as it may, it is Cybele's identification with the Earth which proved the most enduring feature of her worship. Although, as I have said, Cybele-worship had little or nothing to do with orthodox Christianity, on the more or less Christian sects which we call Gnostic its influence was profound. Hippolytus tells us of a sect which he calls the Ophites or Serpent-worshippers, who were accustomed, he says, to frequent the mysteries of the Great Mother, alleging that only they could understand them.[1] The stories of secret orgies which the orthodox told about the Gnostics doubtless sprang from this habit. All the Gnostics, too, found a place in their Pantheon for a female power called Sophia or Wisdom, who is fabled as descending into Hades like Ishtar, and round whom the whole scheme of creation centres. That this Great Goddess or Sophia reappears as the Mother of Life or of all living things in the Manichæan religion, which inherited so many Gnostic ideas, I have before suggested; and also that her position in Manichæism owes much to the corresponding one in the Zoroastrian faith of the one female Amshaspand, Spenta-Armaiti, who is set over the earth as her male fellows are over the fire, the metals, and so on.[2] Hence we see that a modified worship of the Great Mother endured long after the triumph of Christianity, and indeed cannot be said to be entirely extinct even now.

person of the godhead is suggested by the Greek myths of Uranos and Gê, Kronos and Rhea (Hesiod, *Theogon.*, 1,159, and Porphyry, *de antro Nymph.*, p. 118). Dr. Wallis Budge (*Book of the Dead*, c. 69, vol. ii, p. 235) thinks that the same fate attended the Egyptian earth god Seb.

[1] *Philosophumena*, v, 1, 9, p. 177, Cruice. The first chapter of the fifth book is indeed little but a commentary on the "song of the great mysteries" given above.

[2] See *Forerunners*, ii, p. 45, n. 1, and ii, p. 300, n. 2, for references.

The Mandæans or Christians of St. John, who are to be found on the Tigris between Basra and Baghdad, still preserve many of the Manichæan traditions, including the reverence for the Mother of Life. But we might find examples nearer home than that. The Gnostic Church of Paris, if it has survived the War, still numbers among its bishops, whose titles are all derived from "Albigensian" or Provençal towns, a sort of female prelate called "the Sophia of Warsaw", in memory of the Eon Sophia in the system of Valentinus. Some of the Russian Dissenting sects, too, indulge in an orgiastic worship presided over by a female dignitary called the "Mother", of whose office and proceedings some scandalous stories are told.[1] As the sect of Skoptzis, to which most of the Moscow cab-drivers belong, practise the ritual mutilation of the priests of Cybele, which seems to be connected with this, it cannot be said that all traces of her worship have vanished from Europe with the triumph of Christianity. Russia has inherited without a break much of the old Byzantine culture from which these curious sects derive their practices, and Byzantine history is full of stories of the persistence of Pagan worships in secret, including the religion of Cybele. The Sumerian civilization, which perhaps was the original source of the Cybele story, goes back to nearly 7,000 years B.C., which is about two millennia earlier than the earliest date that can be assigned for the appearance of any organized religion in Egypt. It therefore seems possible that these Russian sects, of which very little is really known, still possess some relics of a religion which is more than 9,000 years old, and that the worship of Cybele as our common Mother the Earth, is not only the most ancient but the most persistent religion known to civilized man.

[1] Cf. Dmitry J. Merejkowsky, *Pierre le Grand*, Paris, pp. 243 sqq. Tsakni, *La Russie Sectaire*, seems to be the authority for all these stories.

From *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults* (Leiden, 1996)

THE PRESENCE OF THE GODDESS IN HARRAN

Tamara Green

The past is, as M.I. Finley wrote, "an intractable incomprehensive mass of uncounted and uncountable data,"[1] made intelligible only through the construction of meaning that is itself the product of human choice; the writing of the history of an idea arises out of the human propensity for creating unified thought. In attempting to write an account of the worship of the mother goddess in the Northern Mesopotamian city of Harran during its 3,000 year history, it is essential to keep Finley's words before us, for we must remember that not only is the history of religious experience notoriously difficult to delineate, given its ineffable quality, but that the erratic and disparate nature of the sources leave unfillable gaps in our knowledege. In our search for understanding of the role of the mother goddess in Harran, we too often are forced to try to construct a model from the scantiest kinds of evidence, especially since the divine figure of the male Moon god dominates all accounts of the city's religious life. We must search for clues around the edges of history.

The city of Harran, located at the intersection of several ancient caravan routes, was founded as a mercantile outpost by Ur in the early 2nd millennium B.C.E. Inhabited by succeeding waves of Akkadians, Babylonians and Assyrians, it was absorbed into the Persian empire after the fall of the last ruler of Babylon, Nabonidus, in the sixth century B.C.E. Several centuries later, the conquests of Alexander brought the city into the orbit of an intellectual Hellenism already partially transmuted by its contact with the Near East. And although Harran was notorious among the early Christians in the region for the persistence of its traditional cults and rites long after the official recognition of the Church, it was located near those two great centers of Syriac Christianity, Edessa and Nisibis. It was these variegated cultural traditions that the Muslims encountered when they conquered the city in 639 C.E.

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[1] M.I. Finley, "Myth, Memory and History," *The Use and Abuse of History* (New York, 1987), 13.

Whatever the complex political history of Harran, the difficulties in tracing its religious traditions are made even more complex by the dominant presence of the Moon god Nanna/Sin in all the accounts of the city. Every ancient Mesopotamian city had one deity that it elevated above all others; and throughout its 3,000 year history, Harran was the possession of the Moon god, around whose worship the city organized its world. The empires of the Akkadians and Babylonians, of the Greeks, Romans and Arabs may have controlled successively the political life of the city, but all paid tribute, in one form or another, to its divine Lord. The god's power manifested itself in a variety of ways: as "the lamp of heaven" in the evening sky, as guarantor of political dominion, as illuminator of the divine will through prophecy, and as the embodiment of male generative power. His role as revealer of what is hidden ultimately led to his absorption into the hermetic traditions of late antiquity, and was this aspect of his divinity that ultimately provided him an entree into the mystical traditions of Islam. Nevertheless, although his masculine preeminence in the divine hierarchy tends to cast into historical shadow the other divinities worshipped at Harran for their life-giving powers, textual and archaeological evidence points to a variety of persistent cultic traditions that had their roots in the power of the feminine. Unlike the Moon god, however, whose attributes tend to be well-defined and whose importance is well-documented, the female deities mentioned in our texts are often difficult to identify with any certainty. Complicating the search is the variety of texts and archaeological evidence produced over a 3,000 year period.

The Goddess in ancient Mesopotamia

Our earliest references to Harranian religion reveal the cultic presence of several of the traditional Mesopotamian deities, most notably the protecting deity of the city. In Sumerian texts, the Moon god is called Nanna, but he has a variety of cultic titles. Su-En, contracted to Sin, seems to represent the moon in its crescent form;[2] it is an image that is distinctly masculine, for the moon's "horns" become the embodiment both of the royal crown with its political power and of the fertility of the raging bull. Despite the clearly masculine char-

[2] It was by this name that he was called by the Semitic successors of the Sumerians.

acter of the moon deity in Mesopotamian myth, it nevertheless can be argued that there is also evidence for a feminine aspect of the moon which manifests itself only in the full moon. If the crescent of the moon is the symbol of male virility and sexual power, the full moon perhaps may be seen to portray the gravidity of woman about to give birth; thus, within the moon's periodic nature there is a constant cycle of alternation between male and female. Those cultures which traditionally have seen the moon as feminine have connected its cycles with those of female fertility; the moon's appearance of growing fullness is a manifestation of woman's fecundity. The moon is born and dies in its masculine form, but it as female that it reaches its fullness. It has been suggested that the iconography of horned goddesses, such as the Egyptian Hathor and Isis and perhaps even the Greek Io, may in fact represent this duality of sexual natures.

A Sumerian hymn addressed to the Moon in its fullness would seem to support such an interpretation:

> Father Nanna, lord, conspicuously crowned,
> prince of the gods,
> Father Nanna, grandly perfect in majesty,
> prince of the gods;
> Father Nanna, (measuredly) proceeding in noble raiment,
> prince of the gods;
> fierce young bull, thick of horns, perfect of limbs,
> with lapis lazuli beard, full of beauty;
> fruit, created of itself, grown to full size,
> good to look at, with whose beauty one is never sated;
> womb, giving birth to all, who has settled down
> in a holy abode . . .[3]

In the Mesopotamian pantheon, however, the consort of the Moon god Sin, Ningal (Akkadian = great lady) is the most clearly formulated female aspect of the moon, although the textual evidence defines her role primarily in political terms, i.e., as the wife of the Moon god. On the stele of Ur-Nammu (2112–2095 B.C.E.), she is portrayed sitting next to her spouse as he confers the regalia of power to the king. It is at at Ur, and later, Harran, where Sin's political strength was centered, that she is most clearly linked to the Moon god as his spouse and as the mother of Inanna. The Harran stele of Adad-guppi, mother of Nabonidus, records an invocation to Sin and Ningal;[4]

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[3] T. Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven, 1976), 7–8.
[4] ANET 560–562.

letters from the Sargonid period invoke the blessing of Sin and Ningal;[5] and in a treaty between Ashurnirari V of Assyria (753–746 B.C.E.) and Mati'ilu of Arpad, Sin of Harran and Ningal are together called upon as witnesses.[6] In religious and mythological texts, however, Ningal is portrayed as a deity of the reed marshes; and although in Akkadian texts she is sometimes called "the mother of the great gods," in surviving myths, her powers seem to have been superseded by the increasing status of her daughter, Inanna, whose sexual power far exceeds that of her mother. Whatever creative power Ningal might have had in her origins has been sublimated to the greater political domination of her spouse.

Although it is true that 1,500 years later Greek and Roman authors, as well as medieval Arabic sources, in references to the cult of the moon at Harran, often give the deity a feminine gender, such citations may represent a cultural blind spot, rather than the reality of the female aspect of the Harranian god. Herodian reports that the emperor Caracalla was on his way back from the temple of Selene when he was assassinated,[7] and Ammianus Marcellinus maintains that it was to Luna that Julian offered his prayers, adding that the moon was especially venerated in that region;[8] whether the female gender is one imposed by the authors' own perception of the moon's gender, or whether the presence of a lunar goddess at Harran is a borrowing from the Greco-Syrian pantheon cannot be determined. It has been suggested, however, that there were at least three moon temples at Harran, including two outside the city itself, one of which may in fact been devoted to a female deity. At Asagi Yarimca, a village four miles north of Harran, a stele with the disc and crescent emblem of the Moon god and a cuneiform inscription was discovered in 1949, and Seton Lloyd argue that this was the location of "Selene's" temple.[9]

The fourth-century historian Spartian, in his account of the assassination of Caracalla, was perhaps more precise, however, in calling the Harranian deity Lunus. His comment that

> All the learned, but particularly the inhabitants of Carrhae (Harran), hold that those who think that the deity ought to be called Luna, with

[5] Etienne Combe, *Histoire du Culte de Sin en Babylonie et en Assyrie* (Paris, 1908), 58.
[6] ANET 3,532–53.
[7] *Historiae*, iv,13.
[8] "quae religiose per eos colitur tractus." xxiii.3.2.
[9] S. Lloyd and W. Brice, "Harran," *Anatolian Studies* I (1951), 80.

> the name and the sex of a woman, are subject to women and always their slaves; but those who believe that the deity is male never suffer the ambushes of women. Hence the Greeks, and also the Egyptians, although they speak of Luna as a god, in the same way that women are included in "Man," nevertheless in their mysteries, use the name Lunus.[10]

seems to be both a recognition of the bisexual nature of all lunar deities and of the power of cultural difference.

We must remember that several millennia and many cultural layers separate the anonymous Sumerian author of the hymn to Nanna and our late antique Greco-Roman historians and philosophers. When Plutarch, for example, says of the Egyptians[11] that they take the moon as the mother of the world and ascribe to it an hermaphroditic nature, since it is impregnated by the sun and becomes pregnant and then by itself sends generated matter in the air and scatters it here and there, we must consider the Greek author's own religious or philosophical biases. Similarly, when Ephraem, a Syrian Christian contemporary of Ammianus Marcellinus, reports that the second century C.E. philosopher and Hellenophile Bardaisan of the neighboring city of Edessa "looked at the Sun and the Moon; with the Sun he compared the Father, with the Moon the Mother," this may reflect the influence of astrological doctrine upon Bardaisan's rather eclectic teachings rather than ancient Mesopotamian beliefs.[12]

The Goddess in late antiquity

After the collapse in 538 B.C.E. of the neo-Babylonian empire of Nabonidus, whose devotion to the gods of Harran is well-attested to by a variety of inscriptions, our historical sources from the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman periods reveal little about the religious life of Harran except to confirm the continuing attraction of the oracular power of its Moon god. It is only with the nominal victory of the Church in the fourth century that Harran reappears in our sources, chiefly as a useful *exemplum* for Syriac Christian writers of the wicked persistence of paganism; in fact, the obvious polemical intent of their

[10] *Caracalla*, vii,3–5.
[11] *de Iside*, 43.
[12] *Hymni Contra Haereses* ed. Beck, LV,10.

accounts of Harranian religion in late antiquity often makes it difficult to evaluate their usefulness. It is only at this point in the history of Harran that the goddess emerges clearly.

Several Christian documents, including the late fourth century anonymous *Doctrine of Addai*, the hymns of Ephraem Syrus, the fifth century homilies attributed to Isaac of Antioch, and the polemical *Homily on the Fall of the Idols* by Jacob, Bishop of Sarug (451–521), not only make specific reference to the religion of Harran but also allow us to consider more generally but with a great deal of caution to what degree older particularized beliefs persisted in the face of cultural syncretism. The divine names found in these texts present a mixture of the familiar and the obscure, and are the best indication of the diverse religious traditions that are characteristic of the region. Thus, Addai rhetorically asks the Edessans:

> Who is this Nebo, an idol which ye worship, and Bel which you honor? Behold there are those among you who adore Bath Nikkal, as the inhabitants of Harran, your neighbors, and Tar'atha, as the people of Mabbug, and the Eagle as the Arabians, also the Sun and the Moon, as the rest of the inhabitants of Harran, who are as yourselves. Be ye not led away captive by the rays of the luminaries and the bright star; for every one who worships creatures is cursed before God.[13]

Although Jacob's homily provides a slightly different list, it, too, is nevertheless quite specific in its assignment of indvidual deities to particular cities:

> He (i.e. Satan) put Apollo as idol in Antioch and others with him,
> In Edessa he set Nebo and Bel together with many others.
> He led astray Harran by Sin, Ba'alshamen and Bar Nemre
> By my Lord with his Dogs and the goddesses Tar'atha and Gadlat. . . .
> Mabbug made he a city of the priests of the goddess(es)
> And called it with his name in order that it would err forever
> (going after its idols),
> a sister of Harran, which is also devoted to the offerings;
> And in their error both of them love the springs.[14]

Finally, we have the homilies of Isaac of Antioch, which actually deal with Beth Hur, a town founded by Harran, but which make reference to the religious beliefs of the mother city:

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[13] *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle*, ed. G. Phillips, (London, 1876), 23 ff.

[14] P.S. Landerdorfer, *Die Gotterliste des mar Jacob von Sarug in seiner Homilie über der Fall der Gotzenbilder* (Münich, 1914), 51–54; 59–62.

> The founders (i.e. Harran) of the place encouraged it by its very name to exchange God for the Sun . . . Look at the Sun, your savior, O city that came forth from Harran . . . The Persians spared her not, for with them she served the sun; the Beduins left her not, for with them she sacrificed to ʿUzzai . . . For the eyes of the Sun they were exposed, who worshipped the Sun and the Moon.[15]

And elsewhere, in describing the conquest of Beth Hur, he writes: "The demon that is called Gadlat wove his (i.e., Satan's) wrath on his servant."[16]

If these documents accurately reflect the admixture of religious beliefs in the region, it would demonstrate not only the persistent power of the Moon god and other Mesopotamian deities associated with the planets, but that other cults, both Western Semitic and Arab, had their place; that the Mother Goddess, represented in several forms and under several names, had her shrines, festivals and devotees, as did numerous local Baʿals, even if much of this tradition was now to be given further explication, at least by some Harranians, by the addition of various esoteric traditions, including astrology and "the magical arts." With the exception of Apollo, noticeably lacking are the Greek names of the deities, indicating that despite the late antique sobriquet of "Hellenopolis," traditional Harranian religion was, at least on the surface, little influenced by Greek rule.

The names of the female deities found in our texts represent the same admixture of divine attributes and functions that have become so intertwined by this period that it is difficult to sort them out except by linguistic origin: Bath Nikkal, or Inanna/Ishtar, who represents the oldest strain in Mesopotamian paganism; Tarʿatha, or Atargatis, the *Dea Syria*, whose Western Semitic origins became buried, like those of Baʾalshamen, under a host of local traditions in late antiquity; al-ʿUzza, one of a triad of Arab goddesses whose original functions cannot be clearly determined, but who was later identified with both Venus and Astarte; and Gadlat, whose name is composed of semitic elements. Nevertheless, a caveat must be noted in the following discussion of these goddesses: although the name of a deity such as Atargatis appears over a wide geographical area, it cannot be concluded necessarily that cultic practices are the same everywhere, since most often in the traditional popular religions of antiquity, the power

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[15] *S. Isaaci Antiocheni doctoris syrorum opera omnia*, ed. G. Bickell (Gissae, 1873) I, 51–62, 99–102, 159.

[16] Isaac of Antioch, XI,167–68.

and expression of a deity are bound to the group and the place.

The *Doctrina Addai* declares that the Harranians honored the goddess Bath Nikkal, or the daughter of Nikkal (Ningal). The name has been identified as a localized form of Ishtar-Venus,[17] whose worship, of course, was widespread throughout the Near East under an increasing variety of epithets in late antiquity. We have already noted that the triadic asssociation of the Moon god, his consort and divine female child; Inanna as the daughter of the Moon god can be found in the Sumerian period, and it has been demonstrated that Sin, Ningal and Bath Nikkal were the most important deities at Harran according to "local cuneiform texts and other Akkadian traditions."[18] In her function as the planet Venus, Bath Nikkal is linked to the Moon god on the stelae of the Babylonian Nabonidus, where her sign as the morning star is found along with lunar and solar symbols.

Bath Nikkal may be a title whose use has specific meaning at Harran, and whose history there can be documented, but the ubiquitous Western Semitic Atargatis (Aramaic Tarʿatha) presents greater difficulty, for the *Dea Syria* was worshipped in such a wide variety of forms and such a great number of places that it is impossible to discern any particularities of her cult at Harran during this period, except through inference. The archaeological evidence for her worship elsewhere in the region is diverse.[19] Our primary literary text, the second century C.E. *Dea Syria* attributed to Lucian, is far more specific; it describes in great detail the worship of the goddess at Hierapolis (Mabbug), a city that the *Doctrina Addai* confirms worshipped Tarʿatha and which was linked to Edessa by the *Doctrine of Addai*, and called a sister to Harran by Jacob of Sarug in his homily.

Jacob's remark that "in their error both of them (Harran and Mabbug) love the springs" is the clearest statement of her function at Harran and is supported by the goddess' association everywhere with the life-giving power of water. At both Hierapolis and Edessa were ponds filled with her sacred fish; although there is no such reference for Harran, it is possible that the various wells of Harran may have been under the protection of the goddess.[20]

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[17] H.J.W. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa* (Leiden, 1980), 143.

[18] Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 41. cf. E. Dhorme, *Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (Paris, 1949), 54–60.

[19] See Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 76–121.

[20] Perhaps the most famous of these wells was the one at which Jacob was reported to have met Rachel when he arrived in Harran to find a bride.

The water-protecting powers of Atargatis/Tar'atha may have led to a later association with the pre-Islamic Arab goddess, Manat, whose idol, according to the 9th century Ibn al-Kalbi, "was erected on the seashore in the vicinity of Qudayd between Mecca and Medina."[21] Finally, in the iconography of Atargatis from a number of Syrian cities, she is accompanied by a variety of male consorts. A relief found at Edessa depicting the goddess and a deity has been identified by Drijvers as Hadad, the Syrian weather god with whom she was joined at Hierapolis, but it is not known which male god, if any, served a similar function at Harran.[22]

Nevertheless, although it is tempting to extrapolate from Lucian's account of the Syrian Goddess at Hierapolis a deeper understanding of her worship in Harran and to look for broader parallels in iconography, we must take note once again of the fact that not only is ritual so often tied to place, but that at the same time her various representations in Graeco-Roman period show clear signs of an amalgamation of symbols that vary with their provenance. Thus she may be represented as the Tyche of a city (Edessa), as the consort of the Syrian storm god Hadad (Hierapolis, Edessa, and Dura-Europus), as the consort of Nergal, the ancient Mesopotamian god of the underworld (Hatra), or as Cybele seated between two lions (Hierapolis). Several coins from Harran suggest that the goddess was venerated at Harran, as at Edessa, as the Tyche of the city, although Jacob of Sarug's inclusion of both Tar'atha and Gadlat in his list of female deities argues against this interpretation, since Gadlat is probably the Aramaic equivalent of Tyche.[23]

As Drijvers concludes in his analysis of the role of Atargatis at Edessa, "The wide range of variants in the cult of the Dea Syria most appropriately demonstrates (such) a process of religious assimilation and articulation ... Although her cult at Edessa may have been influenced by her centre at Hierapolis, it certainly belonged to the most authentic traditions of the city."[24] The same must be held true for whatever form the Harranian worship of the goddess might have taken.

[21] Ibn al-Kalbi, *Kitab al-Asnam*; trans. N.A. Faris (Princeton, 1952), 12.

[22] Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 80.

[23] As Drijvers notes, "Gadlat is in all likelihood a combination of Gad and Allat." the Aramaic word *Gad* means Tyche, so that Gadlat is the name of Allat in her function of Tyche of Harran. *Cults and Beliefs*, 44. Thus, the name would seem to have a generic, rather than specific, function.

[24] Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 121.

To what extent Atargatis differs in function from the Arab goddess al-ʿUzza in this period is difficult to say. Al-ʿUzza, who according to Isidore of Antioch, was worshipped at Beth Hur, which had a large Arab population, has been identified with a number of female divinities, including Aphrodite and Astarte; she bore the Syriac epithets of *Balti* (my Lady) and *Kawkabta* (the [female] star). At Palmyra, Beltis is the consort of Bel; Astarte is the consort of Baʿalshamen at Tyre.

Given the fact that Beth Hur was founded by Harran, it is likely that the goddess had her devotees at Harran as well, although what form her worship took at Harran, as well as with which male deity she might have been associated, is impossible to determine. Her original significance in pre-Islamic Arabia remains unclear, although she was certainly worshipped at Mecca. The Koran mentions her as one of the three false goddesses whom the Quraysh had worshipped before Islam (53:19); according to the Ibn al-Kalbi, the Quraysh regarded her, along with Manah and Allat, as the daughters of Allah.

> By Allat and al-ʿUzza,
> and Manah, the third idol besides.
> Verily they are the most exalted females
> Whose intercession is to be sought.[25]

Both al-ʿUzza and Bath Nikkal may be the "Bright Star" of the *Doctrina Addai*: "Do not be led away captive by the rays of the luminaries and the Bright Star." The name ʿUzza has as its Arabic root *ʿzz* to be strong, which would link her to Azizos, the male version of the morning star, who was worshipped in a triad along with his twin, Monimos, the evening star, and the sun god in a number of places in northern Syria and Mesopotamia, including perhaps Edessa.[26] We have already seen the extent of Arab political domination in the region around Harran and Edessa in this period, and it is probable that they installed their gods alongside the others members of the local pantheon.

In his oration on Helios, the emperor Julian had identified Monimos and Azizos as Hermes and Ares respectively, who acted as assessors (*paredroi*) of the Sun God.[27] In Arabia, Azizos was Abd al-Aziz, which name was to become in Islam one of the epithets of Allah. What relationship these male deities had with the female al-ʿUzza is not clear, although it has been suggested that among the Semites, the Venus

[25] Ibn al-Kalbi, 17.
[26] Cf. discussion in Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 147 ff.
[27] Julianus, *Julian* I, ed. W.C. Wright (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), 413.

star was regarded originally as male, and later became bisexual in nature.[28] Like Azizos, al-'Uzza seems to have embodied a martial nature. The Beduin were said to have offered human sacrifice to al-'Uzza; 400 virgins were reported to have been slain at Emesa in honor of the goddess, and to her the sixth century Lakhmid prince Mundhir sacrificed the son of his enemy.

The multiplicity of goddesses and the overlap of functions as demonstrated by our textual and iconographical evidence are indicative of the various ethnic traditions that were to be found in the region: indigenous Mesopotamian, Aramaic, and Arab. To what extent these various strands were interwoven in late antiquity cannot be known. In general, however, the boundaries between the various functions of the divine feminine seem to be less clearly drawn than among the male deities; since the political function of the female was, on the whole, not as well-defined, these goddesses tended to cross social and ethnic boundaries more easily. One may also note as a corollary that none of the goddesses became as clearly identified with their Greek and Roman counterparts as did the male deities. The question of differentiation of function becomes even more complicated when we consider the references to traditional Harranian religion found in Muslim sources; and it must at once be conceded that once again the chain of continuity has been broken, for we are without evidence for Harranian religion from the time of the early Christian authors discussed above until our first Muslim sources in the 10th century. What is clear, however, is that while the transformative and prophetic powers of the Moon god provided a place for him in the esoteric traditions of late antiquity even into the Muslim period, medieval Muslim accounts of Harranian religion demonstrate that whatever the forms worship of the feminine took at Harran in the last period of the city's history, there seems to be evidence of the persistence and continuity of her much earlier traditions in Mesopotamian and Syrian religion.

The Goddess in the Islamic period

Perhaps the most difficult material to interpret is that which is found in medieval Muslim texts. Muslim interest in Harran was grounded

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[28] J. Henninger, "Uber Sternkunde und Sternkult in Nord- und Zentral Arabien," ZE 79 (1954), 82–117.

both in the identification of Harran as the birthplace of the biblical patriarch Abraham and as the purported source of ancient esoteric traditions that found a home in the more radical branches of Islam. Nevertheless, there are several Muslim authors whose antiquarian interest in Harran provide us with further data concerning the survival of the mother goddess at Harran. The two most detailed Muslim accounts of traditional Harranian religion are found in the *Catalog* of the 10th century encyclopedist Ibn al-Nadim[29] and in Biruni's *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, written in the 11th century.[30] Although both contain calendars which purport to be accounts of the Harranian festival cycle, the sources and dates for these lists of festival days are unclear, and are filled with textual difficulties. Nevertheless, although there are many male divinities listed in these calendars whose identities cannot be determined with any certainty, we can see the persistence of those female deities found in texts of the earlier period. It is ironic to note that these accounts contain the only descriptions we have of cultic practices in honor of the goddess at Harran.

The calendar of the *Catalog* records the following festivals of the goddess. Also listed are the corresponding dates from al-Biruni:

1. *Catalog*: On the first three days of Nisan, the Harranians honor Baltha, who is Zuharah (Venus).
   Chronology: On the 2nd, is the feast of *Damis*, on the 3rd is the Feast of antimony. On the 5th is the feast of Balin (Balti?), the idol of Venus. In the *Catalog* of Ibn al-Nadim it is recorded that on the 30th of Adhar begins the month of Tamr, and during this month is the marriage of the gods and the goddesses; they divide in it the dates, putting kohl (antimony powder) on their eyes. Then during the night they place beneath the pillows under their heads seven dried dates, in the name of the seven deities, and also a morsel of bread and some salt for the deity who touches the abdomen. Such a festival might then correspond to the feast of antimony mentioned in Biruni.
2. *Catalog*: On the 4th day of Kanun I (December), they begin a seven-day festival in honor of Baltha, who is Zuharah, whom they call *al-Shahmiyah* (the glowing one). They build a dome within her

[29] Ibn al-Nadim, *Kitab al-Fihrist*, ed. Gustave Flugel (Leipzig, 1871), 318–327.

[30] Biruni, *Kitab al-Athar al-Baqiyah 'an al-Qurun al Khaliyah*, ed. C.E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1878); translated as *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, C.E. Sachau (London, 1879).

shrine and adorn it with fragrant fruits; in front of it, they sacrifice as many different kinds of animals as possible. "They also [offer] plants of the water," a ritual which in all likelihood has some connection with the springtime offering, widespread in the Near East, of "gardens of Adonis" in celebration of the renewed fertility of the god.

Chronology: On the 7th is the feast of addressing the idol of Venus. In addition, Biruni lists for the same date, one month later (the 4th of Kanun II) the feast of Dayr al-Jabal (the place of the mountain) and the feast of Balti (Venus). This may be the same festival recorded in the *Catalog*, the month's difference being the product of scribal error.

3. *Catalog*: On the 30th of Kanun I, the priest prays for the revival of the religion of *Uzuz* (sic).

In addition, the feast of the "Weeping Women" in honor of "Ta-uz" celebrated in the middle of the month of Tammuz, according to the *Catalog*, must be added to the list of festivals in which the goddess is honored, for clearly this is the ancient Mesopotamian rite which reenacted the death of the fertility god Tammuz and the mourning of Ishtar. Among the goddesses mentioned in "what is in another person's handwriting" in the *Catalog* is Rabbat al-Thill, "who received Tumur (dates)." In ancient Mesopotamian religion, it was Dumuzi/Tammuz who was the power of growth in the date palm; thus, Rabbat al-Thill, the Mistress of the Herd, must be Inanna/Ishtar. The anonymous author adds that it was Rabbat al-Thill who guarded the sacred goats, perhaps dedicated to Tammuz as the shepherd god, which were offered as sacrificial victims.

Also found in Biruni, but not mentioned in the *Catalog* are:

1. On the 9th day of Tishri II (November), *Tarsa* (Tar'atha?) the idol of Venus.
2. On the 17th day of Tishri II, there is the feast of *Tarsa*. On the same day they go to Batnae (Sarug). On the 18th day of Tishri II, there is the Feast of Sarug; it is the day of the renewal of the dresses.
3. On the 25th of Kanun II, there is Feast of the idol of Tirratha (sic).
4. On the 3rd and the 7th of Ab (August), there is the feast of *Dailafatan* (Dilbat), the idol of Venus.

Although, as we mentioned earlier, it is often difficult to perceive real differences among the various female deities, since their functions and attributes tend to be all-embracing, every layer of Mesopotamian history seems to be represented by the great variety of divine female names, ranging from Akkadian to Aramaic, that are used to describe the goddess in these texts. Although the significance of many of the rituals and festivals included in the *Chronology* is difficult to interpret, it is clear that according to the author of the calendar found in the *Catalog*, the goddess retained her original identification as both earth mother and Evening Star, thus demonstrating the continuity and survival of the ancient traditions of the goddess in the city of the Moon god. The survival of these deities in these medieval Muslim texts attests not only to the power of the goddess, but the existence of religious beliefs and practices almost completely hidden from our view.

From *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults* (Leiden, 1996)

"Γαλλαῖον Κυβέλης ὁλόλυγμα" (*ANTHOL.PALAT.*VI,173).
L'ÉLÉMENT ORGIASTIQUE DANS LE CULTE DE CYBÈLE*

Panayotis Pachis

Certains épigrammes de *l'Anthologie Palatine* constituent des témoignages caractéristiques concernant la présentation du culte de Cybèle pendant les temps hellénistiques. Ces épigrammes appartiennent au III^e^–II^e^ siècle avant J.-C., et leurs auteurs présentent d'une manière unique la physionomie mystique-orgiastique des cérémonies de la déesse phrygienne, qui lui est, d'ailleurs attribuée dans les témoignages d'écrivains dès l'apparition de son culte en Grèce.[1] Cette forme du rite-culte continue de constituer encore pendant cette époque, comme nous constaterons à la suite de notre étude, la manière principale de son expression.

L'élément qui constitue l'indice le plus significatif de ce groupe d'épigrammes est la référence concrète aux Galles, la présentation des prêtres eunuques de la déesse.[2] Cette particularité pourrait être considérée comme une innovation qui se présente pour la première

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* Les abréviations des noms de revues sont celles de *l'Année Philologique.*

Je voudrais remercier en particulier le professeur Eugene N. Lane pour ses conseils précieux pendant la rédaction de cet article.

[1] Cf. H. Hepding, *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* (RGVV I, Giessen 1903) 710, où sont réunies les références de *l'Anthologie Palatine.* Voir aussi A.S.F. Gow, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*, vol. II (Cambridge 1965); I.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1970 [1925]); Lloyd Jones and Parsons (edd.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Texte und Kommentare. Eine altertumwissenschaftliche Reihe, 11, Berlin-New York 1983). Cf. aussi M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* (London 1977) 126, A.S.F. Gow, "The Gallus and the Lion", *JHS* LXXX (1960) 88–93; G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Significato e ruolo del sangue nel culto di Cibele e Attis", in *Atti della Settimana di Studi "Sangue de antropologia biblica nella letteratura cristiana"*, Roma 29 novembre–4 dicembre 1982, cur. F. Vattioni (Roma 1983), vol. I, 219 n. 71; ead., *Soteriology and Mystic Aspects in the Cult of Cybele and Attis* (Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain, 103, [dans la suite *EPRO*], Leiden 1985) 20; H. Hepding, *Attis* 139–140.

[2] H. Hepding, *Attis* 160–165, 217–220; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle, Mère des Dieux à Rome et dans l'Empire romain* (Paris 1912) 287–319; F. Cumont, "Gallos", *RE* XIII (1910) col. 675, 681sq.; A.D. Nock, "Eunuchs in Ancient Religion", *ARW* XXIII (1925) 25–33, repr. in Z. Stewart (ed), *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, vol. I (Oxford 1972) 7–15; J. Carcopino, "La réforme romaine du culte de Cybèle et d'Attis II. Galles et Archigalles", *Aspects mystiques de la Rome païenne*, (Paris 1942) 76–109; G. Sanders, "Gallos", *RAC* VIII (1972) 993–1025; G. Sfameni Gasparro,

fois selon les témoignages qui concernent les écrivains à l'époque hellénistique. Même une référence pareille était inconcevable pour les Grecs de l'époque classique, parce que ces prêtres provoquaient une répugnance particulière. Cette réaction s'observe à partir du moment où le culte est apparu sur le territoire grec. Le culte de la déesse est connu en Grèce à la fin de l'époque archaïque et était présenté principalement par les prêtres missionnaires mendiants (μητραγύρτης)[3] qu'il faut considérer comme les responsables principaux de l'extension du culte dans toute la Méditerranée. Ils rôdaient sans organisation concrète et n'appartenaient pas à un temple. Le poète comique Kratinus (V^e^ siècle avant J.-C.), confirme leur caractère par le terme "ἀγυρσικύβελις" (prêtre ambulant et mendiant de Cybèle).[4] Le même auteur

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Soteriology, 26–43; W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge 1987) 35–36; G. Sanders, "Les Galles et le Gallat devant l'opinion chrétienne", M.B. de Boer-T.A. Edridge (edd.), *Hommages à M.J. Vermaseren* (*EPRO* 68) vol. III, 1062–1091. Cf. aussi Plinius, *HN* 35,165: ". . . *Matris Deum sacerdotes, . . . qui galli uocantur . . .*".

[3] Pour répandre le culte en Grèce, cf. E. Will, "Aspects du culte et de la légende de la Grande Mère dans le monde grec", *Eléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne. Colloque de Strasbourg 22–24* mai 1958 (Paris 1960) 95–111; G.M. Sanders, "Gallos", 987,990; W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and ritual* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1982 [1979]) 103; I.K. Loucas, Η Ρέα-Κυβέλη και οι γονιμικές λατρείες της Φλύας (Chalandri [Athènes] 1988) 18; R.E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora, III: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, (Princeton 1957) 156 n. 492, G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Connotazioni metroache di Demetra nel coro dell Elena (vv. 1301–1365)", M.B. de Boer-T.A. Edridge (edd.), *Hommages à M.J. Vermaseren*, 1154–1158, ead., *Soteriology*, 12; M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* 99.

Cf. aussi Photius, *Lexicon* "Μητρῷον" (ed. S.A. Nader, vol. I, 1864–65, 422): ". . . . . μητραγύρτης ἐμύει τὰς γυναῖκας τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν"; Suidas, *Lexicon*, (ed. A. Adler, vol. III, 1953); Pollux, 3,11; Diod.Sic.3,13, Plutarque, *Marius*, 17; Clearch. fr. 47 (Wehrli) = Athenaios, *Deipnos*.541cd; cf. aussi Apuleius (*Metam.*VIII,24) qui décrit exactement ces prêtres de la déesse.

[4] Kratinus, Δραπέτιδες, fr. 66 (62) (ed. R. Kassel-C. Austin, *Poetae comici Graeci*, vol. IV, Berlin-New-York 1983, 154–155): Hesych. A 461 ἀγερσικύβελις Κρατῖνος ἐν Δραπέτισιν (ἀνδραπέτησιν) cod.Corr.Bergk.Rel. 46) ἐπὶ Λάμπωνος. Τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγύρτην καὶ κυβηλιστὴν εἶπεν. οἱονεὶ θύτην καὶ μάντιν. κύβαλιν γὰρ ἔλεγον τὸν πέλεκυν (lac.Ind.Bergk.). ὅθεν καὶ Λύσιππος ἐν Βάκχαις (fr. 6K) τὸν αὐτὸν (ὡς add.Bergk.) ἀγύρτην κωμωιδεῖ . . . Suid. κ 2595 κυβαλίσαι πελεκῆσαι. Κυβηλὶς γὰρ ὁ πέλεκυς (hucusque = Phot. p. 183, 4 = Hesych. K 4377) codd.). καὶ ἀγερσικύβηλις ὁ θύτης. Κρατῖνος ἐν Δραπέτισιν (-τησιν codd.) ἐπὶ Λάμπωνος εἶπε τὸν ἀγύρτην καὶ κυβηλιστὴν. Phot. (b,z) α 146 = Lex.Bachm. p. 21, 17 ἀγερσικύβηλιν Κρατῖνος Λάμπωνα τὸν μάντιν ὡς καὶ θύτην. Κυβαλὶς γὰρ ὁ πέλεκυς. οἱ δὲ ἐγερσικύβηλιν (ἀγ- Phot. Z, om. B) ἐν τῷ δράματι γράφουσιν, τὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐγείροντα τὸν πέλεκυν. Et.Magn. p. 8, 9 Et.Sul. α 49S.) Lass—Liv. ἀγερσικύβηλιν Κάβηλις λέγεται ὁ πέλεκυς ὁ μαντικὸς (cf. Lex.Bachm. p. 9, 15). οἱ δὲ τὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐγείροντα τὸν πέλεκυν. ἢ θύτην. ἄγερσις γὰρ ἀνερμὸν ἢ ἀθροισμὸν. Κρατῖνος ἐν Δραπέτισιν.

Cf. aussi "*mihi quidem Cratinus videtur scripisse, ut notaret Lemponem tamquam sacrificulum stipem colligentem, tamquam avarum hominem et alieni appetentem*" Bergk.Vid. Ad fr. 352 et de Lampone ad fr. 62. Etiam Cratini *verba esse ante* Bergkium et Meinekium putabatur, recte siquidem Hesychius his verbis explicationenm adiungit. 'Hunc ipsum' Lamponem,

les caractérise aussi comme théoporteurs (κήβυβος). Selon le témoignage de Photios, les Ioniens les appelaient *metragyrtai* dans un passé indéterminé; "maintenant" (νῦν) le terme *Galles* est en usage.[5] C'est justement ce témoignage qui nous oblige à nous demander pendant quelle période ce changement du nom des prêtres de Cybèle est survenu. Nous croyons même que cela devrait être extrêmement important, étant donné que, d'après le passage susmentionné de Photios, cette innovation a eu lieu dans le milieu où le culte de la déesse apparut originellement. Or, il ne faut pas oublier que c'est justement par ce nom que les prêtres du culte seront principalement connus dans le monde gréco-romain au sens large du terme. Par conséquent, selon les données de la recherche contemporaine, nous croyons que l'hypothèse la plus possible serait que le changement de leur nom est survenu juste après l'invasion de *Galates* en Asie Mineure au II[e] siècle avant J.-C.[6] Ce n'est donc pas du tout par hasard que ces prêtres sont désignés précisement par leur nouveau nom, comme l'on a déjà mentionné plus haut, dans les épigrammes de l'*Anthologie Palatine*, qui appartiennent à un époque postérieure.

Cette caractéristique est d'ailleurs aussi connue par les sources qui témoignent de l'entrée du culte de Cybèle à Athènes. D'après les témoignages postérieurs de Photios, de Suda, de Julien et de certains commentateurs, qui sont considérés comme les plus importants témoignages de cet événement, les Athéniens ont exécuté l'un de ces prêtres, car il enseignait à leur femmes le culte de la déesse. La mort de ce prêtre a provoqué le courroux de la déesse et la peste dans la ville. Cette situation a pris fin seulement quand les Athéniens ont

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cf. Quae mox de Lysippo dicit. Sic etiam Sudae verba intellegenda. Incertum tamen utrum in eadem fabula an in alia his verbis usus sit poeta cf. Hesych. (ἀγύρτης), κ 4374 (κυβηβικὸν τρόπον), fr. Adesp.869K), 4375 (κυβηλιστάς), 4376 (κύβηλις), cf. Phot. p. 183, 5 "δόλιον ἀγύρτην Oedipus Sophocleus Tiresiam compellat *Or.*388". Cf. Plat. *Rep.*364b, Hippocr. *Morb.sacr.*1,10; cf. Arist. *Rhetor.*1405a20; cf. W. Burkert, *Mystery Cults*, 35.

[5] Kratinus, Θράτται fr. 9 (82 ed. Th. Cock, I,38), cf. aussi Photius, *Lex.*183,1: "κύβηβον" : "Κρατῖνος Θράτταις. Τὸν θεοφόρητον. Ἴωνες δὲ τὸν μητραγύρτην καὶ γάλλον νῦν καλούμενον. Οὕτως Σιμωνίδης (ed. A. Meineke, *Fragmenta poetarum comoediae antiquae*, Berlin 1840, II,65), cf. Gesneri, *Thes.L.Lat.*V. Cybebe et Cybèle. Voir aussi E. Laroche, "Koubaba, déesse anatolienne et le problème des origines de Cybèle", *Eléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne*, 115 n. 2; G. Sfameni *Gasparro, Soteriology*, 15 n. 35.

[6] Voir C. Schneider, *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* (München 1967) vol. I, 810-814. Mes remerciements au professeur E.N. Lane pour cette information qu'il m'a fournie par lettre (28.3.1995).

expié en construisant, au centre de la ville, un temple, hommage à la déesse.[7]

Cet incident, présenté d'une façon concrete dans les témoignages susmentionnés, doit être considéré plutôt avec défiance, en tant que non correspondant à la réalité historique, étant donné que les écrivains qui le citent sont d'une époque postérieure.[8] Cependant, on ne peut pas contester l'importance des ces témoignages pour la compréhension des circonstances de l'entrée du culte de Cybèle dans le territoire grec. Leur particularité devient plus accentuée si on les considère comme le résultat d'une élaboration survenue à des périodes postérieures. Par cette approche, nous croyons qu'on peut comprendre la réalité historique concernant l'acceptation des cultes étrangers par les Grecs pendant, en principe, les temps classiques.[9] D'ailleurs, nous essayons ainsi, comme dans des cas pareils, d'expliquer l'entrée d'un culte étranger dans le milieu des cités grecques. Les Grecs, et plus particulièrement les habitants d'Athènes, étaient généralement méfiants à l'égard des cultes étrangers et, surtout, de ceux dont le rite venait en opposition avec la religion traditionnelle. Ils croyaient que l'entrée d'un nouveau dieu pourrait perturber le *status quo* religieux mais aussi social de leur cité, ce qui entraînerait la rage des dieux du panthéon traditionnel. La manière dont le culte en question a été accepté dans la milieu de la cité d'Athènes, ainsi que les circonstances sous lesquelles il a été répandu, peuvent être mieux

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[7] Cf. Photius, *Lex.*; Suidas, "βάραθρον"; *Schol. in Arist. Plutus*, v. 431; Julien, *Discours sur la Mère des dieux*, 1,159ab; Plutarque, *Nicias*, 13,34. R.E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, 155 n. 488, 156; M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attisque, Graecia atque Insulae* (dans la suite *CCCA*) (*EPRO* 50, Leiden 1982) vol. II, 3–109. Cf. aussi M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* 72; M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*[3] (dans la suite *GGR*) (München 1976) vol. I, 688; P. Boyance, *Études sur la religion romaine* (Rome 1972) 223 et surtout n. 2; R. Turcan, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain* (Paris 1989) 37; F. Graf, "The Arrival of Cybele in the Greek East", *Actes du VII Congres de la FIEC* (Budapest 1983), vol. I, 117–120, I.K. Loukas, Η Ρέα-Κυβέλη, 15–23; G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Significato e ruolo del sangue", 219.

[8] Voir M.P. Nilsson, *GGR* I,630; D.M. Cosi, "L'ingresso di Cibele ad Atene e a Roma", *Atti* XI (N.S.I.) 1980–1981 (Centro di ricerche e documentazione sull'antichità classica, Rome 1984), 81–91; G. Cerri, "La Madre degli Dei nell' Elena di Euripide : tragedia e rituale", *Quaderni di Storia* 18 (1983) 155–195 et surtout 160–180, 183. Par contre, M.J. Vermaseren (*Cybele and Attis* 32–33) croit à la base historique précisément de ces témoignages postérieurs de Photios et de Suda.

[9] Voir W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Religionen der Menschheit, 15, Stuttgart 1977) 273–278; H.S. Versnel, *Ter Unus. Isis, Dionysos, Hermes: Three Studies in Henotheism* (Inconsistencies in Greek Religion, I, Leiden 1990) 102–123; R. Garland, *Introducing New Gods* (London 1992).

comprises si nous considérons un témoignage postérieur, mais très caractéristique, provenant de Julien, qui écrit: "on dit en effet que les Athéniens outragèrent Gallos et le chassèrent pour innovation en matière de religion, ne comprenant pas à quelle Déesse ils avaient affaire, et qu'elle était adorée chez eux sous les noms de la Déô, Rhéa et Déméter" (λέγονται γὰρ οὗτοι περιυβρίσαι καὶ ἀπελάσαι τόν Γάλλον ὡς τὰ θεῖα καινοτομοῦντα, οὐ ξυνέντες ὁποῖόν τι τῆς θεοῦ χρῆμα καὶ ὡς ἡ παρ'αὐτοῖς τιμωμένη Δηὼ καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Δημήτηρ).[10]

La disposition méfiante, voire hostile, à l'égard des cultes étrangers, et surtout orientaux, a atteint son point culminant principalement après les guerres perses. C'est précisement à partir de cette époque que prédomine l'idée que tout élément étranger pourrait être une menace continue, comme de l'invasion perse. Ce fait pourrait expliquer la disposition des Athéniens envers le culte de la déesse, ce qui avait pour résultat une expansion plutôt limitée de celui-ci dans le milieu de leur cité.[11] Par contre, il est remarquablement répandu dans d'autres cités grecques, comme par exemple dans le Pirée, ainsi que sur le reste du territoire grec.[12]

Il en résulte qu'il est donc normal que, pendant l'époque classique, absolument aucune relation n'ait existé entre le mythe et les cérémonies, éléments dont la synthèse sera la base du rituel de ce culte à des époques postérieures. Cela est d'ailleurs véritable par les témoignages qui sont liés à l'ambiance cultuelle de la déesse et qui datent de cette période. Ces informations nous permettent de comprendre d'ailleurs la répugnance particulière que provoquait chez les Grecs de l'époque classique le rite du culte tel qui se pratiquait, très probablement, de la même façon que dans son berceau originel, en Asie Mineure.

Parmi les particularités qui font leur apparition après l'entrée et la propagation du culte de la déesse dans l'espace grec, et surtout dans le milieu de ses bandes sacrées, prédomine une image de la déesse en tant que Mère-déesse miséricordieuse qui assiste et secourt ses

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[10] Julien, *Or.*VIII,(V),159a–b (ed. G. Rochefort, I, 102–103).

[11] Voir Lynn E. Roller, "Attis on Greek Votive Monuments. Greek God or Phrygian?", *Hesperia* 63,2 (1994) 245–262 et surtout 252.

[12] En ce qui concerne les témoignages épigraphiques sur le culte de Cybèle dans le Pirée, voir W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", *HThR* 37 (1944) 64–144 et surtout 107–115; R. Garland, *The Piraeus from the fifth to the first Century B.C.* (London 1987) 235–237; M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA* vol. II, nos. 258–266, pp. 68–70; L.E. Roller, "Attis on Greek Votive Monuments", 257 n. 77.

fidèles dans les moments difficiles de leur vie.[13] Cependant, l'autre aspect de son image, celui lié à son élément orgiastique, n'est pas abandonné. D'ailleurs, c'est cet élément-là qui révèle son origine orientale. Nous croyons que la coexistance de ces deux images sur le visage de la déesse exprime, de façon tout à fait réussie, son caractère omnipotent et absolu dans le milieu cultuel de la réalité grecque. Cela peut être mieux compris même à l'aide de ses représentations cultuelles. D'ailleurs, depuis des temps très anciens, l'art constitue l'un des moyens principaux pour la compréhension de la réalité cultuelle de la Grèce ancienne. Nous pouvons donc, également dans le cas présent, éclaircir, à l'aide des représentations de la déesse, les conditions d'acceptation et d'adaptation d'une divinité étrangère dans le milieu cultuel de la réalité grecque des temps classiques. Ainsi, en ce qui concerne la façon dont la déesse en question est représentée, nous pourrions signaler l'évolution suivante depuis son milieu cultuel originel en Asie Mineure, jusqu'à l'époque de la propagation de son culte sur le territoire grec: pour la première fois au cours du VI^{e} siècle avant J.-C. et dans le milieu des cités grecques de l'Anatolie, se développe un type de représentation plus simple, semblable à celui rencontré plus tard dans le milieu de la Grèce continentale.[14] Cependant, son hellénisation s'achève à la fin du VI^{e} siècle avant J.-C., ce qui a donné la figure connue de la déesse, rencontrée dans le monde grec et plus tard dans l'ensemble du monde greco-romain; à la base de celle-ci était la statue célèbre créée par Agorakritos au V^{e} siècle avant J.-C. qui se trouvait dans l'Agora d'Athènes.[15] Cette pratique d'hellénisation continue et atteint son point culminant dans l'esprit du syncrétisme et de l'œcuménisme de l'époque hellénistique et, sur-

[13] Voir M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA* vol. II, nos. 273, 275, 276; cf. aussi L.E. Roller, "Attis on Greek Votive monuments", 38.

[14] Pour la propagation du culte de Cybèle de l'Asie Mineure dans l'espace grec, voir S. Reinach, "Statues archaïques de Cybèle", *BCH* 13 (1989) 543–560; E. Will, "Aspects du culte et de légende de la grande mère dans le monde grec", 95–111; F. Naumann, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und der griechischen Kult* (Ist Mitt, Beiheft 28, Tübingen 1983) 136; L.E. Roller, "Phrygian Myth and Cult", *Source* 7 (1988) 43–50 et surtout 45–47; ibid., "Attis on Greek Votive Monuments", 249.

[15] En ce qui concerne cette statue de la déesse, voir les témoignages de Pausanias I,3,5; Arrian, *Periplous* 9; Plinius, *HN* 36,17. Cf. aussi A. Von Salis, "Die Göttermutter des Agorakritos", *JdI* 28 (1913) 1–26; G. Despinis, Συμβολή του έργου του Αγοραχρίτου (Athènes 1971) 111–123; F. Naumann, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele*, 159–169; L.E. Roller, "Attis on Greek Votive Monuments", 249. Cf. aussi la représentation sur un cratère en figure rouge provenant d'Athènes, Spina, *ARV*^{2} 1052, *no.* 25.

tout, romaine. Un exemple illustrant très bien ce phènomène est celui d'Isis, dont la figure a subi une hellénisation complète depuis son entrée et propagation en Grèce.[16]

Il faut signaler que les auteurs grecs du V^e siècle avant J.-C. évitaient de manière systématique les diverses appellations de la déesse qui rendaient évidente son origine orientale. De cette facon, Cybèle acquiert une figure nouvelle qui caractérisait les déesses grecques. Elle s'identifie alors à la déesse crétoise Rhéa, à la grecque Mère des dieux et des hommes, allors que, plus tard, son association avec Déméter est un exemple caractéristique de l'association de divinités analogues.[17] Cette association justement correspond à l'image d'une divinité omnipotente qui, avec son caractère absolu, domine sur la vie et la mort des règnes animal et végétal, ainsi que sur les hommes. Ces trois noms de la déesse, Mère des dieux, Rhéa et Cybèle, proviennent d'un fond religieux commun et ils s'identifient à certains degrés. Ces noms designent la meme déesse qui dans ce syncrétisme particulier des cultes homologues retrouve pendant cette époque son unité.[18] Il faut souligner ici que cette association est possible principalement grâce à la nature commune et analogue de ces divinités. Cela peut être mieux compris, si on tient compte du témoignage de Julien concernant l'entrée de la déesse dans la cité d'Athènes, temoignage déjà mentionné.

A ce propos il faut aussi faire remarquer qu'à part les essais permanents de la part des Grecs, pour helléniser le caractère de la déesse ayant comme base les données du panthéon grec, on remarque encore une forte résistance dans le nouveau milieu où se répandait le culte de la déesse. Cette résistance concerne la conservation de certains éléments qui discernent particulièrement la figure initiale de la déesse. Dans ces éléments, c'est l'élément orgiastique qui prédomine. C'est exactement cette forme qui la place dans l'ensemble des déesses qui viennent à cause de leur caractère en opposition avec le respect du religieux tel qui s'exprimait pendant les années classiques. Ce fait

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[16] Voir Johannes Eingartner, *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Supplements to Mnemosyne, 115, Leiden 1991).

[17] Voir M.P. Nilsson, *GGR* I,298; I. Loucas, Η Ρέα-Κυβέλη, 139–147.

[18] Cf. M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* 22; R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium. Its Evolution and Terminology* (*EPRO* 10, Leiden 1969) 63–64; I.K. Loukas, Η Ρέα-Κυβέλη, 21–23; N. Papachatzis, Παυσανίου Ελλάδος περιήγησις (Athènes 1974) vol. I, 184–185; E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, 150–160 n. 456–519; D. Sabbatucci, *Il misticismo greco*[2] (*nuovi* saggi, n. 71, 2, Roma 1979) 215–226. Voir aussi Hesiodus, *Theog.*453, Pindare, *Nemean* 6,13; Strab. *Geogr.*X,3,1; Soph. *Phil.*391–393.

a eu comme résultat dans quelques régions la mise en relation de son rite avec les indices qui distinguent les cultes qui ont un vif caractère mystique-orgiastique. Il se poursuit ainsi l'acquisition de l'expérience qui exprime la relation profonde et réciproque qui se crée entre l'élément divin et l'élément humain. Cette influence de l'un sur l'autre s'exprime principalement dans le culte de la déesse par la participation d'un groupe particulier de fidèles qui atteignent une situation qui se caractérise comme "*enthousiasmos*".[19] Aussi le seul élément qui caractérise particulièrement pendant cette époque la vie cultuelle du rite métroaque est la manie sacrée qui constitue l'aspect principal de l'ensemble mystique du culte.

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, les relations écrites sur les Galles commencent au III[e] siècle avant J.-C. Mais l'élément qui continue à jouer un rôle dans le rite, comme on peut le comprendre dans ce cas particulier, c'est la situation d'enthousiasme des fidèles et non pas la pratique des cérémonies qui aboutit à la tres naïve offrande du caractère viril des prêtres à la déesse. Au contraire, par les témoignages concrets des épigrammes qui existent dans l'*Anthologie Palatine*, les prêtres ou les prêtresses avaient coutume de donner des offrandes, mais celles-ci étaient complètement différentes de celles que nous avons citées plus haut. Leurs actes doivent être considérés comme une preuve qui manifeste leur soumission et leur respect envers la toute-puissante déesse phrygienne.

Dans le même esprit, on a le témoignage de Rhianos de Crète, qui est compris dans les épigrammes de *l'Anthologie Palatine*.[20] Cet écrivain qui, selon Suda, a vécu au milieu du III[e] siècle avant J.-C., nous donne les informations les plus caractéristiques sur le rituel du culte:

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[19] Pour le caractère mystique-orgiastique du culte, cf. U. Bianchi," Prolegomena I: Mysticism and mystery Religions", U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae* dans la suite *MM* (*EPRO* 80, Leiden 1979) 7; G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Il mitraismo nella fenomenologia misterica", *ibid.*, 314.

Pour la définition des concepts "mystique" et mystérique" par rapport à la Grèce et au Proche-Orient ancien, cf. U. Bianchi, "Initiation, mystères, gnose. Pour l'histoire de la mystique dans la paganisme gréco-oriental)", C.J. Bleeker (ed.., *Initiation*, (Leiden 1965) 154-171; id., *The Greek Mysteries* (Leiden 1976) 18, id., *Prometeo, Orfeo, Adamo* (Roma 1976) 59sq., 71-94, 129-143, 188sq., id., "Prolegomena", 360; G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Riflessioni ulteriori su, Mithra 'dio mistico'", *in MM* 397-408, ead., "Soteriologie dans le culte de Cybèle et d'Attis", U. Bianchi-M.J. Vermaseren (edd.), *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell Impero Romano. Atti del Colloquio* Internationale *su La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell Impero Romano, Roma 24-28 settembre 1979* (dans la suite *CSCO*) (*EPRO* 92, Leiden 1982) 478 n. 5.

[20] Rhianus Cret. *Anthol.Palat.*VI,173 = H. Hepding, *Attis* 7. Cf. aussi J.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 18-19, A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology*, 506-507, Suidas, *Lexicon*, "'Ριανὸς, ὁ καὶ Κρής, ὢν Βηναῖος (Βήνη δὲ πόλις Κρήτης)· οὗτος δὲ ἦν τῆς

Achrylis, la prêtresse phrygienne qui si souvent a laissé flotter ses boucles sacrées au milieu des torches de résine et poussé de sa bouche ces clameurs profondes que les Galles font entendre en l'honneur de Cybèle, a consacré ces cheveux à la déesse des montagnes en les suspendant aux portes de son temple, maintenant qu'elle a arrêté ses pieds ardents de fureur.

Ἀχρυλὶς, ἡ Φρυγίη θαλαμηπόλος, ἡ περὶ πεύκας
πολλάκι τοὺς ἱεροὺς πλοκάμους,
γαλλαίῳ Κυβέλης ὀλολύγματι πολλάκι δοῦσα
τὸν βαρὺν εἰς ἀκοὰς ἦχον ἀπὸ στομάτων,
τάσδε θεῇ χαίτας περὶ δικλίδι θῆκεν ὀρείᾳ,
θερμὸν ἐπεὶ λύσσης ὧδ' ἀνέπαυσε πόδα.[21]

On voit, donc, que la personne qui joue le premier rôle dans cette épigramme est une femme, la prêtresse de la déesse, qui s'appelle Archylis et désignée par le terme θαλαμηπόλος (prêtresse de chambre), et non pas les prêtres Galles.[22] De cette façon l'auteur veut peut-être révéler la répugnance qui a encore été provoquée par les prêtres du culte métroaque, auprès des citoyens des villes grecques. C'est pour cela qu'il présente dans son épigramme une femme comme la personne principale. Les femmes sont celles qui, comme nous le verrons par la suite, jouent le premier rôle dans les cérémonies mystiques offertes à la déesse par les Grecs. Ce comportement pourrait être considéré comme une indication du respect religieux qui caractérise les conceptions de l'époque de l'auteur. De cette façon il prend soin de rester fidèle aux principes de la mentalité grecque, à laquelle le culte s'est d'ailleurs adapté et s'est, ensuite, répandu dans l'espace grec. Sa façon de s'exprimer est aussi très significative de la disposition des Grecs à l'égard des cultes étrangers mais également de la dévotion de l'auteur à la religion de ses ancêtres.

παλαίστρας πρότερον φύλαξ καὶ δοῦλος, ὕστερον δὲ παιδευθεὶς ἐγένετο γραμματικὸς σύγχρονος Ἐρατοσθένους. ἔγραψεν ἐμμέτρως ἐξάμετρα (Meineke, *Anal.Alex.*201) ποιήματα . . . Ἡρακλείδα ἐν βιβλίοις δ'". D'après Suidas, Rhianos était contemporain d'Eratosthène qui est mort pendant le règne de Ptolémée V Epiphanès (an de succession 204/5 avant J.C.); Lloyd Jones and Parsons (edd.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, 346–347, Stephanus Byzantius, "Βήνη. πόλις Κρήτης ὑπὸ Γορτύνην τεταγμένη. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βηναῖος", Pausanias IV,6,1: "τοῦτον γὰρ τῶν μεσσηνίων τὸν πόλεμον Ῥιανός τε ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὁ βηναῖος καὶ ὁ πριηνεὺς Μύρων"; cf. aussi N. Papachatzis, Παυσανίας (Athènes 1979) vol. III, 9–11, 52.

[21] *Anthologie Grecque.* Première Partie, *Anthologie Palatine*, tome III (livre VI, texte établi et traduit P. Waltz, Paris 1931, 31).

[22] Cf. Suidas, "θαλαμηπόλος" (II,681): "ἡ περὶ τὸν θάλαμον ἀναστρεφόμενη, καὶ φυλάττουσα . . . ἡ νεωκόρος Ἀχρυλὶς ἡ Φρυγίη θαλαμηπόλος, ἡ περὶ πεύκας πολλάκι τοὺς ἱεροὺς χευάμενη πλοκάμους". Une autre épigramme de Dioscur. (*Anthol.Palat.*VI,220 = H. Hepding, *Attis* 7) parle d'un Galle qui s'appelait Attis et qui est désigné comme : "ἀγνός . . . Κυβέλης θαλαμηπόλος".

Bien-sûr, il ne faut pas oublier que de même, dans ces épigrammes, nous observons une évolution sur la forme du culte qui surviendra pendant l'époque hellénistique. Cette évolution est liée à l'apparition d'Attis aux côtés de Cybèle. Selon ces témoignages littéraires, avec son bien-aimé confidant apparaissent aussi les prêtres eunuques de la déesse.[23] Attis apparaît pour la première fois dans l'espace grec au cours du IV^e^ siècle avant J.-C. Sa représentation dans le cadre de l'art cultuel est, *le plus souvent, nettement orientale, même si elle ne* correspond pas du tout au milieu oriental originel du culte, selon les chercheurs contemporains.[24] Ainsi comme nous avons pu constater, l'auteur Rhianos fait une comparaison entre la disposition de la prêtresse et celle des Galles. L'auteur veut ainsi peut-être présenter aussi d'*une manière* indirecte la réalité qui continue encore d'être un élément complètement étranger à la pensée grecque, et de cette façon crée alors une image unique dans son genre et peut-être plus accordée à une époque postérieure.

De plus, il est intéressant pour cet auteur, suivant probablement l'exemple des autres auteurs de l'*Anthologie Palatine*, de montrer dans ces épigrammes l'offrande par la prêtresse de ses cheveux à la déesse.[25] Cette action se réalise peu avant qu'elle abandonne les services du *culte métroaque. On pourrait supposer que cela est lié exactement à* l'habitude grecque du service annuel des prêtres dans le rite de religion traditionnel.[26] Certaines similitudes se voient—au delà du cadre de la religion officielle—aussi dans le rite des autres cultes orientaux, qui ont commencé à se propager dans l'espace grec pendant l'époque hellénistique. Ainsi, nous trouvons le culte d'Isis et de Sérapis,

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[23] G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 26–28; 49; P. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs. Thiases, Eranes, Orgeons* (Paris, 1873 [réimpr . . . New York 1975]), 84–101 et inscr. n. 418, cf. le catalogue des inscriptions en ordre chronologique in W. Scott Ferguson, "Attic Orgeones", 108: *IG* II²,1316 (246/45 B.C.?); 1301 (220/19, B.C.); 1314 (213/12 B.C.); 1315 (211/10 B.C.) = H. Hepding, *Attis* no. 9, 79–80; *IG* II², 1328 I (183/82 B.C.) = H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, no. 10, 80–81; *IG* II²,1327 (178/77 B.C.); 1328 II et 1329 = H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, no. 11, 81 et les deux inscriptions de 175/74 B.C. et *IG* II²,1334 (70 avant J.C.).

[24] Voir L.E. Roller, "*Attis on Greek Votive Monuments*", 252–253.

[25] Cf. H. Hepding, *Attis* 710, voir aussi notamment Thuillos, *Anthol.Palat.*VII,223,13 (ed. P. Waltz, Paris 1960, 152sq.): "ἡ κροτάλοις ὀρχιστρὶς Ἀριστίον, ἡ πεύκαις / καὶ τῇ Κυβέλῃ πλοκάμους ῥίψαι ἐπισταμένη, λωτῷ κερόεντι φορουμένη". Pour l'habitude de l'offrande des cheveux aux dieux cf. W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion*, 120–121; S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und* Römer (Kristiania 1915, Nachdr. Hildesheim-New York 1977) 34 4–415; W.H.D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings. An Essay in the History of Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1902).

[26] W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion*, 157–163; N. Papachatzis, Η θρησκεία στην αρχαία Ελλάδα (Athènes 1987) 177–178.

c'est-à-dire des prêtres et des prêtresses dont le service est soit annuel soit à vie. Il faut rappeler que le cas du service à vie suit naturellement la tradition orientale des cultes que nous étudions.[27]

Une autre explication qu'on pourrait donner à l'épigramme de Rhianos sur la prêtresse est la suivante: la prêtresse est arrivée à la fin de sa vie, et prend des forces, peu avant de mourir en pratiquant avec l'aide de la déesse ses cérémonies. Ce qui a une importance particulière, dans toutes les explications qu'on peut donner, c'est le respect particulier que la prêtresse montre envers la déesse en prodiguant ses services zélés. Sa soumission se déclare par la pratique des cérémonies et encore plus en consacrant ses cheveux longs au temple de la déesse. La prêtresse accroche ses cheveux, selon les informations des auteurs, aux flambeaux qu'elle tenait souvent pendant les cérémonies nocturnes. Il vaut encore noter que ce flambeau provenait de pins du petit élysée qui existait autour du temple de la déesse.[28] Après, elle les pose à l'entrée du thalame c'est-à-dire dans le souterrain du sanctuaire de la déesse, afin qu'ils constituent la preuve éternelle du respect religieux et de la dévotion envers la déesse toute-puissante.

Cette offrande, comme on a déjà mentionné plus haut, et, d'après les informations de Nicandre, peut être considérée comme analogue à celles des Galles qui déposent leurs membres coupés dans le thalame du culte métroaque.[29] Cet acte est considéré comme une preuve

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[27] F. Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*[7], (Stuttgart 1975) 38–39; W. Burkert, *Mystery Cults*, 31–53.

Pour les prêtresses au culte de Cybèle voir aussi H.R. Goehler, *De Matris Magnae apud Romanos cultu*, (Diss. Leipzig, Meissen 1886) 39–51; Fr. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und die Literatur in Mainz, Geistes und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, Jg. 1963, Nr. 8), vol. 4 (Wiesbaden 1963) 29–37; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle, Mère des Dieux, à Rome et dans l'Empire romain* (BEFAR, 107, Paris 1912) 238–253; M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* 104–111; id., *CCCA* vol. II, 14 n. 23, 64–65 n. 245, 75 n. 262, 76–78 n. 263, 146 n. 469; G. Thomas, "Magna Mater and Attis", *ANRW* II 17.3 (1984) 1525–1533. Cf. aussi *IG* III[3],2361 = *SIG*[3] 1111 lin. 70: "... ἱέρεια Ὀρσίας διὰ βίου".

Pour le culte de Isis/Sarapis, voir L. Vidman, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (RGVV XXVIII, Berlin 1969), index s.v. Isiastai, Sarapiastai, Anubiastai, hiera-phoroi, melanophoroi, pastophoroi; id., *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (RGVV XXIX, Berlin 1970), 69–94; H.B. Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren in Kult der ägyptischen* Götter (Meisenheim am Glan 1976).

[28] Des bois de pins semblables, se trouvaient également autour des temples de la déesse dans le milieu originel du culte en Asie Mineure. Sur le bois de pins consacré sur l'Ida à Cybèle, voir surtout Vergil, *Aen.*IX,85sq.; Sen. *Troad.*1734sq. e.

[29] Voir Nicandri *Alexipharmacon*, 68 et *schol. ad loc.* = H. Hepding, *Attis* 89. Cf. aussi P. Pachis, "Kernophoros", *SMSR* 50 (n.s. VIII,1) (1984) 125–129; I.K. Loucas, Η Ρέα Κυβέλη, 155–168.

suprême de leur offrande et de leur soumission à la volonté absolue qui constitue un trait particulier de l'image orientale de la déesse. De toute façon il ne faut pas oublier que dans le premier cas nous avons une offrande complètement indolore, tandis que la consécration des Galles était particulièrement pénible et que son résultat marquait leur vie entière. Mais il faut remarquer que leur acte se réalisait pendant une période transitoire de leur vie. Dans le premier cas, nous avons des indications concernant la mort biologique de la prêtresse et dans le deuxième, nous avons la mise à mort de la vie précédente de l'homme social qui était impie et son entrée dans une nouvelle situation qui s'oppose à la sphère d'influence par le sacré. Naturellement il faut que nous parlions aussi des offrandes traditionnelles des cheveux et des habits des Galles à la déesse.[30] C'est encore une acte par lequel ils voulaient montrer exactement leur relation intime avec la déesse. Nous croyons, donc, qu'il est bien naturel que la prêtresse demande ainsi le secours de sa déesse-protectrice, qui règne, avec sa présence omnipotente, sur la vie et la mort, afin de franchir le seuil de la mort sous sa protection continue. D'ailleurs, il ne faut pas oublier le secours et l'assistance remarquables que celle-ci offrait en tant que mère-déesse, aux hommes et, surtout, à ses fidèles. C'est précisement ce trait de miséricorde qui la distingue, comme on a déjà mentionné, de l'élément orgiastique, caractéristique de son origine orientale, particulièrement après la diffusion de son culte dans l'espace grec.

Des offrandes telles que celle de la prêtresse, citée dans l'épigramme que nous examinons peuvent être examinées dans le cadre des "rites de passage".[31] Nous croyons que, par cette approche la particularité

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[30] Cf. Simonid. (*Anth.Pal.*VI,217) qui témoigne que les prêtres consacrent : "ἔνδυτα καὶ ξανθοὺς πλοκάμους"; Erycius, *Anth.Pal.*VI.234 = H. Hepding, *Attis* 10: "Τάλλος ὁ χαιτάεις, ὁ νεήτομος, ὑπὸ Τυμώλου Λᾴδιος ὀρχηστὰς μάκρ' ὀλολυζόμενος, τᾷ παρὰ Σαγγαρίῳ τάδε Ματέρι τύμπαν' ἀγαυᾷ τ' ὀρειχάλκου λάλα κύμβαλα καὶ μυρόεντα βόστρυχον, ἐκ λύσσας ἄρτια παυσάμενος": Suidas, (III.555): "Ὄρεια οὐδετέρως, τὰ τοῦ ὄρους. ὅς ταδ' ὄρεια ἔνδυτα καὶ ξανθοὺς ἐκρέμασε πλοκάμους καὶ Φώτιος ὁ Πατριάρχης ὄρεια σοι τὰ δῶρα, κάστανα καὶ ἀμανῖται" et *"Γάλλος ἀπόκοπος ἐν ἐπιγράμμασι· γάλλος ὁ χαιτήεις, ὁ νεώτομος, "Ὃς ποτε Τμῶ Λᾴδιος ὀρχηστὸς μακρὰς ὀλολυζόμενος"*. Voir aussi A.S.F. Gow, "The Gallus and the Lion, *Anth.Pal.*VI,217–220,223", *JHS* LXXX (1960) 88–93 et surtout 89–90; S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, 347. Pour l'apparition des Galles en général, cf. M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* fig. 65; id., *CCCA* vol. III, fig. CCXCVI, CCXCVII.

Pour de pareilles offrandes dans l'ancienne religion grecque, cf. aussi Aesch. *Ag.*1268; Eur. *IA* 1073, *Ion* 223, *Tr.*257.

[31] Cf. Arnold van Gennep, The *Rites of Passage* (London 1977 [1909]), E. Leach, *Kultur und Kommunikation. Zur Logik symbolische Zusammenhänge* (Suhrkamp Taschenbuch

de cette prêtresse peut être comprise. Ainsi, pendant les cérémonies dont on parle, l'homme essaie de maintenir sa relation personelle avec le lieu sacré, par le moyen de telles offrandes, mais en même temps, cherche à exprimer les relations de supériorité et de subordination, existant entre le domaine du sacré et celui du profane. L'homme sent le besoin de demander l'assistance des dieux, particulièrement pendant des périodes de transition qui laissent leur marque sur sa vie personnelle (naissance, adolescence, marriage, mort). Il pense qu'une telle transition à une nouvelle situation s'effectuera en toute sécurité seulement avec l'aide et l'assistance sans limites des dieux. Il croit que l'incertitude et, très souvent, même la crainte provoquées par le changement peuvent être surmontées seulement avec la protection des dieux, dont il demande le secours. D'après W. Burkert qui a commenté le témoignage que nous examinons, "par la consécration de ses cheveux, la personne cède une partie de soi—il s'agit bien-sûr d'une perte indolore qui est très vite réparée—exactement comme le sacrifice comprend un élément de la conscience lourde et de la réparation, de la même façon ici, l'angoisse créée par les changements de la vie devient un symbolisme de délivrance des forces qui, jusqu'alors, régissaient la vie humaine".[32] Cette offrande de l'homme à un tournant de sa vie reste dans l'espace du sanctuaire et a un caractère permanent, puisqu'elle est le plus souvent accrochée en haut. De cette façon, l'offre au-delà du désir de parade, montre ainsi, de façon marquée, la reconnaissance d'un acte supérieur.

L'offre des cheveux aux dieux de la part des hommes est un phénomène très répandu dans le monde grec.[33] Dès l'époque homérique on trouve ce genre d'offrandes dans le cadre de cérémonies funèbres.[34] Dans de nombreuses régions les garçons et les filles coupent leurs cheveux et les consacrent à une divinité, un fleuve, un héros-dieu local,[35] quand ils atteignent leur majorité,[36] ou, même, avant

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Wissenschaft, 212, Frankfurt/M 1987) 98–100; U. Bianchi (ed.), *Transition Rites. Cosmic, Social and Individual Order* (Storia delle Religioni, 2, Roma 1985).

[32] W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion*, 121.

[33] Pour la signification de l'offre des cheveux en Grèce, voir W.H. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge 1902), 241–245; L. Sommer, *Das Haar in Aberglauben und Religion der Griechen* (Diss. München 1912); Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, IV (London 1936) 480; S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, 344sq.

[34] Voir Homer, *Il.*23,135, et 151; *Od.*4.196–197, et 24,46; Herodot.IV,34; Soph. *El.*52,448sq.; Eur. *Hél.*90sq., *Or.*96; Pausanias I,43,4; Kallim. *Hymn* IV,296sq. Cf. aussi M.P. Nilsson, *GGR* I,136.149,180–181.

[35] Voir M.P. Nilsson, *GGR* I,136,238.

[36] A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi*, (Incunabula Graeca XXXV, Roma 1981 [1969])

leur mariage.[37] Les offrandes de ce genre sont aussi un phénomène ordinaire, chaque fois que l'homme se trouve face à un danger (naufrage, maladie, etc.).[38] Leur importance devient même plus primordiale quand il s'agit des divinités qui protègent la vie des hommes d'une manière absolue. On peut comprendre cela si on prend en considération que la déesse Artémis qui était la protectrice des enfants et de l'accouchement, rassemblait des offrandes de cheveux. De plus, les gens avaient coutume à consacrer leur cheveux à la déesse en faisant un vœu, et tout particulièrement quand ils affrontaient un danger.[39] C'est ainsi qu'Artémidore nous dit: "cela indique des chagrins d'un caractère personnel ou quelque affliction soudaine qui a provoqué une grande douleur; car les gens qui se trouvent dans des situations pareilles nécessairement se coupent les cheveux" (τῶν ἰδίων πένθη ἢ αἰφνίδιόν τινα συμφορὰν μεγάλων κακῶν ἀναπλέων σημαίνει· οἱ γὰρ ἐν τοιούτοις γενόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς ἀνάγκῃ περικείρουσι).[40] Cette action doit être considérée, comme on a déjà mentionné plus haut, comme une sorte de sacrifice (*aparché*) que les hommes étaient accoutumés à pratiquer envers les dieux.

Nous trouvons aussi ces offrandes dans le rite d'autres cultes de caractère mystique-orgiastique, comme le culte dionysiaque. Euripide dit dans les *Bacchantes* que "sacrées sont mes méches, soignées pour le dieu" (ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος τῷ θεῷ δ'αὐτὸν τρέφω).[41] Ce témoignage nous permet de comprendre la valeur qu'avait la consécration faite par les hommes envers les dieux. Et pour cela ils soignent leurs cheveux pour pouvoir à un moment donné les consacrer aux dieux. Cet acte

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31, 34, 37, 71-72 n. 59, 80-81 n. 88, 115, 129, 358-360, 446-447, 464; M.P. Nilsson, *GGR* I,136-138; F.T. van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods", 89. Cf. aussi Theophr. *Char.*21.3.

[37] Voir Aphrodite Avagianou, *Sacred Marriage in the Rituals of Greek Religion* (European University Studies, XV,54, Bern-Berlin-Frankfurt/M-New York 1991), 3, 11-12. Cf. Aussi Hesych. s.v. "γάμων ἔθη, τὰ προτέλεια καὶ ἀπαρχαὶ καὶ τριχῶν ἀφαιρέσεις τῇ θεῷ ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν γάμων τῆς παρθένου".

[38] Voir F.T. van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods", in H.S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (Studies in Greek and Roman Religion, 2, Leiden 1981) 90, 97-98. Cf. aussi Pausanias II,11,16; Robuck, *Corinth* XIV, no 116.

[39] Cf. *Anth.Pal.*VI,59,200,201,271,274,276sq., 280; Herodot.IV,34. Voir aussi S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, 365; M.P. Nilsson, *GGR* I,137-138, 493; A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi*, 447.

[40] Artemid. *Oneir.*I,22 cf. aussi Plut. *Qu.Rom.*267A-C: "καὶ γὰρ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ὅταν δυστυχία τις γένηται, κείρονται μὲν οἱ γυναῖκες κομῶσι δ' οἱ ἄνδρες".

[41] *Bacchae*, 494, cf. E.R. Dodds (ed.), *Euripides Bacchae* (Oxford 1989 [repr.]), 139, voir aussi Eur. *Bacch.*112 et E.R. Dodds, *op. cit.*, 81, Eur. *Hipp.*202, *Aesch.* fr. 313.

était pratiqué primitivement par les femmes et par les hommes pour montrer leur foi envers les dieux. Mais plus tard, à partir du V^e^ siècle, il caractérisait seulement le tempérament religieux des femmes.[42] Elles se distinguaient par leur sensibilité particulière et s'adressaient aux dieux, en leur consacrant comme vœu leur cheveux longs ou seulement des boucles de cheveux. C'est de cette façon qu'elles voulaient montrer leur reconnaisçance infinie envers la divinité, en donnant ce qui était pour elles le plus précieux. Cet acte constitue l'offrande suprême d'une partie de la personnalité entière des fidèles (*pars pro toto*), et l'habitude d'accrocher leurs cheveux aux portes des temples des dieux était assez répandue chez les Grecs et chez les Romains.[43] Un tel geste est témoigné dans l'épigramme de l'*Anthologie Palatine* que nous étudions, mais aussi dans une série d'épigrammes contenues dans le VI^e^ livre de la même collection.[44] Nous pouvons ainsi comprendre qu'il s'agit d'une action de piété qui caractérise le rite de la religion traditionnelle et les cultes mystiques.

De plus, dans notre épigramme nous observons qu'il existe une description réaliste de l'ambiance dans laquelle se pratiquaient les cérémonies. On y voit la nature sauvage et la disposition orgiastique des fidèles qui étaient représentées par la prêtresse de la déesse. L'ambiance entière dans laquelle se réalisaient d'ailleurs tous ces témoignages, comme nous verrons par la suite, pourrait être considérée comme une expression des efforts que donnent les fidèles pour entrer dans un milieu dominé seulement par la déesse. Il y a aussi un ordre constant dans lequel les hommes chantent des hymnes et expriment d'une manière paradoxale leur reconnaissance et leur soumission envers la Grande Mère de la nature et des êtres humains.

Il nous faut encore parler, en prenant comme cause le témoignage concret de Rhianos, du rôle que jouent les femmes dans le rite, où

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[42] S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, 348–349, cf. *PLG* 208, nr. 5 (Bergk.): "ἃς καὶ ἀποφθίμενας πᾶσαι νεοθᾶγι σιδάρῳ ἄλικες ἱμερτὰν κράτος ἔθετο τὴν κόμαν", Theodor. *Prodr.* VI,439sq.: "ἐκκοψον ἄκραν τῇ θανούσῃ τὴν κόμην, σπεῖσον πικρὸν δάκρυον ἐκ βλεφαρίδων".

[43] S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, 379–380; Christian Jacob, "Paysage et bois sacrés : ἄλσος dans la *Périegèse de la Grèce de Pausanias*", in *Les bois sacrés*. Actes du Colloque international du Naples (Collection du Centre Jean Bérard, Naples 1993) 31–44, et surtout 39; Claudia Montepaone, "*L'alsos/lucus*, forma idealtipica artemidea: il caso di Ippolito", *Les bois sacrés*, 69–79, et surtout 72–74; Olivier de Cazanove, "Suspension d'ex-voto dans les bois sacrés", *Les bois sacrés*, 111–126, et surtout 115, 120, 122. Cf. aussi Plinius, *HN* XXVIII,86.

[44] *Anthol.Palat.* VI,35,57,96,106,168,221,255,262,331.

leur vive sensibilité avait une importance particulière. Il faut encore ajouter que les manifestations religieuses des femmes à l'époque classique et dans les années postérieures renferment plus de passion que la religion traditionnelle qui se caractérise justement comme androcratique.[45] Les femmes, bien qu'elles aient eu une petite influence dans la formation de la religion officielle, jouaient souvent un rôle assez important dans les formes mystique-orgiastiques. Cela nous permet de conclure qu'à ces cultes participaient principalement des individus, ou des groupes sociaux qui ne participaient pas normalement à la vie publique ni au culte de la ville. Cet événement nous montre encore une fois que la religion avait aussi un aspect sentimental qui éclatait à la fin. Et pour cela justement que M.P. Nilsson dit que les femmes jouent un rôle de dissolvant dans la religion grecque traditionnelle.[46]

Les cérémonies de la déesse sont habituellement pratiquées dans une ambiance orgiastique, qui est accentuée, comme nous verrons plus tard, par l'usage d'instruments musicaux divers, de la danse et de cris de délire. La description de l'épigramme de Rhianos nous introduit, d'une manière très caractéristique, dans un milieu pareil. Cette situation effrénée est indiquée précisément par la mention du cri fort jeté par la prêtresse pendant la pratique de ces cérémonies. Il se rendait par le terme "ὀλολυγμός", c'est-à-dire "cri fort de joie".[47]

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[45] W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion*, 350, 365–370; G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Misteri e culti mistici di Demetra* (Storia delle Religioni, 3, Roma 1986) 223–307, B. Gladigow, "Die Teilung des Opfers", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 18 (1984) 26–27; P. Ardesmann, "Thesmophorien", *RE* VIA1 (1936) col. 1518; P. Foucart, *Associations religieuses*, 58–66; M.P. Nilsson, Ελληνική λαϊκή θρησκεία (ελλην. μεταφρ. Ι. Θ. Κακριδής) (Βιβλιοθήκη του φιλολόγου, 8, Athènes 1979) 92–94, Ulrike Huber, *Die staatlichen Frauenfesten Athens*, (Magisterarbeit Tübingen 1984); G. Duby-M. Perror (ed.), *Geschichte der Frauen*, vol. I: Antike, Pauline Schmitt Pantel (Hrsg.) (Frankfurt/M.-New York 1993).

Pour la participation particulière des femmes en-tant que prêtresses dans le culte de Cybèle voir M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA*, vol. II. Pour l'interdiction des femmes à participer au culte public de la ville, cf. aussi W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion*, 382-388, Sokolowski, *LSCG* 82,96; *LSS* 56,63,66,88,89; *LSAM* 42; R. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult* (Giessen 1910) 125–129.

[46] Cf. M.P. Nilsson, Ελληνική λαϊκή θρησκεία, 94.

[47] Cf. Eur. *Bacch.*24–25,689–690; E.R. Dodds (ed.), *Bacchae* 66,162; *Etym.Magn.* "ὁλολυγὴ· φωνὴ γυναικῶν ἣν ποιοῦνται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐχόμεναι"; Pollux.1,28; Eur. *Or.*1137, *Heracl.*782, *Aesch.Th.Ag.*28 cf. 595, *Ch.*387. Cf. aussi *Orphei Hymni* (ed. G. Quandt. Berlin 1962 [1955] 15); Eust. *ad Od.*4,767. Le terme "ὀλολυγή" apparaît pour la première fois au culte de la déesse Athena, cf. Hom. *Il.*6,301. Voir aussi M.J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art* (*EPRO* 9, Leiden 1966) 42, A.S.F. Gow ("The Gallus and the Lion", 91) qui se réfère au terme "λαλάγημα".

A ce cas concret, ce terme a comme but principal d'exprimer la reconnaissance de la prêtresse envers la déesse et en même temps la situation particulière où elle se trouve. Il faut encore accentuer que cet "ὀλολυγμός" est aussi lié au cri des femmes qui est souvent aussi particulièrement caractéristique pendant les cérémonies qui concernent les morts. Des réactions semblables sont, d'ailleurs, ordinaires pendant les sacrifices, où les femmes y assistant jettent de hauts cris aigus. *Ce cri indique clairement un impératif émotif. Ce cas a fourni* à un chercheur contemporain l'occasion de lier le témoignage que nous examinons aux cérémonies qui ont un caractère mortuaire d'Attis. Il est possible, comme le prétend le chercheur, que les clameurs profondes que les Galles font entendre—le "γαλλαῖον ὀλόλυγμα" de Rhianos (*A.P.*VI,173) et le "ἰδαῖος ὑλαγμός" de Nicandre (*Alex.*220)—puissent s'interpréter comme des chants funèbres.[48]

Dans ce cas concret, ce que l'auteur veut révéler, c'est seulement la situation de la manie sacrée dans laquelle se trouve la prêtresse de la déesse. Cela se voit d'ailleurs aussi par le fait que ce cri cérémonial qui est rapporté dans les divers témoignages comme "ἀλαλαί" s'unit principalement aux cultes qui ont un caractère mystique-orgiastique.[49] D'ailleurs, l'emploi susmentionné du terme "ὑλαγμός", qui signifie "aboiement", par Nicandre vise à décrire le plus clairement possible l'état particulier atteint par les fidèles au cours de ces cérémonies.[50] Ainsi, Pindare dit: "et que s'élèvent les sourds gémissements des Naïdes, et les cris de délire et les hourras qu'accompagne la brusque secousse du cou rejeté en arrière" (Ναΐδων ἐρίγδουποι στοναχαὶ μανίαι τ'ἀλαλαί . . .).[51] Contrairement à la citation de Rhianos les cérémonies orgiastiques se réalisaient avec l'accompagnement des instruments que tenaient les fidèles. Ceci apparaît dans les témoignages des auteurs du V^e^ siècle avant J.-C.[52] L'importance que ces instruments avaient pour le rite du culte était tellement grande que leur

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[48] D. Cosi, "Salvatore e salvezza nei misteri di Attis", *Aevum* L (1976) 69 et surtout n. 169. D'après *LSJ*, "ὀλολυγμός" le terme est utilisé "rarely of lamentation". Voir aussi *Ant.Pal.*VII,182.

[49] Menandr., fr. 326 (ed. Kock); Lucian., *Tragop.*30sq., *Dion.*4; Livius, 39,10; Aristoph. *Lys.*1291-1294; Eur. *Bacch.*592-593; Pind. *Ol.*7,68. Cf. aussi R. Kannicht, *Euripides Helena*, vol. II (Kommentar) (Heidelberg 1969), 350-351.

[50] Voir *LSJ*, s.v. ὑλαγμός.

[51] Pind. *Dithyr.*II, fr. 70b (ed. B. Snell, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*, Leipzig 1964, pp. 74-75); L.A. Farnell, *Pindar. Critical Commentary to the works of Pindar*, Amsterdam 1961, repr. [1932]), 423.

[52] Diod.Sic.5,49,1; Apol.Rhod.I,1138-1140 et *schol.ad.loc.* Luc. *Dial.deor.*20 (12),

utilisation est sous-entendue dans tous les témoignages. En écoutant le son des instruments, une situation orgiastique naît chez ceux qui participent aux cérémonies et généralement dans toute l'assemblée; ceci, selon les témoignages des auteurs, était d'ailleurs connu dans tout le monde hellénique.[53]

Parmi ces témoignages la relation faite par Pindare possède une place particulière. Il y décrit l'atmosphère des cérémonies pour la déesse.[54] La description de l'ambiance cultuelle trouve son sommet dans un autre témoignage du même auteur, qui se rapporte au culte de Dionysos à Thèbes. Comme nous le savons, la divinité de Dionysos est analogue quant au caractère orgiastique, à la Grande Mère et c'est précisément pour cette raison qu'elles sont comparées, en tant que cultes analogues.[55] Cela devient plus clair, si on prend en considération le témoignage de Strabon qui dit que dans ce cas on "réunit donc en commune description les rites des Grecs dans le culte de Dionysos et ceux des Phrygiens dans celui de la Mère des dieux" (τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀποδειχθέντων νομίμων παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Φρυξὶ περὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν συνοικειῶν ἀλλήλοις) (X,3,12). Et la cérémonie d'ailleurs de la Grande déesse asiatique était elle aussi restée proche de la cérémonie dionysiaque. La musique frénétique des tambourins, des cymbales, des cliquettes et des flûtes, des instruments qu'utilisaient les Ménades du culte de Dionysos, était la seule qui pouvait créer l'ambiance nécessaire à la pratique des cérémonies métroaques. Il est alors assez normal que dans une telle sorte de culte domine la description que Pindare nous donne de manière caractéristique, "voici que, près de l'auguste

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233–234; Strab. *Geogr.*X,3,17; Athenaios, *Deipnos.*636a; Eur. *Palamid.* fr². 586 (ed. Nauck, 545), *Hél.*1313sq., 1346,1352, *Bacch.*5559; Eumel. fr. 10 (ed. Kinkel); Apollod. 3,5,1; Eupol. fr. 1, 15. Cf. aussi M.P. Nilsson, *GGR* vol. I, pp. 160–161, G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 9–11, ead., "Helena", 1151, 1158–1159, 1162, 1164; E.R. Dodds, *Bacchae* 76–77, R. Canicht, *Euripides Helena*, II,350–351; I.K. Loucas, Ἡ Ρέα-Κυβέλη, 19–20 et surtout n. 38.

[53] Arist. *Pol.*VIII,1340a10: "[τὰ δ'Ὀλύμπου μέλη] ποιεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικάς"; G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Helena", 1151–1152 et n. 18; E. Moutsopoulos, "Euripide et la philosophie de la musique", *REG* LXXV (1962) 420–425, 436–438; G. Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulten der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit* (Liturgiegesch. Quellen und Forschung, 25, Münster i.W. 1930) 45–58.

[54] Pindare, *3 Pyth.*137–140.

[55] Cf. Strab. *Geogr.*X,3,13: "ἡ κοινωνία τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀποδειχθέντων νομίμων παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς φρυξὶ περὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν", Aesch. *Edonoi*, fr. 71 (ed. Mette); Eur. *Palam.* fr². 586 (ed. Nauck, 545); E.R. Dodds. *Bacchae* 76–77, 83–85 et passim; R. Kanicht, *Euripides Helena*, II,331sq., 357; G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Helena", 1152–1153, 116–1165; ead., *Soteriology*, 11–19 et surtout 15.

Mère, les timbales rondes ouvrent le ban, et que bruissent les cymbales, et la torche ardente, dont la blonde résine entretient la flamme" (σεμνᾷ μὲν κατάρχει/Ματέρι πὰρ μ[εγ]άλα ῥόμβοι τυπάνων,/ἐν δὲ κέχλαδ[εν] κρόταλ' αἰδομένα τε δᾷς ὑπὸ ξαν[θα]ῖσι πεύκαις).[56] C'est le même esprit d'ailleurs qui s'exprime dans l'hymne homérique consacré à la Mère des dieux. Dans cet hymne, la majestueuse déesse se présente baignée dans la joie. "Elle aime le son des cymbales et des tambourins, ainsi que le trémissement des flûtes" (ἣ κροτάλων τυπάνων τ'ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν).[57] Le lien qui existe entre les instruments et la personne de la déesse est tellement grand que Cybèle dans toutes les sources est caractérisée par ces instruments. C'est d'ailleurs pour cette raison que l'on utilise des instruments concrets pour son culte. Cela est visible aussi dans l'hymne orphique consacré à la déesse Rhéa qui y est caractérisée comme déesse "χαλκόκροτος".[58] Pour ce point particulier il faut que nous rapportions aussi l'importance de l'utilisation des tambourins dans le rite du culte métroaque. Les tambourins qui se caractérisent comme des instruments orientaux, étaient souvent qualifiés de "βυρσοτενῆ".[59] Ils étaient tellement appréciés par la déesse qu'elle y fut plusieurs fois appelée "τυμπανοτερπής".[60] On retrouve cela dans un certain nombre de témoignages qui sont liés d'une manière directe ou indirecte au rite du culte. Euripide dans les *Bacchantes*, en décrivant les habitudes qui prédominaient dans le culte de Dionysos, dit que ces tambourins sont considérés comme une invention des Kourètes qui étaient les compagnons constants de la déesse. Ils les laissaient, d'après l'auteur, entre les mains de la déesse afin qu'ils constituent son symbole permanent.[61] On trouve aussi la même idée dans les témoignages des trouvailles archéologiques.

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[56] *Dithyr.II*, fr. 70b (ed. B. Snell, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*[3], Leipzig 1964, vol. II, 74–75). Voir aussi Diogène Athenaeus, *TrGF* I 45 F1, *TrGF* II 629, II, 188 f.; Emilio Suárez de la Torres, "Expérience orgiastique et composition poétique: le *dithyrambe* II de Pindare (Fr. 70B Snell-Maehler)", *Kernos* 5 (1992) 183–207.

[57] *H.Hom. ad Matr.*3. Cf. T.W. Allen-R. Halliday-E.E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*[2] (Oxford 1936) 394–395; J. Humbert, *Homère Hymnes*, (Paris 1967).

[58] *Orph.H.*14,3 (p. 14), 38,1 (p. 30): "χαλκοκρότους Κουρῆτες"; Hesychius, *Lexicon*, "χαλκόκροτος".

[59] Eur. *Bacch.*124,205. En ce qui concerne la signification des tambourines dans le cadre du culte de la déesse, voir aussi Aisch. *TrGF* III 57,10; Eur. *HF* 889, *Hél*ὲ*n.*1347; *Cyc.*65,205; *TrGF* II,629,9. Cf. E.R. Dodds, *Bacchae* 83–84; R. Kanicht, *Euripides Helena* II,351–353; F. Naumann, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele* 136, L.E. Roller, "Attis on Greek Votive Monuments", 246.

[60] *Orph.H.*27,11 (p. 23).

[61] Eur. *Bacch.*123–124, cf. E.R. Dodds, *Bacchae* 84–85.

Selon ces témoignages les tambourins constituaient le moyen principal de l'équipement sacerdotal de la déesse.[62]

Mais l'instrument qui saisit d'un transport divin, tant dans la poésie que dans l'iconographie plastique, est la flûte. Aristote la caractérise comme l'instrument orgiastique par excellence.[63] Il se caractérise d'ailleurs par son lien avec la pratique des cérémonies orgiastiques et à cause de son bruit profond, comme "βαρύδρομος" (la flûte au bruit profond).[64] Cet instrument d'après une tradition est considéré comme une invention de l'époque de Kronos.[65] Pausanias dit aussi, de manière caractéristique, que le chant de la Mère qui s'accompagnait de sa flûte, était une invention de Marsyas.[66]

Ce serait une exagération si on rapportait au cas présent les témoignages postérieurs des Grecs et des Latins où on trouve la description de toute l'atmosphère qui se créait grâce à l'utilisation de ces instruments dans le rite du culte. Nous pensons qu'il vaut mieux ne faire mention que des autels que consacraient les fidèles pendant la pratique de la cérémonie de taurobole.[67] Les instruments y sont souvent représentés accrochés aux branches d'un pin sacré qui avait une très grande importance pour le rite du culte métroaque. Ce fait nous permet de comprendre encore une fois la place particulière que ces instruments prenaient dans les cérémonies du culte et constitue encore une preuve de la capacité de la musique à provoquer chez

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[62] Cf. M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA* vol. I-VII (Leiden 1987-1989), où se trouvent réunies les représentations relatives à la déesse.

[63] Arist. *Pol.*VIII,1341a,21-22: "οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ αὐλὸς ἠθικὸν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὀργιαστικόν, ὥστε πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους αὐτῷ καιροὺς χρηστέον ἐν οἷς ἡ θεωρία κάθαρσιν μᾶλλον δύναται ἢ μάθησιν", cf. *ibid.*, 1342b16.

[64] Eur. *Hélèn.*1350-1352, cf. R. Kanicht., *Euripides Helena* II,353, voir aussi, Athenaios, *Deipnos.*, 185a.

[65] M. Rocchi, *Kadmos e Harmonia un matrimonio problematico* (Storia delle Religioni, 6, Roma 1989), 31; M. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin 1949) 32sq. Voir aussi Nonn. *Dion.*XLV,43; Catull.63,22; Lucr.2,620.

[66] X,30,9: "οἱ δὲ ἐν Κελεναῖς ἐθέλουσι μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς διέξεισιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐκεῖνόν ποτε εἶναι τὸν αὐλήτην, ἐθέλουσι δὲ καὶ εὕρημα εἶναι τοῦ Μαρσύου τὸ μητρῷον αὔλημα· φασὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπώσαιντο στρατείαν τοῦ Μαρσύου σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὕδατί τε ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ μέλει τῶν αὐλῶν ἀμύναντος", cf. Steph.Byz. "Πεσσινοῦς"; Diod.Sic.3,58,23; Apollod.1,4,2. Voir aussi M.J., Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* 19.

[67] R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium*, 9-11 no. 5, 11-13 no. 6, 14, no. 11, 15-16, no. 17, 17-18, no. 22, 22-24, no. 33, 24, no. 34; M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA* vol. II, no. 389 (pl. CXVII, CXXI) no. 390 (pl. CXXI, CXXII) vol. III, no. 226 (pl. CXIX) n. 236 (pl. CXXII, CXXIII) no. 239 (pl. CXXIV), no. 241b (pl. CXXVII, CXXIX, CXXX, CXXXI) no. 357 (pl. CCVII, CCIX); id., *The Legend of Attis* 26 et pl. XV; I.K. Loucas, Η Ρέα-Κυβέλη, figs. 6-7, 10-11.

les hommes des sentiments orgiastiques. Ceci était d'ailleurs connu dans tout le monde ancien, particulièrement chez les fidèles qui participaient aux cérémonies qui avaient un caractère orgiastique. Ménandre d'ailleurs nous informe que les hommes à cause de l'influence que la déesse elle-même exercait sur eux à travers le son orgiastique de la musique, ressentaient une sorte de "*manie*".[68]

Mais l'élément qui complète d'une manière particulière l'image du caractère inspiré du culte est la réalisation par les fidèles de danses frénétiques.[69] Les fidèles étaient particulièrement tentés par les danses métroaques qui constituaient un des éléments principaux du culte de la déesse. D'ailleurs ces danses, qui se réalisaient dans le cadre particulier du culte orgiastique constituent un des principaux moyens pour provoquer des sentiments religieux chez les participants à la cérémonie. A son époque Lucien disait: "il est impossible de trouver même un culte mystèrique ancien qui ne possède pas l'élément de la danse" (τελετῶν οὐδὲ μίαν ἀρχαίαν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως)[70] et nous pensons qu'il a raison en ce qui concerne les cérémonies mystique-orgiastiques. Une des manières de theomixie ou union du fidèle avec le divin, qui était le but principal de cérémonie, était l'enthousiasme. Le fort rejet de la tête en arrière est plus fréquent que vers l'avant. L'exaltation de la danse se manifeste aussi par les nombreux mouvements et les cheveux déliés.[71] Cette image est confirmée par une série de petites statues qui représentent, comme on le croit, les partisans du culte métroaque. Ces trouvailles proviennent de sites archéologiques de Grèce et d'Asie Mineure. Ces figurines portent

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[68] *Theophoroumene*, 25sq. (ed. A. Koerte, *Menandri Reliquiae*, vol. I. Leipzig 1957, 101).

[69] Cf. Eur. *Phoen.*655, *Bacch.*482; Platon. *Symp.*215e, *Ion* 535e: Apollod.2.2,2; E. Rohde, *Psyche. Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*[2] (Darmstadt 1980) (repr. Nachdr. Freiburg-Tübingen 1898) vol. I, 287; P. Boyance, *Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs. Études d'histoire et de psychologie religieuses*, (Paris 1936) 64sq., M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA* vol. II, 17, no. 49, 117, no. 379, vol. V, 5, no. 9, 38, no. 104, 41–42, no. 115; E.R. Dodds, *Bacchae* XV,87,159. Voir aussi Dionysos qui danse au monte Parnasse (Macr. *Sat.*1,18 4); cf. Eur. fr[2]. 752 (ed. Nauck), Aristoph. *Ran.*1211sq.

[70] Lucian, *de salt.*15.

[71] M.J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis* 43 et n. 1, 49; S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, 398–399; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 304. Cf. Aisch. *TrGF* III 57; Soph. *Ant.*132,1154; *OT* 1093; Eur. *HF* 680–686, 889 f.; *Ion* 1079, 1084; *Hélèn.*1312f., 1345; *Phoin.*655,788–791,1756; *Bacch.*114,189,190,195,205,220,323,379,862; Eur. *N*[2] 752; Pratinas, *TrGF* I 4F3,1.5.17; *TrGF* II 629,6; Philodamos. *Paian* 8sq., 19sq., 40, 133sq., 146sq.; Serv. *ad Aen.*X,22: "*Semper Galli per furorem motu capitis comam, rotantes ululatu futura pronuntiabant*".

des habits orientaux, elles ont les mains levées et la tête tournée en arrière ("*oklasma*").[72] Ce fait nous permet de comprendre qu'il s'agit d'un témoignage montrant clairement la place caractéristique de la danse et l'ambiance qui s'instaure durant la cérémonie. Cette danse de la manie pratiquée par les fidèles de Cybèle est comparable aux danses analogues des Corybantes, les accompagnants constants de la déesse. Dans l'ambiance cultuelle de Samothrace ils se caractérisent aussi précisément, à cause de leur nature, comme "βητάρμονες" (danseurs).[73] Le terme "βητάρμων" (danseur) se trouve pour la première fois chez Homère[74] et plus tard chez Apollonius de Rhodes.[75] Chez le dernier, ce terme qualifie les Argonautes en armes qui ressemblent à la troupe mythique des Corybantes, quand ils dansaient en l'honneur de Cybèle. D'ailleurs le caractère intense de ses manifestations montre d'une manière toute particulière leur origine orientale.[76]

La danse pratiquée par les partisans de la déesse et surtout par les femmes pourrait être liée à une autre cause. Il nous est possible de supposer qu'elle pourrait constituer une partie des cérémonies magiques qui visaient principalement à faciliter la germination.[77] C'est d'ailleurs un phénomène assez fréquent et nous le trouvons dans l'atmosphère cultuelle des divinités de la fécondité. Un tel acte peut trouver place dans le cadre de la magie homéopathique dont les données jouent un rôle particulier dans la vie des hommes qui vivent dans les régions agricoles. Il est alors normal que les fidèles agissent de la sorte. De ce fait ils essayaient peut-être de rendre favorable la

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[72] M.J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis* 48–53 et pl. XXVIII,2,3,4, XXIX,1,2, XXX,1,2, XXXI,1,2, XXXII,1,2,3, XXXIII,1,2,3, XXXV,2,3; M.J. Vermaseren-M. De Boer, "Attis", *LIMC* III (1986) 22–44, et surtout nos. 56–76, 240–278. Voir aussi la représentation du cratère en figure rouge d'Athènes, Spina, *ARV*[2] 1052, no. 25.

[73] Strab. *Geogr.*X,3,21; Verg. *Aen.*IX,617,X,552; Horat. *Od.*I,16; Etym.Magn. "βητάρμονες". Cf. Aussi M. Rocchi, *Kadmos e Harmonia*, 33,71, G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 15, n. 37.

[74] Hom. *Od.*8,250, cf. 383; Eust.ad *Hom.Od.*VIII,250,264, *Schol.Hom.*VIII,250: "παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ βαίνειν ἤτοι ὀρχήσασθαι . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ βαίνειν ἁρμοδίως".

[75] Apoll.Rhod.3257sq., 4,1142; cf. aussi P. Boyance, *Études sur la religion romaine*, 222, n. 4.

[76] Pour des habitudes pareilles qui ont survécu à l'entourage de l'Asie Mineure, *cf.* R. Turcan, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde-Romain* (Paris 1989) 37. Nous rencontrons pareilles habitudes d'une part chez les Montanistes (W. Schepelern, *Der Montanismus und die phrygischen Kulte*, Tübingen 1929, 146sq.) et d'autre part dans le mysticisme musulman (Sufism), voir Gr. D. Ziakas, Ο μυστικός ποιητής, *Maulana Jalaladin Rumi* και η διδασκαλία του, (Thessalonique 1987 [1973]).

[77] E.R. Dodds, *Bacchae* XIII–XVI; M.P. Nilsson, *GGR* vol. I, 161–162; U. Bianchi, "Prolegomena", *MM*; N. Papachatzis, Η θρησκεία στην αρχαία Ελλάδα 171–172.

déesse qui règne d'une manière absolue sur la nature et les hommes. Le fait que tous les ans à une certaine époque, une telle danse se réalisait peut nous conforter dans cette idée. C'est par cette manifestation que les hommes de certaines régions voulaient symboliser et rendre favorable la production annuelle de leurs biens. C'est pour cette raison que les fidèles réalisaient souvent ces danses pendant le printemps, au temps où la nature entière manifeste la grandeur de la déesse. Euripide met en scène une telle situation, quand il décrit dans les *Bacchantes*, avec les couleurs les plus vives, la disposition d'esprit qui dominait les fidèles pendant les danses orgiastiques. C'est autant l'intensité qui prédomine que, comme dit l'auteur, "toute la terre deviendra une bande de danseurs" (γᾶ πᾶσα χορεύσει) (v. 114). Naturellement il faut signaler que l'auteur de ce dernier témoignage se réfère au rite du culte de Dionysos. Mais ceci ne pourrait certainement pas constituer un facteur suspensif qui nous empêcherait de comprendre la nature particulière du culte métroaque. D'ailleurs il ne faut pas oublier, comme nous l'avons déjà dit et comme nous le verrons par la suite, que ces deux cultes sont considérés comme similaires à cause de leur nature orgiastique. L'image du témoignage d'Euripide peut sans doute être comparée à un témoignage archéologique postérieur: la tablette en argent de Parabiago qui remonte au IV^e^ siècle après J.-C.[78] Dans cette trouvaille on retrouve l'intensité et le mouvement que présente l'entourage naturel et cosmique qui se trouve sous la surveillance de la Grande Mère. Le témoignage archéologique susmentionné constitue une preuve de plus en ce qui concerne la modification du caractère originel de la déesse, selon "l'esprit du temps" de la basse antiquité. Il existe encore une autre découverte qui confirme la place particulière de la déesse. Elle se trouve dans la collection des monuments du culte métroaque qu'a présentée M.J. Vermaseren. Ce témoignage provient de Colonos Agoraios à Athènes (II^e^ siècle avant J.-C.) et le chercheur le caractérise comme "terracotta polos".[79] Sur cette trouvaille on trouve quatre femmes qui dansent devant une divinité féminine qui, sans aucun

[78] Voir Luisa Musso, *Manifattura suntuaria e commitenza pagana nella Roma del IV secolo: indagine sulla lanx di Parabiago* (Roma 1983) 13, 15, 22-49, 87-88, 106-148; M.J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis* 27-28, id., *Cybele and Attis* 72 et pl. 53; A. Levi, *La patera d'argento di Parabiago* (R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte. Opere d'Arte, fasc.5, Roma 1935); id., "La lanx di Parabiago e i testi orfici", *Athenaeum* (N.S.) XV (1937) 187-198 et pl. 1-3.

[79] Cf. M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA* vol. II, 719, no. 36 (pl. IV,36).

doute, est Cybèle. Ce témoignage pourrait encore constituer une confirmation indubitable de la place des femmes dans le rite des cultes de la fécondité. Des actions de ce type doivent être considérées comme des efforts pour rendre favorable la déesse, et pour fortifier les forces séminales de la nature. Il faut dire également que l'on essaie ainsi de ramener la nature à l'harmonie perdue et d'assurer le bonheur de l'ensemble de la communauté sociale en général.

Le lieu où se réalisaient les cérémonies orgiastiques de la déesse était—comme nous l'avons déjà dit à propos de l'épigramme de Rhianos—les élysées sacrés et les montagnes, qui constituent l'expression principale de la nature libre, où régnait la déesse. Ceci est justifié d'ailleurs aussi par l'expression "μήτηρ ὀρεία" (Mère qui règne sur les monts) que nous trouvons dans les témoignages du V^e^ siècle avant J.-C., ce qui veut dire que la déesse domine des milieux entourés de montagnes escarpées de forêts denses et de lieux isolés.[80] Dans ce site naturel, tous les élements de la nature, les règnes végétal et animal, ainsi que les hommes s'inclinent avec crainte devant la majesté absolue de leur mère. La relation particulière de Cybèle avec le monde des montagnes, des forêts et de la nature sauvage en général, peut être mieux comprise, si on prend en considération son rapport étroit avec Pan, ce dieu des forêts singulier, protecteur de la vie pastorale. Le culte simultané de ces deux dieux fait son apparition dès le V^e^ siècle avant J.-C. Cela est évident principalement grâce à un nombre de témoignages archéologiques concernant le domaine cultuel, qui représentent le dieu comme la personne qui est toujours le *paredros* de Cybèle.[81] De même, on trouve le culte commun de deux divinités dans un grand nombre de textes de cette période. Ce caractère se retrouvait par ailleurs dans l'hymne orphique qui est lui consacré.

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[80] Eur. *Or.*1453, *Hipp.*141–144 et *Schol. in Hipp.*144 (ed. E. Schwartz, vol. II, 24); Soph. *Phil.*391–394 et *Schol. in Phil.*391, (ed. P.N. Papageorgius, *Scholia in Sophoclis Tragoedias vetera*, Leipzig, 1888, 362); *Schol.Pind. III Pyth.*139b (ed. A.B. Drachmann, *Scholia vetera in Pindari Carmina. Scholia in Pythonicas*, Amsterdam 1967 [repr.], vol. II, 81); Timoth. fr. 15 in D.L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962 401, n. 791; Diod.Sic.3,58,3; Nonn. *Dion.*XIII,137,XVII,63,XLIII,22; Apol.Rhod. *Argon.*1,1118–1119; Aristoph. *Av.*746; Suidas, (III,555): "Ὀρεία· ἡ ἐν ὄρεσιν ἀναστρεφομένη. τάσδε θεῇ χαίτας περικλεῖδι θῆκεν ὀρεία τῇ ἐν ὄρεσι"; *IG* IV^2^,I,131,16. Cf. aussi G. Casadio, "I Cretesi di Euripide e l'ascesi Orfica", *Didattica* del *Classico*, Nr. 2 (Foggia 1990), 287–310, voir surtout 292, 293; G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Helena", passim; R. Kanicht, *Euripides Helena* II,358–359.

[81] En ce qui concerne la relation entre Cybèle et Pan, voir F. Brommer, "Pan in 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.", *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 15 (1949/1950) 5–42, et surtout 5, 12, 30–35; P. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece*

D'après cet hymne elle se caractérise comme: "Mère des Dieux, nourrice de tous, honorée comme les dieux. . . ." (ἀθανάτων θεότιμε, θεῶν μῆτερ, τροφὲ πάντων . . .).[82] Il est alors naturel que ce milieu soit le lieu suprême où se réalisent les cérémonies qui ont comme but principal de glorifier sa grandeur.

Euripide dans "*Hélène*", commence un hymne à la Grande Mère avec la description: "Mère des Dieux, qui règne sur les monts" (ὀρεία . . . μήτηρ θεῶν).[83] Selon nous on trouve ici de la meilleure manière la fonction de la physionomie orientale dans la forme grecque. L'auteur présente dans son œuvre, d'une manière très caractéristique, une sorte de syncrétisme religieux, par lequel coexistent, dans l'espace grec, les cultes de deux divinités semblables, liées aux notions de fertilité et de fécondité. Il ne faut pas bien-sûr oublier les différences entre les caractères des deux divinités. L'une est associée à la nature sauvage et sans ordre, alors que l'autre, particulièrement dans le milieu cultuel d'Éleusis, est liée à la propagation de la culture des céréales et au développement de la civilisation. Cette œuvre d'Euripide présente, donc, les deux type de culte, c'est-à-dire le caractère mystique-orgiastique du culte de Cybèle, ainsi que la nature mystique-initiatique du culte d'Éleusis. Ces deux types de religiosité sont les plus significatifs de la manière par laquelle le Grec des temps classiques essayait de concevoir sa relation réciproque avec le milieu divin. C'est précisément cette figure de la déesse qui règne sur les montagnes et l'environnement naturel au sens large du mot qui est présentée par l'auteur que nous examinons.[84] C'est cette déesse encore qui court avec manie sur son char tiré par des lions, dans les forêts ombragées,

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(Chicago/London 1988) 52–53, 82–83; J.A. Haldane, "Pindar and Pan: Frs. 95–100 (Snell)", *Phoenix* 22 (1968) 18–31, L.E. Roller, "Attis on Greek Votive monuments", 252; M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA* II, nos. 66, 180, 182, 339 (Athènes), no. 279 (Piraeus), no. 432 (Leibadia); E. Suárez de la Torre, "Le Dithyrambe II de Pindare", 196–198. Cf. Aussi Pindar, *3. Pyth.*137–140, Fragm.95 (Snell); Schol.*3. Pyth.*137–139 (attribue à Aristodemos); Pausanias IX,25,3; Eurip. *Hippol.*141–144.

Contre cette union Cybèle-Pan dans le culte local de Béotie s'est élevée récemment F. Bader, "Autobiographie et héritage dans la langue des dieux : d'Homère à Hésiode et Pindare", *REG* 103 (1990–1992) 383–408.

[82] *Orph.H.*27,1 (pp. 22–23).

[83] Vv. 1301–1307: "ὀρεία ποτὲ δρομάδι κώλῳ μάτηρ θεῶν ἐσύθη ἀν' ὑλέαντα νάπη/ ποτάμιόν τε χεῦμ' ὑδάτων/βαρύδρομόν τε κῦμ' ἄλιον πόθῳ/τᾶς ἀποιχομένας ἀρρήτου/ κούρας" cf. R. Kanicht, *Euripides Helena*., II, 338–339, H. Grégoire, Euripide, vol. V, *Hélène-Les Phéniciennes* (Paris 1950) 946.

[84] Voir G. Cerri, "La Madre degli Dei nell' Elena di Euripide", 155–195; Anton F. Harald Bierl, *Dionysos und die griechische Tragödie* (Classica Monaciensa, 1, Tübingen 1991), 163–172.

dans les vallées creuses, dans les rivières. Sur son passage frénétique les arbres s'inclinent devant elle. Ces images nous permettent de comprendre que la sauvage et inquiète déesse ne laisse en paix ni le règne végétal, ni le règne animal ni les hommes. La nature se trouve comme la déesse elle-même en extase et ce fait se passe particulièrement au printemps et en hiver. Pendant ces périodes tous les milieux se soumettent à l'implacable volonté de la Grande déesse.[85] Cette situation est présentée d'une manière des plus expressives par la trouvaille archéologique de Parabiago dont nous avons déjà parlé. Dans ce témoignage sont présentés d'une manière caractéristique l'espace cosmique et la nature qui se trouvent sous le pouvoir de la déesse majestueuse. Ainsi ne faudrait-il pas oublier que dans le cas présent, l'artiste, en obéissant à l'esprit de son époque, ait adapté sa représentation de la déesse à l'interprétation symbolique que donnaient les Stoiciens (Cornutus), les Epicuriens (Lucrèce) et la pensée postérieure des néoplatoniciens.[86]

Ces fêtes, comme nous l'indiquent les témoignages des auteurs, se réalisent à la lumière de tisons pendant la nuit. La marche cultuelle dans la montagne visait à faire se rencontrer des fidèles et la Grande Mère et à étudier la nature sauvage et dominée par la déesse.[87] Ce fait est confirmé par un commentaire de la troisième ode pythique de Pindare qui date de l'époque hellénistique. Dans ce commentaire, il existe une description qui montre le style particulier des cérémonies "nocturnes, puisque les mystères en son honneur ont lieu pendant la nuit" (ἐννύχιαι δέ, ἐπεὶ νυκτὸς αὐτῇ τὰ μυστήρια τελεῖται).[88] L'heure nocturne d'ailleurs, comme nous verrons par la suite, et la marche dans la montagne assurent la situation mystique des cérémonies de la troupe. De cette facon, les pannychides de la Grande Mère qui se distinguent par leur caractère mystique-orgiastique et qui se pratiquent dans un lieu naturel isolé doivent être considérés comme

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[85] F. Cumont, *Orientalische Religionen*, 46–47; M.J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis* 26–27 et pl. XIV,3,4; G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Helena", 1166–1168; R. Kanicht, *Euripides Helena*, II, 338; C. Christou, *Potnia Theron* (Thessalonique 1968). Cf. aussi Soph. *Phil.*400–401: "μάκαιρα ταυροκτόνων λεόντων ἔφεδρε" et *Schol. in* 401.

[86] Cf. supra n. 78.

[87] Pind. *3 Pyth.*137–140; Herod.IV,76 = H. Hepding, *Attis* 6; Eupol. fr. 1, 15. Cf. G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Helena", 1163, ead., *Soteriology*, 20; P. Lekatsas, Διόνυσος (Athènes 1971) 39–41.

[88] Pind. 3 *Pyth.*137–140, cf. *Schol. in* 140 (ed. A.B. Drachman, *Scholia vetera in Pindari Carmina*, 81).

un effort d'expression libre des adeptes du culte, au-delà des lieux de la religion traditionnelle.

Les marches nocturnes dans les montagnes, les flambeaux et le sens de la présence permanente de la déesse préparent les éclats de délire amenés par les cris de la cérémonie, la danse et la musique. L'agitation commence avec la musique qui éclate dans la tranquillité de la montagne et de la nuit. Les tambourins, les cymbales en cuivre, les flûtes, provoquent de plus en plus la musique démoniaque, d'une manière orgiastique jusqu'à ce que s'unissent les sons des cliquettes, des battements des mains et des longs cris des adeptes. La danse frénetique les saisit par des sauts, les mains se secouent, le corps se convulse, la tête se rejette en arrière avec des cris effrayants. Dans cette course frénétique et cette danse, la manie captive toute la nature. Dans l'extase se délie l'ordre du Monde.[89] Toute cette situation est rapportée par les témoignages des auteurs qui donnent à la déesse le surnom de Cybèle Dindymène.[90] C'est de cette manière qu'ils font allusion à son berceau micrasiatique originel où ces caractéristiques sont particulièrement vives. Ce climat d'ailleurs de l'entourage phrygien qui présente des altérations climatologiques brutes pendant l'alternance des saisons constitue le lieu idéal où le drame de la nature devient perceptible aux fidèles. C'est dans ce lieu que se déroulent les cérémonies, comme nous le transmettent d'ailleurs aussi les témoignages des épigrammes de l'*Anthologie Palatine* qui proviennent de l'époque alexandrine. Ainsi les fidèles pénètrent dans un lieu où la présence de la déesse est extrêmement forte, et ceci constitue un moyen qui contribue essentiellement à la charge émotionelle des fidèles et à leur libération—comme nous l'avons déjà dit—par rapport aux liens de l'entourage quotidien. C'est exactement dans ce lieu qu'ils

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[89] P. Boyancé, *Études sur la religion romaine*, 224; E.R. Dodds, *The Greek and the Irrational*[b] (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1968 [1951]) 75–82; H. Jeanmaire, Διόνυσος. Ιστορία της λατρείας του Βάκχου (ελλην. μεταφρ. Α. Μερτανη -Αίζα, Patras 1985) 148–286; P. Lekatsas, Διόνυσος, 37–39, 41–49; R. Turcan, *Cultes orientaux*, 37–38, 45; M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* 19 (Il cite l'entrée d'un temple de Smyrne qui se trouve aujourdhui au Musée de l'Hermitage (St. Petersburg). Sur les piliers ("*antae*") de l'entrée du temple que nous avons cité, il y a des représentations de Mainades); G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Helena", 1152, 1162, 1169, 1179; ead., *Soteriology*, 9–18; E.R. Dodds, *Bacchae*, 115–116, 201–205; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, II, 40–43. Cf. aussi Eur., *Bacch.*359, 981–1015; *Hipp.*141–144, et *Schol.ad loc.* (Ed. E. Schwartz, vol. II, 1891, 23–24); Hipp. *Morb.sacr.*I,VI,360,13sq; Apol.3,5,1; Martial, *Ep.*V,41,3,XI,84,4.

[90] M.J. Vermaseren, *CCCA*, vol. III, 62–64, no. 24, 100, no. 355; R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium*, 21, no. 28. Cf. Diod.Sic.3, 58–59, 8; *Anthol.Palat.*VI,51 = H. Hepding, Attis 8; Catull, 63, 13; Martial, *Ep.*II,81.

peuvent la rencontrer et c'est pour cette raison qu'ils essaient de l'obtenir en imitant la manie de la nature. Et ils croient que plus vite ils arriveront à cette situation plus réussie sera leur identification avec elle. Leur désir s'exprime dans le culte par le surnom donné aux fidèles de "Κύβηβος" (kybèbos), c'est-à-dire de théophore.[91] De cette manière ils se déclarent possédés par la Grande-Mère. Cette déesse a d'ailleurs la possibilité d'animer le fidèle, comme dit Euripide, d'un transport divin.[92] Avec cette possibilité elle entraîne l'homme comme l'orage, avec comme résultat de le faire échapper au milieu étroit où il se meut ordinairement. Ainsi le fidèle peut s'identifier à la déesse qui se distingue par son caractère maniaque suprême. D'ailleurs son surnom de "Κυβήβη" (Kybèbe) montre la particuliarité de sa physionomie.[93] Le temps et l'espace n'ont dans cette situation aucune importance pour l'être humain. Le fidèle se meut déjà dans une autre dimension qui lui donne la capacité de se sentir comme un dieu.

L'identification du fidèle avec l'entourage sauvage et isolé où se pratiquent ces cérémonies, peut être considérée comme une sorte d'échappée hors de la civilisation, et comme une marche où le fidèle a pour but principal d'arriver, à travers une situation chaotique, à l'eudaimonia recherchée. C'est alors de cette façon que se manifeste la majesté de la déesse, à ceux qui ont montré le respect qu'il fallait et la soumission à la mère absolue et souveraine de la nature et des hommes. Selon nous cette action des fidèles pourrait s'étendre au cadre général des "rites des passages" dont nous avons déjà parlé.

C'est qui fait se mouvoir le fidèle, c'est l'idée qu'en vivant dans des situations spécifiques et hors de la communauté, il lui est possible de se trouver aussi hors du monde humain. La situation d'ailleurs de la manie a pour résultat principal la transformation de la personnalité du fidèle. Un texte de Philon, qui appartient à un époque postérieure, décrit cette état où arrive le fidèle de Cybèle comme une "νηφάλιος μέθη" qui est provoquée sans l'influence du vin.[94] Cet état justement contribue sans aucun doute à la création des liens

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[91] *Etym.Magn.*: "κυβηβεῖν . . . αἰτία ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τοῖς μύσταις", voir aussi G.M. Sanders, "Gallos", col. 987; 990.

[92] Eur. *Hipp.*141-144.

[93] Κυβήβη: Herod.V.102; Hipponax, fr. 125; cf. aussi *cybebe*: Verg. *Aen.*X,22; κυβέλη: Eur. *Bacch.*79; κύβηλις: Hippon. fr. 167 (ed. H. Began). Cf. W. Burkert, *Structure and History*, 102-104, 120; R. Turcan, *Cultes orientaux*, 35-36; E. Laroche, "Koubaba, déesse Anatolienne", *Elements orientaux*, 113-128.

[94] Philon, *De opificio. mundi*, 71: "μέθη νηφαλίῳ κατασχεθεὶς ὥσπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες",

d'une relation réciproque avec la déesse. Par cette relation, le fidèle acquiert le salut auquel il aspire tellement.

Après cet état d'agitation qui mène le fidèle à un état d'exaltation vient la sérénité. Il faut dire que ce passage de la situation chaotique où le fidèle était par la manie à la situation physiologique est caractérisé par le terme "ἀπομαίνεσθαι".[95] De cette manière est montré le passage par le fidèle de l'intensité à la mesure qui caractérise sa vie quotidienne. Le temps sacré où est entré le fidèle est terminé pour lui et il retourne au cadre du temps commun (profan) et quotidien. L'élément qui continue à le fortifier est le sens de la protection permanente de la déesse. C'est pour cette raison que nous croyons que le fidèle continue à s'identifier avec la déesse. D'ailleurs cette sérénité qui succède à la manie caractérise particulièrement la figure de la Grande Mère, car l'autre aspect qui la distingue est celui de la sérénité et de la souffrance.[96]

Ceci est normal puisque la déesse aussi présente dans sa physionomie l'aspect analogue. Ainsi la manie a-t-elle des résultats bienfaisants pour le fidèle, quand il se trouve dans les cadres du rite cultuel. Le même phénomène constitue parallèlement une punition implacable pour l'homme impie. La Grande-Mère est caractérisée par sa double nature; compatissante et solidaire de ceux qui lui sont entièrement fidèles, mais, au contraire, cruelle avec ceux qui manquent à leurs obligations. Cette situation se déclare d'une manière caractéristique dans la variante phrygienne du mythe du culte.[97] Selon le récit mythique, Attis et les autres protagonistes arrivent à une situation de manie effrénée qui a pour eux des résultats tragiques. Cette situation maniaque d'Attis est appellée par Ovide "*perbacchatus*".[98]

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cf. P. Boyance, *Eléments sur la religion romaine*, 203; G. Filoramo, *A History of Gnosticism* (Cambridge, MA-Oxford 1994 [1990]) 32.

[95] Aretaeus, 3, 6, 11; Caelius Aurel.152. Voir aussi R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicigraphical Notes* (Göttingen 1975) 37.

[96] R. Turcan (*Cultes orientaux*, 40-41) qui se rapporte à Agdistis : "assuma dans son récit les aspects négatifs et violents de la Mère amoureuse d'Attis. Chez Arnobe, Cybèle joue un rôle normalisateur"; G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 31-43 et surtout 41; P. Pachis, Το νερό και το αίμα στις μυστηριακές λατρείες της ελληνορωμαϊκής εποχής (Diss. Thessalonique 1988) 93.

[97] Cf. Agatharch., *de flw.*X,5 (ed. F. Dübner, 88), XII,1,89.XIII,1,90; Eur. *Bacch.*882; E.R. Dodds, *Bacchae* 188; G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 69, 87 et nos. 11, 123 (où elle se réfère au résultats actifs de la manie).

[98] R. Turcan, *Cultes orientaux*, 39; M. Meslin, "Agdistis ou l'Androgyne malséante", M.B. Boer—T.A. Edridge (edd.), *Hommages à M.J., Vermaseren*, vol. II, 772, n. 27; Arnob. *adv.Nat.*V,7 = H. Hepding, *Attis* 40,109. Voir aussi la qualification "*raptus*"

Pour terminer il faut aussi mettre l'accent sur le fait que ces cérémonies, au moins pendant les époques classique et hellénistique, n'étaient pas encore liées à l'initiation des fidèles. Ce fait est certain, bien que, selon certain témoignages qui appartiennent au V^e^ siècle avant J.-C., et à l'époque où les épigrammes de l'*Anthologie Palatine* sont écrites, les cérémonies nocturnes soient appelées "μυστήρια".[99] Ainsi, selon ces relations précises il faut insister sur le fait que le terme "μυστήριον" (mystère) est lié dans ces cas spécifiquement à la signification de l'entourage isolé et le caractère nocturne du culte. De cette manière se manifeste l'effort pour l'isolement qui protège l'ensemble des fidèles de la déesse des yeux impies, des personnes qui n'appartiennent pas à leur troupe sacrée. Ces deux élémenis dont nous avons parlé constituent d'ailleurs des indices qui président de manière supreme aux cérémonies de la Grande-Mère.[100] Les cérémonies du culte métroaque se caractérisent également, particulièrement à l'époque que nous examinons, comme "ὄργια" (orgia).[101] Ce terme a pour but principal de manifester, outre la forme mystique de son rite, ce que Strabon décrit comme: "toutes les manifestations de caractère orgiastique ou relevant du délire des Bacchants, ainsi que toutes les danses et les rites propres à la célébration des mystères initiatiques" (τὸ ὀργιαστικὸν πᾶν καὶ τὸ βακχικὸν καὶ τὸ χορικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς μυστικόν).[102]

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d'Attis; Catul.63. Cf. E. Parratore, "Motivi soteriologici nella letteratura latina della tarda d'éta republicana", *CSCO*, 334.

[99] G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Dai misteri alla mistica : Semantica di una parola", *La Mistica. Fenomenologia e riflessione teologica* (Roma 1984) 73-113; ead. *Soteriology*, 14, nos. 20-25, 31-32; ead., "Ancora sur termine TELETH. Osservazioni storico-religiose", *Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a Francesco della Corte*, vol. V (Urbino 1987) 137-152; cf. aussi Philod. *Anthol.Palat.*VII,222 (ed. P. Waltz, Paris 1960, 152); Thuillos, *Anthol.Palat.*VII,223,1 3 (*op. cit.*, 152sq.); P. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses*, 158-159.

[100] Cf. Soph. *Ant.*1012sq., *Trach.*765sq.; L. Ziehen, "orgia", *RE* 35 (1939) col. 1026-1029; G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 9-19.

[101] En ce qui concerne la signification du terme "ὄργιον", voir A. Motte - V. Pirenne-Delforge, "Le mot et les rites. Aperçu des significations de ὄργια et de quelques dérivés", *Kernos* 5 (1992) 119-140.

[102] *Geogr.*X,3,10.

From *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults* (Leiden, 1996)

PHRYGIAN MATAR: EMERGENCE OF AN ICONOGRAPHIC TYPE[1]

Mary Jane Rein

The earliest Greek representations of the mother goddess Kybele are in the form of a simple architectural frame or "naiskos" containing an image of the goddess. These so-called "Kybele naiskoi" emerge in western Anatolia during the middle decades of the sixth century B.C. The source for their iconography can be recognized in a series of Phrygian stelai from the vicinity of Ankara and in the rock-cut monuments of the Phrygian highlands.[2] A variety of literary, inscriptional, and lexical references, documenting the Greek belief that Kybele came from Phrygia, complement these iconographic origins.[3] In particular, several late Classical lexica, such as the Suda and Stephanos of Byzantium, derive the name Kybele from a mountain in Phrygia named *Kybeleia*.[4] The aim of this paper will be to demonstrate that the iconography of these Phrygian monuments is shaped by this conception of the goddess as "mountain mother". A review of the Greek Kybele naiskoi will suggest, in turn, that their standard architectural format is dependent for meaning on the mountain imagery of the Phrygian monuments.[5] The colonizing history of the important Ionian city Miletus in the region of the Hellespont and Propontis will, moreover, emerge as a significant factor in this Greek adaption and dissemination of the Phrygian image of the mother.

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[1] This study was originally presented as a paper at the 94th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America: *AJA* 97 (1993) 318 (abstract). I am grateful to Professors Lynn Roller and Eugene Lane for their valuable assistance in providing additional bibliography and advice.

[2] R. Temizer, "Un bas-relief de Cybèle découvert à Ankara," *Anatolia* 4 (1959) 183–187; C.H.E. Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia* (Princeton 1971) 110–111; M.J. Mellink, "Comments on a Cult Relief of Kybele from Gordion," *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, ed. R.M. Böhmer and H. Hauptmann (Mainz am Rhein 1983) 349–360, esp. 359.

[3] Diodorus 3.58.1; Etym.Mag. s.v. Kybelon; Hesychius s.v. Kybeleia; Hipponax, fr. 167 (Degani); St. Byz. s.v. Kybeleia.

[4] References to a Phrygian mountain named Cybele also occur in Virgil, *Aeneid* III.111; XI. 768 and Ovid, *Fasti* 4.249, 363.

[5] A corpus of Kybele representations is included in F. Naumann, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele* (Tübingen 1983).

The Phrygian iconography of the Mother serves as a clear complement to the Greek sources which derive the name Kybele from a mountain located in Phrygia. The natural rock outcroppings of the Phrygian highlands furnish numerous cliff faces designed in the form of a building façade with a prominent doorway. These monuments celebrate a goddess identified from inscriptions in old Phrygian as Matar.[6] On the best known of these façades, the so-called "Monument of Midas," usually dated to the late eighth century, Matar is mentioned three times and the doorway, now empty, would originally have contained her image.[7] The relevance of this Phrygian Mother to Greek Kybele is demonstrated by two inscribed monuments from the Highlands on which the goddess is named Matar Kubileya.[8] This titular compound resembles the common designation for the Greek Mother, "Meter Kybele". These inscribed Phrygian monuments, therefore, supplement and confirm the sources which represent Kybele as Phrygian in origin.[9]

That the Phrygian form Kubile is the source for the Greek theonym Kybele has been recognized since the late nineteenth century.[10] The decipherment of Hittite hieroglyphs in the 1920's led the semiticist William Albright to recognize a further resemblance between the Greek theonym Kybele and that of the North Syrian goddess Kubaba.[11] The full extent of this phonetic similarity was explored in a seminal article by Emmanuel Laroche, in which he proposed that the Phrygians were responsible for transforming the north Syrian theonym into the form eventually adapted by the Greeks.[12] This suggestion correctly preserves the Phrygian intermediary advertised by the ancient sources. Political and cultural relations between Karkemish,[13] the chief site for the worship of Kubaba, and the Phrygian capital, Gordion, strengthen the view that the theonym Kubaba was somehow the inspiration for the Phrygian form Kubile.

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[6] C. Brixhe and M. Lejeune, *Corpus des Inscriptions Palaéo-Phrygiennes* (Paris, 1984) W-01a-b; W-04; W-06; B-01; M-01c-e.

[7] Brixhe & Lejeune, M-01c-e; Haspels 73-76, figs. 8, 598.

[8] Brixhe & Lejeune, W-04; B-01.

[9] For a discussion of the evidence pertaining to the Phrygian cult of the Mother, see L. Roller, "Phrygian Myth and Cult," *Source* 3-4 (1988) 43-50.

[10] W.M. Ramsay, "Studies in Asia Minor," *JHS* 3 (1882) 33 ff.; S. Reinach, "Cybèle à Kyme," *BCH* 13 (1889) 556-558.

[11] W.F. Albright, "The Anatolian Goddess Kubaba," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 5 (1928-1929) 229-231.

[12] E. Laroche, "Koubaba, déesse Anatolienne, et le problème des origines de Cybèle," in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (1960) 113-128.

[13] H. Güterbock, "Herrin von Karkemiš," *JNES* 13 (1954) 109 ff.

Figure 1. Stele of Kubaba from Karkemish, Courtesy of the British Museum

Phrygian depictions of the mother appear, moreover, to have been adapted from late Hittite representations of Kubaba. The pivotal monument for illustrating this iconographic relationship is a stele from Karkemish in which the frontal pose of the goddess and her placement within a frame are suggestive of the Phrygian type of naiskos with standing, frontal representation of the mother (figure 1).[14] A further similarity between the north Syrian and Phrygian goddesses can be recognized in their shared association with the hawk. In Luwian hieroglyphic, the writing used in the late Hittite period at Karkemish, Kubaba is spelled with the phonetic element KU—followed by a logogram of a hawk.[15] The hawk is also a standard attribute in the iconography of Phrygian Matar, as well as the subject of numerous votive offerings from Gordion.[16] This predatory bird expresses an important quality of the mother goddess who oversees the cycle of life and death.

These iconographic and other similarities have tended to support the reasoning that Kubaba is an immediate ancestress of Matar Kubile.[17] Close examination, however, reveals that the phonetic resemblance is superficial. Claude Brixhe's study of the old Phrygian corpus emphasizes the fact that in the two inscriptions in which "Matar Kubile" is apparently mentioned, the true reading is actually "kubileya". He interprets Kubileya as a feminine adjectival epithet, corresponding in form to the Latin masculine Pompeius/feminine Pompeia.[18] Kubileya therefore serves to modify the real Phrygian theonym, which is simply Matar. Kubilon/-a can be understood here as referring to (a) specific mountains in Phrygia or as the generic Phrygian word meaning mountain(s). Matar Kubileya can thus be translated either as "Mother from Kubilon/-a" or "Mountain Mother." Brixhe further suggests that Kybele as theonym represents a blending of "kubeleya" and Kybebe. This reading requires a reassessment of Laroche's hypothesis regarding a linguistic relationship between Kubaba

[14] L. Woolley and R.D. Barnett, *Carchemish* III (London 1952) B62, 254; Mellink, 354–355.

[15] J.D. Hawkins, "Kubaba, A. Philologisch," *Reallexicon der Assyriologie* V (1980) 257–261.

[16] R.S. Young, *et al.*, *Three Great Tumuli* (Philadelphia, 1981) pl. 28.

[17] Most references to Kybele's origins depend upon Laroche's conclusions, cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la langue Grecque* I (Paris, 1970) 598.

[18] I owe this comparison to Professor Calvert Watkins, who kindly discussed the linguistic evidence with me; see also, Brixhe, no. 32.

and Kybele. Indeed, Brixhe suggests that the epithet Areyastin, which also occurs on one of the monuments in the Highlands,[19] might be understood as another Phrygian epithet for Matar.[20] Other thus-far unattested names are also possible as epithets. The similarity of the Syrian name and the Phrygian toponym is, nonetheless, undeniable. Perhaps syncretism and Phrygian knowledge of the cult of Kubaba, in the context of the late eighth century alliance between Gordion and Karkemish, helped to promote a preference for the similar-sounding epithet Kubile.[21]

The phonetic similarity observed between Kubile and Kybele remains unaffected by this new reading. Phrygian influence on the Greek theonym seems likely, beginning with the slightly variant form Kybelis which appears in a fragment of the Ephesian poet Hipponax.[22] The accustomed form, Kybele, first occurs in Pindar,[23] although Meter remains the most common designation in the ancient sources. In fact the syntactic unit Matar Kubile (or Matar Areyastin) is comparable to the many Greek compounds in which Meter is qualified by a mountain name.[24] The form Kybebe, which occurs in Hipponax, as well as in Herodotus and Charon of Lampsakos, is probably a transliteration of the Lydian form Kuvava. This is suggested by the fact that the fragments of Hipponax include many Lydian words, while Herodotus uses this version expressly in reference to the Lydian goddess. In the case of Lydian Kuvava there is a more transparent relationship to Hittite Kubaba.[25] Kybebe survives in both Greek and Latin sources as an alternative literary form whose earlier history

[19] Brixhe and Lejeune, W-01a.
[20] Brixhe, 43.
[21] Mellink, 359.
[22] Hipponax, fr. 125 (Degani).
[23] Pindar, fr. 80 (Snell).
[24] Meter Oreia: Eur. *Hippolytus* 144; Eur. *Helen* 1301; Schol, in, Arist. *Birds* 876; Kall fr. 761.1 (Pfeiffer); J. Keil, *ÖJh* 23 (1926) 258–261; Meter Idaia: Eur. *Orestes* 1453; Dindymene: Hdt. 1.80; Strabo, 12.5.3; Sipylene and Idaia: Strabo 10.3.12. In addition, Lynn Roller brings to my attention that Kybelaia is attested several times as a Greek toponym, possibly in reference to two mountains, one in Erythrai, and one on Chios: Strabo 14.1.33; Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 F230); H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, vol. II, 365–366.
[25] R. Gusmani, "Der Lydische Name der Kybele," *Kadmos* 8 (1969) 158 ff. and *Neue Epichorische Schriftzeugnisse aus Sardis*, Sardis M3, (Cambridge, Mass. 1975) 28–30; Herodotus 5.102; Hipponax no. 167 (Degani); Photius s.v. kybelos, *FGH* 262 F5. I.M. Diakonoff discusses the linguistic background for long a and long e in early Lydian words transmitted from Hittite in "On Cybele and Attis in Phrygia and Lydia," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* 25 (1977) 336–337.

and transmission remain quite separate from the more commonly known form of the name.[26]

This early instability of the theonym and its late appearance in Greek sources, confirm the reports that Kybele's origins were non-Greek. Yet the concept of the Great Mother is a very ancient element in Greek religion. The goddess-centered worship of Minoan Crete is well known and involves worship in caves and on mountain peaks. Although the name of this Bronze Age goddess is unknown, a tablet from Pylos preserves a reference to the "Mother of the Gods" in linear B, ma-te-re te-i-ja.[27] In Hesiod, the Mother emerges as the earth mother Gaia or as the mother of the gods Rhea. When the Greeks, long familiar with a great goddess, came into contact with Phrygian Matar they must have recognized and conflated their own mother goddess with her. The point of contact that facilitated this fusion was certainly in Anatolia, as has long been suspected.

A key piece of evidence is furnished by an inscribed sherd, reading Qubalas, excavated from a late-seventh-century stratum of the south Italian city, Lokri Epizephyri.[28] Worship of the Mother is well attested at this site in later periods, and the form Qubalas may be an early adaptation of Kubile, the epithet for the Phrygian Mother. Guarducci proposes that the cult was introduced to the west by Colophonians, who fled Anatolia after their city was taken by the Lydian King Gyges.[29] This scenario implies that the cult of Kybele was known to the Greeks of western Anatolia by the mid-seventh century. The Greek adoption of the Phrygian goddess, however, requires a situation of cultural contact.

Archaeological and literary evidence demonstrate that there was active Phrygian communication with the Greek world by the end of the eighth century. Herodotus mentions the throne of the Phrygian king Midas, still seen at Delphi in his day. A fragment of Aristotle further records that Midas married an Aeolian Princess, Hermodike, daughter of King Agamemnon of Kyme.[30] The probable burial mound of Midas, at Gordion, contained several bronze bowls inscribed in

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[26] Vergil, *Aeneid* 10.220; cf. Servius *ad loc.*

[27] J. Chadwick and M. Ventris, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge, 1973) 410.

[28] M. Guarducci, "Cibele in un' epigrafe arcaica di Locri Epizefiri," *Klio* 52 (1970) 135–138; the initial Q- reflects the use of the koppa in place of the kappa before o and u, L. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (1989) 2nd edition, ed. A. Johnston, 33.

[29] Herodotus 1.14; Strabo 6.1.14; Guarducci, 137.

[30] Herodotus 1.14; Oscar White Muscarella, "King Midas of Phrygia and the

old Phrygian script, using an alphabet considered by many as an adaption from the Greek alphabet.[31] Metal goods of Phrygian manufacture are also found in this period in the major Greek sanctuaries. East Greek fibula types and pottery are, in turn, recognized from the Cimmerian destruction level at Gordion.[32] The means which allowed for this exchange of Phrygian and Greek goods are not certainly established, athough they are often imagined as traveling by overseas trade. Overland trade is also likely along river valleys, such as that of the Hermus river, which provide convenient and passable routes from the interior of Anatolia to the Aegean coast. The other probable overland route lies in northwest Anatolia, along the coast of the Black sea.

The region of the Pontos and Propontis becomes a focus for Greek colonization from the late eighth through the sixth centuries B.C. Miletus, the leader in this effort, founded such important cities as Kyzikos, Sinope, and Trapezus. I suggest that these colonies, located along the borders of the Phrygian Empire, facilitated the Greek adoption of Phrygian customs, including worship of the Phrygian mother. The cult of Meter is extensively documented throughout this region during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[33] The early history of the cult of Meter in this region of northwest Anatolia is likely to be greatly clarified by the current excavations at Troy, where an archaic sanctuary of Kybele is presently a focus of excavation and research.[34] Ancient sources on the Milesian colony of Kyzikos provide further evidence for the worship of Meter in northwest Anatolia. The epithet Dindymene originates in connection with Kyzikene Mt. Dindymos, and a sanctuary on its peak devoted to the great mother was reputedly a foundation of Jason and the Argonauts.[35] Herodotus also reports on rites for Meter within the city of Kyzikos.[36] Close religious ties, which are characteristic of relations between a colony and its mother city, support the thesis that the worship of Kybele

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Greeks," in *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç*, ed. K. Emre, *et al.* (Ankara, 1989) 337.

[31] Young *et al.*, 275.

[32] Muscarella, 333–344.

[33] E. Schwertheim, "Denkmaler zur Meterverehrung," in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens*, ed. S. Şahin, *et al.* (Leiden 1978) 791–837.

[34] C. Brian Rose, "Greek and Roman Excavations at Troy, 1991–1992," *AJA* 97 (1993) 341.

[35] Apoll.Rhod., *Argonautica* 1.985; Paus.8.46.4; Strabo 12.8.11.

[36] Hdt.1.476.

was introduced to the Greeks from Phrygia, through Milesian contact with her northwest Anatolian colonies.

Excavations at Miletus have thus far yielded sixteen naiskoi representing Kybele, a quantity which far exceeds the number of naiskoi found at any other east Greek site. Four of these, recovered over the last decade, postdate the corpus of Kybele representations compiled by Naumann.[37] Nor does this corpus include three Milesian examples in the Berlin Museum,[38] nor at least three more naiskoi, currently on display in the on-site museum at Miletus.[39] As a leader of the Ionian league, Miletus must have exercised considerable religious influence over the other Greek cities of coastal Anatolia. Her prolific sculptural workshops were also the source of a distinctive style. She is credited with the invention of the seated male and female statuary types and the seated Kybele may have developed from these, since the Phrygian prototype is always standing.[40] The seated version becomes the standard Kybele type in Aeolis and later emerges as the Classical type associated with the cult image of the Metroon in the Agora of Athens—this is also the preferred type on Chios, where the rock monument known as the seat of Homer is actually a seated Kybele.[41] Through her northern colonies Miletus was certainly in contact with Phrygian traditions. In this climate, it is easy to assign her the role as primary adapter and disseminator of the Phrygian image of the mother.

The simple architectural frame of the Greek naiskoi is clearly derived from the Phrygian iconography of Matar. The type of building façade depicted on these rock monuments conforms to the contemporary architecture of Phrygia, as suggested by doodles of houses with similar gabled roofs and curling akroteria discovered on one of the megara at Gordion.[42] On the best preserved of the Greek naiskoi

[37] V. von Graeve, "Milet," *Ist.Mitt* 36 (1986) 45–47, taf.11 and "Neue archaische Skulpturfunde aus Milet," in *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik*, ed. H. Kyrieleis (Mainz am Rhein 1986) 21–25, pl. 6.

[38] C. Blümel, *Die archaisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin 1963) Nr. 44–45.

[39] Miletus inv. nos. 261; 263; 800. A naiskos in the Museum courtyard and a weathered block stored with fragments of classical architecture in a shed beside the Museum, appear to be reused naiskoi; neither have Museum inventory numbers.

[40] R. Özgan, *Untersuchungen zur archaischen Plastik Ioniens* (Bonn, 1978) 23–25; 29–41.

[41] H. Kaletsch, "Daskalopetra—ein Kybeleheiligtum auf Chios," in *Forschungen und Funde: Festschrift für Bernhard Neutsch*, ed. F. Krinzinger *et al.* (Innsbruck 1980) 223–235.

[42] Mellink, 356–359.

Figure 2. Miletian Kybele Naiskos, Courtesy of Professor Volkmar von Graeve

Figure 3. Kybele Naiskos from Etlik, Ankara,
Courtesy of the Ankara Archaeological Museum

recently discovered from Miletus (figure 2),[43] traces of a painted meander on the projecting frame may even mimic the geometric decoration commonly seen on the façades of the Phrygian highlands and on the stelai from Ankara (figure 3). The design of the façade seems to derive from its conception as an entrance into the mountain dwelling of the goddess. The emergence of this iconographic type definitely occurs among the monuments of the highlands, where Phrygian architectural elements are applied to the iconography of the mother goddess standing within her shrine.[44]

The iconography of Matar in the Phrygian Highlands begins with the so-called stepped altars or throne monuments. These are flat, aniconic representations with squared bodies and rounded heads that are free-standing or incised on the rock face. That they represent the Phrygian Mother Goddess seems likely from their prominence throughout the Highlands. Some which are designed with two identical figures may represent the Mother Goddess with consort, or the doubling may simply increase her potency. An example from a shrine in the east Phrygian city of Boğazköy is decorated with scenes of hunters and wildlife which reflect the goddess' concern over the cycles of nature.[45] The schematic form of these representations enhances the expression of natural power, as does their placement in a landscape where the presence of the goddess must have been sensed throughout. Their aniconic form is reminiscent of the stone described by Roman sources, which was worshipped at the Phrygian sanctuary of the Mother at Pessinus until it was brought to Rome.[46] This unworked rock, possibly a meteorite, was not only considered an appropriate representation of the goddess but was also her most famous image.

In a different, probably later, type of monument the Phrygian goddess is represented in human form. This development of her anthropomorphic representation was probably inspired by late Hittite iconography.[47] Nevertheless these façade monuments clearly remain within the old stepped-altar tradition. The relationship to the rock landscape

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[43] von Graeve, "Neue archaische Skulpturfunde aus Milet," 23, fig. 1.

[44] M.J. Mellink, 357, observes that the Phrygian façade was designed to give an architectural framework to the goddess' natural mountain dwelling, although she also stresses the likelihood of a temple prototype, perhaps located at Gordion and possibly to be recognized in the excavated building, Megaron 2.

[45] K. Bittel, "Phrygisches Kultbild aus Boğazköy," *Antike Plastik* II (1963) 8.

[46] *contra* Naumann, who, in her discussion of the ancient evidence concerning the Pessinuntine stone, concludes that its aniconic form had no precedent, 283–285.

[47] Mellink, 354–356.

remains a primary feature. Linking the two types is also their common use of a stepped approach, as well as their orientation toward the rising sun. Preserved in several niches is a worn female figure carved from the cliff face, in one piece with the façade. In other façades, in which the niche is now empty, a similar draped female figure can be reconstructed on the basis of tenon holes and background weathering.[48]

An affinity for entrances and boundaries also emerges in the highlands as a meaningful element in the iconography of the Phrygian Mother. This is not only expressed by the goddess' consistent presence in the doorway. At Midas City, the façade monuments favor the edges of the settlement—as though encircling it for protective purposes. A sculptural group of the goddess and her two companions, originally set into a naiskos within the east Phrygian gateway at Boğazköy was incorporated into the fabric of the city wall.[49] In this position, at the interface of interior and exterior space, the goddess served as both protectress of the city and guardian of those departing. A similar dichotomy is expressed in her cult, in which she is both the protectress of wild, mountainous places and patroness of the city. It is therefore understandable that her worship involved portable naiskoi and outdoor monuments.

The doorway depicted on these rock façades represents an entrance into the mountain and evokes the goddess' natural cave dwelling. The association of the mother with her mountain home becomes so total that her image need not even be included—as is evident from a small-scale representation of a Phrygian building façade inscribed on a cliff face at the site of Fındık in the Highlands—labelled in old Phrygian as Matar. One of two Phrygian monuments inscribed with the name Matar Kubile is the cliff monument at the site of Germanos which bears the longest extant inscription in old Phrygian and is located in a remote area of Bithynia (figures 4 and 5). The goddess' power must have been very potent to bring worshippers to this distant spot, which today is approached by jeep but must finally be reached on foot. The representation of the niche is diminished to a summary entrance into the rock. The unadorned cliff face at Germanos stands for the mountain which represents the goddess' home and by metonomy the goddess herself. This imagery is similarly ex-

[48] Haspels, 75.
[49] Bittel, 8–21.

Figure 4. Inscribed rock monument at Germanos,
Courtesy of Professor Claude Brixhe

Figure 5. Detail of inscribed rock monument at Germanos, Courtesy of Professor Claude Brixhe

pressed by the mountain epithet Kubile which in Greek becomes interchangeable with the name Meter.

On a cliff in the Köhnüş valley of the highlands, another niche labelled Matar Kubile, is carved with a wide opening in the form of the mouth of a cave. This is reminiscent of the gloss on Kybele in Hesychius which reads ἄντρα καὶ θάλαμοι—"caves and inner chambers". This definition is an extension of Kybele's association with the mountain. In the more sophisticated iconography of the façade monuments, the entrance to the cave is reinterpreted as a real Phrygian building façade. Yet the meaning remains the same as that conveyed in Pausanias' description of the Phrygian site of Steunos at Aizanoi, where there was a cave consecrated to Meter Steunene, in which a statue of the goddess stood.[50] This cave has been discovered and excavated and is a vivid illustration of the goddess dwelling within her mountain home.[51]

These meaningful features of the iconography of the Mother clearly take shape in a Phrygian setting and correspond to the more abbreviated imagery of the east Greek naiskoi. The design of the Greek naiskos makes little sense without reference to the mountain meaning conveyed by the Phrygian rock monuments. The opportunities for cultural contact between Greeks and Phrygians are suggested by the foundation of Milesian and other Greek colonies in northwest Anatolia. The Greeks adopted both the iconography and meaning of the mother within her natural mountain dwelling—this is expressed by the many archaic Greek Kybele naiskoi, and this is also the sense behind her name, which the Greeks long remembered as a Phrygian borrowing.

[50] Paus.10.32.3.

[51] R. Naumann, "Das Heiligtum der Meter Steunene bei Aezani," *Ist.Mitt* 17 (1967) 218–247.

From *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults* (Leiden, 1996)

THE ANCIENT MOTHER OF THE GODS A MISSING CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF GREEK RELIGION*

Noel Robertson

I. *Introduction*

The subject of the missing chapter is a goddess familiar to everyone who has explored Greek literature, art, or documents. She dwells in the mountains, and sits enthroned between two lions, and is worshipped with tumultuous rites. Her name, however, will vary according to the sources we consult.

In the actual record of cult—inscriptions, Pausanias, any sort of antiquarian comment—her constant title is Μήτηρ (τῶν) θεῶν "Mother of the Gods" or simply Μήτηρ "Mother". Literary sources—poets, historians, and the rest—often agree, and further describe her as Μήτηρ ὀρεία "mountain Mother". But in place of these transparent titles they also use the names Ῥέα "Rhea" and Κυβέλη "Cybele". "Rhea" was always current, from Homer onwards. Yet it never occurs in cult, with a single unexplained exception, a civic cult on Cos, where "Rhea" makes a contrast with the usual title elsewhere on the island. "Cybele" appears towards 600 B.C., first as a *graffito* on a sherd, then in the poet Hipponax; from the late fifth century it has an ever increasing vogue. Whereas the origin of "Rhea" is unknown, that of "Cybele" is not in doubt. It is Phrygian, and means something like "rock" or "mountain"; in a Phrygian inscription an adjective form serves as epithet of the native Phrygian Mother. But like "Rhea" it is almost never used in cult in the Greek world (including Hellenistic and Roman Anatolia).

The goddess so named is not a new-comer to Greece, nor do her

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* The argument has already been briefly indicated in M. Silver (ed.), *Ancient Economy in Mythology. East and West* (Savage, Md. 1991) 8–10, and at *Festivals and Legends. The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual* (Toronto 1992) 27–30. I thank Professor Lane for allowing me to honour the memory of a scholar whose seven volumes, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, are a resource unmatched in the study of any other major deity in the Greek and Roman world.

characteristic rites undergo any significant change at any time, in so far as they belong to the general custom of Greek cities (from the fourth century onward, certain elements of Anatolian worship were brought to Greece by private persons). Any Greek deity, be it Zeus or Apollo or Demeter, is revealed to us by a gradual process during the Archaic and Classical periods, as literature and art develop, and as documents appear. Literature speaks of "Rhea" and the "Mother" from the outset. The enthroned figure with lion or lions is rendered in sculpture and terracottas from the mid sixth century onward. The Mother's shrines, if we gather up all the indications, are found throughout the Greek homeland and the colonies. At a few places, notably Athens and Thebes, the evidence is early; and the cult is carried from a mother city to its colonies, notably from Miletus to Cyzicus. It is not surprising that one of the few major deities named in Linear B is Μήτηρ θεῖα "Mother of the Gods" ("Divine Mother", as it is sometimes translated, is not plausible as a cult title).

The Mother then is age-old in Greece. Yet this is not the picture presented in the handbooks and elaborated by current research. It is always assumed that the Anatolian cult of "Cybele" was introduced to Greece in the late Archaic period or at the beginning of the fifth century, when the Mother happens to be suddenly illuminated at Athens and at Thebes, by the remains in the Agora and by several passages of Pindar. Some have even maintained that begging eunuch priests arrived at the same time. Quite recently, since Locri in Italy yielded a sherd inscribed with the name "Cybele", conjecture has traced various routes by which the cult may have passed from Phrygia to Ionia, then to the Greek peninsula, and finally to Magna Graecia. And we are often told as well that the Anatolian Mother coalesced in Greece with some vestige of a putative "great mother" formerly worshipped by Minoans and perhaps Mycenaeans. The insubstantiality of these notions is well evinced by the name "Cybele", which is by far the favourite name in modern accounts, and yet was scarcely ever used by ancient worshippers.

The misunderstanding of the Mother has led to other misunderstandings. They concern the god Cronus and the infant Zeus. Cronus is a vivid figure of myth, the Mother's consort and the chief representative of an older world (for the other Titans are plainly fictitious and secondary). Yet he is virtually unknown in cult, except as a consequence of his literary renown. And yet again we find a festival "Cronia", a month "Croniôn", places called "Cronian", the personal name "Cronius". The fullest studies have arrived at opposite results.

On the one view, he is a high god, a very ancient one, dispossessed by Zeus; on the other, he is a mere personification of the old days, though no one has been able to say why the old days should be called "Cronus". The infant Zeus belongs to the same story, as the Mother's child who in the best-known version is hid and reared in a mountain cave on Crete. A huge edifice of speculation now exists about a mystic fertility spirit worshipped in a cave, where he dies and is reborn each year. For anyone who seeks to understand Greek religion, Cronus and the infant Zeus are what Wilamowitz called "agonizing" problems.

The purpose of the present essay is to demonstrate, with the strictness that the term implies, that the Mother was always a principal deity in Greek cities, and had a function as practical and important as the other principal deities. The demonstration relies on two forms of evidence for the same thing: the antiquarian and documentary notices referring to the Mother's festivals, and the aetiological myths arising from these festivals. Festivals are the essential mode of worship in the ancient Mediterranean and Near East, and in many other societies. Apart from festivals, the term "cult" is an abstraction. A god's festival or festivals are celebrated at the time his help is wanted. The direct evidence for ancient festivals, as for all ritual and custom, is painfully limited. But aetiological myth is abundant and also, when properly handled, quite as revealing as any literal report. We shall see how to handle it as we proceed.

The Mother has two seasonal festivals, in spring and summer. The direct evidence, including the calendar of months at some Ionian cities, shows that they are very old. So do the related myths and legends, among them some very familiar stories. The stages of the argument are as follows: the direct evidence for the spring festival (§ II), and its aetiology (§ III); the direct evidence for the summer festival (§ IV), and its aetiology (§ V); our conclusion (§ VI).

II. *The spring festival Galaxia*

The festival Galaxia is attested at Athens and, in virtue of the month-name Galaxion, on Delos and Thasos.[1] Only at Athens are we informed of the deity honoured by the festival: the Mother of the Gods.

[1] The Delian calendar: A.E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich 1972) 99. The Thasian: Samuel 130; F. Salviat, *BCH* 82 (1958) 215–18. Earlier studies of

Thus the lexica, and thus the record of offerings by the Councillors, and by the ephebes in the late second century.[2] It is noteworthy that in both literary and epigraphic sources the Mother alone is named, mostly with her full title, ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν; there is no mention of Cronus, her partner in myth.

On Delos and Thasos the festival will again be hers. Paros should be added to the tally, for it is very likely, if not quite demonstrable as yet, that the Thasian calendar was adopted without change from the mother city.[3] There is plenty of evidence for the Mother at all these places. On Delos it is, as usual, Hellenistic;[4] on Paros it goes back to the fourth century,[5] and on Thasos to the Archaic period.[6]

At Athens the calendar date does not appear. On both Delos and Thasos, however, the month Galaxion takes the place of Elaphebolion, March/April. Other indications agree. A sacrificial calendar of the Imperial period, issued by some private group in Athens, honours Cronus on 15 Elaphebolion.[7] Here it is indeed Cronus and not the Mother; but the name was doubtless substituted by the author of the calendar, who inclines to picturesque deities of the countryside.

Further afield, at Olympia, Cronus receives sacrifice at the spring equinox, in the month Elaphius.[8] It is likely again that Cronus has superseded the Mother. Her cult is well attested at Olympia, but Cronus is more prominent in local myth, inasmuch as Mount Cronius, though named for the summer festival, was inevitably understood as his abode.

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the Galaxia are confined to Athens: A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig 1898) 449; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 216.

[2] Bekker, *Anecd.*1.229, Hsch., s.v. Γαλάξια. Councillors: Theophr. *Char.*21.11, ἐθύομεν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῇι Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ Γαλάξια (Wilamowitz: τὰ γὰρ ἄξια mss.). Ephebes: *IG* 2^2 1011 line 13 (107/6 B.C.), ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Γαλαξίοις τῇι Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν.

[3] M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 13 (1983) 352–7.

[4] P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos* (Paris 1970) 431–5; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2.188–204 nos. 587–646, pls. 177–91. Bruneau assumes that "the Metroum" is always the same in Delian documents; but the chapel associated with the Egyptian gods is likely to be distinct from "the Metroum on Delos" where public records were kept, just as at Athens.

[5] O. Rubensohn, *RE* 18.2 (1949) 1855–6 s.v. Paros; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2.205 nos. 647–9; F. Naumann, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele* (Tübingen 1983) 196–202,343, pls. 28–9. According to the Parian Chronicle (*FGrHist* 239 A 10), the Mother and her Phrygian tunes are as old as the reign of Erichthonius.

[6] F. Salviat, *BCH* 88 (1964) 239–51; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2.169–76 nos. 529–48, pls. 159–67; Naumann, *Ikonographie* 147–9,308–9, pl. 21.

[7] *IG* 2^2 1367 (= *LSCG* 52) lines 23–6.

[8] Paus.6.20.1; cf. Dion.Hal. *Ant.Rom.*1.34.3–4.

On Thera a cult foundation of the fourth century prescribes sacrifice to the Mother on the fifth of Artemisius and the fifth of Hyacinthius.[9] Although the calendar of Thera is not in order, these dates very likely match the spring and summer festivals; the common month-name Artemisius *vel sim.* seems always to come in spring, in the place of Elaphebolion or Munichion. Cos likewise honours "Rhea" at two junctures in the year, in the month Pedageitnyus and in some later month, on a day before the tenth.[10] The month Pedageitnyus may correspond to Anthesterion.

The festival business is little known. As we might expect, there was a banquet. Athens' Councillors and ephebes are said to offer sacrifice, and an ox is specified on Thera.[11] But the distinctive ritual was something else. The festival name Γαλάξια, a differentiated form of *γαλάκτ-ια, means "Milk-rites". According to the lexica already cited, a porridge was made of boiled milk and barley meal, also called γαλαξία. It was obviously an offering to the goddess and perhaps also a refreshment for the worshippers. Long after, milk was consumed at the spring festival of Magna Mater: whether the celebrants drank it or ate a milky mixture does not appear.[12]

In either case, as an offering or as a meal, the porridge requires a suitable vessel, and this can only be the bowl, *phialê*, which is one of the Mother's attributes. Athens' famous statue of the Mother, attributed to either Pheidias or Agoracritus, holds a *phialê* in the right hand and a tympanum in the left, a pose that was widely adopted thereafter.[13] As the tympanum evokes the summer festival, the *phialê*

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[9] *IG* 12.3.436 (= *SIG*³ 1032, *LSCG* 134) lines 15–18.

[10] *Heil.Gesetz. Cos* 2 (*SIG*³ 1026, *LSCG* 151 B) lines 2–5. The offerings in this month are to be the same "as are prescribed in Pedageitnyus". The present month is not Carneius, as some have thought. The biennial Carneia which are referred need not be concurrent; cf. n. 1 to *SIG*³ 1026. Admittedly, the order of the Coan months cannot be firmly settled without reference to inscriptions still unpublished; yet it is clear that Carneius preceded Pedageitnyus in the same semester. For a provisional arrangement, see M. Segre, *ASAtene* n.s. 6/7 (1944/45) 170; Samuel, *Chronology* 112; S.M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Göttingen 1978) 193 n. 110. As to the day of the month, see n. 175 below.

[11] In the private calendar from Athens (n. 7 above), where the offerings are almost entirely vegetarian, there is the usual cake, and then, in Sokolowski's restoration, ἐπι[πλά]σεις βοῦν "you shall fashion an ox" (out of a measure of flour).

[12] Sallust.4, γάλακτος τροφή. Cf. H. Hepding, *Attis* (Giessen 1903) 197–8; Nilsson, *GGR*² 2.645. Since Sallustius interprets the "feeding on milk" as a symbol of rebirth, it would not be to his purpose to mention any mixture. Hepding thinks of a mixture of milk and honey, which as Usener showed was a baptismal sacrament in the early church.

[13] For this type, see Naumann, *Ikonographie* 159–69. It is true that many a deity

will evoke the one in spring. In ephebic inscriptions a *phialê* is dedicated to the Mother year by year; the occasion is specified only once as the Galaxia, but will always be the same.[14] It was also a customary dedication at the Mysteries of Eleusis, where iconography suggests that the *phialê* was a familiar implement of ritual.[15]

At this point the direct evidence for the spring festival has been exhausted. Most of it, consisting of documents and of a single entry in the lexica, refers to the Athenian instance, and even there it is so slight that with only a little less luck we would never have heard of the festival at all. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that it was very widely celebrated. For the Mother herself was very widely worshipped, as both literature and inscriptions go to show, and the worship, as with other gods, consisted of calendar festivals at the appropriate seasons. The Mother's summer festival has left fuller traces, for reasons that will emerge hereafter. But the spring festival was just as integral to the worship, and can be postulated wherever the Mother occurs.

Every festival has a purpose; we should note the purpose here before going any further. The purposes are always practical. Various gods promote the various resources and livelihoods of the community, and are summoned to help at the appropriate time. As the Mother is a pastoral goddess, ruling the hills and mountains where animals are grazed, she will be asked to produce a favourable environment for this immensely important undertaking. The need is for water sources and green herbage, and is especially felt at two seasons, in spring and summer. Spring shows what the conditions are, and whether the animals will flourish in the months ahead. Summer threatens ruinous heat and drought. Hence the Mother's two festivals.

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is depicted as holding a *phialê* and pouring libation, a gesture that evidently signifies a blessing. But despite Naumann 70–1, the Mother's *phialê* requires a more specific explanation.

[14] *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 228–32 lines 27–8, 125–6 (128/7 B.C.); *IG* 2^2 1006 lines 23–4, 79–80 (123/2); *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 170–2 no. 67 line 31 + *IG* 2^2 1009 line 37 (117/16); *IG* 2^2 1011 line 13 (107/6), naming the Galaxia; 1028 lines 40–1 (102/1); 1029 lines 24–5 (97/6); 1030 lines 35–6 (after 97/6).

[15] For a list of *phialê* dedications, see Chr. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (Paris 1962) 212, 223 (Demeter and Core), 225 (the Mother), 246 (Dionysus), 277. The dedication to Dionysus was not typical, occurring in only one year, but both at Athens and at Peiraeus. In Eleusinian ritual, a *phialê* came into use at more than one juncture, for in scenes of Heracles' initiation a priest holds a *phialê* containing fruits or poppy-heads, and in other scenes a *phialê* with liquid contents is held by one of the Eleusinian goddesses or by Triptolemus. In this case the significance of the ephebic dedication can only be conjectured, but it was once known to everyone.

The "Milk-rites" of spring are a magic means of inducing nature, both earth and sky, to yield abundant moisture. The related myth, as we shall see in a moment, says that Zeus himself, the sky god, is nursed on the milk of a mother goat. Myth is a projection of magical practice and belief. Consider for a moment the more prolific myths attending the winter festival of Dionysus; for they express the same magic notion.[16] The purpose there is to revive the ravaged vine, rather than grass and foliage; a mimic suckling is again the means. The myths say either that the infant Dionysus was nursed by nymphs on the mountain Nysa, an ideal version of all upland vineyards, or that when Dionysus arrived at a given city the royal women were nursing new-born sons. The myths also tell how Maenads or legendary celebrants cause milk and other nourishing liquids to gush from the earth. There is a general similarity in the respective rites of Dionysus and of the Mother, which comes to be embroidered in myth. It is due to a common background of very ancient magic.

III. *The birth of Zeus as* aition *of the spring festival*

Besides direct, literal evidence for Greek ritual, there is another kind that waits to be recognized and exploited: aetiological myth. It is said or implied of almost every festival we know of that it began at some moment long ago when the god first arose and displayed his power, or when he first came among men, or when men first sought help from the god. A given story and a given festival have the same wide currency. Just as (say) Athena or Demeter or Apollo is worshipped everywhere at the same season, so the stories about the advent of each, or about man's need of each, are recorded at many far-flung places. A story will show local variations, but the common features are always striking; they correspond to the leading features of the ritual which the story explains.

Stories do in fact exist for both the Mother's festivals, the Galaxia of spring and the Cronia of summer (to use the Ionian names). But it is only with the latter that the aetiology is either explicit or obvious (§ V). To anticipate conclusions, the ritual of summer was all frenzied movement and noise—leaping, whirling, howling, clashing, thumping. And such, says the story, was the conduct of the divine or

[16] See Robertson, *AncW* 26 (1995).

human principals who established the rite. Such was the conduct of the Mother in her grief; of the Curetes who concealed her child; of the Corybantes when they healed Dionysus; even of the Argonauts at Cyzicus. The motives and the circumstances vary, but the principals are always seen enacting the same ritual. The best-known versions are associated with the places where the Mother is best known—with Athens, Crete, Arcadia, Phrygia, Cyzicus.

For the spring festival we have no acknowledged aetiology. But aetiology there must have been. Now at all the centres of worship where the madcap stories were told to explain the summer festival, another class of story is also told. It is a story of the Mother's giving birth, and of the bathing and swaddling and nursing of the child, who is Zeus. Birth and nursing are implicit in the festival name Galaxia "Milk-rites". Furthermore, the birth story and the commonest version of the madcap story, the dance of the Curetes, make a connected sequence, the rearing of Zeus, which can only derive from related festivals. On these grounds, we may infer that the birth story constitutes the missing aetiology of the spring festival.

Let us then examine some versions of the story, so as to establish that they do indeed arise from the worship of the Mother. The story is attested at many places in the homeland and in Ionia, and further off in Lydia and Phrygia;[17] Pausanias knew of places beyond counting (4.33.1). In Lydia and Phrygia it is clear almost at a glance that the story goes with cults of the Mother rather than of Zeus.[18] This is weighty but not conclusive, since the story, insofar as it is Greek, will be adventitious. We must find places in Greece where details survive about the Mother's sanctuaries and their ritual. As everyone knows who has considered such matters, that is a stern requirement. The search will take us to 1) Crete, 2) Arcadia, 3) Athens, 4) Thebes, 5) Cyzicus.

1) Crete should be considered first, for it is here, in a mountain cave, that Zeus is hid and nursed in Hesiod, who was so authoritative that other versions barely survived as local curiosities.[19] Yet Hesiod

[17] For general surveys, see H. Schwabl, *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 1207–16 s.v. Zeus; H. Verbruggen, *Le Zeus crétois* (Paris 1981) 27–49.

[18] Rapp, *ML* 4 (1915) 91 s.v. Rhea, citing others before him, points to the correspondence between Anatolian instances of the birth story and "the main cult-sites of the Phrygian Kybele".

[19] *Theog.*477–84. Lines 481–3 or 481–4 have often been condemned as clumsy or redundant, but without them the passage will lack a mountain cave (line 483) and even a mountain (line 484), which both seem essential in view of the later tradition.

does not make it clear whether Zeus was born as well as nursed in the cave on Crete, or was carried there as a babe in arms by Rhea or even Gaea.[20] Because of this ambiguity, later sources sometimes say either that Zeus was brought to the mountain cave from a birthplace outside Crete, or that he was born on one Cretan mountain and nursed on another.[21] Hesiod's ambiguity is deliberate; it follows from his using a local *aition* in the general narrative of the succession in heaven.

Crete is first mentioned as the babe's destination, whether to be born or only to be nursed, because this distant place will serve as a refuge from Cronus. Hesiod next describes a particular site, a cave "on the Aegaean mount", said to be at Lyctus. This was a shrine where the birth story was told, and the local story was undoubtedly complete in itself and included both birth and nursing. When later sources set the story at a given site, it is usually complete; to say that the infant was transferred from one place to another is only a means of accommodating Hesiod. As we shall soon see, the story is told as an *aition* at various shrines on the mainland, including one at Thebes. There can be little doubt that it was told at many places in Hesiod's day. But for the sake of the narrative he situates the nursing, a protracted business, at a site on Crete which was probably the furthest one he knew of.[22]

No one after Hesiod points to Lyctus, later called Lyttus, or speaks of "the Aegaean mount". Instead, we are told how Zeus was nursed in a cave on Mount Ida, either by nymphs or by a goat. We cannot name the poet who first spoke of Ida, but he was early. It has not been noticed that the Idaean version is presupposed by a fragmentary passage of [Hesiod's] *Catalogue of Women*, in which Pasiphae is consigned by Zeus to the nymphs of Ida, obviously to be nursed and reared (fr. 145 M-W lines 1–2). This derivative episode shows that when the *Catalogue* was composed, in the later sixth century, Ida was generally accepted as the mountain where Zeus was reared. Thereafter

[20] "Hesiod is curiously non-committal about where the birth actually occurred", says West on line 481.

[21] Transferred from elsewhere: Callim. *H.Jov.*33–4; etc. Transferred within Crete: Diod.5.70.2; etc.

[22] Famous far-away cult sites are used to a similar purpose in the episode of Aphrodite's birth from the sea. "First she appeared on holy Cythera, and then she came to sea-girt Cyprus", etc. (*Theog.*192–200). Though her advent was celebrated every spring at every coastal shrine (cf. Ath.9.51, 394F–395A, apropos of Eryx), only Cythera and Cyprus fit the scale of the narrative.

the story is evoked by the mere epithet "Idaean" used of Zeus and the nymphs and also the Curetes.[23] The birth as distinct from the nursing is never expressly assigned to Ida—this no doubt in deference to Hesiod.[24]

From the early Hellenistic period, either the birth or the nursing or both are sometimes assigned to Mount Dicte, and Zeus, less commonly the other figures, have the epithet "Dictaean".[25] Here much less is said about a cave; indeed it seems very likely that any purported cave on Dicte is mere confusion, whether wishful or inadvertent, with the one on Ida.[26] Our literary sources are vague about the topography of Crete, for the island was seldom visited by other Greeks. Yet they all share the notion that the infant Zeus was at home at just one great site.

When we turn to the realities, it is Mount Ida that can show by far the most frequented cave sanctuary of Greek and Roman times, and according to two late dedications (cited below) it belongs to "Idaean Zeus".[27] As others have observed, some of the votive objects are inspired either by the story of Zeus' rearing in the cave or by the ritual behind it. A bronze tympanum, several cymbals, and sixty-odd shields, many finely decorated, evoke the dance of the Curetes, which is also depicted on the tympanum, even if the bearded god and his attendants are rendered in Oriental style.[28] The cave is on the north flank of Ida, about twenty miles west of Cnossus. It owes much to the long-enduring power of this Dorian city.

No other likely candidate has ever been found. The mountain south of Lyttus, modern Lasithi, has the Minoan cave sanctuary of Psychro, now famous, but it was rarely visited in the historic period.[29] The

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[23] The name "Idaean Zeus" first occurs in Euripides, who associates him with "the Mountain Mother" and the Curetes: Porph. *De Abst.*4.19 (Eur. *Cretes* fr. 472 Nauck²/79 Austin/635 Mette); cf. *Hypsipyle* p. 28 Bond/fr. 1032 Mette; *Bacch.*120–9. *Cretes* was about Pasiphae, but whether Euripides adverted to her upbringing does not appear.

[24] "Zeus is never said to have been born on Mt Ide": so A.B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge 1914–40) 2.932 n. 1, typically exact and acute. But he gives a wrong reason, that Dicte had priority.

[25] Callim. *H.Jov.*4–6,47–51; Apoll. *Argon.*1.509,1130; Arat. *Phaen.*33–4; etc.

[26] Cf. West on *Theog.*477 and again *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 128.

[27] For general accounts of the cave and its furnishings, see Cook, *Zeus* 2.935–9; Verbruggen, *Zeus crétois* 71–5,77–81,84,91–9. For a bibliography, B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean* (New Haven 1986) 69 no. 10.

[28] For these items, see E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* (Stuttgart 1931); J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London 1977) 286–8. As to the tympanum, cf. n. 226 below.

[29] Psychro has forfeited the name "Dictaean Cave", or should do, now that Dicte

suggestion has been made that "the Aegaean mount" is the ancient name of Lasithi, otherwise unknown.[30] Yet Hesiod's term cannot have been a name in common use, else we should find some trace in antiquarian comment. If it was descriptive, with whatever meaning, it could as well refer to Ida.[31]

Finally, Mount Dicte was somewhere near the eastern end of the island, and the cult of Dictaean Zeus at Palaikastro was shared by the easternmost cities.[32] There is however no Dictaean cave; although there were many Minoan cave sanctuaries in this area, none lasted into Greek times. It must be the regional cult of Zeus that is mentioned in the Linear B tablets at Cnossus (there is no evidence of continuity on the temple site, but perhaps none should be expected).[33] In those days, Palaikastro was an important metal-working centre.[34] The memory survived in the legend of the bronze giant Talos, whom Apollonius places at Palaikastro.[35] Zeus was responsible for Talos, but Zeus the high god, not the cave-child.

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is fixed in eastern Crete. According to West on *Theog.*477, any of three Minoan cave sanctuaries on Lasithi, including Psychro, may have been intended—for he considers this a "Minoan cult myth" (see his note on *Theog.*453–506). Yet even if it were, we could not believe that the myth clung to some vacant cave on Lasithi as late as Hesiod, but thereafter moved to Ida. For it was in Hesiod's day, and for some time before and after, that the Idaean cave received its richest offerings. Note in passing that a shrine of the Curetes referred to in the treaty between Lato and Olus could be relevant (*ICret* 1 XVI 5)—if in fact it stood near the boundary with Lyttus "on the north-east flank of Dikte" [i.e. Lasithi], as we are encouraged to think by R.F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London 1962) 209. But this location is only a wild guess.

[30] So, e.g., M. Guarducci, *ICret* 3 p. 6; West on *Theog.*484; G.L. Huxley, *GRBS* 8 (1967) 85.

[31] Wilamowitz, *Isyllos von Epidauros* (Berlin 1886) 109 n. 2, and again *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin 1931–32) 1.127, would read Αἰγείωι to give the sense *Ziegenberg* (though he did not think that a definite mountain was meant). It seems quite possible that Αἰγείωι was altered to the familiar name Αἰγαίωι. Yet this too must once have been descriptive. The αιγ- words in early poetry are studied by R.L. Fowler, *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 95–113.

[32] On the location of Dicte, see Cook, *Zeus* 2.929–30; Verbruggen, *Zeus crétois* 137–8. On the cult at Palaikastro, Guarducci, *ICret* 3 II. Huxley, *GRBS* 8 (1967) 85–7, without disputing that Dicte is a mountain, holds that this was also "the Minoan name" for the palace of Kato Zakro and survived later as a name for the region of Zakro. The hypothesis seems not to remove any of the difficulties in Greek sources, but rather to create new ones.

[33] In KN Fp 1 + 31, offerings dated to a certain month, "Dictaean Zeus" comes first in a list of deities. In other tablets offerings are dispatched "to Dicte". For discussion, see S. Hiller, *RE* Suppl.1006–7 s.v. Zeus, and also Schwabl, *ibid.*, 1450–1.

[34] This has only just been recognized: S. Hemingway, *BSA* 87 (1992) 141–51.

[35] Apoll. *Argon.*4.1638–88. Other sources do not say where Talos was at home, but we may assume that Apollonius follows a usual tradition.

On this evidence it is fair to say that all our sources who have any awareness of the matter associate the birth story with the same cult site, the cave on Ida. In Hesiod's day Lyttus was perhaps the leading city on the whole island.[36] If it overshadowed Cnossus, it might well be mentioned instead, together with the cave. As for Dictaean Zeus, he is suddenly enswathed in the birth story in the early third century, at the hands of Callimachus, Apollonius, and Aratus. The hymn which summons the *kouros* and his band to their annual appearance on Dicte was composed about the same time.[37] In all these sources the mountain setting is vague or even contradictory, as between Ida and Dicte.[38] Surely the story was arrogated for Dictaean Zeus in a spirit of rivalry. It had brought enormous renown to Idaean Zeus, a deity with important shrines in several cities of central Crete and even further off.[39] In the third century the Ptolemies opened new horizons for the cities of eastern Crete.[40] Regional interests were expressed then, as at the time of the Cnossus tablets, in the worship of Dictaean Zeus. But now he was proudly cast as the principal of that famous story.

In sum, it was solely the cave on Ida that gave rise to the Cretan version of the birth story. We may readily imagine that on Crete, as elsewhere in Greece, there were other sanctuaries where the birth

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[36] "The oldest of the cities on Crete, and by general consent the mother of the finest men", says Polybius at the moment of its destruction by Cnossus (4.54.6). In the legends of the Second Messenian War, the Cretan archers who capture Aristomenes come "from Lyctus and other cities" (Paus.4.19.4). Archaeological evidence is slim: J. Boardman in *CAH*[2] 3.3.229.

[37] *ICret* 3 II 2; M.L. West, *JHS* 85 (1965) 149–59; Guarducci in *Studi in onore di D. Levi* (Catania 1974) 2.32–8 = *Scritti scelti* (Leiden 1983) 38–44. The date assigned by editors on grounds of dialect, metre, and orthography is the fourth or third century B.C.

[38] As to Callimachus and his fellows, see ns. 25–6 above. The hymn says, Δίκταν . . . ἔρπε "come to Dicte": it is here that we sing while standing round your altar, and it is here that the Curetes once took the child from Rhea. Yet the sanctuary where the hymn was inscribed in two very late copies is by the harbour of Palaikastro; it was shared by Itanus, Praesus, and Hierapytna, referred to in the hymn as πόληας ἁμῶν "our cities", which the arriving *kouros* is asked to prosper. Since the sanctuary is not really "Dicte", and is not a likely setting for the birth story, it is hard to believe that the poet was acquainted with any authentic ritual to match the story. The scattered finds from the sanctuary, fully listed by Cook, *Zeus* 2.930, are not revealing for our purpose.

[39] See Verbruggen, *Zeus crétois* 140.

[40] Itanus as the easternmost received a Ptolemaic garrison; cf. R. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976) 117–23. The harbour of Palaikastro occupies a strategic position, illustrated by the route of the Argonauts: Cyrene, Carpathus, Palaikastro, Anaphe (Apoll. *Argon.*4.1625–1718).

story was handed down by local worshippers; nor need they have been caves, any more than such sanctuaries elsewhere. Yet so far as we can see, no other instance was ever noticed in Greek literature. Accordingly, to inquire about the ritual background is to inspect the Idaean cave.

Only two lettered dedications have been found in the cave, a terracotta plaque of the second or third century after Christ, and a vase inscribed even later: both are addressed to "Idaean Zeus".[41] Legend describes the cave as his, even apart from the birth story. Minos went up to the cave every nine years to converse with Zeus, his father, or on a sceptical view to give the appearance of obtaining his laws from Zeus.[42] Epimenides and Pythagoras went there too, and Porphyry, in the fullest account, speaks of strange magic rites.[43] Pythagoras "came with black fleeces, and stayed there for the customary twenty-seven days, and sacrificed to Zeus, and gazed upon the throne that was spread for him each year, and inscribed a dedication on his tomb", which is quoted (the tomb need not detain us, for this celebrated monument is not located in the cave by any other source).

It seems natural to conclude that this was a sanctuary of Zeus. Every modern scholar has done so. But then consequences follow which cannot possibly be considered natural. The god thus revealed is thought to be very different from Zeus as we see him elsewhere.[44] He is a god of vegetation, reviving each year along with his domain in nature, perhaps first dying, then coming back to life in a miraculous rebirth. And many think that this pattern was also expressed in the form of initiation rites conducted in the cave, either for maturing adolescents or for members of a secret society.[45] In earlier days the cult was usually traced back to Anatolia, especially Phrygia, or to other eastern lands. Now it is claimed as a Minoan heritage.

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[41] *ICret* 1 XII 1 (plaque); G. Daux, *BCH* 81 (1957) 632 (vase).

[42] Pl. *Leg.*1 *init.*, 624A–625A, [pl.] *Minos* 319; Diod.5.78.3; Dion.Hal. *Ant.Rom.*2.61.2 ("Dicte" instead of "Ida" is inadvertent); Str.10.4.8, p. 476 (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 147); Max.Tyr.38.2; Iambl. *VPyth* 5.25–7; schol. *Od.*19.179.

[43] Diog.Laert.8.1.3; Porph. *VPyth* 17. It is Porphyry again who quotes Euripides' *Cretes* to show that "the prophets of Zeus on Crete" were vegetarians (n. 23 above).

[44] The notion of a mysterious Cretan cult of Zeus appears in every handbook of Greek religion and in every discussion of such topics as initiation rites and purification, Epimenides and Pythagoras and the Orphics, so that references are superfluous. Instead, see Verbruggen, *Zeus crétois*, where the notion is combatted as well as can be done by focussing on Zeus, without reference to the Mother.

[45] Unhappily, Verbruggen, *Zeus crétois*, remains committed to initiation rites. It is worth remarking that M.P. Nilsson, who was most effective in promoting the Minoan

The Idaean cave does not warrant these hypotheses. The fundamental question is, what deity was worshipped here with characteristic rites? It is in fact the Mother, not Zeus, who would be fitly honoured with the votive objects that evoke a frenzied dance, tympanum and cymbals and shields. We shall see further on that the Curetes, clashing spear on shield, are projected from her summer festival (§ V). As to tympanum and cymbals, both instruments are notoriously brandished by her worshippers; the tympanum is her constant attribute in art. Several bronze bowls, *phialai*, were also dedicated in the cave,[46] and are equally appropriate to the Mother (cf. § II). Still other votive objects point to female worshippers and a female deity, but do not show who she was.[47]

A find seemingly unpublished is an Archaic limestone statue of a seated goddess.[48] It came from the small, dark upper chamber where lamps were used in Roman times. Here too is a rock formation resembling a throne. Now Pythagoras, says Porphyry, τόν τε στορνύμενον αὐτῶι κατ' ἔτος θρόνον ἐθεάσατο "gazed upon the throne that was spread for him each year", scil. for Zeus. If it was a privileged sight, it must have been out of the way, as in the upper chamber. At Athens "to spread a throne" is a ceremony honouring the Mother, probably at her spring festival; we shall come to it below.

These are signs that the Idaean cave was once a sanctuary of the Mother.[49] In the course of time Zeus seems to have supplanted her as the presiding deity. Hesiod will be largely responsible, for in the connected story of the succession in heaven it is the episode of the Cretan cave that assures the triumph of Zeus. Cnossus and Ida fell

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fertility spirit, expressly set himself against the related notion of initation rites: *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*[2] (Lund 1950) 548–9. Yet when W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972) 151, informs us that "There were 'caves of Zeus' in Crete, sites of the initiatory ceremonies of secret societies", he adduces Nilsson, *GGR*[2] 1.261–4 as if in direct support of this point (*ibid.*, n. 173). That is almost libellous.

[46] Kunze, *Kret.Bronzereliefs* 1.31–2 nos. 69–73, 212–16, pls. 44, 47–8.

[47] Verbruggen, *Zeus crétois* 83, cf. 78,80,99, thinks that Zeus was preceded by "an anonymous goddess".

[48] See Verbruggen, *Zeus crétois* 74, citing S. Marinatos, who uncovered it in 1956. I ought to say that I have not been able to consult E. Platakis, Τὸ Ἰδαῖον ἄντρον (Herakleion 1965). Verbruggen was chided by a reviewer for failing to make use of this work.

[49] We may also reflect that the association of Idaean Zeus with Bacchic and no doubt Orphic mysteries, which first appears in Euripides (as cited in n. 23), is much more understandable if the rites of the cave sanctuary are simply those of the Mother, for she and Dionysus are flagrant kindred spirits.

heir to a Panhellenic reputation that was bound to influence the local cult. Zeus was in any case, in his normal range as weather god and as guardian of the social order, as prominent on Crete as in the rest of Greece;[50] he must have been worshipped at other sites on Ida. But despite modern theories, his nature did not greatly change with his role in the cave.

2) In Callimachus and Pausanias, Arcadia is bound up just as closely as Crete with the birth story. Here we are given several definite locations. On Mount Thaumasius near Methydrium—either Madara or Ayios Ilias, the two mountains flanking the city—Rhea presented Cronus with the swaddled stone; she also sought the protection of armed Giants, congeners of the Curetes, who go with the summer festival; on the mountain summit was a cave sacred to Rhea.[51] The river that runs by Gortys was for a certain stretch near its source called Lusius "Washing-place" because it served to wash the infant Zeus.[52] It was on Mount Lycaeus, in a certain wooded area, that Rhea gave birth; she then washed the child in the source of the river Neda, and handed him over to local Nymphs, including Neda.[53] The river Lymax "Scouring", a tributary of the Neda, got its name when Rhea on being delivered was cleansed by the Nymphs.[54] The bathing and rearing were also situated on Mount Ithome nearby, again at the hands of the Nymphs, again including Neda; here too the babe was hidden by the Curetes.[55]

Methydrium, Gortys, Lycaeus, Ithome, Neda: these are all towards the southwest of the Arcadian plain, the area which Callimachus calls by the old name Parrhasia. For literary purposes this area was singled out as the Arcadian birthplace, and the details were suitably adjusted. In Callimachus Zeus is born in Arcadia and reared in Crete. In Pausanias the different sites have somewhat different roles in the story. The harmonizing effort is obvious when Methydrium concedes that Zeus was born on Lycaeus, but insists that the stone was tendered on Thaumasius. Another moment has been isolated in the lexical

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[50] Verbruggen, *Sources pertaining to the Cult of Zeus in Crete* (Louvain 1979), and *Zeus crétois* 127–54.

[51] Paus.8.36.2–3; Steph.Byz. s.v. Θαυμάσιον. On the Giants vis-à-vis the Curetes, see F. Vian, *La Guerre des géants* (Paris 1952) 239–40; M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris 1985) 245.

[52] Paus.8.28.2.

[53] Callim. *H.Jov.*10–17,32–41; Paus.8.36.3,38.2–3.

[54] Paus.8.41.2.

[55] Paus.4.33.1.

entry *Geraistion*, said to be "a place in Arcadia" where "Zeus was swaddled".[56] Now local legends do not grow up in this way, as discrete episodes of a longer narrative. We must infer that the complete story of the birth and rearing (with whatever detail) was once told at each site: apropos of Ithome Pausanias remarks that the story was common to innumerable places and peoples.

We can also see that the cult to which the story was attached is the Mother's. On Thaumasius, we have a cave of Rhea; in the woods of Lycaeus, "a sacred place" called "the Couch of Rhea"; at the foot of Ithome, in the later city of Messene, a statue of the Mother made by Damophon, and a *megaron* of the Curetes.[57] Zeus the weather god is worshipped on Lycaeus and Ithome, as on so many mountains; but these shrines have nothing to do with the birth story.

The Mother is fairly prominent in other parts of Arcadia, not only in the southwest.[58] At Lycosura, on a spur of Lycaeus at the southeast, the Mother has a place in the sanctuary of the Arcadian goddess *Despoina* "Mistress": an altar in front of the temple; an emblematic pair of lions in the temple's mosaic floor; among the reliefs of Damophon's great statue, another pair of lions flanking a tympanum, and groups of both Curetes and Corybantes.[59] In the agora of Megalopolis Pausanias saw a ruined temple and a small statue.[60] Near Asea, at the reputed source of the Alpheius, he notes a roofless temple and two stone lions; a battered statue of the Mother that was found here in the nineteenth century may be as early as the beginning of the sixth century.[61] Wee see her again in western Arcadia. In the Alpheius valley, on the road to Olympia, a rustic priestess with prophetic powers lends colour to a speech of Dio Chrysostom.[62] Azania at the northwest was renowned for "Idaean howling", i.e. for its celeb-

[56] *Et.Magn.* s.v. Γεραίστιον. The place is often associated with Arcadian Gortys on the ground that Zeus is nursed by Nymphs called *Geraistiades* at Cretan Gortyn.

[57] Cave on Thaumasius: Paus.8.36.3. Sacred place on Lycaeus: Callim. *H.Jov.*11–14. Monuments in Messene: Paus.4.31.6,9.

[58] On her cults in Arcadia, cf. H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle* (Paris 1912) 509–11, 515–16; Jost, *Sanctuaires* 523.

[59] Paus.8.37.2,6; Jost, *Sanctuaires* 523 (mosaic and sculptural fragments).

[60] Paus.8.30.4.

[61] Paus.8.44.3. For the statue, see J. de La Genière, *MélRome* 97 (1985) 711–14, and *CRAI* 1986, 33–35, and *StItal* n.s. 10 (1992) 98. From Achuria near Tegea there is a small altar of Roman date dedicated "to the Great Mother": *IG* 5.2.87; Jost, *Sanctuaires* 523.

[62] *Or.*1.53–4.

ration of the summer festival.[63] The Phrygians of Aezani, who also worshipped the Mother, were proud to say that they had migrated from this corner of Arcadia.[64]

The Mother's ritual and its aetiology were probably much the same throughout Arcadia, but for some reason literary folk concentrated on the southwest. Elsewhere, in the plain of Mantineia, Pausanias tells a local tale about a spring Arne "Lamb", presumably a cult-site.[65] When Rhea bore Poseidon, she set him down among a flock of lambs browsing round the spring; "and she pretended to Cronus that she had borne a horse, and gave a foal to swallow instead of the child, just as she later gave him instead of Zeus a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes". The reason for contriving this odd variation of the familiar story is doubtless that the latter had been preempted by the spokesmen of southwest Arcadia. The details of the story—the spring, the flock, the expiatory foal—are unmistakably inspired by ritual.

3) After Arcadia, we hear of two other places in the homeland where the cult of the Mother was deeply rooted and the story was told of Zeus' birth and rearing: Athens and Thebes. At both places the evidence for the Mother is much earlier than elsewhere, going back to the Archaic period. And although the birth story is not explicitly connected with the cult, the connexion is very probable.

The Mother has three notable shrines at Athens: one in Agra, the rural district beyond the Ilissus adjoining the southeast sector of the city, the earliest Dark-Age community; another in the excavated Agora at the northwest, an area developed in the later sixth century; and yet another on the Museium hill at the southwest corner of the city. There were other shrines in the countryside.[66] One element of the aetiology is perfectly clear. The chorus of Euripides' *Helena* describe

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[63] Stat. *Theb.*4.292, *Idaeis ululatibus aemulus Azan.* Lact.Plac. *ad loc., "aemulus", quia in illo monte Azanio ut Iupiter ita etiam Mater deorum colitur ritu Idaeo. "Azan": apud Arcades Curetes hoc nomen habent de monte Azanio. unde vulgo in sacris deae magnae . . . dicitur Azan.*

[64] Paus.8.4.3,10.32.3. A coin of Aezani, with Cybele holding a miniature Zeus and the Curetes dancing round her, shows that the birth was situated here, doubtless in the cave mentioned by Pausanias, which has been explored and published; see R. Naumann, *Ist.Mitt* 17 (1967) 218–47; L. Robert, *BCH* 105 (1981) 352–60; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 1.44–7 nos. 124–36, pl. 17.

[65] Paus.8.8.1–2 (*FGrHist* 322 F 4); cf. Fest. s.v. Hippius, p. 101 Müller; *Et.Magn.* s.v. Ἄρνη, Tzetz.Lycophr. *Alex.*644 (Theseus *FGrHist* 453 F 1).

[66] Shrine in Agra: § IV. In the Agora: H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens* (Princeton 1972) 30–1, 35–8; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2.3–48, nos. 1–179, pls. 1–34. For the Museium hill, see below. In the countryside: Graillot, *Cybèle*

the Mother's frenzied roaming, after the pattern of the summer festival (lines 1301–52); but in this Athenian version she searches for her daughter, as if she were Demeter—a tribute to the overarching renown of Eleusis (§ V).

Athens' version of the birth of Zeus, which has not been recognized as such, is ascribed to the legendary poet Musaeus. Musaeus' best-known work in later times was a *Theogony*, in which "Zeus at his birth was entrusted by Rhea to Themis, and Themis gave the babe to Amaltheia, and she put him to suck at a goat which she had, and the goat nurtured Zeus".[67] In the sequel, Zeus, Amaltheia, and the goat are all transferred with the help of Gaea to "one of the caves on Crete", so that Hesiod is duly accommodated, in much the same fashion as in Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*. The goat, moreover, becomes the centre of attention as the source of Zeus' *aigis*, the dreadful "goatskin" of epic poetry that is now used to defeat the Titans. We can ignore these embellishments, the Cretan cave and the *aigis*. The words quoted are a full and sufficient account of Zeus' birth and rearing.

Musaeus "He of the Muses" was a pseudonym, a rather naked one, used to authenticate religious poetry, especially healing charms and oracles, so that he became the inventor of these things.[68] In early days he probably did service in various quarters, but by the late fifth century he had been appropriated beyond appeal by Athens, as father and preceptor of the Eleusinian hero Eumolpus.[69] It was on the Museium hill that he sang and was buried after a long

503–8; S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* (Lund 1931) 52. In Attic art the Mother goes back to the later sixth century. There is a small seated statue and terracotta figurines, both from the Acropolis: Naumann, *Iconographie* 145–6,308; de La Genière, *MélRome* 97 (1985) 696, and *CRAI* 1986, 32. It would be unreasonable to ask for anything earlier.

[67] Eratosth. *Catast.*13 (Musaeus *Vorsokr* 2B 8); Hyg. *Astr.*2.13.4; schol.Germ. *Arat.* p. 73 Breysig; schol.Arat. *Phaen.*156; Lact. *Inst.Div.*1.21.39. Cf. Diod.5.70.5 (*FGrHist* 468 [Crete app.] F 1).

[68] Ar. *Ran.*1033; pl. *Protag.*316D, *Rep.*2,364E; cf. Hdt.7.6.3; schol.Ar. *loc. cit.* (Philochorus *FGrHist* 328F 208; Soph. *TGrF* fr. 1116).

[69] The earliest witness, but an emphatic one, is [Eur.] *Rhes.*945–7. Musaeus is a favourite on red-figure vases, hob-nobbing with the Muses and Apollo (*LIMC* s.v.). The words which Beazley reads and restores on a scroll read to Musaeus by Linus, θεῶν αἰ[ειγενετάων, would make a suitable opening for a theogony, if only they were sure: *AJA* 52 (1948) 340 (*LIMC* no. 11). It is sometimes maintained, as by Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIb Suppl.1.575, that Musaeus originates in Athens or Attica. This would make it more likely still that the Museium hill is named after him, as suggested below.

life.[70] Now the name Μουσεῖον for the hill is rather puzzling, for there is no trace hereabouts of any cult of the Muses, which one would expect to be the origin of the name.[71] The name appears to be due to the association with Musaeus. It must then have replaced some earlier name; but given Musaeus' celebrity, that does not seem impossible. In any case, it appears that the inspired prophet was associated with just this part of Athens because his activity suited the pre-existing worship of the Mother. We should examine the remains on the hill. They have never been fully understood.

On the northwest slope is a rock-cut inscription, of the fourth or third century B.C., that evokes Musaeus' oracles: ἔπος δὲ φωνή.[72] This must be the abbreviation of a hexameter tag like ἔπος δὲ [φθέγξατο] φωνή "the voice uttered a word". One of the few verbatim fragments of Musaeus, two hexameter lines describing the operation of the Delphic oracle when it belonged to Gaea and Poseidon, contains a similar phrase, φωνὴ πινυτὸν φάτο μῦθον "the voice spoke a wise word".[73] Here the voice is Gaea's (or "Chthonia's"), and exemplifies the primary mode of Delphic prophecy, an inspired utterance by the Pythia; it is juxtaposed in the next line with the taking of omens from the sacrificial fire. The lines are quoted by Pausanias from the

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[70] Paus.1.25.8. He also had a grave and epitaph at Phalerum (Diog.Laert.1.3; *A.P.*7.615; schol.Ar. *Ran.*1033); here as in Philochorus he is son, not father, of Eumolpus. The significance of the Phalerum monument is moot: cf. E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (London 1989) 17 n. 48, 187.

[71] The Museium hill first enters history in 294 B.C., when it was fortified by Demetrius. Yet it figures as a landmark in Cleidemus' account of the Amazon invasion, i.e. in the mid fourth century: Plut. *Thes.*27.1,3 (*FGrHist* 323F 18; the "fragment" should begin with 27.1, not 27.2). W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*[2] (Munich 1931) 424, connects the hill with the Ilissian Muses, quite unfeasibly; cf. Wycherley, *GRBS* 4 (1963) 173–4, and *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton 1978) 171.

[72] S.N. Dragoumis, *AthMitt* 23 (1898) 202–4; A.A. Papayiannopoulos-Palaios, Ἀρχαῖαι Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἐπιγραφαὶ (Athens 1939) 76 no. 14; W. Peek, *AthMitt* 67 (1942) 150–1 no. 324; not in *IG* 2^2; cf. *SEG* 41 (1991) no. 232. The date is Peek's, who says "the inscription is certainly no later". Dragoumis proposed either a connexion with Musaeus or "the notion of an echo". The latter is preferred by Judeich, *Topographie*[2] 398, and by Peek 151, even though both Dragoumis and Peek admit, to their honour, to making repeated attempts to raise an echo with no success. According to N.I. Pantazopoulou, *Polemon* 3 (1947–48) 121, the inscription recalls the *mêtragyrtês* who preached and perhaps prophesied about the Mother (of which more below); cf. Papayiannopoulos-Palaios, Ἐπιγραφαὶ 77 and *Polemon* 3 (1947–48) 96.

[73] Paus.10.5.6 (*Vorsokr* 2B 11). "Straightway Chthonia's voice spoke a wise word; with her was Pyrcon, servant of the glorious Earth-shaker". Chthonia stands for the Pythia, Πύρκων for the Delphic officiant called πυρκόος, who watched the sacrificial fire (Hsch. s.v.). The second element is the root (σ)κο- of κοέω (cf. *schauen, show*), so that the word is a synonym of θυηκόος (Attic θυηχόος), θυοσκόος.

Eumolpia, which may or may not be the same as the *Theogony*.[74]

As for the sanctuary of the Mother, one limit is marked by another rock-cut inscription at a different point on the northwest slope, this one by a professional hand of the fourth century: ἱερὸν Μητρός "shrine of the Mother".[75] The Museium hill is also given as the provenance of two roof tiles stamped with a dedication to the Mother by scions of a family prominent in the later second century B.C.[76] Other such tiles have been found in the Agora and undoubtedly belong to the large new Metroum that was constructed there shortly after the middle of the century, with the help as it seems of Attalus II, who is responsible for the great stoa opposite.[77] So tiles may have drifted by chance from the Agora to the Museium hill. But it is just as simple to suppose that the sanctuary here was refurbished at the same time, since every cult of the Mother was deserving of attention in the days when Athens courted Pergamum.[78]

Our shrine has also been suggested as the setting of a strange story, first mentioned by Julian in his oration on the Mother, about a *mêtragyrtês* who was rebuffed or murdered by the Athenians and then vindicated by the founding of "the Metroum".[79] But all our sources plainly mean the shrine in the Agora; for the rest, the details are so uncertain and obscure that the starting point is impossible to discern.

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[74] Both the *Theogony* and the *Eumolpia*, as represented by express citations, contain Athenian material, as distinguished by M.L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 42–3 (he identifies the two works without ado).

[75] A.N. Skias, *EphArch* 1899, 239–40 no. 2; Papayiannopoulos-Palaios, Ἐπιγραφαὶ 76–7 no. 15; Peek, *AthMitt* 67 (1942) 149–50 no. 323; not in *IG* 2^2; cf. *SEG* 41 (1991) no. 121. In the spelling of ἱερόν I follow Peek.

[76] *IG* 2^2 4870; cf. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora. Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton 1957) 159 no. 514; A.N. Oikonomides, *The Two Agoras of Ancient Athens* (Chicago 1964) 75; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2.63 no. 242.

[77] See Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 36–8; C. Habicht, *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 574–5.

[78] It is a curiosity that another of these tiles was found in a Cerameicus grave of the second century after Christ: Peek, *Kerameikos* 3. *Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln* (Berlin 1941) 17 no. 12; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2.67 no. 252.

[79] Jul. *Or.*5.159 A; cf. Phot., Suda s.v. Μητραγύρτης; Suda s.v. βάραθρον; Apost.11.34; schol.Ar. *Plut.*431. That the story refers to the Museium hill is confidently stated by Papayiannopoulos-Palaios, Ἐπιγραφαὶ 77, 81, and *Polemon* 3 (1947–48) 94–6; Pantazopoulos, *Polemon* 3 (1947–48) 119–22; Oikonomides, *Two Agoras* 75–6. Yet they do not consider, or even acknowledge, the pointers to the Agora: the place became the record office, says Julian; it became both the council-hall and the record office, say the lexica. The Agora receives its due from other scholars, but this is not the end of the matter. The lexica, though not Julian, further describe the scene as a pit, or even as "the Pit" for casting out cadavers (Suda s.v. βάραθρον: the

The inscription naming the shrine will mark its eastern limit. The other, evoking Musaeus' oracles, is about 150 m. to the west. Just below it on the hillside is a remarkable but little noticed installation.[80] A floor about 13 m. wide and 10 m. wide has been levelled in the native rock. Seven thrones, with a footstep beneath, have been carved in a row in the rising ground on the long side, each separated from the next by a common arm. On the short side, at the corner, is a bench. This has been explained as a meeting room for a council, or as a law court, or simply as a place to rest, a "primitive exedra".[81] But councils, law courts, exedras are all of common occurrence, and never take a form such as this. No secular explanation can be satisfactory.

The Mother is worshipped everywhere in rock-cut shrines, and is commonly depicted as sitting on a throne; some of the shrines include her seated figure in relief. There are also rock-cut thrones, single ones, on mountains in Greece and in western and central Anatolia, some on remote and barely accessible heights, which are probably hers, though definite proof is lacking.[82]

The seven thrones invite comparison with other multiple forms. It is just at Athens and a few places nearby that we find a peculiar kind of votive relief, the double *naiskos*—twin images of the goddess sitting on adjacent thrones, mostly beneath a single pediment.[83] The twin images are as nearly identical as befits the sculptor's art. Both

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story appears to be a last-minute insertion by the lexicographer), where the *mêtragyrtês* was first flung on his head and then, after the pit was filled in, commemorated with a statue. Until these details are accounted for, it is rather wishful to hold up the story, and many do, as illustrating some dramatic turn in religious feeling.

[80] Cook, *Zeus* 1.145–7 (drawings); Judeich, *Topographie*[2] 397; Papayiannopoulos-Palaios, Ἐπιγραφαὶ 77, and *Polemon* 3 (1947–48) 95–6 (photograph); Pantazopoulos, *Polemon* 3 (1947–48) 121; Oikononomides, *Two Agoras* 76. No one but Oikonomides claims to see "traces of the filled pit", as in the story of the *mêtragyrtês*.

[81] Cf. n. 80. Council-room: Papayiannopoulos-Palaios, Pantazopoulos. Law-court: Cook, Oikonomides. Neither council-room nor law-court, but "a kind of primitive exedra, a place for recreation and rest": Judeich.

[82] They are surveyed by Cook, *Zeus* 1.135–48, who treats them all as thrones of Zeus, like the mountains themselves, though he does not quite exclude the Mother. "The throne of Pelops" on Mount Sipylus is in the same area, on the north face beside a main road, as the excavated sanctuary of Mother *Plastênê* and the prehistoric, seemingly Hittite, rock-cut image which Pausanias knows as the Mother; cf. § V.

[83] Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2 nos. 62, 172, 183, 193, 238–9, 241, 341, 454, 461, 478, 611, cf. also 590, and *CCCA* 7 nos. 14, 21, 63, 142; Naumann, *Ikonographie* 188–90, 334–6, pl. 30. Of the examples with known provenance, a dozen come from Athens, and one each from Delos, Delphi, Isthmia, Corinth, Troezen. T. Hadzisteliou

wear the same *polos* and robe and hold the *phialê* in the right hand; both even have the right leg advanced. The difference between them is therefore an artistic variation: the one holds a sceptre and has a lion at her side, the other holds a tympanum and has a lion in her lap.[84] For the purpose of the dedication, a double image is better than a single one.

In some of the Mother's rock-cut shrines there is a determined repetition on a larger scale, rows of niches that were somehow essential to the worship. It is true that many rupestral shrines have niches for votive plaques; but these of the Mother go far beyond the norm. There are three Ionian examples, at Phocaea, Ephesus, and Samos, and a Dorian one at Acrae in Sicily.

At Phocaea the shrine extends over a rocky slope traversed by rock-cut stairs, and the niches, a hundred or so, are in several groups; each group is neatly arranged, and sometimes the ground in front has been levelled.[85] Most niches are empty, but a few have traces of the Mother in relief. At Ephesus the niches are all together on the northeast side of Panayir Dagh, in several ascending rows near the bottom of the slope.[86] In one the Mother appears in faint relief, but many niches were fitted with marble reliefs dowelled into the rock. Samos town has two larger sanctuaries and two smaller ones with groups of niches, likewise fitted with reliefs.[87]

The shrine at Acrae near Syracuse is the most informative, for here the niches have rock-cut images in fairly high relief. There are indeed many empty niches as well, mostly small ones; but most of these are clearly secondary, adjoining the others. Eleven large niches with images of the Mother are carved in a row on a hillside over a stretch of about 50 m., and yet another at a lower level.[88] All the

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Price, *JHS* 91 (1971) 53–6, in her study of "double and multiple representations", makes a special category for "Cybele", but it includes a quite disparate item, Hittite seals, and overlooks the restricted range of the double *naiskos*.

[84] It seems misguided to say, as does Naumann, *Ikonographie* 190, that the twin images express "two fundamentally different characteristics" of the Mother, solemn majesty and wild abandon.

[85] E. Langlotz, *ArchAnz* 84 (1969) 377–85; Naumann, *Ikonographie* 153–5, pl. 20.

[86] Vermaseren, *CCCA* 1.184–9 nos. 612–31, pls. 131–4; Naumann, *Ikonographie* 214–16,346–9, pls. 32–4.

[87] Naumann, *Ikonographie* 217.

[88] L. Bernabò Brea, *Akrai* (Catania 1956) 89–113, pls. 17–22; G. Sfameni Gasparro, *I Culti orientali in Sicilia* (Rome 1973) 126–49, 267–76, pls. 76–104; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 4.61–6, pls. 52–63; Naumann, *Ikonographie* 202–8, 344–5, pl. 30. The niches (1–11 from left to right, and 12 below) with a single seated image of the Mother are

images save two (the one in the lower niche, and another in the upper row) show her in the usual seated pose, mostly holding *phialê* and tympanum and flanked by lions. Admittedly, the niches are not of uniform size and proportions, and half of them also contain smaller images of the Mother's attendants.

These other shrines resemble the seven thrones on the Museium hill in being carved on rocky slopes.[89] But it is not sufficient to simply mention them, for they are enigmatic in themselves. The seven thrones, the multiple niches, somehow served the Mother's ritual, and so did the double *naiskos*. It is in ritual that a common explanation must be sought.

It was the custom to "spread a throne", στρωννύειν θρόνον, i.e. to make it comfortable with covers and perhaps pillows, obviously for the goddess: the worshippers saw her, with the eye of faith, sitting on the throne, just as she does in art. The custom is best known from the records of a private group at Peiraeus, and in a different form was adopted in Corybantic healing;[90] yet these instances are secondary to the Mother's public festival. Porphyry, as we saw above, describes it as an annual rite at the Idaean cave. More than one throne might be prepared. The Peiraeus group resolve "to spread two thrones in the finest possible way", and the activity is spoken of in the plural, as στρώσεις "spreadings".[91] The goddess was even better pleased and honoured when the gesture was repeated. It is repeated with solemn show in the sculptural type of the double *naiskos* and in the official resolve at Peiraeus.

To judge from the seven thrones and the multiple niches, the gesture was repeated often by a festival crowd. On the Museium hill the

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4,6–7,10–11. Those with the Mother seated and attendants standing are 1,3,5,8–9. Those with both the Mother and attendants standing are 2,12 (the principal figure in 12, badly damaged like many others, has a short tunic, and only the *polos* and nearby lions suggest the Mother). Attachment holes in the rock show that several of the images had metal ornaments—crowns, collars, bracelets.

[89] Another possible instance should be mentioned in passing. According to F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Vevey 1985) 318,420, a shrine similar to those of Phocaea and Ephesus can be recognized at Erythrae. He points to "votive niches cut in the rock" beside a terrace on the south slope of the acropolis, but their number and disposition are not stated.

[90] See Hepding, *Attis* 136–8,183–4; Nilsson, *GGR* 2² 641–2. For the Corybantic rite, see also O. Immisch, *ML* 2.1 (1894) 1615–18 s.v. Kureten; I.M. Linforth, *Cal.Publ.Cl.Ph.*13 (1946) 123–4,156–7. An early tragedy, perhaps Sophocles' *Tympanistae*, told how Dionysus was cured of madness by this means, so as to explain his affinity with the Mother. See Robertson in *CIV*² 14 (1995).

[91] *IG* 2² 1328 lines 9–10,1329 lines 15–16.

empty thrones may have been spread by seven bands of worshippers; a sevenfold organization appears elsewhere in Athenian ceremony.[92] In the other shrines the figures in the niches, whether carved in the rock or rendered on tablets, probably looked on while the ritual was performed nearby. At Acrae the ritual setting can still be made out. The niches face a narrow strip of level ground, and at three symmetrical points—at either end and in the middle—there is a broader area, comparable to the rock-cut floor on the Museium hill.[93] At either end, beyond the niches, a semicircular floor has been cut into the rock, and at the centre of the floor an outcrop of rock has been left to make a rough circular base. In the middle of the row, or more precisely between the seventh and eighth niches, there is another artificially levelled area with another rough-hewn circular base. The bases have been taken as altars or altar foundations, but would do as well to support wooden thrones.[94] The three areas imply three groups of worshippers, conformable with the usual division of Dorian cities into three *phylai*.[95]

No date is mentioned for the celebration at Peiraeus, but the group was busiest in spring; this must have been the festival time.[96] The task of spreading a throne is one for women. At Peiraeus it was doubtless in the hands of one or other of the female officiants named in the record: φιαληφόροι , ζάκορος, πρόπολος.[97] We expect the custom to be reflected in the festival aetiology. Now in the story of the birth of Zeus Rhea is always helped by other women—by Gaea, Themis, Amaltheia, or by local Nymphs;[98] the action differs in this respect from the other great birth story, of Leto and the twins, in which the mother gives birth in a solitary place. These women are

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[92] See Robertson, *Festivals* 124–5 (on the Oschophoria), and *HSCP* 95 (1993) 235–8 (on the Anthesteria).

[93] These areas are described and illustrated in Bernabò Brea, *Akrai* 91 (drawings by O. Puzzo), 111–13 (site report by C. Laviosa), pl. 22; Sfameni Gasparro, *Culti orientali* 128–9,267,273, pls. 70–73,89,102–4.

[94] A hole is noted and shown in the top of the middle base (Bernabò Brea, *Akrai* 111, pl. 22.4). If sculpted stone altars had been set up on the rock, as suggested by Laviosa (*ibid.*, 111, cf. 140), one would expect to find cuttings at the circumference. But perhaps the rock surface is too damaged for any to survive.

[95] The threefold division is evident at both Acrae and Syracuse: N.F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (Philadelphia 1987) 172–6.

[96] See W.S. Ferguson, *HThR* 38 (1944) 107 n. 49.

[97] *IG* 2^2 1328 lines 10–11 (naming also αἱ περὶ τὴν θεὸν οὖσαι ἐν τῶι ἀγερμῶι), 16–17; *IG* 2^2 6288 line 1.

[98] For a list of such figures, see H. Schwabl, *RE* Suppl.15 (1978) 1214–16 s.v. Zeus; Verbruggen, *Zeus crétois* 39–46.

not said to deliver the child, only to care for Rhea after the delivery. They correspond to the real-life officiants who spread the throne.

The rock-cut thrones on the Museium hill are likely to be early. Although the inscription naming the shrine was carved in the fourth century, we cannot suppose that this conspicuous area, close to a main road and a city gate, was then available for any unwanted use. It was the shrine of the Mother that drew Musaeus to the spot, with his oracles and his *Theogony*.

4) The birth of Zeus was also located at Thebes, at a place so called, Διὸς Γοναί "Birth of Zeus".[99] The place happens to be mentioned in our sources as the destination of Hector's bones after they were brought from Ophrynium in the Troad at the bidding of an oracle, as a remedy for plague. And it was the appropriate place, since Zeus in the *Iliad* acknowledges Hector as a special favourite, because of his copious sacrifices.[100] Lycophron expressly says that it was Hector's merit in sacrificing that caused Zeus to translate the hero to his own γενεθλία πλάξ "natal ground", a periphrasis for the place-name.[101] Even a verse oracle quoted by Pausanias, which is probably a later embroidery, speaks of the translation as due to Διὸς ἐννεσίηισι "Zeus' commands". The story of the translation is then both consistent and credible. It would be normal for Thebes when afflicted to make inquiry of an oracle, and normal for the oracle to suggest a striking new observance and a suitable point of attachment.[102] The cobweb theories that have been spun round this cult of Hector can be brushed away.

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[99] Lycophr. *Alex.*1189–1213, with schol.vet.; schol.Hom. *Il.*13.1 (Aristodemus *FGrHist* 383F 7); cf. [Arist.] *Pepl.* fr. 640 Rose[3] no. 46; Paus.9.18.5.

[100] Hom. *Il.*22.170–3,24.66–70, cf. 4.48–9,24.33–4.

[101] *Alex.*1191–5. Further on, Lycophron says that in consequence of the oracle Hector will be worshipped as a healing deity, and as such "you will dwell in the Islands of the Blessed, a mighty hero", νήσοις δὲ μακάρων ἐγκατοικήσεις μέγας ἥρως (1204–5). We are told elsewhere, and on good authority, that "Island of the Blessed" was a term for Thebes' acropolis (Armenidas *FGrHist* 378F 5). Lycophron now uses it as a general designation for Thebes so as to produce a fanciful analogy between the Theban cult hero and the epic denizens of the Islands of the Blessed. The schol *ad loc.* quotes two unprepossessing hexameters, allegedly an inscription at Thebes: "These are the Islands of the Blessed, where once the very finest, Zeus king of the gods, was born by Rhea at this place here". The term is again a general designation; whether Lycophron was indebted to the lines, or they to him, does not appear. We should not infer, though many do, that there was any difference of opinion about the site of Zeus' birth and Hector's grave or about its name.

[102] The very plausible circumstances are ignored or disputed by scholars who start from some inflexible presupposition. For F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*

Hector was summoned to Thebes to deal with plague.[103] The site where he was installed must have been appropriate also to his healing mission. Now the birth story, we have found, goes with the cult of the Mother. She is often a healing deity, and was conspicuously so at Thebes; for Pindar in the *Third Pythian* thinks of her as a last hope for the ailing Hiero (lines 77–9).[104] An argument can be made for equating the Mother's shrine with the site of the birth story and of Hector's grave. It is conjectural, but nonetheless straightforward.

Pausanias came to Hector's grave outside the Proetidian gate, on the road to Chalcis, "beside the fountain called after Oedipus" (*loc. cit.*). The area of the gate and the line of the road are approximately known, and the fountain is usually identified as one that was much admired in the nineteenth century.[105] It flowed from the foot of a hill on the south side of the road. Admittedly, Pausanias does not mention the birth story or the place-name "Birth of Zeus". In his time, when Thebes was near the end of its agonizing history and habitation was restricted to the Cadmeia, the grave must have been the only monument worth pointing to and explaining. "Birth of Zeus", however, was the older name for this site at the northeast, beside a main road leading into the city.[106]

(Giessen 1909–12) 1.193–4,2.440–1, Thebes' cult of Hector is indigenous and primary, like every other local cult, so that any translation story must be a hoax. It is a further step, a giant one, to cast the Homeric Hector as a victim of *Sagenverschiebung*, a doctrine which still receives a friendly nod from L. Ziehen, *RE* 5A 2 (1934) 1514–15 s.v. Thebai 1. For J.E. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley 1978) 391, the story is necessarily false because the oracle is versified and is not attested by a contemporary source. On these preposterous criteria see Robertson, *Phoenix* 36 (1982) 358–63. In the present case Fontenrose is well refuted by his own tabulations (p. 27), which show cult foundations, including translations, to be far commoner in "historical responses" than in "legendary" ones, 73% against 29%. For some other opinions, see A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* (London 1981–) 1.233–4 (Hector's grave), 3.145–6 (the place-name "Birth of Zeus").

[103] So Lycophr. *Alex.* 1205, ἀρωγὸς λοιμικῶν τοξευμάτων; at 1207 Apollo as author of the oracle is called ἰατρός. Not surprisingly, he also gives aid in war, again according to Lycophron (1210–11). Aristodemus and the oracle in Pausanias are vague but not contradictory, citing misfortunes and the assurance of future prosperity. Most scholars insist that on this point the story fluctuates wildly (cf. n. 102).

[104] For the cult of the Mother at Thebes, see Graillot, *Cybèle* 509–11; Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 270–2; Ziehen, *RE* 1532–4 s.v. Thebai 1; L. Lehnus, *L'Inno a Pan di Pindaro* (Milan 1979) 7–18, 49–55; Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 2.137–41.

[105] On the gate and the road, see S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes* (Princeton 1985) 190,239; on the fountain, *id.*193–4,302–3.

[106] There should be no temptation to equate the place-name "Birth of Zeus" with the hills southwest of the fountain, as does Symeonoglou, *Thebes* 12, following Keramopoullos. If Lycophron's πλάξ has any particular meaning, the place was low and flat.

As Pindar prays to the Mother to cure Hiero, he imagines her shrine and festival. She it is "whom girls beside my own porch hymn through the night, together with Pan, as a powerful goddess", τὰν κοῦραι πὰρ ἐμὸν πρόθυρον σὺν Πανὶ μέλπονται θαμὰ σεμνὰν θεὸν ἐννύχιαι. The scene of worship is located in three emphatic words, πὰρ ἐμὸν πρόθυρον. Most commentators have always taken this as the "porch" of Pindar's own house.[107] And a story was told of how Pindar had been moved by a vision to set up an image of the Mother "beside his house", and of how the Thebans had been directed by an oracle to make it a civic shrine. And Pausanias was shown, somewhere on the west side of Thebes, both the ruins of Pindar's house and an adjoining shrine of the Mother with a notable statue.[108] No one with sense can doubt that the story is a fiction, and the ruins a sham, addressing chiefly those three emphatic words, perhaps also a lost hymn to the Mother.[109] The conclusion will hold even if we believe that Pindar was a deeply religious person and presented his convictions in his poetry. Literature and life never made such a perfect match as between the *Third Pythian* and the vision, the oracle, the ruins.

Still, those words confront us: what do they mean? I would have sailed to Syracuse, Pindar tells Hiero, had it been of use (lines 63–76); but as it is, I will offer prayer at home.[110] "Beside my own porch" describes the Theban setting of the Mother's worship. Now even if Pindar did happen to live beside the shrine, it would be odd to say so in this context, by way of locating the shrine for Hiero and the audience at Syracuse. It has been suggested lately that the words only mean "right at hand" (or "right at foot", as the Greeks said);[111] but πρόθυρον "porch" is much too definite to be so used. It suggests a monumental entrance, as to a palace or a sacred precinct, and Pindar uses the word elsewhere to add a note of grandeur.[112]

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[107] See the doxography and discussion in Lehnus, *Inno a Pan* 7–18.

[108] The story: schol.Pind. *Pyth.*3.137a,137b (Aristodemus *FGrHist* 383F *13), 138,139b; *V.Pind.Thom.*1; cf. Philostr. *Im.*2.12.2–3. The ruins: Paus.9.25.3.

[109] Unless it is even wiser to suspend judgement, as Lehnus, *Inno a Pan* 18–55, appears to do.

[110] The *persona* behind these two first-person statements has actually been taken as the Syracusan chorus by some skirmishers on the hard-fought field of Pindaric criticism. Yet it seems very clear that Pindar is speaking for himself; cf. G.B. D'Alessio, *BICS* 39 (1994) 138–9.

[111] So D.C. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar* (Leiden 1968) 48–50, followed by W.J. Slater, *GRBS* 12 (1971) 145, for whom it expresses a Syracusan point of view (cf. n. 110).

[112] E.g., *Isthm.*8.2, of a great house on Aegina, where the victory celebration takes

He is fond of architectural metaphors, and in two of its eight occurrences πρόθυρον does not denote a literal "porch", but a figurative one. Corinth is the "porch of Isthmian Poseidon"; Heracles drives Geryoneus' cattle "up to the Cyclopean porch of Eurystheus", i.e. to the ground beneath the walls, or in front of the gate, of the Mycenaean citadel of Tiryns.[113] For Pindar then a "porch" may be any grand approach. When contrasted with distant Syracuse, "my own porch" will refer to Thebes and to some familiar, impressive approach to the city, scil. a stretch of road leading to a gate.

The Greeks gave much attention to an approach of this kind, usually called προάστιον.[114] That word in turn is applied by Pindar to the abode of the blessed in the underworld: φοινικορόδοις δ' ἐνὶ λειμώνεσσι προάστιον αὐτῶν, "in fields of crimson roses is their *proastion*" (*Threnus* 7.3). "Suburb", the standard English rendering, is not really apt for a district especially frequented and adorned. But as the only English word for a city district distinct from the rest of the city, it must do duty here, and again for *prothyron* in the *Third Pythian*: "their suburb", "my own suburb". The porch or suburb is Pindar's own as a part of Thebes; he does not mean that he lives right there.

Thus the Mother's shrine was beside a main approach to Thebes. But on which side? One immediately thinks of the shrine mentioned by Pausanias, next to the purported ruins of Pindar's house. Yet this cannot be the shrine of the *Third Pythian*, for two reasons. First, although it stood outside the city as Pausanias knew it, scil. the shrunken settlement on the Cadmeia, it was well within the perimeter of the earlier city. Pausanias puts it just beyond the stream Dirce; in the fifth century Thebes extended much further west.[115] Indeed it must have been inside the city when first associated with Pindar; for it was there that one would look for the poet's house. Second, Pausanias

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place; *Paean* 6.135, of the royal dwelling of Aegina daughter of Asopus; *Nem.*5.53, of the precinct of Aeacus on Aegina's Colonna hill, where an actual *propylon* has been excavated—see G. Welter, *Aigina* (Berlin 1938) 52.

[113] *Ol.*13.5; fr. 169.7. At *Ol.*6.1–3 the operation of building a porch is compared to praising the victor.

[114] Cf. Thuc.2.34.5, the Academy road near the Dipylon gate; Hdt.3.142.2, a certain showplace at Samos.

[115] For the western limits, see Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 27–8,35–6; F. Schober, *RE* 1439–41 s.v. Thebai 1; F.E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto 1971) 108 n. 18; Symeonoglou, *Thebes* 120–2, and his "sites" nos. 257, 259, also nos. 156, 239, 250. Note too that the shrine was evidently *not* on the main road leading west, which Pausanias picks up a moment later (9.25.4). Symeonoglou, *Thebes* 134–5,140–1, 198–9,251–2, offers hypothetical locations for both the shrine and Pindar's house.

gives the cult epithet as *Dindymênê*, which is proper to the Anatolian Mother (§ VI); Pindar clearly means the native Mother, the companion of Pan.[116] So we are free to equate the "porch" with the road to Chalcis, and the Mother's shrine with the place called "Birth of Zeus".

5) The birth story is again associated with the Mother at Cyzicus in the Propontis, a colony of Miletus. When Apollonius brings the Argonauts to Cyzicus, he speaks first of the mountainous peninsula north of the city, usually called Ἄρκτων νῆσος "Isle of bears", but by Apollonius Ἄρκτων ὄρος "Mount of bears".[117] The scholiast explains that Zeus' nurses were here turned into bears, a detail which, though unattributed, will come from one or more of the local historians—of Cyzicus, Miletus, Heracleia—who dealt with the birth story.[118]

Now a similar bear transformation is recounted as a catasterism: the Great and Little Bears, also called Helice and Cynosura, are two Idaean nymphs who nursed Zeus. So Aratus, whose scholiast adds another item from "a Cretan tale about (the constellation) Draco", viz. that Zeus himself became the snake between the Bears, after taking this form to evade Cronus.[119] The bear catasterism was also known to the Naxian chronicler Aglaosthenes, since he gave the name Cynosura to one of the Idaean nymphs—and this was part of his own version of the birth story, in which Zeus was stolen away from Crete to Naxos for safe-keeping.[120]

It was conjectured long ago that the source of both Aratus and his scholiast is [Epimenides], who has much to do with Ida and the birth of Zeus. Even sceptics still regard the bear catasterism as distinctly Cretan; sometimes it is flatly said that the story was transferred from

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[116] Despite Lehnus, *Inno a Pan* 40–1, we can hardly suppose that the epithet had been wrongly used in the old shrine (*un falso commemorativo*, he says).

[117] Apoll. *Argon.*1.941, with schol.936–41a. "Mount of bears" recurs at Str.12.8.11, p. 575.

[118] Agathocles *FGrHist* 472 F 1a–c (*On Cyzicus*); Maeandrius 491 F 3 (*History of Miletus*); Promathidas 430 F 1 (*On Heracleia*); Callistratus 433 F 2 (*On Heracleia*).

[119] Arat. *Phaen.*30–7, with schol.46 (Epimenides *Vorsokr* 3 B 22–3/*FGrHist* 468 [Crete app.] F 3a), whence Diod.4.80.1–2; cf. Eratosth. *Catast.*2, schol.Germ. *Arat.* pp. 59, 114 Breysig, Hyg. *Astron.*2.2.1 (Aglaosthenes *FGrHist* 499 F 1). Coins of the Roman province of Crete show either Zeus or Augustus beside seven stars, which Svoronos identified as the Great Bear, in token of the catasterism; but the interpretation is dubious at best. See Verbruggen, *Sources* 34–5,46 fig. 20.

[120] Eratosth. *Catast.*30, schol.Germ. *Arat.* pp. 90–1 Breysig, Hyg. *Astr.*2.16.2 (Aglaosthenes *FGrHist* 499 F 2). Since Aglaosthenes F 1–2 is cited both times with the title of his work, *Naxiaca*, there is no room for the old conjecture, revived by Le Boeuffle in his edition of Hyginus (Paris 1983) 155 n. 2, 166 n. 10, that this is really Laosthenidas, an authority on Crete (Diod.5.84.4, cf. *FGrHist* 462).

Crete to Cyzicus.[121] But the opposite development is far more likely. Aglaosthenes shows that the catasterism was familiar enough to be adopted in an eclectic account. The scholiast's source, who took in Draco as well as the Bears, was eclectic too. A snake transformation is not otherwise imputed to Idaean Zeus, and the term "Cretan tale" used by the scholiast was doubtless prompted by Aratus' mention of Idaean nymphs. Versions of the birth story that are clearly native to Crete speak of goats, bees, even dogs. But it is hard to see why they should also speak of bears; actual bears are not, I believe, recorded on the island.[122]

At Cyzicus, on the other hand, the peninsula and its bearish name were famous. Surely it was here that the notion first arose of nurses turned into bears, as Cyzicus' own contribution to the various animal characters of the birth story. The birth story, let us note, must have been quite firmly located on the "Mount of bears" before it could inspire such an unlikely notion.[123] Thereafter the Cyzicus version became a favourite and was turned to other uses.[124]

The "Isle of bears" or "Mount of bears" was also known as Mount Dindymus, the modern Kapu Dagh, with an elevation of 800 m.[125] It was sacred to the Mother. In Apollonius the Argo is shut up in Cyzicus by the Etesian winds until the Mother sends a sign and the

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[121] For a sampling of opinion, see W. Gundel, *RE* 12.2 (1912) 2859–61, s.v. Helike 3, and *RE* 12.1 (1924) 39–40 s.v. Kynosura 6, and, with F. Boll, *ML* 6 (1937) 871,874,883, s.v. Sternbilder; J. Poerner, *De Curetibus et Corybantibus* (Halle 1913) 248–50; M. Pohlenz, *RE* 11.2 (1922) 2012 s.v. Kronos; Jacoby on *FGrHist* 468 F 3–5 and 499 F 1–2; Schwabl, *RE* Suppl.15 (1978) 1212–13 s.v. Zeus; Verbruggen, *Zeus crétois* 42–3.

[122] Verbruggen, *Zeus crétois* 43 n. 92, makes the same observation, but suggests that the story came to Crete from the Peloponnesus. Note however the cave Arkoudia on the promontory of Akrotiri, named for a stalagmite that resembles a bear: Rutkowski, *Cult Places of the Aegean* 68–9 no. 7.

[123] The case is different when Agathocles of Cyzicus says that Rhea got the stone for tricking Cronus from Proconnesus (*FGrHist* 472 F 1c)—i.e. from the famous marble quarries which give the Sea of Marmara its name. Such a story hardly required any prompting from a local cult, though one did exist (Paus.8.46.4). So too at Chaeroneia it may have been something about the shape of the rock called Petrachus that attracted the story (Paus.9.41.6). But the name "Mount of bears" could never have been explained by the birth story unless the story was already there.

[124] The other catasterism deriving from the birth story is the nursing goat as the star Capella in Auriga, for which Musaeus is cited, unjustifiably no doubt (cf. n. 67 above). Which catasterism came first, Capella or the Bears (who then brought with them Draco)?

[125] For the topography and nomenclature, see F.W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge 1910) 6,22–4,158; E. Delage, *La Géographie dans les Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes* (Paris 1930) 92–113.

Argonauts respond (*Argon.*1.1078–1158). They establish her shrine on the very summit of Dindymus, and also enact her summer festival for the first time, as young men leaping and whirling in armour and clashing swords on shields, which was their means of drowning out some ill-omened sounds. Both Cyzicus and its territory to east and west were renowned for the worship of the Mother; she has several epithets, not only *Dindymênê*, denoting local sites and functions.[126] The premier cult however was that of Dindymus. More will be said later, apropos of the summer festival (§§ IV–V); but one or two points must be anticipated.

Although here as elsewhere in the Greek world the Mother acquired some Anatolian traits, she is undoubtedly Greek in origin. The local historians already cited mention an element of the cult common to Cyzicus, Heracleia, and Miletus—subordinate figures named Titias and Cyllenus—so that the Mother must have been brought from home by Greek colonists of the seventh and sixth centuries.[127] In Herodotus' account of the Scythians, the Mother's rites at Cyzicus and those of Dionysus at Olbia are represented as characteristic Greek customs that are odious to the steppe folk, even more than the ways of other foreigners (4.76–80). Their attitude is illustrated *per contrariam* when Anacharsis, a rare Scythian Philhellene, conducts his own celebration of the Mother's festival, but is shot while doing so. The story would lose all point if the Greeks themselves were known to have adopted the Mother's rites from somewhere else.

When Apollonius describes how the Argonauts honour the Mother on Mount Dindymus, we learn, first, that her ritual includes a wild noisy dance or whirligig, behaviour otherwise attributed to the Curetes or Corybantes, and second, that this is indeed the Mother's ritual, and has nothing to do with Zeus. The ritual belongs to her summer festival, since its effect in the narrative is to allay the Etesian winds. Now if Mount Dindymus is also the setting for Zeus' birth and nursing, this story like the episode in Apollonius originates in the cult of the Mother. The ritual behind the birth story is clearly not the summer festival, as in Apollonius. It can only be the spring festival.

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[126] For the Mother's cult at Cyzicus and environs, see Drexler, *ML* 2.2 (1897) 2856–8 s.v. Meter 11; Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 214–22; Graillot, *Cybèle* 374–7; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 1.90–8.

[127] The Mother is well attested at Miletus and several colonies, not only Cyzicus and Heracleia, but does not appear in the section on "cults" in N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien*[2] 1.127–91. She has been dismissed as an alien.

IV. *The summer festival Cronia*

The festival Cronia is somewhat better known than the Galaxia, and has attracted far more comment from scholars.[128] The festival name is attested for Athens, Thebes, and Rhodes, and the month-name Cronion for several places on the Ionian coast and islands—for Colophon and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, for Naxos and Samos and the Samian colonies Perinthus and Minoa on Amorgos.[129] On the word of Macrobius, Cyrene has a summer festival of "Saturnus";[130] this is very likely another instance. Macrobius also quotes a passage of Accius' *Annales* tracing the Saturnalia to the Greek festival and citing the name "Cronia".[131] Accius consulted a Greek source, who supplied the information that the festival was celebrated by "most of Greece and especially Athens".

As usual, the evidence is best for Athens. The festival is named in documents as well as literature, and Philochorus and Plutarch provide reliable comment; it may be that Accius drew on Philochorus. The Cronia of Thebes and Rhodes, let it be said at once, have both been doubted. The former receives a bare mention in the Plutarchan *Life of Homer*; the latter is reported with scandalous detail by Porphyry. Both can be fully vindicated.

The festival falls in summer, but at any time from early to late in the season. At Athens the date is 12th Hecatombaeon (July/August), approaching midsummer.[132] On Samos and at Perinthus, however, the month Cronion corresponds to Scirophorion, the previous month at Athens. At Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, again, an unrelated ceremony is scheduled for the time "when sowing begins, on the first day of the month Cronion".[133] Here Cronion must correspond to

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[128] M. Mayer, *ML* 2.1 (1894) 1512–19 s.v. Kronos; Mommsen, *Feste* 32–5,402, 404; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 37–9, and *RE* 11.2 (1922) 1975–6 s.v. Kronien, and *GGR*[2] 1.512–13; Pohlenz, *RE* 1983–4 s.v. Kronos; Wilamowitz, *Sitz.Berlin* 1929, 36–9 = *Kl.Schr.*5.2.158–62; Deubner, *Att. Feste* 152–5; Jacoby on Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F 97; F. Bömer, *Abh.Mainz* 1961, 4.174–5,181–3; P.P. Bourboulis, *Ancient Festivals of "Saturnalia" Type* (Thessalonica 1964) 11–12,26,35.

[129] Colophon: *ÖJh* 8 (1905) 163 line 11; *AJP* 56 (1935) 375 line 80; cf. L. Robert, *REG* 86 (1973) 71. Magnesia-on-the-Maeander: n. 133 below. Naxos: Samuel, *Chronology* 105. Samos: Samuel 121. Perinthus: Samuel 88–9. Minoa on Amorgos: n. 143 below.

[130] *Sat.*1.7.25. Cf. Vermaseren, *CCCA* 5.17–19 nos. 35–42, pls. 15–17.

[131] *Ibid.*, 1.7.37 (Acc. fr. 3 Morel), *Maxima pars Graium Saturno et maxime Athenae/ conficiunt sacra, quae Cronia iterantur ab illis* etc.

[132] Dem.24 *Timocr.*26, with schol.

[133] *IvMagnesia* 98 (*SIG*[3] 598, *LSAM* 32) lines 14–15.

Boedromion (September/October), the Athenian month most associated with the sowing; for the sowing could not well begin, even by anticipation, as early as the first of the preceding month, Metageitnion.

On Rhodes, Porphyry gives an exact date for a disputed instance: μηνὶ Μεταγειτνιῶνι ἕκτηι ἱσταμένου "in the month Metageitnion, on the sixth day" (*De Abst.*2.54). For the moment, let us simply ask what date this is. Strange to say, it has always been supposed that by "Metageitnion" Porphyry means not the Attic month (August/September) but the like-named month at Rhodes, Pedageitnyus, which fell in middle or late winter.[134] Yet just a few lines further on, in dating a festival at Salamis on Cyprus, Porphyry signals his use of the local calendar: μηνὶ κατὰ Κυπρίους Ἀφροδισίωι "in the Cypriot month Aphrodisius". If Porphyry is careful to identify as Cypriot a month named after the island's presiding goddess, which moreover hardly occurs anywhere else, he will not refer off-handedly to a Rhodian month homonymous with an Attic one, but occupying a place in the calendar which no one could know but a Rhodian. In general, it is safe to assume that literary sources use the Attic calendar.[135] Porphyry then dates the Cronia of Rhodes to 6th Metageitnion.

For the sake of completeness, an observance may be mentioned which is not guaranteed by the festival name. Thera honours the Mother on the fifth of Hyacinthius as on the fifth of Artemisius.[136] As already said, the dates appear to match her two festivals, in summer and spring respectively.

Other indications point to middle or late summer. Fresh figs and honey are in use at Cyrene. Philochorus and Accius both speak of masters and servants feasting together, in the country as in the city; it is the summer lull in the farmer's routine, which follows the ingathering of the grain. In Macrobius' rendering of Philochorus, the

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[134] That Porphyry means the Rhodian month is assumed by all who are cited in n. 167 below. In Nilsson's arrangement of the Rhodian calendar, which is generally followed, Pedageitnyus corresponds to Gamelion: Samuel, *Chronology* 108. In Bischoff's arrangement, it corresponds to Anthesterion: *RE* 10.2 (1919) 1582 s.v. Kalender.

[135] Hegesander of Delphi tells of curious customs and conditions, as he is wont to do, at Apollonia in Chalcidice, and assigns them to the successive months Anthesterion and Elaphebolion: Ath.8.11,334E–F (*FHG* 4.420). If Elaphebolion is a local month, Apollonia diverges from the rest of Chalcidice and indeed from everywhere but Athens, and conjecture must ensue about some unrecorded Athenian penetration. Yet scholars have always been happy to take this route: most recently, D. Knoepffler, *J.Sav.* 1989, 34–5.

[136] See n. 9 above. Calendars on Cos have entries for both "Rhea" and "the Mother of the Gods", but the time of year does not appear (ns: 10, 175).

season is indicated by the phrase *et frugibus et fructibus iam coactis.*[137] The pair *fruges* and *fructus* is generally taken as rhetorical amplitude; for summer fruits ripen at various times, and the olive harvest, the only one in Attica worth mentioning, comes much too late to be joined with the grain. This may be right. But it is just as likely that Philochorus spoke of the festival as celebrating a variety of crops. As we shall see, a variety were in fact displayed in the ritual vessel called *kernos*.

At Cyzicus the Mother is honoured at the time of the Etesian winds, a notorious obstacle for those sailing from the Aegean to the Black Sea. The Argonauts institute her festival (admittedly, the festival name is not recorded) after the winds have held them back for twelve days.[138] The date will be sometime in late July or August.

The calendar evidence definitely shows that the Cronia came at somewhat different times in different places: in Athenian terms, in Scirophorion, Hecatombaeon, Metageitnion, and as late as the first day of Boedromion. It must be that the purpose of the festival allowed or encouraged these differences. We shall find that the festival was meant to moderate the summer weather. But the kind of weather that was wanted might vary according to local conditions and practices.

A fundamental point about the festival can be established at once with the aid of inscriptions. It was addressed to the Mother of the Gods, and to her alone. It is true that Athens' Cronia are defined, in a scholium to Demosthenes, as ἑορτὴ ἀγομένη Κρόνωι καὶ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν "a festival conducted for Cronus and the Mother of the Gods".[139] But "Cronus" was inevitable; he is the Mother's consort, and the festival appears to bear his name. Now the Galaxia, unlike the Cronia, do not evoke "Cronus", and are defined simply as ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν Μητρὶ θεῶν ἀγομένη "a festival at Athens conducted for the Mother of the Gods".[140] The suspicion then is very strong that Cronus is intrusive. Inscriptions remove all doubt.

A Council decree of 184/3 B.C., enacted on 21 Hecatombaeon, shortly after the Cronia, commends the *prytaneis* for sacrificing to "the

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[137] *Sat.*1.10.22 (Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F 97).

[138] Apoll. *Argon.*1.1078–1102, 1132–3, 1151–2. When the winds fall, the Argo makes way by oar. But they rise again during the beat up the Bosporus, entailing another *aition*: *Argon.*2.498–59. The duration of the winds was commonly put at forty days, but as high as sixty.

[139] Schol.Dem.24 *Timocr.*26, cf. Phot. s.v. Κρόνια.

[140] Bekker, *Anecd.*1.229, cf. Hsch. s.v. Γαλάξια.

Mother of the Gods".[141] Their first sacrifice was the invariable one to the Council deities, and their next at the festival, so that the passage runs: καὶ τ[οῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν· ἔθυσαν] | [δὲ καὶ τ]ῆι Μητρὶ τῶν θε[ῶν . . . The next words were probably τὰ Κρόνια, for the occasion needs to be plainly stated: "And they also sacrificed to the Mother of the Gods at the Cronia". There is no likelihood at all that "Cronus" was named in second place after the Mother as a further recipient of sacrifice. Some other observance was mentioned in the rest of the lacuna.

Another Council decree, conjecturally assigned to 267/6 B.C., commends the *prytaneis* for sacrificing "at the Cronia".[142] It was enacted a bit later in the year, probably after the Panathenaea at the end of Hecatombaeon. Once more, the Cronia directly follow the offering to the Council deities: τοῖς [θεοῖς] οἷς π|[άτριον ἦν· . . . . . 25 . . . . .]ν τὰ Κρ[όνια· ἔπεμψαν] δὲ κτλ. The 25 missing letters were supplied as follows by Meritt: τῶι δὲ Διὶ εὐσεβῶς συνετέλεσα]ν. Yet "Zeus" has nothing to do with the Cronia, nor is the expression warranted by any parallel. The analogy of 184/3 B.C. dictates the restoration: ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τῆι Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶ]ν. We have just the same clause as before: "And they also sacrificed to the Mother of the Gods at the Cronia".

A document of Minoa on Amorgos shows us that the festival Cronia for which the Samian month is named belongs to the Mother. The month is twice referred to in a set of regulations for the Mother's cult.[143] The officials here appointed are to offer sacrifice in the month Cronion; repayments of loans (the Mother lends out money) are to be received by the assembly in the month Cronion.[144] Cronion is festival time. The Mother's cult was an important one at Minoa, for

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[141] B.D. Meritt and J.S. Traill, *The Athenian Councillors* (Princeton 1974) 154 no. 180 lines 9–10. Dem. *Prooem.*54 also speaks of the *prytaneis* sacrificing to the Mother, but without any indication of the calendar date. It was customary to dismiss the whole Council for the day (Dem.24 *Timocr.*26).

[142] Meritt and Traill, *Councillors* 91–2 no. 81 lines 5–6.

[143] *LSCG* 103 A 16, B 36 (Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2.205–8 no. 650). Earlier publications do not include the smaller fragments.

[144] R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques* (Leiden 1968) 200, thinks that Cronion is the fourth month of the year, and Panemus, when interest is paid, the last month. This arrangement was produced by conflating the attested months of Aegiale, Arcesine, and Minoa, and is untenable. The calendar of Minoa is the Samian, distinct from the others: Robert, *REG* 42 (1929) 28 = *Op.Min.Sel.*1.538, and *REG* 46 (1933) 438 = *Op.Min.Sel.*1.564. It is in any case natural to suppose that Cronion and Panemus are successive months.

these regulations are issued by the city. It is on the temple antae that records of the loans will be displayed, evidently a very public spot.[145] At Sardis too, in the same period, the antae of the Metroum were used for inscribing public documents of outstanding interest.[146] To be sure, the inscription speaks of the festival or the rites as "Metroa", so that the actual name Cronia may have fallen out of use.[147] The cult of the Mother, like the month-name Cronion, is to the fore both on Samos and at its colonies.[148] Amorgos has produced a fine example of an early votive *naiskos*.[149]

According to inscriptions, then, our festival honours the Mother, not Cronus or the pair Cronus and the Mother. This evidence is decisive against literary sources who speak of Cronus or Saturnus in a cursory fashion. It must be admitted, however, that Philochorus in describing the Athenian festival insists on the pair Cronus and Rhea and matches them with another pair, Zeus and Ge. This is in fact a theological interpretation of certain shrines and festivals at the south-east corner of the city—of the Mother and the Cronia, of Zeus and the Olympieia. To understand Philochorus we must examine the actual shrines. Our conviction that the Mother alone is honoured by the festival will be reinforced.

"The Mother in Agra", as she is called in Athenian documents, is an old cult in the oldest part of Athens, the settlement on the Ilissus bank singled out by Thucydides (2.15.3–5), together with the "Field", Agra, on the opposite bank. She is named in a calendar of sacrifice found on the Acropolis, datable to the period 480–460 B.C., and several times in the later fifth century, in virtue of the treasures which belonged to the shrine.[150] In the mid fourth century the Attic chronicler Cleidemus referred to "the Metroum in Agrae" and gave some account of the Mother.[151] A "priest of the Mother of the Gods" ap-

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[145] *LSCG* 103 B 39–44,52.

[146] A Sardian decree of 213 B.C. contains a provision for inscribing the text "on the antae of the temple in the Metroum" and shows that several blocks and fragments bearing important documents belong to these antae: P. Gauthier, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes* 2 (Geneva 1989) 47–9 no. 2 lines 4–5.

[147] *LSCG* 103 B 54.

[148] Samos: Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2.182–6 nos. 566–80, pls. 170–75. Perinthus: Vermaseren, *CCCA* 6.109–10 nos. 369–72, pl. 93.

[149] Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2.208 no. 652, pl. 192; Naumann, *Ikonographie* 137,303 no. 65.

[150] Calendar: *IG* 1^3 234 line 5. Decree, accounts, inventory: *IG* 1^3 138 lines 11–12; 369 line 91; 383 line 50.

[151] Bekker, *Anecd.*1.327 (Cleidemus *FGrHist* 323 F 9); Philodem. *De Piet.* p. 23 Gomperz (Cleidemus F 25).

pears in Athenian documents over long ages;[152] he most likely served the shrine in Agra. In all this the Mother stands alone, without her mythical consort.

A separate element is added by a lexicon, doubtless from an Attic chronicler; it could very well be Cleidemus. Κρόνιον τέμενος· τὸ παρὰ τὸ νῦν Ὀλύμπιον μέχρι τοῦ Μητρώιου τοῦ ἐν Ἄγραι "Cronian precinct: the one beside the present Olympieium as far as the Metroum in Agra".[153] The precinct, it appears, lay between the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus and the Ilissus; the Metroum must have been close beside the river on the south bank. The name "Cronian precinct" does not imply the god Cronus. It comes from the festival Cronia: shrines called Pythium, Delium, Olympieium, Diasium, Thesmophorium are all named for festivals.[154] It is easy to believe that the festival celebration required an area more extensive or more accessible than could be found on the hilly south bank. Finally, another old shrine was somewhere nearby, on the south side of the sanctuary of Zeus: that of Olympian Ge, which serves as a landmark.[155] It must have been conspicuous.

Here then is the setting which inspired Philochorus' theological interpretation. *Philochorus Saturno et Opi primum in Attica statuisse aram Cecropem dicit, eosque deos pro Jove Terraque coluisse*, etc. "Philochorus says that Cecrops first set up in Attica an altar to Cronus and Rhea and honoured those gods in place of Zeus and Ge". Sweet gentle Cecrops, author of many amiable customs, was just the man to give Cronus his due. And he gave Athens a unique pattern of worship: beside the shrines of Olympian Zeus and Olympian Ge, the Cronian precinct and the Metroum in Agra.

Pausanias, coming later, brings a complication. He does not mention the Mother in Agra, much less the Cronian precinct. Instead, he notes "a temple of Cronus and Rhea" right in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus (1.18.7). He places it, as also the "precinct" of Olympian Ge, "in the enclosure", i.e. inside the strong Hadrianic wall which closes off the sanctuary but for a single gate. An immediate

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[152] *IG* 2^2 4595, a dedication of 328/7 B.C.; *IG* 2^2 1817 = Meritt and Traill, *Councillors* 323–4 no. 466 lines 9–10, a catalogue of *prytaneis*, *paullo ante a.* 220/1 A.D.; *IG* 2^2 5134, a theatre seat.

[153] Bekker, *Anecd.*1.273. Cf. Jacoby, n. 12 to Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F 97; Wycherley, *Testimonia* 153 no. 472.

[154] By analogy, we may infer that shrines (or towns) called, e.g., Dium, Artemisium, Heracleium were named for the festivals Dia, Artemisia, Heracleia.

[155] Thuc.2.15.4; Plut. *Thes.*27.6; Paus.1.18.7.

problem is that no trace of either has been found in the enclosure, and that other sources seem to separate the santuaries of Ge and Zeus.[156] In matters of topography, when they are finally decided, Pausanias is more often proven right than wrong. But even if he erred somewhat in locating the temple, it is clear that htis is not the site in Agra. And yet that site is very close. A change has taken place.

In the time of Pausanias the Olympieium and its environs had been completely transformed by Hadrian's vast building program. Pausanias turns from the Olympieium to several other works; it is still uncertain whether they all stood in this area.[157] In any case, some new building was undertaken south of the Olympieium and along the south bank of the Ilissus, where Hadrian's gymnasium may have stood. If older monuments were to be saved, they could only be dismantled, transported, and reassembled elsewhere. The excavators of the Agora discovered that under the early Empire, from Augustus to Hadrian, whole buildings and large parts of buildings had been removed from their original sites and re-erected on open ground in the square.[158] Another item to be added to the tally is the fountain-house Enneacrunus. It was in the southeast sector of the Agora that Pausanias saw the original Enneacrunus, which he assigns to Peisistratus (1.14.1).[159] Earlier writers without exception speak of it as a landmark in southeast Athens, beside the Ilissus.[160]

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[156] See Wycherley, *GRBS* 4 (1963) 163–5, and *Stones of Athens* 165, 168.

[157] Paus.1.18.9, cf. 1.5.5: a temple of Hera and Zeus *Panhellênios*, a Pantheon, a building with one hundred columns of Phrygian marble, a gymnasium. For a survey and critique of opinion, see D. Willers, *Hadrians panhellenisches Programm: archäologische Beiträge zur Neugestaltung Athens durch Hadrian* (Basel 1990). According to Willers, the "Panhellenic program" was centred on the Olympieium; he discounts the importance of both the Pantheon and the temple of Zeus *Panhellênios*, which may or may not be the precinct excavated by J. Travlos south of the Olympieium (p. 65). The building with one hundred columns is probably the "Library" north of the Roman Market, as commonly thought (p. 18); the gymnasium was at or near Cynosarges (p. 14). It is evident that any firm conclusion must wait for new discoveries.

[158] Translated whole: the temple of Ares, the altar of Eirene (not Zeus *agoraios*) next to the Eponymi. Translated in part: the Southwest Temple west of the Odeium; the Southeast Temple west of the Panathenaic Way. For summary accounts, see Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 160–8; J.M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora* (London 1986) 184–7.

[159] It has not been convincingly located on the ground. The excavators fastened first on the Southwest Fountain House, then on the Southeast Fountain House, but are still uneasy. For different shades of opinion, see Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora of Athens* 197–9; Camp, *Athenian Agora* 42–3; *Agora Guide*[3] (Princeton 1990) 164–6.

[160] Wycherley, *Testimonia* 137–42. For the probable site, see Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν (Athens 1960) 54, and *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York 1971) 114–15, 204, 340.

The temple of Cronus and Rhea, in order to be noticed by Pausanias, must have been old and stately; more recent construction, especially Roman, he generally ignores.[161] Though a temple is not attested for the Mother in Agra, one was needed for the cult treasures which we hear of in fifth-century inscriptions.[162] Philochorus speaks of an "altar" only because no other element could be carried back to Cecrops. If then the Mother's temple was moved in the time of Hadrian from the Ilissus bank to the enclosure of the Olympieium, it may be thought surprising that Pausanias does not say so. It was not his way. He does not say it of Enneacrunus, that famous landmark. He does not say it of the temple of Ares with all the statues proper to it. (1.8.4), though this was a Doric temple about as large as the Hephaesteium, which it much resembles. As he extols the monuments of the past, it is not fitting to tell what hands have been laid upon them lately.

Thus Philochorus, far from showing that Cronus was included in the festival, confirms that the Mother alone was honoured, in this case the Mother in Agra. With that fact established, we may turn to the two disputed instances of the Cronia, at Thebes and on Rhodes.

The Plutarchan *Life* says of Homer, "Sailing to Thebes for the Cronia—this is a musical contest conducted there—he came to Ios".[163] The contest at Thebes is only an excuse for bringing Homer to Ios, where fishermen pose a riddle and he dies of bafflement. In the Herodotean *Life* he meets a similar fate while sailing from Samos to Athens, and in the *Contest between Homer and Hesiod* while visiting Creophylus.[164] The Cronia of Thebes are sometimes dismissed out of hand.[165] "Such an invention", says Wilamowitz, "cannot be taken seriously just because one cannot say how the inventor came by it". No doubt the principle is generally sound, but we should hesitate to apply it here. The *Lives* of Homer are full of genuine antiquarian material which is put to surprising use.

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[161] Travlos, *Pictorial Dict.*335–9, identifies the temple with a Roman one of the second century after Christ, Pausanias' own day, which stood between the Olympieium and the Ilissus—well outside the Hadrianic enclosure. It does not seem a likely candidate, and I withdraw the endorsement I gave before, at *Festivals* 28.

[162] Note in passing that the Stuart and Revett temple, sometimes claimed as the Metroum, has now been shown to be the Palladium shrine: Robertson in M. Dillon (ed.), *Religion in the Ancient World. New Themes and Approaches* (Amsterdam 1995).

[163] [Plut.] *V.Hom.*4, p. 242 Allen.

[164] [Hdt.] *V.Hom.*34, p. 215 Allen; *Cert.Hom. et Hes.* pp. 237–8 Allen.

[165] Wilamowitz, *Sitz.Berlin* 1929, 39 = *Kl.Schr.*5.2.163; Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1.189 n. 1 (read "Agrionia"?), 2.118.

Now that the Cronia are revealed as a festival of the Mother, it would be doubly unwise to reject this testimony. For the Mother was prominent at Thebes (cf. § III), and Pindar describes the revelry of her summer festival, i.e. the Cronia: pounding tympana, clashing cymbals, flaming pine-torches.[166] At most we shall question the "musical contest", which the *Life* asserts in parenthesis. It could be authentic. At the Cronia, any such event would be as zany as the rest of the festival; it would be like the fishermen's riddle. But since Homer went everywhere to perform in musical contests, it is also possible that another one was freely attributed to the Cronia of Thebes. The fact remains that the festival was a famous occasion.

The Cronia of Rhodes appear in Porphyry as the first of many examples of human sacrifice (*De Abst.*2.54). "On Rhodes, in the month Metageitnion, on the sixth day, a human being was sacrificed to Cronus. After long prevailing, this custom was changed. For one of those who had been condemned to death by public process was kept in confinement until the Cronia, and when the festival came round they led the fellow outside the gates up to the statue of Aristobule, and gave him wine to drink and slaughtered him", προαγαγόντες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔξω πυλῶν ἄντικρυς τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλης ἔδους, οἴνου ποτίσαντες ἔσφαττον.

"Cronus" was bound to be mentioned, both as eponym of the Cronia and because a little further on Porphyry speaks of the Phoenician Cronus, i.e. Baal, as receiving human sacrifice. It is, however, obvious and agreed that Cronus is superseded by Aristobule. The main ingredients are therefore the festival Cronia, the goddess Aristobule, and the practice of executing a condemned man after plying him with drink. We can of course dismiss the allegation of earlier human sacrifice in a form that was wholly unredeemed; Porphyry goes on to the usual cases of human victims commuted to animals or figurines. It is the festival as known to Porphyry's source, after the supposed commutation, that needs to be explained.

Nilsson gave an explanation that others have found acceptable.[167] "Aristobule" is Artemis, for in the only other occurrence of this name,

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[166] Pind. *Dith.*2.8–11 (the festival is transposed to Olympus). Besides the legend that the Mother's statue stood at Pindar's door, Philostratus knows another, that Pindar's birth was attended by an uproar of the Mother's cymbals and tympana (*Im.*2.12.2).

[167] *Gr.Feste* 38 and *GGR*² 1.400,512. Cf. Pohlenz, *RE* 1985 s.v. Kronos; D. Morelli, *I culti in Rodi* (Pisa 1959) 113,157; Bömer, *Abh.Mainz* 1961, 4.194.

in Plutarch's account of Themistocles, it is said to be an epithet conferred on her by Themistocles when he established a new shrine to commemorate his own "best counsel" in defending Greece.[168] The sixth is Artemis' holy day. The human victim, Nilsson then infers, is a *pharmakos* "scapegoat", a ritual otherwise ascribed to the Ionian festival Thargelia honouring Artemis and Apollo, and at Athens to the sixth of the month. The festival name "Cronia" will be secondary, arising from the dreadful reputation of the Phoenician Cronus.

There are fundamental objections. The execution of a criminal does not much resemble the expulsion of a *pharmakos*, who was driven beyond the furthest limits of the community, not simply led outside a gate.[169] If a *pharmakos* was sometimes killed, and this is disputed, it was not at a shrine. Nor does the season agree. The Attic and Ionian *pharmakos* purifies the city in the month Thargelion, May/June, before the ingathering of the grain. If Metageitnion is a Rhodian month, as Nilsson thought, it will fall in winter; if Athenian, in mid summer. It is also misguided to equate Aristobule with Artemis. Porphyry speaks of Aristobule *tout court*, as a goddess known by this name alone; further on he uses the plain names of other Greek gods and heroes, and also gives a full title, "the *ômadios* Dionysus on Chios". Aristobule is in fact well known on Rhodes, as we are about to see. On the other hand Athens' "Artemis Aristobule", as described by Plutarch, is much too obscure and enigmatic to be of help.[170]

Rhodes has a great many private associations that are named for the gods they worship, among them Ἀριστοβουλιασταί.[171] It is true

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[168] Plut. *Them.*22.2, and *De Hdt.Mal.*37,869C–D.

[169] The terms "scapegoat" and *pharmakos* are used too freely by some scholars, as if this were a broad category of victims; cf. Robertson, *CIV*[2] 9 (1990) 434–8. Only the original, restricted sense is relevant here.

[170] Her shrine, says Plutarch, was near Themistocles' house in Melite, at the place where public executioners dispose of bodies and contaminated things. This must be just outside a city gate, as at Rhodes. H. Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn 1895) 51, suggested that "Best-counsel" was a euphemism for the death sentence, and I went along at *RDAC* 1978, 205 n. 1. But now this meaning seems to me unlikely; nor can I believe that the Greeks associated executions with Artemis or any other goddess. The story of Themistocles' founding the shrine in self-advertisement could not have been concocted unless "Best-counsel" were taken, as is natural, in the most general sense. In recent years, an excavated temple within the city, on the road from the Agora to the Peiraeic Gate, has been quite fancifully claimed as Plutarch's shrine (it is indeed a temple of Artemis, to judge from the finds and the westward orientation). Travlos, *Pictorial Dict.*121, notes that the temple stood near a fork leading to yet another gate; but even if this gate had something to do with executions, the location is still not right.

[171] *IG* 12.1.163; G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAtene* n.s. 1/2 (1942) 151 no. 6;

that some names include epithets, e.g. *Athanaïstai Lindiastai, Diosatabyriastai, Diossôtêriastai*, and true again that on occasion the epithets stand alone, e.g. *Atabyriastai, Paphiastai*. These epithets, however, are familiar ones, deriving from public cults of great renown; it is most improbable that "Aristobule" had equal standing as an epithet of Artemis. In any case, Artemis is not commonly worshipped by private associations.[172] Now a deity who is a favourite of such associations elsewhere, as at Athens and Peiraeus and on Delos, is the Mother. Yet on Rhodes she appears in this role only once, and her worshippers are oddly denoted by a genitive, Ματρὸς θεῶν, even though they appear in a series of names of the usual sort, ending in *-astai* and *-istai*.[173] If the Mother's association had another name of the usual sort, the only one available is *Aristobuliastai*.

Porphyry names the festival as "the Cronia". He also names the god "Cronus", and this name, as all agree, is unwarranted: it comes either from the festival name "Cronia" or from the festival custom of putting someone to death. But even if "Cronus" comes from the festival custom, "the Cronia" certainly does not. The actual festival of this name was once widely celebrated and was always known to the learned; we cannot suppose that Porphyry's source used it simply as an expressive term for the unspeakable. Nor can we suppose that Porphyry himself ventured to use it so; for then his source must have provided the true name, and Porphyry would not suppress it. If the festival name is reliable, then we expect to meet the Mother. The superlative title Aristobule "Best-counsel" will suit her as well as any other deity. It may be that the name "Mother of the Gods" was avoided on Rhodes. For on neighbouring Cos the goddess is always styled "Rhea" in civic documents, a striking departure from cult practice everywhere else.[174]

All the other details are conformable. The Athenian month Metageitnion (August/September) is well within the seasonal range of the Cronia. The sixth day is close to other Dorian instances. On Cos,

V. Kontorini, Ἀνέκδοτες Ἐπιγραφὲς Ῥόδου 2 (Athens 1989) 73–5 no. 10 (*SEG* 39.737). For a list of these associations, see F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *RE* Suppl.5 (1931) 832–4 s.v. Rhodos.

[172] As Nilsson remarks, *GGR*² 2.118.

[173] *IG* 12.1.162.

[174] "Rhea" is named in the civic calendar of the late fourth century, and in other documents of Hellenistic and Roman date: A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (Florence 1925) nos. 450 line 4, 460 line 5, 475 line 8. It is only in a deme calendar that we hear of "the Mother of the Gods" (n. 175).

again, it was some day before the tenth,[175] and on Thera it was the fifth in both Artemisius and Hyacinthius, probably the spring and summer festivals. As for the execution, the salient point is that the doomed man was first regaled and stupified with wine. It was a gesture of indulgence and remission, such as festivals encourage. And it was suited to the Cronia, a time of merry-making.

So far, we have learned from direct evidence that the festival honours the Mother at some fitting time in summer. But if we inquire of the same sources about the purpose and the manner of honouring the Mother, they tell us next to nothing. The festival is simply depicted as a time for jolly companiable feasting. At Athens, masters and servants dine together (Philochorus and Accius *apud* Macrobius); at Cyrene, celebrants wear crowns of figs and exchange honey cakes (Macrobius). At Athens, again, servants are riotous as they dine at the Cronia, or as they go about in procession at the country Dionysia; οὐκ ἂν αὐτῶν τὸν ὀλολυγμὸν ὑπομείναις καὶ τὸν θόρυβον, "you could not abide their howling and uproar".[176] As "howling" does not fit our fuller picture of the country Dionysia, it must go with the Cronia. This is a significant detail.

Howling (ὀλολυγή, ὀλόλυγμα, ὑλαγμός, ululatus), no less than tympana and cymbals, typifies the Mother's worship, though it is not elsewhere assigned to the Cronia. When Statius in the *Thebaid* surveys the several regions of Arcadia, that ancient land, he reminds us of some presiding deities, Hermes of Cyllene and Athena *alea* of Tegea; at Azania in the northwest it is the Mother, with her "Idaean howling".[177] Hellenistic poets speak of female votaries whose howling deafens and terrifies;[178] they are as disagreeable as the servants in Plutarch. Later still it is Phrygian worshippers who are said to howl, or the Galli, the Mother's disreputable priesthood. In Lucian Phrygians howl, Lydians shriek to the flute.[179]

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[175] See n. 10 above. In Nicander an officiant goes shouting through the streets "on the ninth" (*Alex.*217–20); but we cannot assume, with Paton and Prott, that this was the day on Cos. A different day, the twentieth of an unknown month, is given in the local calendar of the deme Isthmus: *ASAtene* n.s. 25/26 (1962/63) 158 no. 2 (*LSCG* 169 B I; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2.215 no. 671, pl. 199) lines 6–10.

[176] Plut. *Non posse suav.vivi* 16,1098B.

[177] *Theb.*4.292–3.

[178] Nic. *Alex.*219–20; *A.P.*6.173 (Rhianus *Hell.Ep.*7) 3–4.

[179] Phrygians: Arrian *FGrHist* 156 F 82; Lucian 69 *Podagra* 30–5 Macleod. Galli: *A.P.*6.903 (Antipater of Sidon *Hell.Ep.*64) 17–18; Luc. *Bell.Civ.*1.566–7; Mart.5.41.3. In Antipater a Gallus on meeting a lion howls and strikes his tympanum. Three

We see from these examples that in the course of time howling came to be thought of as vulgar or foreign or effeminate. But in early days Greeks like others howled for a ritual purpose. Howling happens to go unmentioned in Herodotus' account of the frenzied behaviour which the Scythian Anacharsis observed at Cyzicus and imitated later (4.76.2–5); yet it would suit the occasion. Cyzicus was celebrating the Mother's festival, including a *pannychis*, when Anacharsis stopped there on his return voyage; he vowed to do exactly the same if the Mother brought him safely home. We are reminded of the Argonauts, who first established the festival for that very purpose, to obtain safe passage. Afterwards, Anacharsis went to the Woodland, the peninsula opposite Olbia, where an altar of the Mother is actually attested by a document of the mid sixth century.[180] "He began to conduct the festival in its entirety for the goddess, holding a tympanum and attaching images to himself". The performance took some time; before it was over Anacharsis had been observed and reported and shot.

Such is the summer festival as presented by sources who speak of it by name or who seem to refer directly to the ritual. We are left with a question, the meaning of the name Κρόνια. It cannot be answered with complete assurance; but even to pose the question is a distinct advance. It arises from the fact established above, that the festival deity is the Mother of the Gods, and she alone. The god Κρόνος is simply deduced from the festival name, as if it meant "rites of Cronus", just as (say) "Apollonia" means "rites of Apollo". The notional god had a great vogue in stories of the Golden Age and the succession in heaven. But he was seldom admitted to cult.

Although some festival names are formed from the names of gods ("Apollonia", "Artemisia", "Athenaea", and so on), a huge majority are formed from descriptive terms for ritual actions. I say a huge majority, because not only are there many such names, but they include all the commonest ones, which are found throughout a whole dialect group, or more widely still, among Greeks everywhere. Consider the chief festivals of Apollo, Dionysus, Artemis, Demeter. The names are not "Apollonia", etc., but rather "Thargelia" and "Pya-

other poems on this theme mention only the tympanum, which is then dedicated; so the howling is a fine touch.

[180] J.G. Vinogradov, *Olbia* (Constanz 1981) 14–18; J. and L. Robert, *REG* 95 (1982) 356 no. 234; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 6.151–2 no. 515. The document, still unpublished, is a twelve-line graffito on a Fikellura sherd recounting a tour of the

nopsia" among Ionians, "Carneia" among Dorians; "Lenaea" and "Anthesteria" among Ionians, "Agriania" *vel sim.* among Dorians and Aeolians; "Laphria", cf. "Elaphia", "Elaphebolia"; "Thesmophoria".

The name "Cronia", as we have seen, was widespread in Ionia, and very likely occurred as well at Thebes, Rhodes, and Cyrene. By this token it must belong to the class of festival names that are drawn from ritual actions. It denotes some ritual distinctive of the Mother, as (say) "Thargelia" denotes a ritual distinctive of Apollo. But to say what it was is very difficult. All the festival names mentioned above are in fact obscure and disputed, even though some are ostensibly explained by ancient sources. It goes without saying that all these names are Greek, since they describe what Greeks did, and on public occasions.

But we must bear in mind that when a word is once adopted as a holy name, it is likely either to be reserved for that use, or to be differentiated in form from its ordinary counterpart. To take an example which can hardly be contested, the festival name Τρεφώνια/Τροφώνια < *Τρέφων/Τρόφων means "(rites) of the Nourisher", and therefore matches the ordinary word τροφεῖα < τροφεύς. Both sets of forms are entirely natural and regular; yet they were differentiated from of old. Κρόνια like some other common festival names has no obvious meaning, but may still be only a differentiated form.

Hesychius glosses a term κέρνεα as τὰ τῇι Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιθυόμενα (the meaning of ἐπιθυόμενα is discussed below). The noun κέρνος, from which the adjective κέρνεος is formed, denotes a vessel characteristic of the Mother's rites. Nicander's female votary who goes howling through the streets is lavishly entitled κερνοφόρος ζάκορος βωμίστρια Ῥείης: "*kernos*-bearer" is the most definite indication in the series.[181] In a poem of Alexander Aetolus, Alcman looks back without regret to his Lydian homeland, where he would not have been a famous poet but rather a servitor of the Mother, either a κέρνας "*kernos*-man" or a priest banging the tympanum.[182] Long after, Magna Mater is served by female *cernophor(i)*.[183] Later still, in the third and

Woodland in which the altars of the Mother, Borysthenes, and Heracles were found to be damaged. Vinogradov is inclined to blame the Scythians.

[181] *Alex.*217. At [Plut.] *De Fluv.*13.3, in a story of the Mother's rites on Ida in the Troad, Hercher conjectures [κερνο]φόρου as a title of the woman Ida, who goes mad. But the text can be mended in various ways.

[182] *A.P.*7.709, Plut. *De Exil.*2,599 E (Alexander Aetolus *Coll.Alex.* fr. 9, *Hell.Ep.*1).

[183] *CIL* 10.1803 (Vermaseren, *CCCA* 4.9 no. 15), Puteoli; *CIL* 2.179 (*CCCA* 5.68–9 no. 184), Olisipo.

fourth centuries, the *cernus* is associated with the ritual of *criobolium* and *taurobolium*.[184] In Clement's formula of the Phrygian mysteries the initiate avows that he has borne the *kernos*.[185]

Clearly the *kernos* was important to the Mother, just as the *kistē* and the *liknon* were important to Demeter and Dionysus. How it was used does not appear from these sources. Indeed it can hardly have been used in the same way for six centuries, down to the days of *criobolium* and *taurobolium*. The mystic formulas in Clement show that all such implements had come to be emblematic of age-old ritual, and could be simply mentioned or displayed with powerful effect (in the Phrygian formula, the initiate eats out of the tympanum and drinks out of the cymbal).

The *kernos* is treated by Athenaeus as a generic type of vessel.[186] Yet the illustration which survives in our epitome of Book 11 is again drawn from ritual. Polemo in his work Περὶ δίου κωιδίου *On the skyey fleece* described the *kernos* as a composite vessel with many small cups containing a variety of vegetables and liquids, and untreated wool (eighteen items in all). Celebrants "carry round" the *kernos* and afterwards take a taste of the contents, "like one who has carried the *liknon*". Polemo's description is now applied by archaeologists to an actual vessel, a bowl with a fringe of cups around the belly, which has been found in large numbers in a votive deposit at Eleusis and scattered round the Athenian Agora, especially near the Eleusinium, and is depicted on the Niinnion plaque.[187] It does seem reasonable to say that this is a *kernos*, and, on the evidence of the plaque, that women carried it in Eleusinian ritual. Perhaps then Polemo had his

[184] *CIL* 6.508 (Vermaseren, *CCCA* 3.53 no. 235), Rome; J. Le Gall, *Karthago* 9 (1958 [1960] 121–3 (*CCCA* 5.40–1 no. 114), Utica; *CIL* 8.23400, 23401 (*CCCA* 5.28–30 nos. 79–80), *BAC* 1968, 220–1 (*CCCA* 5.30–1 no. 80d), *BAC* 1951/52.196 (*CCCA* 5.31 no. 81), all from Mactar. Cf. Leonard, *RE* 11.1 (1921) 325–6 s.v. Kernos; A.D. Nock, *CAH* 12.423–4; J. Rutter, *Phoenix* 22 (1968) 238; R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium* (Leiden 1969) 74–83, 99–102.

[185] *Protr.*2.15.3. For the background, see Hepding, *Attis* 184–94; A. Pastorino on Firm.Mat. *De Err.Prof.Rel.*18.1 (Florence 1969).

[186] Ath.11.476,476E–F (Ammonius fr. 6 Tresp/*FGrHist* 361 F 2), 11.56,478C–D (Polemo fr. 88 Preller/fr. 2 Tresp).

[187] J.J. Pollitt, *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 205–33, pls. 65–72, publishes the Agora examples and reviews the discussion. But it is time to close the file on the "gold *kerchnoi*" of Eleusinian inventories. Like the *kerchnia* of other inventories, they are some kind of jewelry; see H.G. Pringsheim, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults* (Munich 1905) 69–72; Leonard, *RE* 316–17 s.v. Kernos; T. Linders, *Op.Ath.*17 (1988) 229–30.

eye on Eleusis.[188] But as we have just seen, the *kernos* was always regarded as distinctive of the Mother; so it is just as likely as that Polemo agrees in this, as everyone assumed before the Eleusinian vessels came to light.

Polemo helps us with more abbreviated notices in the lexica. "The *kernophoros* dance" in Pollux is one in which the dancers carry a vessel called *kernos*, said to resemble a *liknon* or *escharis*.[189] Here and in Polemo the better-known *liknon* is adduced because it too was filled with fruits and carried round; *escharis* perhaps means "tray". A scholiast on Nicander (*loc. cit.*) offers a surprising definition of a *kernos*: μυστικοὺς κρατῆρας ἐφ' ὧν λύχνους τιθέασι "mystic mixing-bowls on which they set lamps".[190] As this does not suit his author, and is otherwise unparalleled, it seems very likely that the scholiast has misunderstood a notice like that of Pollux. Finally, Hesychius' expression τὰ . . . ἐπιθυόμενα is best understood as "things that are offered thereon", scil. on a *kernos*.[191]

If the kernos of Polemo and the lexica is the Mother's, a definite picture emerges. The individual cups were filled with a large variety of nourishing vegetables and liquids. We should not call them "first fruits", since they include several cereals and several legumes and olive oil and wine, which are gathered or produced at different times. Everything that was available was brought forth from the household stores: *frugibus et fructibus iam coactis*, as Macrobius says. Then the vessels were carried round amid howling and clashing and banging (so Nicander and Alexander Aetolus), or held up in a whirling dance (so the lexica). The purpose can hardly be in doubt.[192] It is a means of increasing nature's potency and abundance. Other rites at other seasons

[188] Though the "skyey fleece" was used at Eleusis, it had a wide range elsewhere. It would not be surprising to find it in the Mother's ritual (but at *IvErythrai* 206 line 12, the "fleece", *pokos*, is only a perquisite of the priest or priestess of the Cyrbantes).

[189] Poll.4.103 (om. B). Cf. Ath.14.27,629D, a madcap dance called κερνοφόρος.

[190] O. Rubensohn, *Ath.Mitt.*23 (1898) 288–90, suggests that a cake and candle were set in the middle of the Eleusinian *kernos*; yet the scholiast cannot be thus interpreted. K. Latte, *De Saltationibus Graecorum* (Giessen 1913) 81, envisages a nocturnal rite, but only as a late and secondary development. According to Leonard, *RE* 317–18, 325, s.v. Kernos, the scholiast describes a second type of vessel so called, which has no relation to the other; this is too trusting by far.

[191] In late Greek θύω, θυσία denote offerings in general, not burnt offerings. In earlier use the prefix ἐπι- of ἐπιθύω signifies either that the offerings are placed "upon" something, or that they are made "besides" other offerings: cf. J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec* (Aix-en-Provence 1966) 98.

[192] Cf. Latte, *De Salt.Gr.*81–2.

aim at a like effect, and call for particular fruits, flowers, sprays, and branches to be carried round. None is so exuberant as the Mother's summer festival.

To sum up, *kernea* "things of the *kernos*" are "things that are offered thereon to the Mother of the Gods". The *kernos* is important to the Mother; its importance consists in the rite named after it. The rite was probably a leading element of the frenzied dance and din conducted by both male and female celebrants (cf. § V). We may therefore entertain without discomfort the possibility that the festival name Κρόνια is a differentiated form of κέρνεα. The *Ablaut* is within the normal range (cf. e.g. θνητός/θάνατος, κέλομαι/κλόνος).

The origin of the name Κρόνια was forgotten in the course of time: so was the origin of many other ritual names, even transparent ones like Τροφώνια. As a result, the festival was thought to honour an eponym Κρόνος, whose features were suggested by the ritual and the season. This was the summer lull, when the farmer rested from his labours, especially those of cereal farming. The gods who prosper such labours, notably Zeus, Demeter, and Poseidon, are honoured when they are needed, but not during the summer lull. Our festival then was at once a time of merry-making (though the revel had a magic purpose) and a respite from the round of toil which is the dispensation of Zeus. While the other gods were away, "Cronus" was at hand. He seemed to personify an older, simpler, kinder way of life.

As the festival is actually addressed to "the Mother of the Gods", the notional Cronus will be her consort. In the original belief, "the gods" whom the Mother bears are lesser powers of nature, projected in myth as the Curetes. But it was natural to say that Cronus and the Mother were the parents of the next generation, the gods we know, with Zeus at their head. Zeus alone has the epithet Κρονίων or Κρονίδης; nor is there any collective plural, Κρονίωνες or Κρονίδαι. The epithet therefore goes back to a time when the succession in heaven was not worked out in any detail; no particular group had been designated as children and grandchildren of Cronus.[193]

On the other hand, the formula Κρόνου πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω is a fairly late variant, since it contains the contraction -εω and competes in position with the old formula πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.[194] The epithet

[193] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Sitz.Berlin* 1929, 48–9 = *Kl.Schr.*5.2.176–7.

[194] See B. Hainsworth in *The Iliad: A Commentary* (Cambridge 1985–93) 3.30.

ἀγκυλομήτης is likely to reflect Cronus' role in the developed succession story. Authorities are divided between the traditional meaning "with crooked counsel" and the modern suggestion "with curved sickle"; a decision is not easy.[195] If the latter is right, the sickle is the one Cronus wields in the story, and nothing more. It cannot be an attribute of cult or a token of the season.[196] The festival Cronia falls in summer, and even the earliest instances, in Scirophorion, are well past the reaping of the grain, and past the ingathering as well. But on balance, the derivation from a word for "sickle" is not quite convincing,[197] and the traditional meaning seems preferable. It has been objected that ἄγκυλος, unlike σκολιός, does not occur in a figurative sense in any early writer.[198] It is however a vivid word, and Cronus' character called for a choice description: this benevolent ruler of the Golden age assailed both his father and his children. A hooked or sharply curved shape might be thought to apply.

Thus far the explicit notices of the Cronia, together with Cronus.

V. *The roaming Mother and leaping warriors as* aitia *of the summer festival*

Like so much of ancient ritual, the Mother's summer festival is richly illustrated by aetiological myth. And the aetiology is explicit. With

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[195] "With curved sickle": Cook, *Zeus* 2.549–50; E. Risch, *IfgrE* s.v.; West on Hes. *Theog.*18. Frisk, *Gr.Etym.Wörterb.* s.v. μῆτις, and Chantraine, *Dict.Étym.* s.v. ἀγκ-, uphold the traditional etymology.

[196] The sickle of the succession story (but not the epithet) is so explained by Nilsson, *BSA* 46 (1951) 122–4 = *Op.Sel.*3.215–19, and *GGR*[2] 1.514. Nilsson thinks of the Cronia as a "private festival", an occasion for merry-making with no prescribed ritual, so that it could be celebrated at any suitable time. But even on this view (which must now be given up) the recorded dates are not a suitable time for a harvest fête. Despite Nilsson, "the sickle of Cronus" is not a standing attribute at all. It does not appear in art until the Roman period: E.D. Serbeti, *LIMC* 6 (1992) s.v. Kronos nos. 3–3a, 20, 26 (coins), 14–19, 27, 29 (gems), 13 (Pompeian wall painting). Serbeti also registers, as no. 4, a Hellenistic bronze cup from Macedonia, said to be "lost". But M. Mayer, *ML* 2.1 (1894) 1557 fig. 6 s.v. Kronos, in the only publication of this object (a drawing after a photograph), described it as highly suspect, so much so that it is not worth mentioning again.

[197] It seems necessary to postulate an original *ἀγκυλ-αμήτης (so Risch). But then the word could not be reinterpreted as ἀγκυλομήτης "with crooked counsel" unless it were first mispronounced.

[198] So West: Lycophr. *Alex.*344 is almost the only instance, and is based on the epic epithet. M. van der Valk, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 10 n. 25, would counter this by saying that the meaning "intricate" as a rhetorical term "is far earlier". But he gives no early examples, nor does *LSJ* or *TLG*, and a rhetorical term cannot be early enough to signify.

the spring festival, we resorted to inference; the story of Zeus' birth and nursing was seen to be the *aition* mainly because it is attached to the Mother's best-known cult-sites. So are the stories we are about to consider; but there is no need to establish the connexion on the ground. The stories declare their purpose. Long ago, the Mother roamed in a frenzy, and the festival has been celebrated ever since. Long ago, a band of youthful warriors cut a caper and made a din, and the festival has been celebrated ever since.

There are then two kinds of story, about the Mother and about a band of warriors, which are inspired by two classes of officiants, women and young men. The stories about a warrior band are much commoner, and are also somewhat varied. Besides the mythical Curetes, we meet legendary warriors: the Argonauts at Cyzicus, Pelops and his band at Olympia, the native foes of the first settlers at Erythrae. It is evident that the young men were always the outstanding performers at the festival. Accordingly, like other impressive elements of public ritual, they could be removed from their proper context and put to different use. They became the Corybantic healers at Athens, and the guild of Curetes at Ephesus; neither have anything to do with the Mother.

The following stories will be considered in detail for their bearing on the Mother's ritual: 1) the roaming Mother at Athens, 2) the Curetes on Ida, 3) Pelops' band and the Idaean Dactyls at Olympia, 4) the Argonauts at Cyzicus and the native troop at Erythrae.

1) The story of how the Mother roamed and her festival began is told in two versions, in a chorus of Euripides' *Helena* and in a hymn inscribed at Epidaurus.[199] It is common to both that the Mother roams through the mountains in a frantic state of mind until Zeus intervenes and a revel begins, so that the Mother is appeased. These details signal a sudden change in the natural world, as we shall see in a moment. But first we must grasp the details.

In the hymn it is the Mother herself who revels as Zeus thunders. ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ἐσιδὼν ἄναξ τὰν Ματέρα τῶν θεῶν κεραυνὸν ἔβαλλε—καὶ ἁ τὰ τύμπαν' ἐλάμβανε—πέτρας διέρησσε—καὶ ἁ τὰ τύμπαν' ἐλάμβανε. "Lord Zeus, when he saw the Mother of the Gods, would hurl lightning—and she would take up the tympana—and he would split rocks—and she would take up the tympana".[200] Then Zeus with kindly banter

[199] Eur. *Hel.*1301–52. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* 4.1² 131; P. Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen* (Halle 1933) 8–21 no. 3; Page, *PMG* 935.

[200] *PMG* 935 lines 9–14, 11, 13 καὶ τὰ τ. *lapis*: καὶ ἁ (χἁ) Wilamowitz. Zeus and the

invites the Mother to rejoin the other gods; after protesting for a moment, she agrees.[201] There is a similar transition in the chorus of *Helena*, as Zeus again takes charge. "Zeus, to soothe the Mother's grim temper, gives a command" (lines 1339–40). He tells an array of goddesses to celebrate a revel. The Charites howl, the Muses more conventionally sing; Aphrodite takes up cymbals, tympana, and flute so as to accompany the howling.[202] Nothing more is said about the Mother; she has been appeased.

As stories go, this one lacks originality. In outline it is the story told of Demeter in her *Homeric Hymn*. She too roams and grieves; Zeus intervenes and causes her to relent.[203] The parallel with Demeter is reinforced, though by different means, in both the Epidaurian hymn and the chorus of Euripides. In the hymn, the Mother refuses at the last to rejoin the other gods unless she is awarded half of each of the three elements—sky, earth, and sea. Demeter and Core, we recall from the *Homeric Hymn*, rejoin the other gods at the last after a similar condition is met, that Core shall go beneath the earth for a third part of the year, and come up for the other two parts.[204] In both cases it is a question of three parts or shares. Euripides' contribution is more peculiar. The reason why the Mother is distraught, and makes

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Mother alternate as subjects. Maas deletes the καὶ clause both times as intrusive ("About the origin of the interpolation I venture no surmise"). This produces three pairs of four-line strophes; but even so the last pair is not convincing. And it spoils the meaning.

[201] Zeus' speech is grammatically incomplete, and Page marks a lacuna after line 18; R. Herzog *apud* Hiller offers a supplement. Again, the text is better as it stands; the ellipse is deliberate and effective.

[202] Howling: ἀλαλᾶι (1344), ἀλαλαγμῶι (1352). Cymbals: χαλκοῦ δ' αὐδὰν χθονίαν (1346). Tympana: τύπανα . . . βυρσοτενῆ (1347). Flute: βαρύβρομον αὐλόν (1351). R. Kannicht, *Euripides. Helena* (Heidelberg 1969) 2.352, doubts whether cymbals are meant by "the earthen sound of bronze", partly because, he says, "Aphrodite can strike only one of the two instruments", scil. cymbals and tympanum. But she may wield both successively; a moment later she has the flute "in her hands" (1350). It is certainly no improvement to suggest that the phrase denotes the tympana of the next line by a kind of "proleptic apposition", *vorweggenommene Apposition*. G. Sfameni Gasparro in M.B. de Boer and T.A. Edridge (eds.), *Hommages à M.J. Vermaseren* (Leiden 1978) 3.1151,1160, cites Kannicht but speaks without misgiving first of *crotali*, then of *cembali*.

[203] In the *Homeric Hymn* Demeter is twice placated, first by the people of Eleusis and then by Zeus, and accordingly the institution of her festival is reported twice, before and after Zeus intervenes (lines 292–300, 473–82); it is the necessary conclusion to both episodes. The Mother's story as we have it contains no local episode like the visit to Eleusis.

[204] *PMG* 935 lines 19–24. *Hom.H.Cer.*398–403,463–5. The Epidaurian hymn says μέρη, τὸ τρίτον μέρος (lines 20, 23); the Homeric says τρίτατον μέρος, τὴν τριτάτην . . . μοῖραν (lines 399, 464). See also n. 207 below.

her way through a wild mountain landscape, and even rides in a chariot drawn by lions, is that her daughter, *koura*, is gone, having been abducted under Zeus' permission.[205] No one but Euripides would have ventured on such mystifying syncretism.

Two conclusions follow from our comparison of Euripides, the Epidaurian hymn, and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. First, the story of the Mother's roaming originates at Athens, for it plainly evokes the *Homeric Hymn*, which glorifies Eleusis. Second, the story is earlier than both Euripides and the Epidaurian hymn, for they embroider it in quite different ways. We may also conjecture that there was more to the story than appears in either of these derivative versions. A cult *aition* is normally tied to a given cult-site; the story ends when the local cult and festival are established. We shall soon see that other *aitia* are tied to Cnossus and Ida, to Cyzicus, to Olympia, to Erythrae. In our story the Mother must have come to some cult-site in Athens or Attica. Perhaps it was at Agra or on the Museium hill; or perhaps it was somewhere outside Athens, as at Phlya or Anagyrus.[206]

Both versions of the story depict the howling frenzy of the Mother's female votaries, though they are not labelled as such. They are represented in the hymn by the Mother herself, and in Euripides by the array of goddesses. For the first time we also learn the purpose of the revel, to effect a change in nature.

In the Epidaurian hymn Zeus hurls lightning and splits rocks; i.e., rain falls from the sky, and springs flow from the earth. On a strict view, splitting rocks and producing springs is a task for Poseidon; but for the sake of brevity the hymn ascribes it to the weather god on high. If then the Mother's revel coincides with rain and rushing waters, these are the desired end. The point is also made at the last when the Mother demands a share in all the elements, beginning with the sky, and when she is addressed in the poet's farewell as ἄνασσα . . . Ὀλύμπου "queen of Olympus".[207]

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[205] *Hel.*1306–7,1312–18,1322,1336,1341–2. Euripides follows a different version of the rape, in which Core is abducted from a ring of dancers, and Athena and Artemis try to help her, and Zeus warns them away with a lightning flash. None of these details, not even the lightning flash, has any further significance for the Mother. Maas, *Epid.Hymnen* 19–21, and Kannicht, *Eur.Helena* 2.342–3, go half way towards equating Zeus' intervention in the rape with his intervention in the story of the Mother.

[206] Cf. n. 66 above.

[207] *PMG* 935 lines 25–6. Maas, *Epid.Hymnen* 13–14, takes a different view. "The hymn depicts the time when the new gods are still ranged beside the old", as in

Apollonius, apropos of the Mother's festival at Cyzicus, describes her power in like terms. "It is she who rules the winds, the sea, the whole earth to its very depths, even the snowy seat of Olympus. And when she ascends from the mountains into the wide sky, Zeus himself, son of Cronus, gives way to her, and so do the other immortals as they honour the dread goddess".[208] These are striking words—ὅτ' ἐξ ὀρέων μέγαν οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβαίνῃι "when she ascends from the mountains into the wide sky"—which express the worshippers' belief. From a Mediterranean point of view, nature is at its worst at this time of year. The other gods are ineffectual, and the Mother is summoned to provide all the forces that can help—fair winds, cool skies, fertilizing rain and springs.

In Euripides too the Mother controls nature. Commentators duly note that a motif which he shares with the *Homeric Hymn* is the failure of crops and the omission of sacrifice as a consequence of the goddess' anger, the Mother's instead of Demeter's. But they have not observed that the motif is greatly elaborated, so that it suits the Mother's pastoral domain. Cereal crops are mentioned first, and a starving population, just as in the *Homeric Hymn*.[209] Thereafter we are told that the Mother "allows no green pasture of leafy curls to shoot up for grazing animals . . . and keeps the fresh springs of clear water from gushing forth" (lines 1330–1, 1335–6). If nature now languishes, it will flourish as soon as the revel begins. It is for the sake of cereal crops that Demeter is honoured at the time of autumn sowing. But it is to counter the parching heat of summer, to revive the vegetation and the water sources, that the Mother is honoured at her own season.

Whereas Euripides leaves the sequel unmentioned, Apollonius describes it fully.[210] The Mother is greatly pleased by the revel of the Argonauts, "and the fitting signs appeared. Trees shed abundant fruit,

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Hesiod's succession story, so that Zeus must settle with them; the Mother asks for the same power she enjoyed as Cronus' spouse. Maas also compares "the hymn to Hecate" in Hesiod's *Theogony*, in which Zeus grants Hecate a role in all three elements (lines 413–14). Finally, he postulates a common source for the Epidaurian hymn and Hesiod: an epic hymn to the Mother. Yet the Epidaurian hymn has not a hint of the succession story and the rivalry of old and new. Apollonius, as we are about to see, clinches the seasonal background. The Mother's "shares" are therefore a separate dispensation, like those of Demeter and Core.

[208] *Argon.*1097–1102. The lines are echoed at *H.Orph.*14.10–11 (of Rhea).

[209] *Hom.H.Cer.*305–12; Eur. *Hel.*1327–9,1332–4.

[210] *Argon.*1.1141–3,1145–8. The miracle of lines 1144–5 is that wild beasts leave their lairs and come up with tails wagging. They too belong to the pastoral domain; herdsmen watch for predators and hunt game (cf. *Hom.H.Ven.*158–60, skins of bear

and around their feet the earth unbidden sent up shoots of tender grass . . . She caused another miracle, since Dindymus had never yet flowed with water, but then it gushed up for them from the thirsty summit, unceasing". The purpose of the summer festival could not be more plainly stated.[211]

It follows that the revel is a magic action. The worshippers leap and whirl and howl, they bang the drum and clash the gong, to stimulate the natural world. Women can operate such magic, and so can young men, whom we come to next.[212]

2) The infant Zeus is guarded in the cave on Ida by the Curetes, warriors who leap and whirl and clash their arms. Our sources regard the cave as sacred to Zeus; but it can be argued that the Mother was there first (§ III). Now when the mythical Curetes are associated with real-life ritual, Zeus does not come into it at all. Instead, the Curetes are said to be the prototypes of armed dancers in the cult of the Mother.[213] So the argument about the cave is strikingly confirmed.

The epic *Danais* spoke of the Curetes as "attendants of the Mother of the Gods".[214] Euripides in the *Bacchae* tells how the Curetes and Corybantes, having invented tympana and flutes, handed them over to Rhea, alias the Mother.[215] Demetrius of Scepsis in his downright fashion held that both Curetes and Corybantes were young men "recruited for the war dance in the rites of the Mother of the Gods".[216] Lucretius drew from some Greek source a picture of actual armed dancers who attend the Mother in procession; he describes them as *terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas* "shaking dreadful plumes with a movement of their heads", and says that they recall the Curetes who

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and lion on Anchises' couch). Both the Epidaurian hymn (*PMG* 935 lines 17–18) and Euripides (*Hel.*1310) allude to the Mother's way with animals.

[211] Cornutus in like vein says that Rhea brings rain (*Theol.Gr.*6).

[212] On dancing and noise-making as a means of stimulating nature, see Latte, *De Salt.Gr.*50–6; W. Fiedler, *Antiker Wetterzauber* (Stuttgart 1931) 28–31,40–1,44,56.

[213] The ritual behind the dance of the Curetes has been generally taken as a festival of spring: Hepding, *Attis* 132 n. 1; Latte, *De Salt.Gr.*51; West, *JHS* 85 (1965) 155–6,158. But Preller-Robert, *Gr.Myth.* 1[4] 135, left it open between a festival of spring and one "in the hot summer"; the latter is now proved correct.

[214] Philodem. *De Piet.* p. 42 Gomperz (*Danais* fr. 3 Bernabé/Davies).

[215] *Bacch.*120–31. First the Curetes are named, then the Corybantes; they are either identified, or associated on equal terms.

[216] Str.10.3.21, p. 473. Admittedly, Demetrius also said, by way of castigating Euripides, that the Mother's ritual was not native to Crete, but rather to Phrygia and the Troad (Str.10.3.20, p. 472). This will be a combination of ignorance and chauvinism.

guarded Zeus.[217] Ovid too says that the Curetes and Corybantes who clashed their arms are imitated by the worshippers of the Mother with their tympana and cymbals.[218] Finally, according to a pragmatic history of Crete, it was the Curetes who founded the city of Cnossus and its shrine of the Mother.[219]

It is stated by Lucretius and implied by the others that even in later days armed dancers performed for the Mother. We also learn something of how they looked and acted. They shake their plumes, says Lucretius. He does not say as well that they clash spear on shield; of the mythical Curetes he says only, *armati in numerum pulsarent aeribus aera*, "[dancing] in arms, they struck bronze on bronze in rhythm".[220] Ovid more distinctly says that in the later worship tympana and cymbals stand for the original shields and helmets; for whereas the Curetes pounded shields, the Corybantes pounded empty helmets. Apollonius imagines a like development at Cyzicus, where the prototypes are not the Curetes but the Argonauts. In founding the festival, the Argonauts struck sword on shield; nowadays the Phrygians make use of drum and tympanum.[221] In Euripides even the mythical Curetes and Corybantes wield tympana and flute rather than spear and shield.

Their undoubted attribute is a plumed helmet. Lucretius draws attention to bobbing heads and waving plumes. There is something similar in Demetrius' account. He derives the name "Curetes", correctly, from *koroi* "lads"; the "Corybantes", however, are oddly said to be named ἀπὸ τοῦ κορύπτοντας βαίνειν ὀρχηστικῶς "from their moving in the dance with a butting of the head". The gesture must have been conspicuous to inspire the etymology. In Euripides, again, the Corybantes are styled τρικόρυθες "with triple helmet", a rare word which can only refer to three plumes, such as we sometimes see in contemporary art.[222] Euripides points to the same feature as Lucretius.

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[217] *De Rer.Nat.*2.629–43. It appears from line 640, *magnam armati matrem comitantur*, that Lucretius thinks of the dancers as going in procession, not as performing separately. But he may be speaking loosely, or at a venture.

[218] *Fast.* 4.207–14.

[219] Diod.5.66.1 (*FGrHist* 468 [Crete app.] F 1); Euseb., Hier., Syncell. *a.Abr.*54/6. Cf. Poerner, *De Curetibus* 258–9; Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIb Kommentar 1.353–4.

[220] Line 637. Line 631, *ludunt in numerumque exsultant sanguine laeti* "they sport and leap in rhythm, delighted by blood", is a vague tribute to the warlike aspect of the actual dancers.

[221] *Argon.*1.1134–9.

[222] Cf. Eur. *Or.*1480, τρικόρυθος Αἴας. Dodds on *Bacch.*123 objects that a triple-crested helmet was too familiar to be thus singled out; "the epithet should suggest

It is also noteworthy that Ovid's rather strained aetiology puts an emphasis on helmets.

This evidence strongly suggests that the actual armed dancers of the Mother's cult were conspicuous for their plumed helmets and their way of tossing the plumes, but not for any other arms or armour, and that they made a din with tympana and cymbals, and sometimes with drum and flute, but not with spear and shield. In early days the mythical Curetes were seen in a similar light, being described as musical performers, not as warriors.[223] In the epic *Phoronis* the Curetes were said to be αὐληταί "flute-players", and native Phrygians, for the flute was often traced to Phrygia;[224] in Euripides, as we saw, they combine tympana and flute. The *Catalogue of Women* calls them φιλοπαίγμονες ὀρχηστῆρες "sportive dancers", siblings of Nymphs and Satyrs.[225] Earlier still, perhaps two centuries before these late epics, the tympanum from the Idaean cave shows the Curetes in Eastern style as winged and bearded daemons, but clashing cymbals like Greek worshippers.[226]

It was therefore a departure from the realities of cult, and from the original picture of the Curetes, when their performance was represented as a dance with arms and armour, a virtual war dance, ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις, in which a clamour was strangely produced by clashing spear on shield, the usual arms of Pyrrhic dancers. This step was very likely taken after the time of Euripides, who shows himself

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something alien and remote". Familiar or not, a triple crest was imposing, all the more so, if it was tossed about by frenzied dancers.

[223] Latte, *De Salt.Gr.*51 n. 3, errs on this point.

[224] Str.10.3.19, p. 472 (*Phoronis* fr. 3 Bernabé/Davies). The Curetes also appeared in the *Danais* (n. 214 above), and [Apollodorus] gives them an unexpected role in the story of Io. At Hera's bidding they spirit away the infant Epaphus, and Zeus kills them for it (*Bibl.*2.1.3.7 [2.9]). The episode implies that the Curetes were already at home at Argos, and disposed to serve Hera. Other traditional attendants of the Mother, the Idaean Dactyls, were likewise mentioned in the *Phoronis*, and again as Phrygians (fr. 2 Bernabé/Davies). Yet they must have come to Argos; for whereas they invented metal-working, Phoroneus invented its primary application, the manufacture of arms and armour (Hyg. *Fab.*274; Cassiod. *Var.*7.18). And he dedicated arms to Hera, an *aition* of her "Shield" festival (Serv. *Aen.*3.284 gives a parallel *aition*). In [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 10a the Curetes, like Nymphs and Satyrs, appear to be offspring of Dorus and a daughter of Phoroneus; see P.J. Parsons, P.J. Sijpesteijn, and K.A. Worp in *Papyri Greek and Egyptian. Edited . . . in honour of E.G. Turner* (London 1981) 14. Finally, the temple metopes at the Argive Heraeum showed, with other subjects, "the birth of Zeus", i.e. the dancing Curetes (Paus.2.17.3). Thus we see that in Argive worship the Mother was joined with Hera.

[225] [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 10a lines 17–19 (*olim* fr. 123 M–W).

[226] Kunze, *Kret.Bronzereliefs* 1.32 no. 74, 48–51, 196–8, 202–3, pl. 49.

unaware of it in his several references to the Curetes.[227] Nor has it left any mark on the Dictaean hymn to the *kouros*, datable to the fourth or third century;[228] the *kouros* leaps, and the worshippers sing to the accompaniment of flutes and pipes. We first hear of it in mid fourth century, in Plato's *Laws* and in Ephorus' account of Crete: it was evidently due to some historian who gave a novel and flattering account of Cretan institutions.[229] Plato and Ephorus like many later writers regard the Curetes as inventors of the Cretan form of war dance;[230] according to Callimachus they performed the πρύλις, a Cretan term for such a dance.[231] Apollonius transfers the image to the Argonauts. So this view of the Curetes quickly became standard; but it is not true to the ritual.

3) From the Curetes we turn to some less familiar instances of the Mother's male attendants. Olympia, where the Mother once was prominent, has two competing local legends, about Pelops and his band, and about the Idaean Dactyls.

Telestes of Selinus (*fl.* 400 B.C.), in lines quoted by Athenaeus, says that "the companions of Pelops", συνοπαδοὶ Πέλοπος, were the first to hymn, "the mountain Mother" in Greece, playing a Phrygian tune on the flute, and a Lydian one on the lyre; they did so "beside mixing-bowls" of wine, a detail we shall take up further on.[232] Just before this, Athenaeus explains that the Phrygian and Lydian modes were introduced to Greece "by the Phrygians and Lydians who came over with Pelops to the Peloponnesus"; the Lydians had joined him because Mount Sipylus is in Lydia, the Phrygians because they too were ruled by Tantalus. This account of the companions must derive from Telestes and should be included, beside the verbatim quotation, in his "fragment".

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[227] See n. 23 above.

[228] See nos. 37–8 above.

[229] On this figure, see Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIb Kommentar 1.307–8.

[230] Pl. *Leg.*7,796B; Str.10.4.16, p. 480 (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 149). For other sources, see Poerner, *De Curetibus* 332–5.

[231] *H. Jov.* 52. In the dialect of Gortyn, πρύλεες meant "foot-soldiers" (schol.A, Eustath. *Il.*12.77). But Callimachus uses πρύλις again of the Amazons at Ephesus (*H.Dian.*240), and certain scholia ascribe the term to Cyprus, not Crete (schol.Pind. *Pyth.*2.127; schol.T *Il.*23.130—despite appearances in [Arist.] fr. 519 Rose[3]). The threads are tangled, but one leads to Crete. Cf. Latte, *De Salt.Gr.*31–2,38–9,42.

[232] Ath.14.21,625E–626A (Telestes *PMG* fr. 810). Line 4 requires emendation, either τοὶ δέ for τοῖς δέ (Musurus) or ὀξύφωνοι . . . ψαλμοί for ὀξυφώνοις . . . ψαλμοῖς (Wilamowitz); whichever is adopted, the Lydian tune is performed by the Lydian companions, not by "the Greeks", as in D.A. Campbell's rendering, *Greek Lyric* (Loeb

According to Telestes, then, Pelops came to Greece from Mount Sipylus with a band of Lydian and Phrygian followers. This was the usual view. It is mostly expressed in a rationalized form, which goes back to Hecataeus. Pelops leads a "host" of Lydians or Phrygians and brings great wealth; the wealth is in metal, from the mines of Sipylus, so that his followers are thought of as bearing arms.[233] Pausanias, however, has a version oddly similar to Telestes', though it is attached to a different cult. In the countryside east of Olympia he remarks on a shrine of Artemis *kordaka*, so called "because the followers of Pelops, οἱ τοῦ Πέλοπος ἀκόλουθοι, conducted a victory celebration at this shrine and danced a *kordax* dance native to the people round Sipylus" (6.22.1). The merry *kordax* dance no doubt bore some resemblance to the revels for the Mother.[234] In Pausanias' time Olympia had largely given up the Mother's ritual; her temple was occupied by the Emperors (5.20.9). Perhaps that is why the story of Pelops' musical companions came to be attached to a rural shrine nearby.

Pelops' home, the ancient realm of Tantalus, was Mount Sipylus. Sipylus, if any mountain, was sacred to the Mother. The oldest of all her images, says Pausanias, is "on the rock of Coddinus" on the north side; he means the prehistoric seated figure at Akpinar, of Hittite origin.[235] It is carved in the mountain face above a main road which leads south, round the east side, towards the other Hittite rock-carving at Karabel (a warrior god), likewise placed above the road. Herodotus speaks of the road at Karabel as leading north from Ephesian

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ed.) 5.131. Nor is the hymn performed "at Greek drinking-parties" (*ibid.*, n. 1). The passage may or may not come from a poem entitled Διὸς γοναί "Birth of Zeus" (*PMG* fr. 809).

[233] Str.7.7.1, p. 321 (Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F 119), λαός; Thuc.1.9.2; *Exc.de Insid.*7.24 (Nicolaus *FGrHist* 90 F 10), στρατός; Tac. *Ann.*4.55.3, *populi*; Str.14.5.28, p. 680, "The wealth of Tantalus and the Pelopidae arose from the mines round Phrygia and Sipylus". According to Athenaeus, *loc. cit.*, "You can see large mounds everywhere in the Peloponnesus, but especially in Lacedaemon, which are identified as graves of Pelops' Phrygians".

[234] Bronze cymbals are dedicated to Artemis *limnatis* in Laconia or Messenia or both: *IG* 5.1.225–6,1497; *A.P.*6.280 (Anon. *Hell.Ep.*41). Cf. Nilsson, *Gr.Feste* 211–12, and *GGR*[2] 1.161,490. The cymbals found with other votive bronzes at Olympia are undoubtedly the Mother's; cf. n. 249 below.

[235] Paus.3.22.4. Naumann, *Ikonographie* 20–2, pl. 1; P.Z. Spanos in R.M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift für K. Bittel* (Mainz 1983) 1.477–83,2 pl. 98; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 1.128–9 nos. 439–40, pl. 96. Spanos sees not a seated goddess but a standing, bearded "mountain god"; this is unconvincing. He is also wrong in supposing that Pausanias' "Niobe" is the same as his "Mother of the Gods".

territory, and east from Smyrna,[236] Greeks must have followed it even in Mycenaean times. Close to the image at Akpinar, but in the plain, is the excavated sanctuary of the Mother Πλαστήνη, also mentioned by Pausanias, a native of the area.[237] Her local epithet is formed with the usual adjective ending from a word *plast-*. This can only be the Greek adjective πλαστή "moulded", used as a label for the prehistoric rock-carving. The label was presumably conferred in very early days, when carving in stone was a wonder to the Greeks.

The Mother's cult on Sipylus produces all the usual stories, of the birth and nursing of Zeus, of the dance of the Curetes. They are a constant theme with Aristeides, who lived at Smyrna; in the same breath he speaks of Pelops and Tantalus.[238] As denizens of Sipylus they are creatures of the Mother. The image at Akpinar is ascribed by Pausanias to Tantalus' other son Broteas. He also knows of a "throne of Pelops", said to be on a peak above the sanctuary of Mother *Plastênê*; it is in fact a rock-cut throne of the type discussed above (§ III).[239] Bacchylides, according to a scholiast, gave a credit to Rhea for restoring Pelops after his ordeal in the cauldron.[240]

A tale in Antoninus Liberalis, unascribed, has the effect of linking the Mother's cult on Sipylus with that on Ida, as if these were deemed the leading instances.[241] When Rhea hides Zeus in the cave on Crete, he is nursed, as often, by a goat. But Rhea also sets a golden dog to watch the goat; dogs after all are the indispensable guardians of herds and flocks, and especially of nursing mothers and their young. The dog itself is paradoxically stolen by the master thief Pandareus, who goes off to Sipylus and entrusts his prize to Tantalus, who with even worse dishonesty keeps it for himself—so that both are punished by Zeus in a strange but fitting conclusion.[242] The starting point is the

[236] Hdt.2.106.2. Cf. J.M. Cook, *BSA* 53/4 (1958/59) 18–19; G.E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey* (London 1966) 56–8.

[237] Paus.5.13.7; [Arist.] *De Mirab.Ausc.*162,846b 3–6, the Mother's "sacred precincts" at Sipylus; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 1.130–32 nos. 443–54, pl. 98.

[238] Arist. *Or.*17.3,18.2,21.3 Behr; schol.bT *Il.*24.615. Cf. Poerner, *De Curetibus* 282; Cook, *Zeus* 2.956 n. 2; Schwabl, *RE* Suppl.1154 s.v. Zeus.

[239] Paus.5.13.7. Frazer, *Pausanias* 3.353; Cook, *Zeus* 1.138–9; Bean, *Aegean Turkey* 63.

[240] Schol.Pind. *Ol.*1.40a (Bacch. fr. 42).

[241] *Met.*36. Other versions are reported in summary style by schol.Hom. *Od.*19.518, 20.66, schol.Pind. *Ol.*1.91a: cf. Robert, *Gr.Heldensage* 377–8; T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (Baltimore 1993) 535. Though details vary, the gist of the story is the same. Rhea is not mentioned, and the guardian dog is said to belong to a shrine of Zeus on Crete: this is the Idaean cave.

[242] Pandareus was turned into a rock right where he stood, and we might expect

birth story or the Mother's ritual as common ground between Ida and Sipylus.

The other group of attendants are the Idaean Dactyls: Heracles and four younger brothers with names peculiar to Olympia.[243] Pausanias reports it as Eleian tradition that Rhea handed over the infant Zeus to these Dactyls. All five had their own altars. Three of the names, "Epimedes", "Paeonaeus", and "Iasus", and also "Acesidas" as an alternative to "Idas", appear to denote healing deities, appropriate companions for the Mother. Here then is an authentic local group;[244] at other places the Mother is attended by two or three Dactyls with other names. It is true that the Dactyls are said to have been summoned to Olympia from Ida on Crete, and to be known also as "Curetes", for whom there was a separate altar.[245] But the Cretan connexion is likely to be secondary, as at other places in the Peloponnesus (cf. § III). Despite their name, the "Idaean Dactyls" of Greek literature are clearly not native to Ida in Crete, nor yet to Ida in the Troad. The epithet doubtless comes from the common noun ὕδη "wood".[246] At Olympia one of the Dactyls is called "Idas", and Pindar knows of an "Idaean cave" as the local birth-site.[247]

Such is the aetiology, in two versions, of the summer festival at Olympia. Evidence on the ground shows how important the Mother was. She has a temple in the Altis, the only other besides those of Hera and Zeus.[248] It may seem even more significant that the votive offerings buried in the Altis, over a wide area at the west, include many bronze cymbals;[249] for they can hardly have been used in any other ritual but the Mother's.

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it to be the one that perpetually threatens Tantalus; but the text is defective. Perhaps we should read Τάνταλον δέ... κατέβαλε καί {περὶ} ⟨ἐπέθηκεν⟩ αὐτὸν [scil. τὸν πέτρον] ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ⟨περὶ⟩ τὸν Σίπυλον.

[243] Paus.5.7.6–7,9,14.7.

[244] So B. Hemberg, *Eranos* 50 (1952) 56–8. For other opinions, see Poerner, *De Curetibus* 273–4; Ziehen, *RE* 18.1 (1939) 52–3 s.v. Olympia.

[245] Paus.5.7.6,8.1,8.2.2.

[246] So Wilamowitz, *Glaube* 1.279; Hemberg, *Eranos* 50 (1952) 45.

[247] *Ol.*5.18. In successive stanzas Pindar invokes Athena at Camarina and Zeus at Olympia, with the usual mention of local features. For Zeus they are the Cronian hill, the Alpheius river, and the Idaean cave; this last is assuredly not in Crete. See Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 421 n. 1, and *Glaube* 1.132; Ziehen, *RE* 69–70 s.v. Olympia; *contra*, R. Hampe in G.E. Mylonas (ed.), *Studies presented to D.M. Robinson* (St. Louis 1951–52) 1.336–50. There is, however, no reason at all to equate the cave with the small Archaic temple of the Mother, which we are about to examine.

[248] A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Darmstadt 1972) 160–3.

[249] A. Furtwängler, *Olympia. Die Bronzen und die übrigen Kleinfunde* (Berlin 1890) 70.

Her Temple does not represent the original arrangement. It dates from the early fourth century,[250] and the altar in front (at the west) is somewhat later; there was no previous construction on the site. It is, moreover, set as close as could be against the terrace supporting the treasuries, and faces slightly north of west towards the rising ground beyond them, which forms an approach to the hill Κρόνιον. The name of the hill, as of the precinct at Athens, comes from the summer festival (§ IV); the spring festival includes a sacrifice on the hill-top (§ III); the "Idaean cave" in Pindar must be sought on the hill or at its foot. Our attention is drawn away from the Altis towards the north.

The earlier history of the Mother's shrine has been reconstructed with great probability by Mallwitz.[251] At the west end of the row of treasuries is a smaller building which is older than any of them, and almost as old as the temple of Hera. It was a temple, with a round altar in front. This altar was replaced by another of the same kind before the end of the Archaic period. Then a great change took place. A large rectangular altar was built on the same spot, but with the long axis going north-south, so that it no longer served the small temple, which must have been abandoned (it came to be half-buried in the shifting earth). In fact the rectangular altar seems to be coeval with the Mother's temple in the Altis, sharing the same material and technique. The new temple and altar are not in a direct line, since this could not be managed—until the original altar site was given up entirely, and a replacement was built in front of the temple. On this showing the Mother had always been honoured at a strategic point in the sanctuary.

4) Two other stories about armed dancers are noteworthy for depicting another stage of the ritual, a great feast. The Argonauts at Cyzicus dine on cattle, warriors at Erythrae on a bull. At Erythrae it is clear that this is no ordinary sacrifice and banquet.

At Cyzicus both the dance and the feast take place in a rustic shrine on the very summit of the mountain, with a sweeping view of distant shores.[252] There is an image roughly made from the stock of a wild vine, an altar of piled stones, and a stand of oak-trees whose

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[250] Telestes' lines on the Mother may have been composed at the time the temple was built.

[251] *Olympia* 92, 97, 155–60, and in W.J. Raschke (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics* (Madison 1988) 91.

[252] Apoll. *Argon.*1.1107–51, whence [Orph.] *Argon.*601–17.

leaves are used for wreaths. Here the Argonauts perform their frenzied dance, well apart from the people of Cyzicus, who are otherwise occupied in the town.[253] The ensuing feast is briefly described in conventional terms.[254]

At Erythrae the feast comes first and inspires the dance. This sequence is essential to the story, about a "strategem" of the Ionian leader Cnopus by which he incapacitates the native defenders.[255] The strategem has been excerpted as usual from an historical narrative, in this case a local history of Erythrae. And like many other strategems it is a ritual *aition*. The Greek passion for aetiology burns as brightly in the pages of history as in myth and poetry. In each city each distinctive piece of public ceremony was understood to be a re-enactment of some exciting moment in the past. So local history is full of *aitia*. It happens that the sole surviving passage quoted from an Erythraean history, by one Hippias, refers to three local festivals in succession, all somehow contributing to the further story of Cnopus and other rulers.[256] Hippias' account is not nearly as brisk and clear as the strategem, which must be drawn from some other writer.

The strategem is the following. When Erythrae resists, Cnopus

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[253] They are said to be "still", ἔτι, lamenting their eponymous king Cyzicus (lines 1137–8), whose death has just been recounted as the *aition* of a separate festival of games, conducted somewhere in the coastal plain (lines 1015–77). Other sources too dwell upon this episode, with various details; see Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 158–62; Robert, *Gr.Heldensage* 831–6; Jacoby on Deilochus *FGrHist* 471 F 4–10. The Mother is brought into it in a perfunctory way by Val.Fl. *Argon.*3.21–31,47, and [Orph.] *Argon.*535,546–54,601–17,624; on this point both are elaborating Apollonius. The Mother's festival must have come right after the festival of games; they do not appear to be integrally related.

[254] Lines 1150–1. It is said at the start that the younger men bring the cattle from the stalls (1107–8), thereafter, that the celebrants put on wreaths and get busy with the sacrifice (lines 1123–4), and that they pour libation on the fire (1133–4). These details are equally conventional.

[255] Polyaen.8.43. The strategem has lately been interpreted as a scapegoat ritual of the kind described in Hittite texts. Such fantastic combinations are a portent of this age; cf. Robertson, *CIV*[2] 9 (1990) 437.

[256] Ath.6.74,258F–259F (Hippias *FGrHist* 421 F 1): Hermes *dolios*, Artemis *strophaia*, and a third festival left unnamed. After Cnopus is bidden by an oracle to honour Hermes *dolios*, he is killed by usurpers whose subsequent regime is thoroughly perverse; above all else, they dress in extravagant and unsuitable clothes that are described at length. The background is a festival of Hermes with unruly conduct by inferiors; on neighbouring Samos the festival of Hermes *charidotês* gives license to steal, especially clothes, κλέπτειν ἐφεῖται τῶι βουλομένωι καὶ λωποδυτεῖν (Plut. *Quaest.Gr.*55,303D). Though Hippias is beguiling, he is far surpassed by Graf, *Nordion. Kulte* 243–8, who ignores Hermes *dolios* and makes Artemis *strophaia* an excuse for overheated speculation about ecstatic transvestite mysteries.

applies to the Delphic oracle and is told to bring over a priestess of Enodia from Thessaly who will know what to do. Being skilled in magic potions, she feeds a hallucinative substance to a bull; the enemy are induced to eat the bull, and succumb to the effects of the drug; hence the wild dance (πάντες ἀνεπήδων, διέθεον, ἀνεσκίρτων, "all of them began to leap, run, skip"). And because of it, Cnopus overcomes the enemy and captures the city. Such is the story in outline.

Further details belong to the ritual that suggested the story; to separate these details is to reconstruct the ritual. The bull, a sacrificial victim, is chosen from the herd as the largest and finest, and caparisoned with fillets and gold-flecked crimson cloths. (A show is made of preparing sacrifice; the enemy watch, and when the maddened bull bolts towards them, they are delighted by the opportunity.) The warriors seize the victim and sacrifice it and dine heartily. Then they perform the wild dance. Such is the ritual.

The story feigns that the original dancers were the enemy, the native defenders of Erythrae; when Cnopus finally attacked, "he killed them all".[257] Their camp, like the rustic shrine at Cyzicus, is set apart; possibly they are pictured as occupying the acropolis. It may seem odd that a civic festival is traced back to aliens. Yet other stories likewise distinguish the dancers from the community at large, as alien new-comers: the companions of Pelops at Olympia, the Argonauts at Cyzicus. Cronus himself, eponym of the summer festival, belongs to a different era from all the other gods worshipped throughout the year (cf. § IV *sub fin.*). The ritual was always regarded as extraordinary.

The dancers enjoy a feast. At Olympia, we may recall, it is said of Pelops' companions as they hymn the Mother, πρῶτοι παρὰ κρατῆρας Ἑλλάνων . . . ἄεισαν νόμον, "they were the first to sing the tune beside the mixing-bowls of the Greeks" (Telestes *PMG* 810): another indication of the feast. At Erythrae the feast undoubtedly precedes the dance, for otherwise the story would have no point. Was the custom different at Cyzicus? Or did Apollonius simply disregard the custom in favour of the usual epic scenario, with heroes feasting and singing at the close of day? That seems quite possible.

Nothing in Cnopus' strategem points to the cult of the Mother.

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[257] According to Pausanias (7.3.7), Erythrae had several waves of settlers—Cretans, Lycians, Carians, and Pamphylians—before "Cleopus" added a further assortment drawn from all the cities of Ionia. Despite Jacoby, n. 11 to Hippias *FGrHist* 421 F 1, the strategem cannot be reconciled with this account.

Inscriptions of Erythrae show that the Corybantes had a cult of their own (so did the Curetes at Messene and Ephesus).[258] Both men and women joined in the worship, under the respective guidance of a priest and a priestess. References to the ritual, though cryptic, suggest high festivity; one procedure is κρατηρισμός, mixing bowls of wine. It appears that the revelry could be abstracted, as it were, from its larger purpose in the worship of the Mother. But in later times even the festival Cronia was little more than merry-making.

VI. *Conclusion*

We have seen that the Mother was worshipped from of old at two great festivals, in spring and summer, when her pastoral milieu was in need of magic efforts. The festival names, or the derivative months, are the plainest indication. The characteristic ritual can be recognized at a few far-flung places, even though literature is always chary of such glimpses. But above all, the worship is imprinted in several familiar myths. The summer festival produces the eponym "Cronus" and his curious nature, both kindly and cruel. The spring and summer festivals together inspire the story of Zeus' birth and rearing, of the mother goat and the guardian Curetes. There is also a wide range of local legends to show how the Mother's cult first arose at a given city.

As a pastoral goddess the Mother is on a footing with other principal deities who preside over staple livelihoods. She falls behind Demeter as goddess of cereal farming and Dionysus as god of viticulture only because these livelihoods were of more general concern in the historical period. But in Mycenaean times animals were pastured on a very large scale; we may guess that the Mother was more important then. Pasturing was also the dominant way of life in Anatolia, and this accounts for a remarkable feature of Aegean and Anatolian religion, which has not been properly grasped. The Mother is deeply rooted in both Greece and Anatolia, just as deeply as the pastoral regime. For other Greek gods counterparts of some sort can

[258] *IvErythrai* 201a 62–6/*LSAM* 25 lines 108–12 ("Corybantes"); *IvErythrai* 206/*LSAM* 23 ("Cyrbantes"). Cf. Poerner, *De Curetibus* 306–9; Graf, *Nordion. Kulte* 319–34. Curetes at Messene: Poerner 272; W. Otto, *De Sacris Messeniorum* (Halle 1933) 61–2. At Ephesus: Poerner 284–95; D. Knibbe, *RE* Suppl.12 (1970) 286–7 s.v. Ephesos, and *Forschungen in Ephesos. Der Stadmarkt* (Vienna 1981) 70–100.

be found (and were) in Anatolia as elsewhere; but they are not in any sense the same. The Mother *is* the same. It is partly that she goes back to the time when the whole area was inhabited by people of related stock, and partly because pasturing itself changed little over long ages. The goddess and her magic rites did not need to be adapted to new conditions.

No discovery of prehistoric archaeology has ever caused such a shiver of recognition as a terracotta statuette from Çatal Hüyük, datable to the first half of the fifth millennium.[259] The Mother, with her motherly features exaggerated to the utmost, is enthroned between two mountain cats; an emerging head between her feet seems to depict the act of birth. All the peoples of Anatolia whom we can name arrived long after this. Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, each in turn found the Mother already present. We may be sure that the first Greek speakers in the peninsula did so too. Çatal Hüyük ought to have given pause to those who declare that the cult of the Mother spread across Anatolia from east to west in the early Iron Age, and was introduced to Greece in the Archaic period.

As soon as the Greeks came to the coast of Anatolia, and this was in the Late Bronze Age, they could not fail to be struck by the likeness of the Mother there and in the homeland. This would not induce them to adopt any Anatolian cult (which means in effect to adopt the local ritual, chiefly the festivals); for they were already fully served in this respect. There is no evidence or likelihood that any Greek city, as distinct from private groups, ever adopted any element of the Anatolian worship of the Mother, in the way that Athens adopted the ritual of Adonis and Bendis. Instead, the Greeks chose to bandy names, Phrygian "Cybele" and Lydian "Cybebe", and also tales of how their own Mother came from the east.

The names and the tales are as early as the seventh and sixth centuries. Semonides and Hipponax speak of κύβηβος, Κυβήβη, Κύβηλις, and]ς ʔυβάλας is inscribed on a sherd at Locri.[260] In the epic *Phoronis* both the Idaean Dactyls and the Curetes are transmogrified into Phrygians; yet in the *Catalogue of Women* the Curetes (like the Satyrs and the Nymphs) have about the purest blood in Greece, as offspring of

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[259] J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük* (London 1967) 183–8; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 1.233 no. 773, pl. 168.

[260] Sem. fr. 36 Bergk/West; Hipp. frs. 127, 156. Guarducci, *Klio* 74 (1970) 133–8 = *Scritti scelti* (Leiden 1983) 20–5; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 4.51–2 no. 128 (but the date should be "end of the *seventh* century").

Dorus and a daughter of Phoroneus.[261] By the fifth century the Mother's Phrygian origin is commonplace, and she has taken Dionysus with her.

The names and tales are tendentious, and were not accepted by everyone. Herodotus rejects them outright. It is true that he has views of his own about the origin of the Greek gods, which leave no room for any Anatolian contribution. But in the case of the Mother he seems to follow ordinary opinion. As we saw, the story of Anacharsis presupposes that the wild revels of the Mother's summer festival at Cyzicus are wholly Greek: they are indeed the last Greek custom to be fancied by this Scythian Philhellene, and they cost him his life. Thus Book 4; in Book 5 he refers to the native Anatolian Mother, in the person of Κυβήβη of Sardis.[262] There is no doubt that "Cybebe", the *Kuvav* of Lydian inscriptions, is another form of the Mother; she is unmistakably rendered in a late Archaic relief, close to the time Herodotus speaks of.[263] He calls her ἐπιχωρίη θεός "a local goddess". In such a question Herodotus should have the last word.

[261] *Phoronis* frs. 2–3 Bernabé/Davies; [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 10a line 19 (*olim* fr. 123). Cf. § V.

[262] Hdt.5.102.1.

[263] *Kuvav*: R. Gusmani, *Kadmos* 8 (1969) 158–61, and *Neue epichorische Schriftzeugnisse aus Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass. 1975) 28–30. Relief: G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Sculpture from Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978) 43–50 no. 7; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 1.134–5 no. 459, pl. 101. Cf. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983) 91–2, and in *Festchrift Bittel* 223–5.

From *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults* (Leiden, 1996)

LUCRETIUS' ROMAN CYBELE

Kirk Summers

In book two of his *De rerum natura* (600–60), Lucretius describes the rites for the goddess Cybele in a powerful, detailed passage that has become the standard starting point for all discussion of her cult. He describes a turreted Cybele seated on a throne that itself sits atop a chariot pulled by yoked lions. Frenzied attendants accompany her, who play their clashing, clanging music, brandish their knives stained with the blood of castration, and shake the crests of their helmets in fearsome fashion. Despite first appearances, Lucretius does not imagine a mythological scene. He refers to the worshippers who line the streets watching the goddess's lion biga go by, terrified by the display of the knives, but awed by the spectacle in general. They strew her path with bronze and silver coins as offerings, and sprinkle rose petals on her statue. He has a real, cultic event in mind.

In analyzing this passage scholars have tried to determine whether Lucretius is describing Greek, Phrygian, or Roman rites, or perhaps even all three at the same time. Typically they have followed the historian of Cybele's cult in Rome, who writes,

> Assistait-on à ce spectacle dans les rues de Rome, vers la fin de la République? Lucrèce, à vrai dire, semble plutôt n'en parler que d'après ses lectures . . . Il évite d'autre part toute allusion à Rome et au temps present, comme s'il voulait conserver à son œuvre un caractère universel.[1]

From Graillot two basic assumptions emerge, one or the other of which many subsequent scholars have accepted: 1) Lucretius has taken his description *in toto* from Greek writers;[2] 2) Lucretius can be used as evidence for how the cult was practiced throughout the

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[1] H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire Romain* (Paris 1912), 106–107.

[2] As G. Hadzsits, "Lucretius as a Student of Roman Religion," *TAPA* 29 (1918) 145–160, at 151, 157–8; D. Stewart, "The Silence of the Magna Mater," *HSPh* 74 (1970) 75–84, at 82. Jürgen Schmidt, *Lukrez, der Kepos und die Stoiker: Untersuchungen zur Schule Epikurs and zu den Quellen von De rerum natura* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1990), 113–125.

Mediterranean world at all times.[3] Both of these assumptions, I argue, are wrong. Contemporary material and literary evidence suggests that Lucretius only describes the cult as he saw it practiced firsthand on the streets of Rome every April 4th during the festival of the Megalensia.[4] He both excludes the Greek and Phrygian elements of the cult which other evidence indicates the Romans had rejected in practice, and includes some uniquely Roman elements of the cult. This shows that Lucretius was addressing his audience within the context of their own personal experiences, speaking as one Roman to another about contemporary issues.

I will be making the following arguments: 1) Lucretius is describing a procession, a *pompa* that has no counterpart in Greece for Cybele's cult; 2) he excludes all the Greek mystic elements of the cult; 3) he has a different list of musical instruments than the Greeks; 4) certain visual images that Lucretius gives are well attested in Rome for this period, but are not Greek. Pinpointing Phrygian rites precisely presents a problem, since so little evidence survives, and since they had assimilated so much Greek culture by this time, but when the evidence permits, I will compare Phrygian rites as well.[5]

Before proceeding with these four arguments, we should mention two preliminary matters. First, the cult of Cybele in the ancient world was not uniform. Throughout the centuries in Greece and Asia Minor

[3] For example, J. Jope, "Lucretius, Cybele, and Religion," *Phoenix* 39 (1985) 250–262, at 254, takes the expressions *per magnas terras* (608) and *magnas per urbis* (624) to prove that "Lucretius was interpreting the cult universally." On the basis of the same phrases, Jope goes so far as to say that the Lucretius is not describing a specifically urban cult. Léon Lacroix, "Texte et réalités à propos du témoignage de Lucrèce sur la Magna Mater," *Journal des Savants* (Jan.–March, 1982) 11–43, ignores historical developments within the cult and assumes that Asia Minor coins from the second century A.D. can be compared with Lucretius' description.

[4] Jacques Perret, "Le mythe de Cybèle (Lucrèce 2.600–660)," *REL* 13 (1935) 332–357, has argued the Romanness of Lucretius' description, but without the benefit of accurate information about the cult as practiced in Greece and apparently no knowledge of its practice in Phrygia. He comes to the rather strange conclusion that Lucretius had a source, and that source was "œuvre d'un Romain cultivé, très au courant et de la littérature grecque et des méthodes allégorisantes, mais qui, tout en utilisant les souvenirs que pouvait lui fournir une même, avait médité sur ce qu'il avait sous les yeux, appliqué à un objet nouveau les méthodes de ses maîtres et fait œuvre originale" (p. 355). For a refutation of many of his points see P. Boyancé, "Une exégèse Stoïcienne chez Lucrèce," *REL* 19 (1941) 147–66.

[5] What little is known about Phrygian rites for Cybele has been examined by E. Ohlemutz, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* (Würzburg 1940; repr. Darmstadt 1968) 174–191; Lynn Roller, "Phrygian Myth and Cult," *Source* 7 (1988) 43–50.

the expression and practice of Cybele's cult underwent a variety of evolutionary changes, including iconographical ones. We cannot take evidence, then, from the first century B.C. and assume without corroboration that it establishes a point of practice in an earlier century. Furthermore, even within the same time period no two peoples worshipped Cybele in exactly the same way. Thus, what was commonplace in Athens at any given time may at the same time be odd in central Anatolia. The Romans inserted themselves into the historical development of the cult when in 204 B.C. they went to Pergamon to retrieve the cult symbol (a black stone) and introduce it into their own State. Once they brought her and some of her priests to Rome, however, they were horrified to discover how she was worshipped, so they tempered her rites and refused to let Roman citizens participate in them except in the role of spectators. Cybele's worship found a place on the Roman calendar, with games, dinner parties, and plays in her honor, under the control of the curule aedile, while her priests were segregated in the temple precinct.[6] Thus in many respects the worship of Cybele in Rome had no parallels in the rest of the Mediterranean world.

In the reign of Claudius the worship of Cybele took on a new form. Claudius, it appears, added several mystic elements and put more emphasis on the *lavatio* in March, the washing of the cult statue and objects in the river Almo. Still more elements were added in the mid-second century A.D. under the Antonines, so that the worship of Cybele became thoroughly mystic. Attis, the consort of Cybele, was a major addition in these later periods, at least in his new, elevated status, as were certain other, previously unattested rites, such as the taurobolium.[7] Although the evolution of the cult in the West shows definite Greek and Phrygian influence, it nevertheless continues to bear the unique marks of Roman devotees.

The second point can be formulated as a question: Does not Lucretius himself tell his readers that he is taking his information form "the old learned Greek poets who sang of Cybele" (*hanc veteres Graium*

[6] Many of the Roman Republican Cybele coins reflect this State control; e.g., a coin of Publius Fourius Crassipes, 84 B.C., shows a turreted Cybele on the obverse along with the inscription AED CUR, and on the reverse a curule chair.

[7] A detailed analysis of the evidence for the historical development of the cult in Rome can be found in Duncan Fishwick, "The *Cannophori* and the March Festival of Magna Mater," *TAPA* 97 (1966) 193–202. His arguments are generally accepted by M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult* (London 1977) 122–123.

docti cecinere poetae, 2.600)? The participle *docentes* in 602 indicates that he used his sources primarily for their exegesis of the myth of Cybele rather than for their description of her rites. Cybele rides high in a chariot, the Greek poets say, to illustrate that the earth hangs in midair. Her devotees yoke lions to her chariot to show that offspring should obey their parents. They put a mural crown on her head to say that she protects cities. Likewise, in 611–617 Lucretius is interested in what *variae gentes* assert allegorically about Cybele's attributes (*quia . . . edunt*, 612; *quia . . . significare volunt*, 614–616), not what they relate about the visual images of her cult. From 618 onward the reference to how others interpret aspects of the cult is dropped, while he places his emphasis on the fear that the rites instill in the spectators (*minantur . . . conterrere metu . . . terrificas cristas*), a point he makes often throughout the entire poem.

Still, problems remain. To what Greek poets does Lucretius refer? The most prominent allegorizers of myth in the Hellenistic period were the Stoics. Because they believed that the universe and everything in it was interconnected in some way, Stoic writers often drew conclusions on matters of theology or physics by making analogies with other, more tangible objects. Clearly, Lucretius is rejecting that kind of approach to scientific investigation when he gives and then rebuffs allegorical interpretations of Cybele.[8]

Nevertheless, it is difficult to picture any Stoic allegorizers that would fit the mold of Lucretius' "old learned Greek poets" who teach truths about physics and morality from the myth and rites of Cybele. In general, the Stoics preferred to emphasize Zeus who pervades everything and subsumes all other gods and goddesses into his person as aspects of himself.[9] Certainly Chrysippus used etymology to argue that the names of the gods were meant to symbolize physical phenomena, including the name of Mother Earth (specifically Demeter), but he did so without reference to the ethical meaning behind specific attributes or rites.[10] At any rate, he was hardly a poet. The Stoic poet Cleanthes, in his *Hymn to Zeus* (*SVF* 1.537), treats Zeus personally and traditionally as a providential, benevolent god,

[8] Guido Milanese, *Lucida carmina: Comunicazione e scrittura da Epicuro a Lucrezio* (Milan 1989) 148; Monical Gale, *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius* (Cambridge 1994) 29–31.

[9] Elizabeth Asmis, "Lucretius' Venus and Stoic Zeus," *Hermes* 110 (1982) 458–70, at 460; cf. Diog.Laertius 7.147.

[10] Cicero *ND* 1.36–41 and 2.66. See Jope, "Lucretius, Cybele, and Religion," p. 251.

without the use of overt symbolism. It is more likely that Lucretius draws from a store of common attitudes toward Cybele and her rites that emerged from manifold sources—Hellenistic poems, Greek hymns, philosophy, literature and popular oral tradition—for several times in the *De rerum natura* Lucretius uses the phrase "old learned Greek poets" as a stock phrase when presenting well-known myths that have often been allegorized.[11] By it he appeals to a long tradition of mythological expression rather than the views of specific poets. In Lucretius' day the rationalizing, allegorizing treatment of Greek myths accompanied the stories as if they had always been an integral part of them, even at Rome. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for example, immediately thinks of allegorizing after he describes Cybele's procession at Rome (οἱ μὲν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔργα δι' ἀλληγορίας, 2.20), and assumes the approach is known to all.

Likewise, the fact that Varro, Cornutus, and Ovid know variations of the same allegorizing on Cybele only shows that those symbolic interpretations were in vogue with the Romans, not that they all were looking back to a single Hellenistic source.[12] This is verified by archaeological evidence. A coin of M. Plaetorius Cestianus, curule aedile for 67 B.C., shows a globe before the head of Cybele, suggesting the symbolic connection between the goddess and the suspended earth, also noted by Lucretius (2.663). A globe depicting Cybele may have been carried in the procession itself.[13] Also, other evidence suggests that the Roman nobility, nervous about the orgiastic nature of the cult in the first place, promoted the moral lessons being drawn from it, such as *pietas* toward parents, self-discipline, and loyalty to the motherland.[14]

We must keep in mind too that the hymns which accompanied

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[11] *DRN* 5.405,6.754. Cicero, at *DND* 1.41, possibly following Philodemus, *De pietate* 80,23 (Gomperz), has the Epicurean Velleius use *veterrimi poetae* to refer to the poets on whose texts Stoics applied their allegorical interpretations.

[12] Varro *apud* Aug. *C.D.*7.24; Cornutus, *Theologicae Graecae Compendium*, ed. C. Lang (Liepzig 1881) ch. 6–7 (composed during the reign of Nero); Ovid, *Fasti* 4.179–372.

[13] *CCCA* 4.42 shows a globe in the Pompeian procession. Vermaseren dates it to 70 A.D.

[14] Graillot, 104–105; A.K. Michels, "Lucretius, Clodius and Magna Mater," *Mélanges a Jérôme Carcopino* (Rome 1966) 675–79; R.W. Sharples, "Cybele and Loyalty to Parents," *LCM* 10.9 (Nov. 1985) 133–34. In the Republican period the Roman leaders altered the rites and significance of many divinities of foreign origins to accord better with Roman moral standards. Such is the case with the Semitic Astarte, whom the Cypriots worshipped as Aphrodite, but the Romans as Venus Verticordia. Cf. Preller, *Römischen Mythologie* (Berlin 1881[3]) vol. 1, 446.

the cult were sung in Greek, and they may well have promoted a certain way of viewing Cybele.[15] In fact, before Lucretius, Roman writers had applied the word "canere" and its cognates in a strictly religious sense, so we can expect that in Lucretius' usage a religious connotation would have lingered.[16] It is unnecessary, then, to assume that Lucretius could only find allegorical interpretations of Cybele among the Greeks. His Roman audience was likely familiar with the allegorical interpretations as a significant feature of their own cult. To be sure, Lucretius knew a longstanding tradition of poetry and Stoic allegorizing, but he did not, as we shall see, introduce into his depiction of the goddess's rites any elements that the Romans did not already know.

Pompa

Of all the rituals surrounding the Cybele cult, Lucretius could not have chosen a more Roman feature than the procession (*pompa*) itself.[17] Beginning with 2.601 he describes Cybele sitting on her throne in a chariot driving double-yoked lions wearing a mural crown and accompanied by frenzied priests. Until line 621, however, the reader has no indication whether the poet has in mind the Cybele of mythic imagination or of cult. The words *praeportant* (621) and *volgi* (622) solve the mystery: Lucretius envisions the statue of the goddess being guided through the streets while the priests display their knives to terrify the hearts and minds of the spectators. He strengthens the imagery of procession with *mortalis* in 625, adding that the spectators throw silver and bronze coins in the chariot's path, and shower the goddess with rose petals (627–628).

Ovid, at *Fasti* 4.345–346, writes that Cybele entered into the city of Rome, after her initial *lavatio*, on a wagon pulled by oxen, on which the people sprinkled fresh flowers. Yet most scholars take an earlier passage, *Fasti* 4.185–186, to mean that typically in the celebration of the Megalensia in April her attendants carried her through

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[15] Servius ad Verg.Georg.2.394; Graillot, 254–55.

[16] J.K. Newman, "De verbis *canere* et *dicere* eorumque apud poetas Latinos ab Ennio usque ad aetatem Augusti usu," *Latinitas* 13 (1965) 86–106.

[17] Perhaps the inspiration for this practice, in addition to the traditional mythological picture of Cybele in a chariot, was the procession of Liber. On this see H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (Ithaca 1981) 91.

the city on a bier: *ipsa sedens molli comitum cervice feretur | urbis per medias exululata vias.* Archeological evidence supports that interpretation. A painting from Pompeii portraying a procession in process, shows Cybele, seated on her high-backed throne, on top of a bier.[18] Although the time and place are far removed from Lucretius' Republican Rome, so that some elements have changed, the bier at least is consistent with Ovid's procession. An even later portrayal of the procession occurs on a sarcophagus of unknown provenance, dating to the later second to early third century A.D.[19] Again a bier appears on which rests the throne and footstool of Cybele, who appears on another side of the sarcophagus. Four Galli carry the bier in procession.

Scullard is probably correct, then, to assume that the entire structure—yoked lions, chariot, and statue—was placed on a bier and carried through the streets on April 4, the first day of the Megalensia.[20] A suspension of disbelief allowed many writers and artists to ignore the presence of the bier and to imagine that the lions actually pulled the chariot themselves. Whether a similar procession also followed the *lavatio* we cannot say. Our sources for the late Republic are silent on the *lavatio*, except perhaps the special case noted by Dio Cassius (48.43.5), when the Romans washed her statue in the sea.[21] Ovid mentions that the Phrygian priest of Cybele washed her and her holy implements in the river Almo the day after her arrival to Italy, and then spontaneously a parade to the city began. Arrian, writing about 136 A.D., considers the *lavatio* a strictly Phrygian practice that the Romans incorporated into their worship.[22] Unfortunately, no evidence survives to indicate what rites accompanied the Phrygian

[18] *CCCA* 4.42.

[19] L. Budde-R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculptures in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge 1964) 77 f., no. 125 and pl. 41, followed by Vermaseren, *CCCA* 7.39.

[20] *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (Ithaca 1981) 99–100. See also B.F. Cook, "The Goddess Cybele: A Bronze in New York," *Archaeology* (1966) 251–257, at 257.

[21] The first evidence of the traditional *lavatio* dates to 50 A.D. (*CIL* vii 2305).

[22] *Tactica* 33.4, ed. A.G. Roos: καὶ γὰρ ἡ Ῥέα αὐτοῖς ἡ Φρυγία τιμᾶται ἐκ Πεσσινοῦντος ἐλθοῦσα, καὶ τὸ πένθος τὸ ἀμφὶ τῷ Ἄττῃ Φρύγιον ⟨ὂν⟩ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πενθεῖται, καὶ τὸ λουτρὸν δ' ᾗ Ῥέα, ἐφ' οὗ τοῦ πένθους λήγει, τῶν Φρυγῶν νόμῳ λοῦται. An inscription from Cyzicus survives, dating from the first century B.C., which implies that a group of priestesses, called θαλασσίαι, were responsible for washing the cult statue in the sea; see Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (Brussels 1900) no. 537. One thinks naturally of the proposed *lavatio* of the Artemis statue in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris.*

ceremony. It is likely, however, that Lucretius is describing the procession, not of the *lavatio*, a joyous event (at least after the bathing) which later calendars placed on March 27th and which did not involve the collection of donations, but of the strictly Roman celebration and games of the Megalensia.[23]

Two coins of the late Republic prove that Romans of that time could see in their streets the very scene that Lucretius describes. In 78 B.C. M. Volteius produced five denarii, one of which depicts Cybele, who, looking very much like a statue, wears a turreted crown and sits on a throne in a chariot pulled by two lions.[24] In her left hand Cybele holds the reins (corresponding to and explaining Lucretius' *agitare* at 6.601), while in the left she holds a *patera*. Volteius did not draw his picture of the earth goddess from experiences he might have had in the East. To the contrary, the entire series of five coins he produced that year, portraying Jupiter, Hercules, Liber with Ceres, and Apollo, in addition to Cybele, represent the five major festivals for which he, as a curule aedile, would have been responsible: Ludi Romani, Plebeii, Cereales, Megalenses, and Apollinares. Therefore we have to assume that through these issues Volteius intended to remind the public of the extravagant shows he just had or would present for their benefit, as an electioneering strategy.[25]

Additionally, since on the other four coins of his series, Volteius has linked the theme of the obverse to that of the reverse, we may also assume that the obverse of the Cybele coin depicts another aspect of her cult. The helmeted figure there could only represent one of the Curetes or, more properly, Corybantes, whom Lucretius describes as "shaking the crests of the helmets by nodding their heads." The figure could not be Attis, as some have suggested, for two reasons: 1) Attis was not worshipped alongside Cybele in the Roman public cult during the late Republic (see discussion below); 2) the helmet on the coin's figure is not the typical Phrygian cap of Attis.

[23] For the argument see P. Boyancé, "Cybèle aux Mégalésies," *Latomus* 13 (1954) 337–42, at 339–40.

[24] Crawford 358. Préhac, F., "Mater Deum," *Revue numismatique* 35 (1932) 119–125; Turcan, Robert, *Numismatique romaine du culte métroaque* (Leiden 1983), 14.

[25] On the moneyer Volteius see T. Robert, S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (Cleveland, 1952) vol. 2, p. 455. No extant evidence points to an aedileship for Volteius. M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge 1974) vol. 2, p. 729, believes that these coins would substitute for an aedileship in the cursus honorum.

The reverse of another coin, an aureus of about 43 B.C., matches Volteius' depiction of Cybele very closely.[26] Again Cybele sits on her throne in a chariot pulled by two lions. As in the case of Volteius' coin, Cybele holds a *patera* in her right hand, but now her left arms rests on a *tympanum* (cf. *DRN* 2.618: *tympana tenta tonant*). Her appearance on this coin at this time could only suggest one thing: As Cybele once ensured victory over Hannibal, the foreign invader, so now she will protect Rome against some threat on Italian soil.[27] If the figure on the front is truly Sibyl, then the meaning would have been clear, since it was the Sibylline books that first told the Romans to bring Cybele's black stone from Phrygia to Rome in 204 B.C.[28]

Although certainly belonging to a later period, a bronze group in the New York Metropolitan Museum depicts the same scene as do the coins. On a four-wheeled cart Cybele sits on her throne, holding a tympanum and patera. Two docile lions are yoked to the cart.[29] The presence of the cart raises the question whether the group suggests the *lavatio* or the procession of the Megalensia. If this is a scene from the *lavatio*, then the lions represent the oxen, mentioned by Ovid. It seems to me, however, that the scene represents the procession during the Megalensian games, without the bier. The whole cult structure that this group models, cart, throne, lions and all, would have been carried through the streets on a bier, accompanied by the foreign attendants of Cybele.

Literary sources also confirm that Lucretius was describing Roman practice. Ovid's *ipsa sedens plaustro porta est invecta Capena* (*Fasti* 4.345) gives the historical precedent for the transportation of the statue through the streets. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing sometime after 23 B.C.,[30] notes that Romans have not adopted many traditional Greek rituals because they viewed them as lacking in decorum, and

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[26] Struck by the praetors L. Cestius and C. Norbanus. Crawford 491.2. The obverse shows the draped bust of a female (Sibyl?). The other two types of this issue show the curule chair on the reverse instead of Cybele, and a bust of Africa on the obverse.

[27] Livy 29.10.4–11; 8; 14,5–14; 38.18,9. Polybius 21.37.5–6; Diodorus 36.13; Plutarch, *Marius* 17; F. Bömer, "Kybele in Rom. Die Geschichte ihres Kult als politisches Phänomen," *MDAI(R)* 71 (1964), 130–151, at 136.

[28] Turcan believes that the figure on the obverse is Venus and thus suggests that the coin was meant as propaganda for the *Iulii*. He cites Dio Cassius 46.33.3 where the historian notes a certain prodigy in 43 B.C. involving the Cybele statue on the Palatine.

[29] Cook, "The Goddess Cybele: A Bronze in New York," 251–257.

[30] See Wiseman, 224, n. 1.

says that the Romans do not practice the kind of rites most often associated with the worship of Dionysus, in which the participants lose control of their senses and become possessed by the divinity. Nor do they engage in secret mysteries, or worship in the temples by night, men and women together, or use the magic associated with such rites. Instead, on the few occasions in which the Romans permitted entry to foreign orgiastic cults, they modified the rites according to their own traditions, as in the case of the Cybele cult. They established traditional Roman games and sacrifices for the mother goddess, but by law do not permit their citizens to walk in the ecstatic procession with her Phrygian priests. The foreigners alone can transport the image of the goddess through the city, while begging for money and playing their wild instruments. The important segment of the passage (2.19.3–5) reads as follows:

> Οὐδ' ἂν ἴδοι τις παρ' αὐτοῖς, καίτοι διεφθαρμένων ἤδη τῶν ἐθῶν, οὐ θεοφορήσεις, οὐ κορυβαντιασμούς, οὐκ ἀγυρμούς, οὐ Βακχείας, καὶ τελετὰς ἀπορρήτους, οὐ διαπαννυχισμοὺς ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀνδρῶν σὺν γυναιξίν, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις τερατευμάτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εὐλαβῶς ἅπαντα πραττόμενά τε καὶ λεγόμενα τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, ὡς οὔτε παρ' Ἕλλησιν οὔτε παρὰ βαρβάροις· καὶ ὃ πάντων μάλιστα ἔγωγε τεθαύμακα, καίπερ μυρίων ὅσων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐληλυθότων ἐθνῶν, οἷς πολλὴ ἀνάγκη σέβειν τοὺς πατρίους θεοὺς τοῖς οἴκοθεν νομίμοις, οὐδενὸς εἰς ζῆλον ἐλήλυθε τῶν ξενικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἡ πόλις δημοσία, ὃ πολλαῖς ἤδη συνέβη παθεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τινα κατὰ χρησμοὺς ἐπεισηγάγετο ἱερά, τοῖς ἑαυτῆς αὐτὰ τιμᾷ νομίμοις ἅπασαν ἐκβαλοῦσα τερθρείαν μυθικήν, ὥσπερ τὰ τῆς Ἰδαίας θεᾶς ἱερά. Θυσίας μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀγῶνας ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους, ἱερᾶται δὲ αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ Φρὺξ καὶ γυνὴ Φρυγία καὶ περιάγουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν οὗτοι μητραγυρτοῦντες, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος, τύπους τε περικείμενοι τοῖς στήθεσι καὶ καταυλούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπομένων τὰ μητρῷα μέλη καὶ τύμπανα κροτοῦντες· Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν αὐθιγενῶν οὔτε μητραγυρτῶν τις οὔτε καταυλούμενος πορεύεται διὰ τῆς πόλεως ποικίλην ἐνδεδυκὼς στολὴν οὔτε ὀργιάζει τὴν θεὸν τοῖς Φρυγίοις ὀργιασμοῖς κατὰ νόμον καὶ ψήφισμα βουλῆς.
>
> And one will not see among them [sc. the Romans]—even though now their manners are corrupted—ecstatic possessions, Corybantic frenzies, begging under the guise of religion, bacchanals or secret mysteries, no all-night vigils of men and women together in the temples, nor any other such antics; rather, they act piously and with restraint in all their words and actions in respect to the gods, unlike the Greeks or barbarians. And what amazes me the most, although there has been a great influx of nations into the city, nations who feel the need to worship their ancestral gods in their traditional ways, still the city has never officially adopted any of these foreign practices, as has been the experience of many cities in the past. But even though Rome has, at the

> bidding of oracles, introduced certain rites from abroad, she observes them in accordance with her own traditions, after casting off all the mythical nonsense, as in the case of the rites of Cybele. Every year the aediles perform sacrifices and put on games in her honor according to Roman customs, but it is Phrygian men and women who carry out the actual rites and lead her image throughout the city in procession, begging alms according to their custom, and wearing images around their necks, striking their timbrels while their followers play tunes upon their flutes in honor of the Great Mother. But by a law and decree of the senate no native Roman walks in procession through the city decked in flamboyant robes, begging alms or escorted by flute-players, or worships the goddess with the Phrygian ceremonies.

Thus, Dionysius knows of an annual procession among the Romans very much like what Lucretius describes. The Phrygian priests lead about an image of the goddess through the city (περιάγουσιν), collecting money to the sounds of flute playing and the striking of tambourines, while the Romans look on (cf. Ovid *Pont.*1.1.39–40). The contrast between spectator and participant, of citizen and foreigner, which emerges so clearly from Lucretius' passage, also dominates Dionysius' passage.

But does Dionysius mean that the Greeks also transport the goddess in procession through their city when he attributes to them θεοφόρησις? We must keep in mind that θεοφόρησις and its cognates indicate ecstatic possession or inspiration rather than transportation of a divine image.[31] Indeed, a little noticed passage of Philodemus' *De musica* sheds light on the application of the word to the Cybele cult.[32] In a fragmentary text Philodemus makes an allusion to rites that are probably in honor of Cybele:

> τ[αράττ]ουσιν δὲ καὶ μετὰ | συ[μπλοκ]ῆς δοξῶν, αἱ δὲ τῶν | τυ[πά]νων καὶ ῥόμβων | κα[ὶ κυ]μβάλων καὶ ῥυθμῶν | ἰδιό[τ]ητες καὶ διὰ ποιῶν ὀρ|γάνων τὸ πᾶν συμπλοκῇ | μοχ[θ]ηρῶν ὑπολήψεων ἐἰξοργιάζουσι καὶ πρὸς βακχείαν ἄ[γ]ουσι, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ γυναι[κώδεις ἄνδρας . . .

Here Philodemus argues that certain instruments (all characteristic of the worship of Cybele), in combination with false notions of the gods (a favorite Epicurean theme), can produce the ecstatic state in impressionable minds that marks the worship of Cybele: ". . . and they cause

[31] Menander *Theoph.*25–27 and Arrian *FGrH* 156 F82. But Earnest Cary (Loeb edition, 1937, vol. 1, p. 365) translates θεοφόρησις as "ecstatic transport".

[32] For the texts discussed here see I. Kemke, ed., *Philodemi De Musica Librorum Quae Exstant* (Leipzig 1884) 48–50.

confusion especially with a combination of opinions, and the peculiar properties of tympana, rhomboi, cymbals, and rhythms cause frenzied behavior and lead everything to Bacchic revelry, especially through such instruments combined with false notions, which <affect> women mostly and effeminate men . . ."

In related fragments both immediately before and after this one θεοφορία occurs three times. In each case the word means "ecstatic possession".[33] The fragment that follows will suffice to make the point:

> . . . διὰ] λόγους συμ[βού]λο[υς? | [. . . θε]οφορίας ἢ . . . . . | . . . . γίνονται, διὰ δὲ μ[έλος | [αὐτ]ὸ καὶ γλυκύτ[η]τα τοῖς | [ὅλο]ις οὐδὲν ἀπο[σ]τάζον[τες] τῶν τοιούτων. Καὶ καὶ[θίστ]ανται δέ τινες ἐκ τῶν | [θε]οφοριῶν καταυλούμεί[ν]οί πως, οὐχὶ τοῦ μέλους | [δύ]ναμιν προσφερομέίνου τηλικαύτην, ποῦ γὰρ | [οἷ]όν τε δόξας ἀπαλλάξαι | [φ]ρεικώδεις αὐτῇ φωνῆς | μόν[ης] προσπ[τ]ώσει; τῷ | παραδεδόσθαι καθάπερ | εἴ τι σημεῖον τὸ το[ι]οῦτο τοῦ | πεπρα[ύνθαι] ἀπὸ δα[ι]μονίο[υ | κ]αὶ χα . . .

Philodemus is discussing the power of music to affect the soul: ". . . through words they become fellow revelers (σύμ[βακ]χο[ι] rather than συμ[βού]λο[υς]?) . . . of the ecstasy or . . . but through the melody itself and its sweetness <sc. they>, not diminishing any such things as these altogether. And some people who are charmed by flute-playing are calmed from their ecstatic states somehow, not because the melody contributes such great power (for how is it possible to set anyone free from horrible beliefs by the strike of sound alone?); as if by giving such evidence of being calmed from a demon and . . ." The conjunction of the word θεοφορία with verbs of "calming" or "soothing" indicates that it connotes a frenzied state of mind rather than physical transportation of the cult statue.[34] Certainly Dionysius has in mind this same frenzied possession when he attributes θεοφόρησις to Greek worshippers.

No literary or achaeological evidence, in fact, points to a transportation rite in the Greek practice of the Cybele cult by Lucretius' day, despite the claim of Burkert that in Greece "the Magna Mater makes her entrance seated on an ox-drawn wagon."[35] The reference to Ovid's *Fasti* 3.345 provides no substantiation for Greek practice.

The only appearances Cybele makes on a chariot in Greek arti-

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[33] C.J. Vooys, *Lexicon Philodemum* (Purmerend 1934) vol. 1, p. 146, defines θεοφορία in Philodemus as *afflatus divinus* and θεόφορος as *spiritum divinum in se gerens*.

[34] The previous fragment has: δοκεῖ τινα | θεοφ[ορίαν ἐμ]ποιεῖν.

[35] Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Harvard 1985) 101 and 387.

facts are purely within a mythological context. Among the examples of the archaic period, the well-known frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (*c.* 525 B.C.) shows Cybele-Themis thrust into the forefront of the gigantomachy on a chariot pulled by lions; one of her lions attacks a giant which happens to be in the way.[36] A kantharos fragment painted by Nearchos and dating to the last half of the sixth century B.C. depicts Cybele (indicated by the letter K), clothed in fawnskin, and fighting in the Gigantomachy.[37] A gold ring of the Robinson collection, dating to the early fifth century B.C., shows a detail of the Gigantomachy including Cybele, whose chiton and mantle blow in the breeze, as she drives her chariot.[38]

The motif of the standing, driving Cybele continues into the Hellenistic period, but now attendants are added. Still on every occasion the scene is not cultic, but mythological. On the lid of a silver perfume box from Olynthos Cybele stands and drives her lion-pulled chariot, with her chiton and mantle blowing in the breeze, while Hermes and a maiden stride alongside holding torches. Above flies Nike ready to crown Cybele with a wreath.[39] Similarly, on a terracotta medallion from Etruria dating to the third or second century B.C., Cybele ascends a lion-drawn chariot with reins and whip. As on the perfume lid, Hermes and a young maiden walk alongside the chariot, and Nike prepares to crown Cybele.[40] These representations, as Naumann (p. 230) has pointed out, must have a metaphorical meaning, since the portrayal is so mythological in nature: "Die auf die

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[36] Now in the Archaeological Museum at Delphi. See Vermaseren, *CCCA* II.441 and bibliography there. Also, Friederike Naumann, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der Phrygischen und der griechischen Kunst* (Tübingen 1983) 155–158. For the identification as Themis see V. Brinkmann, *BCH* 109 (1985) 123. A fragment from a frieze in Agrigentum shows the same scene, this time with only the tail of Cybele's lion visible, Naumann 155–156; B. Pace, Il tempio di Giove Olimpico in Agrigento," *MAAL* 28 (1922/23) col. 173–252, at 231 ff. no. 6, plate 21; F. Vian, *Répertoire des Gigantomachies figurées dans l'art grec et romain* (Paris 1951) no. 34.

[37] Naumann, 156; B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen (1903–1933)* no. 612, plate 36. F. Vian, *Répertoire*, no. 107, plate 25.

[38] Naumann, 156; D.M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos X* (Baltimore 1941) 162; *idem*, "The Robinson Collection of Greek Gems, Seals, Rings, and Earrings," *Hesperia suppl.*8, (Princeton 1949) 305–323, at 315, no. 17; K. Schauenburg, "Zu Darstellungen aus der Sage des Admet und des Kadmos," *Gymnasium* 64 (1957) 210–230, at 221.

[39] Dating from the second quarter of the fourth century B.C., now in the Thessaloniki Archeological Museum. Cf. Naumann, 229–230 and fig. 39.2. H. Möbius, *Festschrift W. Eilers*, ed. G. Wiessner (Wiesbaden 1967) 459, ill. 5.

[40] Vermaseren, *CCCA* IV.207 and bibliography there. Also, E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen: Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg* (Munich 1932) 899, plate 252.

Göttin zufliegende Nike mit dem Siegeskranz unterstreicht das Irreale und gibt die Bedeutung: Kybele wird also die Siegreiche, vielleicht als die siegreiche Stadtgöttin ausgezeichnet." Therefore, in contrast to the typical Roman depiction of Cybele's enthroned cult statue placed on a lion biga, the Greeks consistently showed Cybele standing, driving her chariot, and accompanied by other mythological figures. Her blowing mantle and leaning posture add to the fanciful nature of those depictions.

Greek literary sources do not indicate that the Greeks transported the goddess in procession either. Indeed, several texts show that the statue of Cybele remained in her shrine, and that her devotees paraded about with her temple as their goal, in much the same way that the devotees of Demeter proceeded up the Sacred Way to Eleusis.

Herodotus (4.76) relates how the Scythians resisted a certain Anacharsis, when he brought to their country the rites of Cybele as practiced by the Greeks: Ξεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὗτοι φεύγουσι αἰνῶς χρᾶσθαι, μήτε τεῶν ἄλλων, Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα, ὡς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσίς τε καὶ δεύτερα αὖτις Σκύλης. Once, when in Cyzicus, where the Argonauts were thought to have introduced the cult, he saw the inhabitants conducting a festival to Cybele with great pomp, he vowed that he would also celebrate the festival exactly as he saw the Cyzicenes do. Back in Scythia, Herodotus says, he reenacted the ritual completely, by "carrying a tympanum and wearing images (ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα)." We learn from Polybius (21.37) that these ἀγάλματα were images of Cybele and Attis.[41] Significantly, Anacharsis did not feel compelled to transport a statue of the goddess about with a biga of lions.

Apollonius of Rhodes' (*Arg.*1.1103–1152) account adds several more features of the practice of the cult at Cyzicus, where again the Greeks are said to have taught the inhabitants its rites. The Greek heroes set up a carven wood image of the goddess, and next to her built an altar, on which they sacrificed and poured libations. The young men danced around her altar clashing their swords on their shields, while others whirled rhomboi and beat tympani. After the Great Mother caused miraculous signs, such as the taming of the wild animals, to indicate her acceptance of the rites, the heroes made a feast and

[41] Cf. the phrase τύπους τε περικείμενοι τοῖς στήθεσι in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, cited above. See also A.S.F. Gow, "The Gallus and the Lion," *JHS* 80 (1960) 88–93.

sang songs to the goddess. Once again we see that the parade is absent.

The remaining literary evidence for the Greek rites of Cybele indicate that the Greeks worshipped her in conjunction with the mystery cults along with Demeter, Persephone, Dionysus, and Pan. Although that evidence corroborates the previous passages, it will best be considered along with the Greek use of torches, which Lucretius does not mention, but which was the primary visual symbol of the mystery rites.

Let us return now to the archeological evidence, where we can see clearly that the devotees of the Great Mother held processions both toward Cybele and around her, but never by transporting her. A relief from Lebadea in Boeotia of the Hellenistic period depicts Cybele seated on a throne that rests on the ground. A lion sits beside the throne. A procession of figures, some divine, some human, extend rightward from the throne. Despite the attendance of Dionysus, Pan, the Curetes, the Dioscuri and Hecate, the presence of the smaller, human figures along with a table on which offerings are placed, indicates that the scene is a realistic, though idealized, portrayal of a ritual event.[42] Another relief from Philiati in Attica, and one from the Greco-Etruscan trading port of Spina in Northern Italy, repeats much of the same visual imagery. In the latter we can see flute players, women dancing, and others holding cymbals and tympani performing before a seated Cybele and another, unidentified divinity.[43] In none of these portrayals does Cybele appear on a lion biga amid a crowd of spectators. Apparently, in Greece before and during the lifetime of Lucretius the devotees of Cybele worshipped the goddess at a fixed sacred site.

Mystery rites

Lynn Roller has argued that the Phrygians of Central Anatolia, who had long worshipped the Mother Goddess in their own manner, suddenly adopted Hellenistic iconography and practice beginning in the

[42] Vermaseren, *CCCA* IV.432.

[43] Often thought to be Dionysus-Sabazius; Vermaseren, *CCCA* IV.214; Stella Patitucci, Osservazioni sul cratere polignoteo della tomba 128 di valle Trebba," *Arte antica e moderna* 18 (1962) 146–164.

late third century B.C. The reasons for the sudden change was political and the effect was dramatic. At once the stylized, standing figure, with veil and high headdress and bird of prey, gave way to the seated, enthroned goddess who holds a tympanum and patera. This Hellenized figure is accompanied by a lion, instead of a bird of prey, and often by a girl who holds a torch. Her clothing has changed also into more traditional Greek clothing. Interestingly, the immediate source for the new style came from Western Anatolia, especially Pergamon, the leading Greek city in Asia Minor, which was also the source of the Roman cult. It was from Pergamon that the Romans fetched the black stone (Varro *LL* 6.15).

The Romans may have been mistaken, then, to imagine they were bringing a strictly Phrygian deity to their city; she may have possessed more Greek marks than they knew. Nevertheless, the Romans, who knew how to make modifications of their own to the practices of other cultures, did not bring back aspects of Cybele's worship that were not suited to their taste, whether Greek or Phrygian.

Perhaps the most striking omission was that of the torch-bearing maiden, which the Phrygians had assimilated from the Greeks and applied to their existing funerary cult.[44] For the Greeks, however, the torches had further significance beyond chthonic. Clearly, the constant connection of Cybele with Dionysus, Demeter, and Hecate in Greek and even Phrygian iconography, along with the appearance of torches, a traditional symbol of night rituals, shows that the Greeks had incorporated her cult into already existing mystery religions.[45] Euripides implies this connection in his *Bacchae* when in the parados the chorus invoke Cybele along with Dionysus and his mysteries. Likewise, in his *Cretans*, Euripides has the chorus-leader speak of his pure life after becoming an initiate, as he puts it, of,

> Idaean Zeus, and after celebrating the thunder of night-roaming Zagreus (Dionysus) and the raw feast, and holding up torches for the Mountain

[44] L. Roller, "The Great Mother at Gordion: The Hellenization of an Anatolian Cult," *JHS* 111 (1991) 128–143, at 140–141.

[45] On this see G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriological and Mystic Aspects in the Cult of Cybele and Attis* (Leiden 1985) 9–25. On the Phrygian side the following inscription from Pergamon of the Roman Imperial period shows the practice of mystery rites there: Σεκοῦνδος, μύστης Μη[τ]ρὸς Βαϊ[σιλ]ήας, [ἀν]έθηκε; see M. Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon* (Berlin 1895) no. 334. Strabo, *Geogr.*10.3.15–16, believes that Cybele has had mystery rites in Phrygia from the earliest times.

> Mother, and being consecrated <in the armed dances> of the Kouretes, I received the title of bacchos.[46]

The Mountain Mother is Cybele, of course, and her devotees worship her at night along with Dionysus.

Pindar also knows a connection between the mysteries of Dionysus and those of Cybele. In one fragmentary text he observes that her devotees dance and play their instruments while the torch blazes beneath the tawny pines (αἰθομένα τε δᾷς ὑπὸ ξαν[θα]ῖσι πεύκαις, frg. 79b)[47] Elsewhere, Pindar (*Pyth.*3.77–79) says that young maidens often sing praises to Cybele, along with Pan, during the night (μέλπονται . . . ἐννύχιαι).[48] Diodorus Siculus (3.55.8–9) relates how Cybele established the race of Corybantes and set up mysteries (μυστήρια) to herself on the island of Samothrace. Who fathered the Corybantes, Diodorus says, is only revealed during the secret rites: ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ κατὰ τὴν τελετὴν παραδίδοσθαι. The poet Thyillus mentions the revelling of the night festivals, the tossing of the head among the pines, and the playing of the horned flute in honor of Cybele.[49]

In some places the rites for Cybele took place in the same temple where other mystery rites were performed. Pausanias (37.1–4) writes, for example, that four stades from Acacesium one may find τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δεσποίνης, wherein were three altars, one to Demeter, one to Persephone, and one to Cybele. Near these three altars is one huge statue of Demeter and Persephone seated on a throne. Carved into the base of the throne are images of the Corybantes, suggesting the worship of Cybele. Apparently, the Greeks so closely identified Cybele with Demeter, in this instance, they did not feel it necessary to create a separate statue for her.[50]

From at least the time of Demosthenes, the Greeks worshipped Attis alongside Cybele with mystic rites. At *De corona* 259–60 the orator attacks the character and respectability of Aeschines by connecting him with certain mystery rites imported from Phrygia. At night, Aeschines would assist his mother by reading the passages from

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[46] E. fr. 79.9–15 Austin = 472.9–15 N. The supplement of ἐνόπλοισι χοροῖς comes from M.L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 153.

[47] Cf. Strabo *Geogr.*10.3.12–13; he cites Pindar's fragment and concludes the κοινωνία of the rites of Cybele and Dionysus.

[48] Cf. frg. 95, where Pan is called the companion (ὀπαδέ) of the Great Mother.

[49] *Anth.Pal.*7.223. Wiseman (1974) 132–133, 140–146.

[50] Cf. Lydus, *Mens.*3: ἡ Δημήτηρ . . . λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κυβέλη. See Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III,312, for further references. G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian*

the mystic books, clothing the initiates with fawn skin, and carrying out various odd purification rites. By day he would lead the band of revellers through the streets while handling objects with magical and chthonic properties (fennel, white poplar, snakes). With his band of revellers he shouts invocations to two Phrygian deities with whom Cybele is most often associated in Greek art:

> εὐοῖ σαβοῖ
> ὑῆς ἄττης ἄττης ὑῆς.

The mystic revellers appear to be invoking Attis and possibly even Sabazius, the oriental Dionysus.[51]

Several Greek reliefs show this same connection between Cybele's consort and the mystery rites. From the Piraeus a votive relief dating to the latter half of the fourth century B.C. shows Attis in traditional garb, seated, and being offered a small jug by a standing Cybele (called here by her Phrygian name Angdistis). The inscription underneath reads, Ἀνγδίστει καὶ Ἄττιδι Τιμοθέα ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων κατὰ πρόσταγμα. Roller interprets the Cybele's gesture to mean that Attis is being welcomed into the cult as an honored companion, if not a divinity, who is worthy of worship.[52] Another relief of unknown provenance, dating to the second century B.C., depicts Attis and Cybele, both standing, receiving the offerings of two women who enter the temple. The veiled head of the older woman suggests she is an initiate of the goddess, since the Greeks did not wear veils normally in worship except in mystic rites. A relief from Athens likewise shows Attis as an equal partner to Cybele.[53] The many mythological stories that developed about Attis during the Hellenistic period justify and define his role within the mysteries, as a reborn divinity.[54]

Significantly, Lucretius does not mention torches in his passage,

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Mysteries (Princeton 1961) 288–291, thinks that the two cults could not be identified. Several statues of Cybele have been found at Eleusis; see Vermaseren, *CCCA* II.371–380.

[51] Strabo, *Geogr.*10.3.18 says that these words, evoe saboe, hyes attes attes hyes, are in the ritual of Sabazius and the Great Mother. That Sabazius is equivalent to Dionysus and is connected with Cybele also, see *idem* 10.3.12–13,15. But E. Lane expresses skepticism about the relevance of this passage to the cult of Sabazius; see his *Corpus Cultus Iovis Sabazii III: Conclusions* (Leiden 1989) *passim*.

[52] Lynn Roller, "Attis on Greek Votive Monuments: Greek God or Phrygian," *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 245–262, pl. 55–56. Cf. *CCCA* 2.308.

[53] B. Holtzmann, "Collection de l'École française: sculptures," *BCH* 96 (1972) 73–99, at 94–96, no. 9, fig. 11.

[54] H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (Giessen 1903) 5–97.

nor does he give any other indication of mystery rites. Likewise, Attis, who later in the imperial period becomes the focus of mystic activity within the cult, is conspicuously absent from Lucretius' account.[55] The Roman leadership would not have allowed its citizens to engage in mystery rites for Cybele. The senate had a history of resistance to mystery religions in general during the Republican period, whether they were public or private.[56] At *De legibus* 2.35–37 Cicero implies that the only nocturnal rites permitted at Rome during his day were the Eleusinian mysteries, performed in a more restrained, Roman version, and the traditional *Bona Dea* rites.[57] Since the senate permitted no Roman citizen to participate in the cult of Cybele, we can hardly believe that citizens could become initiated into it, even in a private ceremony.

Certainly, when Claudius, yielding to many foreign influences, introduced new elements into the cult and allowed Roman citizens to participate, and later when the Antonines added still more elements, we find many testimonia to mysticism.[58] Lucretius' picture, however, is consistent with all other evidence for the cult in his period, including, as we have seen, the claims of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.19.3): . . . οὐ θεοφορήσεις, οὐ κορυβαντιασμούς, οὐκ ἀγυρμούς, οὐ Βακχείας, καὶ τελετὰς ἀπορρήτους, οὐ διαπαννυχισμοὺς ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀνδρῶν σὺν γυναιξίν . . .

Some scholars have pointed to evidence that would suggest that individual citizens did practice private mystery rites to Cybele even in the first century B.C.,[59] and thus have argued that Dionysius of Halicarnassus was either mistaken when he said that the Romans did not carry on night revels, or only has in mind the public (δημοσίᾳ)

[55] For archaeological evidence that Cybele and Attis were worshipped together in procession during later periods see Donald Bailey, "Attis on a Cult Car," *Antiquaries Journal* 56 (1976) 72–3, pl. xii, and bibliography there.

[56] As in the case of the Bacchanalia affair; *CIL* 1.196 and 10.104; Livy 39.8–18. One may note also how often the Roman authorities demolished altars and statues of Isis from 59 B.C. onward, and outlawed her rites; on this see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Cultus der Römer* (Munich 1912²) 351.

[57] Only much later would Cybele be connected with Bona Dea; see H.H.J. Brouwer, "The Great Mother and the Good Goddess," *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, vol. 1 (Leiden 1978) 142–159.

[58] The resulting rites are chronologically arranged, according to their time of introduction, by Duncan Fishwick, "The *Cannophori* and the March Festival of Magna Mater," *TAPA* 97 (1966) 193–202.

[59] Especially T.P. Wiseman, "Cybele, Virgil and Augustus," in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, edd. Tony Woodman and David West (Cambridge 1984) 118, 225 fn. 11.

expressions of the cult. Nevertheless, we should reexamine the evidence traditionally offered for private mystery rites in the late Republic and Augustan periods.

Those who have argued for such rites have depended foremost on the testimony of the Greek poet Thyillus. He certainly lived in Rome and knew Cicero, and he does portray the cult of Cybele in terms of a mystery religion:

> Ἡ κροτάλοις ὀρχηστρὶς Ἀρίστιον, ἡ περὶ πεύκας
> τὰς Κυβέλης πλοκάμους ῥῖψαι ἐπισταμένη,
> ἡ λωτῶι κερόεντι φορουμένη, ἡ τρὶς ἐφεξῆς
> εἰδυῖ' ἀκρήτου χειλοποτεῖν κύλικα,
> ἐνθάδ' ὑπὸ πτελέαις ἀναπαύεται, οὐκέτ' ἔρωτι,
> οὐκέτι παννυχίδων τερπομένη καμάτοις.
> Κῶμοι καὶ μανίαι, μέγα χαίρετε· κεῖθ'[. . .]
> ἡ τὸ πρὶν στεφάνων ἄνθεσι κρυπτομένη.[60]
>
> Aristion, dancer with castanets, who knew how to toss her braided hair while holding the pine torches of Cybele, who was carried away by the horned flute, who knew how to drink down a cup of strong wine, thrice in a row, here she takes a rest under the elms, no longer delighted by love, no longer by the tiring all-night festivals. A great farewell, revelries and frenzies: she lies buried . . . who was formerly crowned with a wreath of flowers.

We cannot assume, however, that Thyillus describes a Roman rite. Thyillus was Greek, and heavily influenced by the Alexandrian tradition.[61] Furthermore, in a letter of Cicero to Atticus (1.9), who was residing in Athens, Cicero passes along the following message from the Greek poet: *Thyillus te rogat et ego eius rogatu* Εὐμολπιδῶν πάτρια. The phrase "ancestral rites of Eumolpus' clan" indicates that Thyillus wanted some information or documentation detailing the rites of the Eleusinian Mysteries, presumably for some poem he was writing.[62] If he could seek information from Greece about the worship of Demeter, obviously he could do the same for the worship of Cybele. Aristion is, after all, a Greek name.

Similarly, Varro's *Menippean Satires* (*Eum.* frgs. 33–49) do not pro-

[60] I have followed the text of D.L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge 1981) 96–97.

[61] For example, see Rhianus *A.P.*6.173 (= vii in A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* [Cambridge 1965] 176).

[62] Robert Tyrrell and Louis Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero* (London 1904[3]) vol. 1, 136; D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* (Cambridge 1965) vol. 1, 284.

vide any evidence for the Roman practice of the cult, rather, as Cèbe has argued, the allusions to Athens are clear.[63] The narrator has just passed the holy precinct of Serapis before he hears a noise coming from the temple of Cybele:

> Commodum praeter Matris Deum aedem exaudio cymbalorum sonitum.

This cannot take place in Rome because the cult of Serapis, while already entrenched in Athens, had not yet gained a firm footing in the city of Rome during the Republican period.[64]

The next fragment, however, has been the source of confusion. The narrator arrives at the temple, and as a yearly offering is presented to the goddess, the Galli in the temple begin to chant their hymn. The scene is described as follows:

> Cum illoc venio, video gallorum frequentiam in templo, qui dum messem hornam adlatam imponeret aedilis signo Cybelae, deam gallantes vario recinebant strepitu.

The word *aedilis* cannot refer to a curule aedile, as one might expect, since, as already noted, by law Roman citizens could not perform rites for Cybele. Cèbe suggests *aedituus* as a likely alternative, and I believe that is the best solution.[65]

Other evidence is equally weak for proving private mystery rites during the late Republic. Catullus' poem, which says more about the myth of Attis than about the rites of Cybele, was likely the result of his travels in Bithynia or the influence of an Alexandrian model.[66] Firmicus Maternus (*De errore* 18.1) and Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus* 2.15), both of whom connect Cybele to the mystery religions, reflect later developments of the cult under the emperors. Firmicus Maternus, in fact, wrote *c.* 350 A.D., and may well be speaking about

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[63] Jean-Pierre Cèbe, *Varron, Satires Ménippées* (Rome 1977) vol. 4, pp. 562–565. For the text I have used A. Riese, *M. Terenti Varronis saturarum Menippearum reliquiae* (Leipzig 1865), but with reference to F. Bücheler and W. Heraeus, *Petronii saturae, adiectae sunt Varronis et Senecae saturae similesque reliquiae* (Berlin 1963[6]), and to Cèbe's own version of the text.

[64] According to Apuleius (*Met.*11.30), the soldiers of Sulla brought back with them from the East the worship of Isis and Serapis, but, though a priest of Isis Capitolina is attested for this period (*CIL* I[2] 1263), other evidence indicates that the Senate quickly suppressed public expressions of worship to them and demolished their altars and temples as fast as they were built. See K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1967) 282.

[65] Cèbe, vol. 4, p. 626.

[66] Graillot, 103.

the rites of Isis and Osiris.[67] The only evidence for private worship of Cybele are the votive statues of Attis dating from the Republican period which were found within her temple. We cannot assume, however, that they point to an organized mystery religion, since the Romans were notorious for their vowing and votive offerings (cf. *DRN* 5.1202, 1229).[68] Romans could be well aware of the existence and special role of Attis in Cybele's cult without worshipping him alongside of her. We can contrast also the frequency with which the figurines of Attis and Cybele appear in private homes in Greece and Hellenized Phrygia with their complete absence from Roman homes.

The Greeks made Attis an important object of worship alongside Cybele, especially in the Hellenistic period, as is well documented. The Phrygians preferred to treat Attis as the high priest of the goddess, but still, under Greek influence, they gradually assumed the mystic elements of the cult.[69] And as mentioned, the archeological remains from the empire document the worship of Attis alongside of Cybele. Yet Lucretius' Cybele, as well as the Cybele portrayed on Republican coins, has no such consort. Significantly, Augustine reports that Varro omitted any reference to Attis in his discussion of the cult: *Et Attis ille non est commemoratus nec eius ab isto interpretatio requisita est, in cuius dilectionis memoriam Gallus absciditur.* He goes on to say that *docti Graeci atque sapientes* both discussed him and offered allegorical interpretations for his function in the cult. But Lucretius could not include him in his passage, because the Romans would have viewed his presence as odd.

Musical instruments

The musical instruments mentioned by Lucretius also indicate that he has in mind the Roman version of the cult. The procession of Cybele through the streets is accompanied by the stretched *tympana*, hollow *cymbala*, raucous horns, and hollow *tibia*. In contrast, the Greeks

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[67] As Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis*, 116, believes.

[68] For a discussion of the problem see P. Romanelli, "Magna Mater e Attis sul Palatino," *Hommages à Jean Bayet* (= *Latomus* 70 [1964]) 619–626.

[69] Diodorus of Siculus, 3.59.7, writes that the Phrygians, facing a plague, were told by an oracle to bury the body of the dead Attis and worship Cybele as a goddess. He adds, "Wherefore, the Phrygians made an image of the youth, since the body had disappeared in the course of time, before which they made honors

and Phrygians worshipped Cybele with a slightly different array of instruments. Diogenes Tragicus adds one to Lucretius' list and drops another:

> καίτοι κλύω μὲν Ἀσιάδος μιτρηφόρους
> Κυβέλας γυναῖκας, παῖδας ὀλβίων Φρυγῶν
> τυπάνοισι καὶ ῥόμβοισι καὶ χαλκοκτύπων
> βόμβοις βρεμούσας ἀντίχερσι κυμβάλων . . .[70]

Like Lucretius, Diogenes mentions the tympana and cymbala, but he excludes the raucous horns of Lucretius' account and adds rhomboi.[71] The rhombos, often translated "bull-roarer", has been described as "an oblong piece of wood to the point of which a cord is attached. The instrument is swung in a circle by the cord and emits a muttering roar which rises in pitch as the speed is increased."[72] Both the Greeks and the Romans considered it an efficacious love charm when the instrument was spun and words were chanted.[73] Furthermore, Greek writers frequently attest its use in initiation rites of various mystery religions.[74] Its use in Dionysian rites is well documented, as in those of Demeter.[75] Additionally, although Diogenes specifically refers to "the turban-wearing women of Asia," other writers show that the Greeks knew the instrument in their worship of Cybele too. Apollonius of Rhodes makes the Argonauts teach the Phrygians the

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suitable to his suffering and propitiated the wrath of him who had been wronged. They continue doing these rites to this day." (Διόπερ τοὺς Φρύγας ἠφανισμένου τοῦ σώματος διὰ τὸν χρόνον εἴδωλον κατασκευάσαι τοῦ μειρακίου, πρὸς ᾧ θρηνοῦντας ταῖς οἰκείαις τιμαῖς τοῦ πάθους ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὴν τοῦ παρανομηθέντος μῆνιν· ὅπερ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς διατελεῖν.)

[70] *TrGF* 45 F 1.3, cited by Athenaeus 14.635–6. Cf. Strabo, *Geogr.*10.3.15: τῷ δ' αὐλῷ καὶ κτύπῳ κροτάλων τε καὶ κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ ταῖς ἐπιβοήσεσι καὶ εὐασμοῖς καὶ ποδοκρουστίαις οἰκεῖα ἐξεύροντο.

[71] He also excludes the *tibia*, but other Greek authors include them. See discussion below.

[72] A.S.F. Gow, "ΙΥΓΞ, ΡΟΜΒΟΣ, Rhombus, Turbo," *JHS* 54 (1934) 1–13, at 6. Cf. Gow's note on Theoc.2.30 in *Theocritus*, (Cambridge 1950) II,44 and pl. V.1 and 2. Archytas, Diels-Kranz *Vors.*1.435 has (sc. ῥόμβοι) ἀσυχᾷ μὲν κινούμενοι βαρὺν ἀφίεντι ἄχον, ἰσχυρῶς δὲ κύκλιος ἔνοσις αἰθερία.

[73] Theoc.2.30; Luc. *Dial.Mer.*4.5; Prop.3.6.26; Ovid *Amores* 1.8.6–7.

[74] M. Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation* (1965), 8–14,21–23,142. Cf. Schol.Clem.Al. *Protr.* p. 15 P (on the authority of Diogenianus): ῥόμβος· . . . ξυλάριον οὗ ἐξῆπται τὸ σπαρτίον, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς ἐδονεῖτο ἵνα ῥοιζῇ. *Etymologicum Magnum* 706.25: μυστικῷ σανιδίῳ ὃ στρέφουσιν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ἦχον ἐμποιοῦσιν. For a similar description see Hesychius s.v. ῥόμβος.

[75] For Dionysian rites see A. fr. 71.8 f. M. = 57.8 f. N., E. *Hel.*1362, *Anth.Pal.*6.165.5, Orph. frg. 34 (Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* [Berlin 1922] = Clem. *Protr.*2.18). For the Eleusinian Mysteries see Epiphanius (Kern, p. 110).

use of the rhombos in the cult of Cybele: ἔνθεν ἐσαιεὶ ῥόμβῳ καὶ τυπάνῳ Ῥείην Φρύγες ἰλάσκονται (*Arg.*1.1138–39). In the *De musica* passage cited above Philodemus also links the use of the tympanum and the rhombos, almost certainly in reference to the worship of Cybele. A fragment of Pindar has σεμνᾷ μὲν κατάρχει ματέρι πὰρ μεγάλᾳ ῥόμβοι τυμπάνων, which must mean something like, "the rhomboi lead the tympana in the service to the Great Mother." Whereas we find the tympanum appearing in a variety of contexts as a means to reaching a frenzied state, we must conclude that, since the rhombos was always tied to magic and initiation rites, it most properly belonged to the Cybele cult in its function as a mystery religion with no purpose outside of it.[76]

Lucretius also mentions the raucous horns (*raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu*, 6.619) and the hollow pipes (*cava tibia*) which goad the minds of the Phrygian followers. The latter instrument appears in an anonymous poem of the Greek Anthology (*A.P.*6.51), which, although addressed to Rhea, clearly connects her with the Great Mother Cybele from Phrygia. The poet appeals to Rhea "nurse of Phrygian lions" to show kindness to a certain Alexis, who apparently fell into a state of frenzy while worshipping the Great Mother. The instruments that aroused his mind were the shrill-toned cymbals (κύμβαλά τ' ὀξύφθογγα), the deep-toned pipes made from the crooked horn of the young steer (βαρυφθόγγων αὐλῶν),[77] and the echoing tympana (τύμπανα ἠχήεντα). Furthermore, the poet adds the bloody knives to his list of stimulants: αἵματι φοινιχθέντα φάσγανα. Respectively, those instruments are equivalent to Lucretius' *cymbala concava, cava tibia*, and *tympana tenta*. And like the anonymous Greek poet, Lucretius concludes his list of musical instruments with the bloody knives: *telaque praeportant violenti signa furoris* (6.620).

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[76] Except as a child's toy (e.g., *AP* 6.309, Leonidas Alexandrinus).

[77] Thyillus' λωτῷ κερόεντι. Cf. Philip of Thessalonica's (*Anth.Pal.*6.94) λωτοὺς κεροβόας. On the instrument, which came in pairs, one of which was curved like a horn on the end. See Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiquités*, s.v. *tibia*. Cf. Catullus' list, 63.21–22, *ubi cymbalum sonat vox, ubi tympana reboant, | tibicen ubi canit Phryx curvo grave calamo*, where the last instrument is again the curved pipe; Ovid's, *Fasti* 4.181, *inflexo Berecyntia tibia cornu flabit* (here cornu refers to the curvature of the tibia, as at Ovid *Epist.*1.1.19 and *Met.*3.531); and *idem*, 4.190, *horrendo lotos adunca sono*. Also Poll.4.71,74; Verg. *Aen.*9.116; Ovid *Met.*4.30; Pliny *NH* 16.172; Diodorus Siculus 3.58. The double Phrygian tibia appears often in connection with Cybele, as on a relief from Lanuvium (middle of the second century A.D.), for which see *CCCA* III.466 and Gow, "The Gallus and the Lion," 88–93 and plate viii.1.

We should note that Lucretius' raucous horn has no parallel in the Greek practice of the cult, not in the passage of the anonymous Greek poet, nor in any other Greek presentation of Cybele's rites.[78] Catullus might have known such a Greek instrument in the cult of Dionysus, but seems to be merely following Lucretius when he writes of the Bacchants,

> plangebant aliae proceris tympana palmis
> aut tereti tenues tinnitus aere ciebant.
> multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos,
> barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu.
>
> 64.261–264

Catullus' statement cannot give conclusive evidence for or against our thesis, since he relates a mythological story of Dionysus, but he does show an awareness, at least, that the raucous horn is an instrument of frenzied worship.

In fact, it was the Etruscans who invented the instrument, and the Romans adopted it early on for many functions, especially military and athletic.[79] It looked like a large, rounded C held together across the middle by a rod, and was especially effective for rallying the troops or announcing gladiator troops. The Romans also used it in assemblies, at funerals, and in weddings. Yet the question still remains whether or not the Roman worshippers of Cybele blew horns in her procession.

No direct evidence supports Lucretius' claim, even for the Roman cult. We do know, however, that the Romans were using the *cornu* in private and public religious ceremonies. Perseus (*Sat.*1.99) mentions its use in the worship of Bacchus, which supports Catullus' application of the *cornu* to that cult. An inscription from the Naples area speaks of the *tubicen sacrorum populi Romani.* Since the tuba often appears side by side with the *cornu* on Roman reliefs, as on the Arch of Constantine, we may surmise that accompanied it in religious rites also.[80] It seems likely, then, that the Romans found it natural to add the raucous horn to an already existing collection of instruments attached to the worship of Cybele from earliest times.

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[78] As Showerman has noted, p. 40.
[79] See Saglio and Daremberg, s.v. *cornu.*
[80] Mommsen, *insc.regn.Neap.*4092.

Visual Imagery

Another feature of the Cybele cult in Rome was the shower of rose petals on the Great Mother and her companions: *ninguntque rosarum | floribus umbrantes matrem comitumque catervas* (Lucr.2.627–628). Ovid places the first occurrence for this rite at the time of the goddess' original entrance into the city of Rome: *sparguntur iunctae flore recente boves* (*Fasti* 4.346). Greek and Phrygian sources do not allude to this practice, although for the Greeks the act of garlanding in sacred rites was common enough.[81] We learn from both Horace and Propertius that the Romans scattered roses at the Phrygian revelers to heighten the sense of ecstasy and divine possession. Horace writes of the preparation for a dinner party:

> insanire iuvat: cur Berecyntiae
> cessant flamina tibiae?
> cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra?
> parcentes ego dextras
> odi: sparge rosas; . . .
>
> (*Odes* 3.19.18)

Horace speaks in terms of the rites of Cybele (Berecyntiae tibiae), but he is not interested in worshipping the goddess at the party, rather, he wants to conjure up the same frenzied rapture that the Phrygian companions experience. The roses, which he wants thrown, were to be directed at the revellers themselves, as Propertius indicates in the case of another drunken party:

> Miletus tibicen erat, crotalistria Byblis
> (haec facilis spargi munda sine arte rosa),
> Magnus et ipse suos breviter concretus in artus
> iactabat truncas ad cava buxa manus.

The instruments alluded to belong to Cybele's worship, although, as in the case of Horace's poem, the rites of Cybele are not directly at issue. Apparently the Romans were beginning to incorporate into their own wild parties the instruments of frenzy they saw in the Megalensia. Again the revelers throw roses, but here the poet makes clear that Byblis, the artless dancer, is herself the object of the sprinkling (*spargi*).

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[81] And always as the antithesis of mourning: Plut. *Consol. ad Apoll.*119a, Diog. Laert.2.54.

Finally, the visual imagery of the cult at Rome best illuminates the cryptic line *munificat tacita mortalis muta salute* (2.625). Commentators interpret the passage as a reference to the statue of the goddess, which, since it is made of stone, cannot speak. Stewart argues that Cybele gives a silent greeting because

> . . . she is the mythical equivalent of the mute and noncommunicative nature of the atomic universe, spelled out in realistic terms in the lines following her appearance. She may bless men with goods of which she is the source, but she does so silently and indifferently.[82]

Neither explanation, however, explains why Lucretius would twice stress the silence of her blessing (*tacita* and *muta*). Lucretius hardly needed to remind his readers that Nature lacks the power of communication, nor would he gain anything by pointing out the obvious fact that the statue was artificial. Instead, I believe Lucretius is reacting to the specific nature of the Roman portrayal of the goddess.

Livy writes that when the Romans, prompted by the Sibylline books, went to Phrygia in 204 to bring back the Idaean Mother to Rome, they were given, not a statue of the goddess, but the goddess herself in the form of a black stone: *Is* [sc. Attalus] *legatos comiter acceptos Pessinuntem in Phrygia deduxit sacrumque iis lapidem, quam Matrem dum esse incolae dicebant* . . . 29.11. That black stone made its way into the temple of Victory and later into its own temple within the pomererium. Archaeological, numismatic, and literary evidence indicates that a full statue of the goddess was associated with her cult also from the outset.[83] Not until Arnobius and Prudentius, however, do we learn how the statue related to the stone in the ritual expression of the cult. Arnobius writes,

> Adlatum ex Phrygia nihil quidem aliud scribitur missum rege ab Attalo, nisi lapis quidam non magnus, ferri manu hominis sine ulla inpressione qui posset, coloris furui atque atri, angellis prominentibus inaequalis, et quem omnes hodie ipso illo videmus in signo oris positum, indolatum et asperum et simulacro faciem minus expressam simulatione praebentem. (*Adv.nat.*7.49)

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[82] Stewart, "The Silence of Magna Mater," 78; followed by D. Clay, *Lucretius and Epicurus* (Ithaca 1983) 229.

[83] For example, the Volteius coin in 78 B.C. (Crawford 385.4) and the coin of the two praetors L. Cestius and C. Norbanus in 43 B.C. (Crawford 491.2). See also the remains of the goddess' statue (unfortunately without the head), in E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (New York, 1962²) vol. II, pp. 29 and 30.

Arnobius' passage reveals that the Romans placed the rough, black stone of the Magna Mater into the face of the goddess' statue, which had been hollowed out for the purpose. The fact that the stone "offered a face to the goddess' statue that was not at all realistic" furthers the visual imagery of a face without eyes, a nose, and, more to the point, a mouth.

A passage of Prudentius confirms Arnobius' observations:

> Nudare plantas ante carpentum scio
> proceres togatos matris Idaeae sacris.
> lapis nigellus evehendus essedo
> muliebris oris clausus argento sedet,
> quem dum ad lavacrum praeeundo ducitis
> pedes remotis atterentes calceis,
> Almonis usque pervenitis rivulum.
>
> *Perist.*10.154–60

Prudentius indicates that the stone was small and encased in silver (*nigellus . . . clausus argento*). The phrase *muliebris oris* can only mean that the stone was set in some sort of statue, while *essedo . . . sedet* recalls Lucretius' *sedibus in curru* (2.601). Since only the body of the statue survives, we must assume that Arnobius gives an accurate report. Now we understand what Lucretius saw that caused him to emphasize the muteness of the goddess and her silent greeting: a rather bizarre looking statue with a black stone for a face.

Conclusion

Early scholarship on the cult of Cybele did not proceed cautiously enough, so that many mistaken notions about her rites still persist. The Romans of the late Republic did not worship the goddess with the same rites and in the same manner as the Greeks of the same period, despite the fact that they took the cult from an Eastern Greek city. The Romans themselves believed that they were assimilating a Phrygian cult, but even so they passed laws and modified the rites according to their own temperament and designs. All that was permitted to the Roman citizenry was to watch the annual procession, enjoy the games and shows, and, at least in the case of the aristocracy, to dine together.

The Greeks had an entirely different outlook on Cybele. They had so connected her with the mystic, orgiastic worship of Demeter

and Dionysus that they had merged her observances into theirs. For this reason we find in their literature and among their archaeological remains so many indications of mystic initiations and ecstatic rites. Almost a century would pass after Lucretius' day, however, before such secret, private rites took hold in Rome. Still another century would pass before all the Eastern elements made an impact on Roman practice.

Lucretius, then, must find his place within this uneven evolution of Cybele's cult if we are to understand the intent of his passage.[84] To be sure, he offered a red herring when he directed the attention of his reader to the learned old Greek poets. Still, his contemporaries would not have been fooled. They would have recognized the rowdy procession, the lion biga, and the turreted crown. They had seen her armed attendants, and had heard the raucous music, especially the Etruscan horns. They knew too the shower of roses, the collection of coins, and likely understood why Lucretius called the mother mute and her greeting silent. And they must have found the delineation of spectator and participant to be quite natural. They would not have found natural, however, talk of torches and mystery rites, bull-roarers and magic. Attis would have appeared out of place riding on the chariot next to Cybele, as would Dionysus or Pan. No, Lucretius did not transcribe the description from some ancient poet, Stoic philosopher, Callimachus, or any other Greek. If he shows the influence of Greek allegorizers, he does so according to the standards of the Roman *mos maiorum*. But the rites are wholly Roman, such that no Greek writer could have provided.

[84] The religious passages of Lucretius reveal a concern for contemporary issues by their attention to Roman rites. See the author's article, "Lucretius and the Epicurean Tradition of Piety," *CP* 90 (1995) 32–58. Whereas the assumption that Lucretius merely copied Hellenistic models undermines his pertinence to contemporary issues, sensitivity to the *Romanitas* of his references allows us locate his passionate appeals in a real and vital context.

BRILL

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ATTIS: A GREEK GOD IN ANATOLIAN PESSINOUS AND CATULLAN ROME

BY

JAN N. BREMMER

ABSTRACT

In my contribution I attempt a new analysis of the myth and ritual of Attis and its reception in Catullan Rome. I argue (1) that the attempts to identify Attis with the Herodotean Atys are unconvincing, as they are based on Hermesianax's poem, which intended to provide an aetiology for a taboo on the pig in Pessinous; (2) that Attis starts to appear in the Greek world in the middle to the third quarter of the fourth century BC; the mention in Demosthenes should be taken as referring to his own time, not to that of Aeschines' mother; (3) that a careful comparison of Timotheus' account with that of Pausanias enables us to reconstruct the Phrygian myth and ritual of Pessinous as well as its gradual development, whereby special attention is given to Kybele, Agdistis, Attis and his festival, and the eunuch Galli; (4) that the religious aspects of Catullus 63 show a close identification of the cult of Kybele with that of Dionysus.

To what extent does Catullus give us an idiosyncratic picture of the myth and ritual of Attis? Fordyce (1961, 261) gave a firm answer to this question: "Catullus' Attis bears no resemblance to the Attis of myth and ritual." But is this true? And who was the Attis of myth and ritual? Attis has been the subject of lively contemporary debate, and we may note at least four recent studies that all go into somewhat different directions. After the long popularity of Frazer's (1914, I.261-317) interpretation of Attis as a "rising and dying god",[1]) Walter Burkert (1979, 99-111) was the first to note that the steady increase in new material from the Ancient Near East has refuted this traditional interpretation.[2]) He also distinguished

1) Frazer had been influenced by Mannhardt (1876, II.291-301).

2) Neglected in her historical survey by Lancellotti (2002, 9-15). Note that one of the most prominent American historians of religion still finds it hard to accept such progress in scholarship, see Smith 1982, 36-46, discussed by Bremmer (2002, 52-5). For an interesting, but eventually unpersuasive, attempt at rehabilitating the notion see now Casadio 2003, 235-48.

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various elements of Anatolian provenance in the myth and ritual of Attis, and his is undoubtedly the most innovative modern contribution. Philippe Borgeaud (1988; 1996, 56-88) also pays attention to Attis in the course of his study of the Great Mother. He accepts the traditional distinction between a Lydian version as exemplified in Herodotus (§ 1) and the Phrygian version with Attis' castration. He also argues that Attis acquired divine traits only after his transplantation to Greek soil, whereas his ritual eventually derives from Mesopotamian traditions about emasculated priests who are the functional model of Kybele's eunuch priests. Gerhard Baudy (1997, 247 f.) also distinguishes an older Lydian version, influenced by the Phoenician Adonis myth, and, like Borgeaud, sees in Attis' castration a reflection of the castration of his priests, which he, rather improbably, interprets as a radicalization of a symbolic rite of male initiation. The last monograph on Attis, by Maria Grazia Lancellotti (2002), connects the Lydian version with 'royal ideologies' of the Ancient Near East, associates the Phrygian version with the local monarchy, and stresses the funerary connotations of the cult.

In my own contribution I will try to reconstruct the myth and ritual of Attis in the period up to Catullus. Religion is a living part of society, and the cult of Attis kept developing until the end of Late Antiquity, but that period is not of interest for an interpretation of Catullus 63. However, even with the stated restriction, it is not easy to get a grip on the early stages of Attis' cult. Our testimonies are few and sometimes difficult to interpret. Moreover, established opinions have been accepted too long—often without being properly scrutinized. In our discussion, we will try to move as much as possible along chronological lines in order to see the myth and ritual of Attis in its historical development. Burkert's results mean that we need not go back before him, although the older monographs of Hepding (1903) and Vermaseren (1966; 1977; 1977-89; Vermaseren & de Boer 1986) keep their value as collections of material.[3]) Subsequently, then, we will look at the 'Lydian' complex (§ 1), Attis' arrival in Greece (§ 2), Attis in Phrygia (§ 3), Attis'

3) Note now also Lightfoot 2003, 357-63.

arrival in Rome and the poem of Catullus (§ 4) and end with some concluding observations (§ 5).

1. *The 'Lydian' Complex*

In the nineteenth century, scholars started to connect the Herodotean episode of Atys (1.34-45), the son of Croesus, with Attis.[4]) Although obscured in more recent studies, the identification between the two was made within the then dominant nature paradigm: "Atys, the sun-god, slain by the boar's tusk of winter".[5]) The Herodotean passage is well known. It relates that Croesus had two sons, although Bacchylides (3.34-5) also mentions daughters, and Hellenistic poetry knew of a daughter Nanis, who had betrayed Sardis to Cyrus.[6]) The eldest, by far the foremost of his contemporaries, was called Atys, although, interestingly, the valuable codex D calls him Attys, and the same variation in the manuscripts can be noticed in Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v. Attaluda.* Here the founder of Attalyda is called Attus or Atys (in the important codex R).[7]) Names like Attas and Attes are epigraphically also much more frequently attested than names with a single *t.*[8]) As Croesus had dreamt that a boar would kill Atys, he kept the youth away from all weapons. However, when an enormous boar appeared in Mysia and destroyed the fields, the Mysians sent a delegation to Croesus and ordered him to send his son 'with elite youths and dogs' in order to help them. In the end Croesus gave in and sent his son with the Phrygian royal exile Adrastus as his supervisor. Unfortunately, Adrastus killed Atys accidently during the hunt.

4) Stein 1856 and many successive editions on 1.43; Meyer 1896, soon followed by Frazer (1914, 286 f.). Note that the link was not made by Cumont (1896).

5) Sayce 1883, 21 f.

6) Licymn., *PMG* 772; Hermesian. F 6 Powell; Parth. F 22 Lightfoot; *FGrH* 252 B (6) = *IG* XIV.1297, cf. Haslam 1986. Lightfoot (2003, *ad loc.*) calls her a "romantic creation" but overlooks that Nanis is an epichoric name, which suggests a relatively old date for her origin, cf. Zgusta 1964, 347 f.

7) Lancellotti (2002, 30 note 83) also adduces the Lydian names Adyattes (Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 47) and Sadyattes (Hdt. 1.16.1; *SEG* 45.1584), but their names probably have the same suffix *-ttV-* as that of the Hittite king Maduwatta and should be kept out of the dossier, cf. Bryce 1998, 140 note 35.

8) Zgusta 1964, 105-11.

It has often been seen that Herodotus has invented this episode in order to demonstrate the precariousness of Croesus' happiness and wealth. In this episode he drew on the myth of Meleager, if most likely through the prism of Attic tragedy.[9]) Here he found the motif of a hunt on a destructive boar by a prince and a group of young followers, since such a group is lacking in the Adonis myth, which had been introduced into the Attis complex by Hepding and Gruppe.[10]) And indeed, Adonis was not connected with Attis before Late Antiquity.[11]) However, in Herodotus there is nowhere any mention of Attis, just as there is nothing in the story that even hints at a connection with the Phrygian cult.[12]) In fact, the name Atys is not even found in palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions, but it is a name with good authority in the earliest Lydian royal genealogies.[13]) In his *Roman Antiquities*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus records various Lydian royal genealogies in order to explain the name of the Etruscans. In the first genealogy mentioned by him, the first king of Lydia is called Masnes, one of whose two grandsons was called Atys (1.27.1). As we know that the name Masnes, probably deriving from Masdnes,[14]) is well attested for Lydia,[15]) whereas in Phrygia we find only Manes,[16]) this genealogy must go back to authentic Lydian traditions. It is thus also a guarantee of the name Atys with-

9) As has often been seen, Herodotus probably drew on Sophocles, perhaps his *Meleager*; see most recently the detailed discussion by Chiasson (2003). For a narratological analysis of the episode see de Jong 1999, 244-51.

10) Meleager: see Bremmer 1988; Grossardt 2000. Adonis: see Hepding 1903, 101, followed by Gruppe (1906, II.950).

11) Porph. F 358 Smith; Macr. *Sat.* 1.21, but note that Varro, *Test.* 540 Cèbe both mentions *Adon(is)* and is written in galliambics, the metre of poetry for Kybele, and see also Call. fr. 193.34-9 (cf. Nauta 2004a, 617-8, n. 72 (this issue)).

12) *Contra* Lancellotti (2002, 31), who states: "If, as is apparent from Herodotus [however, Herodotus nowhere makes any mention of Attis!], the royal prerogatives ascribed to Attis were already characteristic of him in one of his earlier attestations . . ."; Morisi (1999, 19 f.).

13) Note that, without any authority, Lancellotti (2002, 25) calls him "Attis/Atys".

14) Robert 1963, 101 f.

15) Given that Gallus is the name of the king of Pessinous but also of the adjacent river (§ 3), it is perhaps noteworthy that Masnes is also the name of a Lydian river, cf. Xanth. *FGrH* 765 F 24 (where the name is a conjecture by Jacoby); Hdn. *De prosodia catholica* 3.1.64; Heph. 5.22 and Choerob. *ad loc.; EM* 249.17.

16) Masson 1987; Gusmani & Polat 1999, 137-62. Interestingly, Herodotus (1.94.3) calls him Manes, but Masnes is clearly the older form.

out any connection with Attis. Moreover, Dionysius mentions that Xanthos of Lydia, an elder contemporary of Herodotus, had also already mentioned Atys (1.28.2 = Xanthos *FGrH* 765 F 16). As Herodotus equally mentions Atys as the ancestor of the Lydians (1.7.3) and as a son of Pythios (7.27), he will have drawn for the name on Xanthos, perhaps attracted by the resemblance with the Greek word *atê*, 'disgrace' (thus Asheri *ad loc.*).[17])

In fact, the only reason why Atys is associated with Attis is a notice from the Koan poet Hermesianax, who lived around 300 BC. In one of his poems he tells that Attis honoured the Mother to such an extent that Zeus became angry with her[18]) and sent a boar against the Lydians that killed not only several Lydians but also Attis himself.[19]) In her recent monograph, Lancellotti (2002, 58) writes that "in the tradition recorded by Pausanias (Hermesianax) . . . Attis joined a hunting party with tragic consequences. In that tradition the motifs of hunting and the priesthood are connected." Yet Pausanias mentions neither a hunting party nor a priesthood explicitly, even though the text could perhaps be construed in that direction. On the other hand, he does mention something Lancellotti pays no attention to. Pausanias continues his summary of Hermesianax by writing that 'in consequence of these events the Galatians that inhabit Pessinous do not touch pork' and he stresses that this is not the local myth, which he mentions subsequently and which we will discuss shortly (§ 3). In other words, Hermesianax gave in his poem an aetiological explanation of the Galatians' abstinence from pork, which as a taboo for Attis' worshippers is confirmed by Julian (*Or.* 5.17 Prato). Apparently, we have here an influence from Syria and Phoenicia, as swine were prohibited from Comana in Pontus (Strabo 12.8.9), from the cult of Men (*CRMDM* 12), from that of the Dea Syria (Lucian, *De dea Syria* 54 with Lightfoot 2003, *ad loc.*), and among the Phoenicians

17) Note that Atys is a conjecture by Jacoby in Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 15.

18) Unlike Hepding 1903, 30, all modern editions emend the manuscript reading of αὐτῇ into Ἄττῃ, but the recent Lorenzo Valla edition of Moggi (2000) rightly sticks to the manuscript reading, since the scholion on Nic. *Al.* 8e also stresses that Zeus sent the boar because the Meter 'deemed him (Attis) worthy of honour'.

19) Hermesian. F 8 Powell = Paus. 7.17.9.

(Porph. *Abst.* 1.14)—not to mention of course the Jews and Egyptians.[20]) There is no reason, then, to suppose that in his explanation Hermesianax drew on old Lydian traditions.

What have we learned so far? In the last decades of the nineteenth century, scholars started to connect the Atys episode in Herodotus with the cult of Attis on the basis of the poem by Hermesianax. However, this poem clearly intended to provide an aetiological explanation for a food taboo in Pessinous but not an insight into epichoric Phrygian or Lydian cult traditions. We therefore conclude that our Greek sources do not connect Attis with Lydia in the archaic and classical period. Consequently, there is no 'Lydian' version, as all recent discussions, with the exception of Burkert, have led us to believe.

There is even another argument against the 'Lydian' connection. We actually happen to know that Lydia had its own cult of the (a?) Meter, but her Lydian name is Kuvav- or Kufav-; Herodotus attests her importance by calling her 'Kybebe the native goddess' (5.102.1). Her name continues that of Kubaba, the great goddess of Carchemish on the Euphrates,[21]) but the Ionians transcribed the name of this goddess as Kybêbê, not Kybele. From Lydia she must already have been early accepted among the Greeks, as the seventh-century Semonides calls a follower of Kybele a *kybêbos* (F 36 West^2), just like Cratinus in his *Thraittai* (F 87 KA) of about 430 BC,[22]) and in the sixth century Hipponax calls her 'Kybêbê daughter of Zeus' (F 125 Degani^2 = 127 West^2); in fact, a recently published sixth-century Locrian inscription still has the form K(y)baba (*SEG* 49.1357). Given that Lydia had its own Meter, it seems odd that the Lydians should have imported into Sardis a figure from Pessinous, whose cultic existence anyway is not even established for that time. And indeed, Attis' cult is not attested in Lydia before the third century AD.[23])

As we have neither Lydian nor indigenous Phrygian epigraphical, literary or iconographical sources about Attis as cultic figure

20) For a discussion of the taboo on pigs see Bremmer 1996a, 251 f.
21) Graf 1985, 111.
22) Note that Borgeaud (1996) wrongly ascribes the form *kubêbis* to Cratinus.
23) Paz de Hoz 1999, nos 12.1, 12.2.

before Roman times, we will first look at the god's arrival in Greece, as in the older testimonies we see him only through Greek eyes.

2. *The Arrival of Attis in Greece*

Hermesianax's poem indicates that Attis had already become known in Greece at the beginning of the third century, but when exactly did he become accepted into the Greek world? For our purpose, we can draw on archaeological, literary and epigraphical sources, which all seem remarkably to converge on more or less the same date.[24]) The oldest testimony for Attis is usually seen in the Old Comedy dramatist Theopompus, but the surviving fragment 'I will punish you and that Attis of yours' rather indicates a human lover;[25]) in fact, we find at least three Attides, two Attas and one Attos in fourth-century Athens.[26]) The earliest securely identified image of Attis is a votive stele of the Piraeus from the middle to the third quarter of the fourth century BC. The identification is secured by the inscription 'Timothea to Angdistis and Attis on behalf of her children according to command' (*IG* II^2 4671), which is probably also our earliest testimony for the cult of Attis in Athens *tout court*.[27])

In any case, the late date well fits with the earliest literary mentions. In his *On the Crown* Demosthenes mentions that Aeschines called out in the private mysteries of his mother 'Hyês, Attês' (18.260). Wilamowitz magisterially rejected the passage as a testimony for the cult of Attis and noted: "so weiss man in demosthenischer Zeit noch nichts von Attis" and he has been followed in modern times.[28]) Yet the already quoted stele from the Piraeus demonstrates that Wilamowitz was wrong. The chronological value of the testimony is a different question, though. It is hardly credible that Demosthenes

24) Burkert (1979, 104) and Morisi (1999, 19-22) provide the most recent surveys, but some progress can be made, as I hope to show in this section.

25) Theopomp. F 28 with Kassel & Austin, *ad loc.* *Contra* Hepding 1903, 99; Burkert 1979, 104.

26) Fraser & Matthews 1994, 78 f.

27) Vermaseren 1977-89, II no. 308 = Naumann 1983, pl. 40.1 = Roller 1994, at pl. 55.1 = Vikela 2001, at 116-7 with pl. 23.2.

28) von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1941, 2, followed by Lambrechts (1962, 22 note 1); Wankel on Dem. 18.260, although he does not provide an alternative explanation of the word.

would have known exactly what Aeschines' mother did in his youth. However, it is in his interest to impress his audience with contemporary rituals. That is why he presents this *bricolage* of several ecstatic cults. In other words, the cry should be taken as an indication of the existence of Attis' cult in 330 BC rather than at the time of Aeschines' youth.

Demosthenes also furnishes another detail of interest. He suggests that Aeschines performed in front of old women. The audience conforms to our impression of the general following of new cults in Athens, which attracted women in particular.[29]) In this connection, it is noteworthy that the first dedication to Attis (above) was by a woman, perhaps a slave or a foreigner in Athens, just as a maiden worships Agdistis in, probably, Menander's *Theophoroumene*.[30])

The last early testimony derives from Neanthes of Cyzicus (*FGrH* 84 F 37), who apparently discussed Attes as a servant of the Mother of the Gods among the Phrygians. The recent re-edition of Philodemus' *Academicorum Index* has shown that Neanthes has to be put into the fourth century.[31]) An interest in Attis in Cyzicus is hardly surprising. Herodotus had already reported about the impressive *pannychis* of the Meter,[32]) and Nicander of Kolophon (*Al.* 7-8) situated 'the place of the secret rites of Attes' in the 'caverns of Lobrinian Rhea', Lobrinon being a mountain in Cyzicus (schol. *ad loc.*). It is therefore perhaps hardly by chance that we find the name Attes already in Cyzicus around 300 BC (*I. Kyzikos* 101).[33])

29) Bremmer 1999, 72.

30) Men. *Theoph.* fr. dub. on p. 146, ed. Sandbach, cf. Handley 1969, 96.

31) Dorandi 1991, col. II.38-9, III.35 and a scholion in the margin of col. V (*FGrH* 84 F 23), cf. Burkert 1993a, 92: "Die Lebenszeit dieses Neanthes rückt damit etwas weiter zurück ins 4. Jh." Following Jacoby, Borgeaud (1996, 66) still puts Neanthes at 180 BC.

32) Hdt. 4.76.3-4, cf. Bravo 1997, 119, who observes that these nightly festivals were typical of the cults of Kybele and Dionysos. Note that in his discussion Bravo overlooks the onomastic evidence: Pannych(i)os was a highly popular male name, as was Pannychis, if to a lesser extent, among women.

33) Cf. her temple in Cyzicus (Amm. 22.8.5), which has been excavated, cf. Vermaseren 1977-89, I.91-7; the poem on a Gallus by Erucius of Cyzicus (*AP* 6.234 = 2256-61 GP) and the connection between the Argonauts, Cyzicus and Dindymon/a in Neanthes *FGrH* 84 F 39 (Str. 1.2.38; cf. 12.8.11), A.R. 1.1092-152, and V.Fl. 3.20-2.

As the Mother herself,[34]) Attis too may well have reached mainland Greece via the Hellespont and the Propontis.

Our analysis so far has shown that Attis started to become known in the Greek world in the last decades of the fourth century, where he seems to have been particularly worshipped by women. Yet the conquest of Asia Minor would be required before the Greeks could read more detailed reports on the Phrygian myth and ritual of Attis. From about 300 BC onwards, different reports started to appear that would reveal (or not!) startling details of a strange myth and ritual. It is time to look at Phrygia itself.

3. *Attis in Phrygia*

The continuing publication of ancient Phrygian texts has also enriched the dossier of Attis. In 1982 an inscription dating from the seventh or sixth century BC was published with a dedication to Atas/Ata.[35]) As *atas* means 'father' in the meaning of 'father as fosterer',[36]) the editors suggest that we perhaps may find here a male, if somewhat inferior, companion for the main Phrygian goddess *Matar*, 'Mother'. However, it seems hard to see in this Atas the same supra-human being as Attis, since the latter is in no way connected with fatherhood. In other words, our modest knowledge of Phrygian religion does not allow us any trace of Attis before the Macedonian conquest of Asia Minor opened up the hinterland to the curiosity of the Greeks. However, already within a few decades they could learn about this strange cult from at least three, possibly four, sources with only a difference of half a century at the most between them, viz. from Timotheus, Hermesianax, Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) and the author I call Anonymus Ovidianus. Let us start with the oldest version.

Around 300 BC, under the rule of Ptolemy I, the Athenian Eumolpid Timotheus published an account of Kybele and her rites, which Burkert calls the *hieros logos* of Pessinous.[37]) However, this is

34) Graf 1985, 113 f.
35) Brixhe & Lejeune 1984, I.W-10.
36) Benveniste 1969, II.87 f.
37) Burkert 1987, 73.

only partially correct, as we will see below. Our source for Timotheus is Arnobius (5.5-8),[38]) who devoted a large passage to the Mother and Attis around AD 300.[39]) Timotheus had made Sarapis palatable to the Alexandrian Greeks (Tac. *Hist.* 4.83), and we may assume that his purpose was to make Kybele and her cult equally palatable to them, perhaps as part of plans of Ptolemy to conquer Western Asia Minor. In this respect it seems significant that Varro combined the cults of both Kybele and Serapis in his *Eumenides*. As we do not find this combination anywhere else, Varro may well have found it in Timotheus' book, which was still available in Rome in his time—witness its use by Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrH* 273 F 74), who worked in Rome at the same time as Varro.

According to Arnobius (5.5), Timotheus pretended that he had his knowledge *ex reconditis antiquitatum libris* and *ex intimis mysteriis*, but these protestations only demonstrate the strong necessity he felt to authenticate his strange story. An appeal to antiquity while relating a myth was a well-known device from Hellenistic times onwards, and Timotheus must have been one of the first to use it.[40]) We do not know Arnobius' source(s?) for Timotheus, whom he calls 'no mean mythologist' (5.5),[41]) but Arnobius often uses Varro,[42]) although the latter explicitly declined to talk about Attis and the Galli in his theology—an interesting testimony to the attitude of the Roman elite towards his cult.[43])

In any case, in addition to Timotheus, Arnobius had also consulted *alios aeque doctos*, whose influence, even though they remain anonymous, we sometimes can distinguish. We will discuss these cases below at their appropriate moments, but we may already mention them: the entering by the Mother of the city 'having raised

38) Fantham (1999, 138) strangely states that Arnobius uses a "garbled" version of Pausanias.

39) See the analysis by Mora (1994, 116-34).

40) Cf. Call. F 612 Pfeiffer; Verg. *A.* 9.79; Ov. *Met.* 1.400, *Fast.* 4.203-4.

41) More recently, Lane (1996, 128 note 21) has doubted the identification. He is followed by Roller (1999, 244 note 20) and Lancellotti (2002, 85 note 121), but this is hypercritical in the light of Alexander Polyhistor's mention of Timotheus. For some, possibly, additional references to Timotheus see Turcan 1996b, 388.

42) For his great indebtedness to Varro see le Bonniec 1982, 48 f.

43) August. *C.D.* 7.25: *Et Attis ille* (Varro) *non est commemoratus nec eius ab isto interpretatio requisita est, in cuius dilectionis memoriam Gallus absciditur.*

the walls with her head, which in consequence began to be crowned with turrets', the presence of the pine under which Attis had castrated himself, and the end of Timotheus' account, where it is said that his body would not decompose and, rather morbidly, that his little finger continued to move. Arnobius mentions only one source by name, and that only incompletely: *Valerius pontifex* (5.7), who had called Attis' bride Ia. Given the interest in Attis and Kybele in the first half of the first century BC (§ 4), this is most likely Valerius Messalla Niger, who was pontifex in 81 BC.[44]) His invention must have been stimulated by the prominence of the violet in the Roman ritual of Attis and Roman funerary cult,[45]) since we hear nothing of the kind for Asia Minor. Here the blood of Attis was believed to have caused the purple veins in the marble of Phrygian Synnada.[46])

So, what did Timotheus tell us?[47]) From stones taken from the rock Agdus (below) in Phrygia, Deucalion and Pyrrha made the Great Mother. When Zeus unsuccessfully attempted to rape her, he poured out his semen on a rock. This produced the fierce, hermaphroditic Agdistis. In order to tame him, Dionysos lured him to a spring with wine, and tied his testicles to a noose. When Agdistis awoke from his hangover and tried to get up, he unwittingly castrated himself. As Burkert has seen, the beginning of this episode closely resembles the beginning of the Hittite myth of Ullikumi, where we also find the birth of a monstrous figure from a rock.[48]) Getting Agdistis drunk, on the other hand, is of course a calque on the catching of Silenus by Midas. This myth was narrated in the very same area, as is illustrated by the mention of the well of Midas in Ankyra (below).[49])

44) *ILS* 46; Syme 1986, 227. Turcan (1996a, 34 and 1996b, 389) suggests that Arnobius confused him with the *augur* M. Valerius Messala, consul in 53 BC. This is not impossible but hardly necessary, given our dearth of sources.

45) Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 5.227.

46) Robert 1980, 221-6 and 1990, 109-21.

47) For several observations on his account see also Turcan 1996a, 31-5.

48) Burkert (1979, 197-8) convincingly illustrates the resemblances in two parallel columns; for a more detailed discussion, Burkert 2003a, 87-95. For translations of the passage see Hoffner 1990, 52; García Trabazo 2002, 185-7.

49) For all testimonies see Miller 1997. Note that the archaeological testimonies well predate the earliest literary one (Hdt. 8.138).

When a pomegranate had sprung from the blood of Agdistis, Nana, the daughter of the local king or river Sangarius, placed it in her bosom and became pregnant. Her father then shut her up, but the Mother of the Gods kept her alive. After the father had her child exposed, a certain Phorbas, 'Nourisher', found him, raised him on goat's milk and called the boy Attis, 'as the Phrygians call their goats *attagi*'. When the latter grew up, he roamed the woods with Agdistis, who loved him—if naturally somewhat inadequately. Under the influence of wine Attis confessed his love and that is why those drinking wine are forbidden to enter his sanctuary. This episode is a mixture of the theme of 'the mother's tragedy' (exemplified by Greek heroines like Io and Danae), of the fostering of heroes (exemplified by the fostering of Zeus by a goat),[50] and of the aetiological explanation of the prohibition of wine. At the same time, Timotheus kept a certain *couleur locale* in the story by his usage of the epichoric names Nana (§ 1) and Sangarius.[51] We may assume that he had made proper enquiries before adapting the local lore to his sophisticated Alexandrian public.

In the final part of the story the king intended to give his daughter in marriage to Attis, but the Mother of the Gods wanted to prevent the marriage and entered the city. At this point Agdistis filled the guests with frenzy and the daughter of a certain Gallus cut off her breasts, apparently an 'alternative' castration. This Gallus had not yet been introduced, and clearly something has gone wrong in the text, as Oehler already noted in his 1846 edition of Arnobius by comparing *c.* 5.13 where Gallus is spoken of as having already mutilated himself. However, Oehler did not notice that Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrH* 273 F 74) had also mentioned 'that Gallos and Attis had cut off their sexual organs', a notice most likely derived once again from Timotheus. In his account of the Attis cult, Pausanias (7.17.12) mentions that Attis also cut off the private parts of his father-in-law. Gallus will therefore have been the name of the king,

50) For the themes of the mother's tragedy and the fostering of heroes see Bremmer & Horsfall 1987, 27-30, 54-6 (by Bremmer); Bremmer 1996b.

51) For a Sangarios at Pessinous and a discussion of the name see Robert 1963, 536-7; add now the local Sagarios and Sagaria (*SEG* 41.1152, 45.1706); note also the Galatian Sagaris (*SEG* 30.1473).

even though this does not fit well with the name Midas, which is also used by Arnobius for the king.

In this frenzy Attis castrated himself under a pine tree, and the Mother of the Gods collected his parts and buried them; she also brought the pine tree to her cave. She was joined in her howling wailing by Agdistis who beat and wounded her breast. From Attis' blood sprang the violet, which even today decorates the pine tree—so clearly Arnobius himself. Zeus refused to revive Attis, but he allowed his body to remain undecayed, with even some movement left in his little finger. Agdistis buried the body in Pessinous and honoured Attis with yearly rituals and high priests.

The final episode starts with perhaps another survival from Near Eastern mythology. Burkert has persuasively compared the entry of the Mother with the advent of Inanna from the netherworld and her entering Dumuzi's palace to destroy him.[52]) The raising of the walls (above) made the Mother into the Ovidian *dea turrigera* (*Fast.* 6.321),[53]) but the detail must be a later addition, since Kybele's *Mauerkrone* is archeologically not attested before about 240 BC.[54]) The presence of a pine tree is somewhat surprising, since this tree is not attested in Attis' Greek cult and neither are pine cones found in Attis' Greek iconography.[55]) On the other hand, the pine was an important part of the later Roman ritual of Attis, and its prominence here clearly serves to explain its role in the famous ritual of the *Arbor intrat* in the West. A further reference to the actual cult of the Mother must be the mention of the cave, which was associated with the Mother in Asia Minor,[56]) even though this feature did not survive the transfer to Rome. Apparently, Timotheus merely mentioned that the Mother of the Gods brought the (pine?) tree into her cave, but Arnobius (5.14) already wondered what had happened in that case to Attis' member. And indeed, we probably catch here Timotheus in the act of 'cleaning up' the story before

52) Burkert 1979, 110.
53) For literary references see Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 688.
54) Simon 1997, 751 no. 24.
55) Roller 1999, 279; Lightfoot 2003, 500 f.
56) E. *Ba.* 123; Nic. *Al.* 8; Rhian. *AP* 6.173 (= 3236-41 GP); Diosc. *AP* 6.220 (= 1539-54 GP); Sil. 17.21; Paus. 10.32, cf. Robert & Robert 1970, 590; Graillot 1912, 394.

presenting it to the Alexandrians, since in Cyzicus those that had castrated themselves did deposit their member in 'holy subterranean places'.[57]) The howling wailing is a typical feature of the cult of Attis and is often mentioned in Latin literature (§ 4). Last but certainly not least, the most interesting item in Timotheus' account is undoubtedly the description of Attis' body. But how old is this morbid passage?

It is not easy to gain a precise insight into the definitive fate of Attis. In our oldest testimonies, there seems to be no interest in his body (Hermesianax) or it is considered to have been buried first before completely disappearing (Dionysius Scythobrachion [?]: below). In his *Bithyniaka*, Arrian (*FGrH* 156 F 22) also mentions that Attis' worshippers went into the mountains and called out for him. Pausanias' mention of Attis' grave (1.4.5) thus seems to reflect this early situation.[58]) Apparently, things started to change in the second century AD when Pausanias (7.17.12) relates that his body would not see corruption; Arnobius' mention of the moving little finger probably has to be assigned to the same period. Clearly, Attis was moving upwards in Pausanias' time, and that is why, presumably, Tertullian could already refer to him as *deum a Pessinunte* (*Ad nat.* 1.10.47). However, Attis' 'resurrection' is not mentioned before the third century and seems closely connected with the rise of Christianity, just like the 'resurrection' of Adonis is not mentioned before the third century.[59]) These testimonies strongly suggest that Attis' body only gradually became of interest to his worshippers, but in Catullus' time none of this is yet visible.

The second early account was provided in the first decades of the third century by Hermesianax of Kolophon, who recounted that Attes (he does not write 'Attis', which is not an epichoric spelling: below) was a son of the Phrygian Kalaos and unfit to procreate. When he had grown up, he moved to Lydia and introduced the

57) Schol. Nic. *Al.* 8b. For the various destinations of the genitals of eunuchs, see Graillot 1912, 297; Lightfoot 2003, 508.

58) Thus, persuasively, Thomas (1984, 1520). Note also the mention of Attis' burial in Servius Auctus on Verg. *A.* 9.116.

59) Attis: Hippol. *Haer.* 5.8.22-4; Firm. *Err.* 3.1; Damasc. F. 87A Athanassiadi. Adonis: Lightfoot 2003, 309-11.

rites of the Mother of the Gods to the Lydians. Subsequently, he met the sad fate through a boar that we have already discussed (§ 1). The father's name looks like a variant of Gallus (below), and the impotence a euphemism for his castration. Apparently, Hermesianax did not think his audience fit for the more awkward details of the cult; that is probably why we also do not hear anything about Agdistis. Moreover, he limits himself to portraying Attis as a missionary of the Mother to the Lydians. This is perhaps not surprising. Kolophon was adjacent to Lydia and knew a flourishing cult of the Mother, whose temple was already an important local institution since the seventh century.[60])

Our third early account has been handed down by Diodorus Siculus (3.58-9), but the place within his oeuvre and its euhemerising tone almost certainly guarantee that he derived the story from Dionysius Scythobrachion, the euhemerising mythographer of the middle of the third century.[61]) It relates that king Meion of Lydia and Phrygia had married Dindyme, by whom he begot a daughter, whom he exposed on Mt Kybel(l)on.[62]) She was fed by animals, and female (!) shepherds called her therefore Kybele. Growing up she invented the syrinx,[63]) cymbals and tambourines; not surprisingly, her best companion was Marsyas. She even cared so much for the young animals that they gave her the name 'Mother of the Mountain'. Having arrived at a suitable age, she fell in love with Attis, became pregnant and was recognized by her parents. When her father had killed her nurses and Attis,[64]) Kybele became mad and started to roam in the country accompanied by Marsyas. In the end Marsyas challenged Apollo to a duel on the double flute, lost and was flayed alive. When an illness had struck Phrygia, Apollo gave orders to bury Attis and to honour Kybele. As his body had

60) Graf 1985, 113.

61) So, persuasively, Bommelaer (1989, xxxiii-v).

62) Bommelaer (1989) and Borgeaud (1996, 67) wrongly translate with 'Cybélos' and '*Kubelos*', respectively.

63) For the syrinx see Lightfoot 2003, 487.

64) The mention of nurses is rather surprising. Can it be that they are the mythical reflection of priestesses, since D.S. 34.33 mentions a priestess in Pessinous in 204 BC? Or are they the women that are regularly associated with the Galli, cf. Rhian. *AP* 6.173 (= 3236-41 GP) and Thyill. *AP* 7.223 (= 364-71 P)?

already decomposed, the Phrygians made an image of Attis and chanted songs of lamentation until the present day. For Kybele they built a splendid temple in Pessinous with sumptuous sacrifices. Next to her statue they placed panthers and lions, as they had fed her when a child.

It is obvious that this account is not part of "the dossier concerning the attempt by the (Lydian) Mermnad dynasty to reconstruct a Phrygian "prehistory" in order to guarantee its own legitimacy to the throne."[65]) Far from it. It combines a euhemerising version of the myth of Kybele and Attis with that of Marsyas, another Phrygian myth. It makes Attis the beloved of Kybele and mentions her ecstatic side, but, as was the case with Hermesianax, it makes no mention of the hermaphroditic Agdistis nor does it mention Attis' castration. Clearly, several authors thought that Greece was not yet ready for the cult of Attis in all its strange aspects.

The date of the fourth account has to remain obscure, but it seems to find its origin in an Alexandrian context.[66]) In his *Fasti* (4.223-46), Ovid relates that Attis had fallen in love with Kybele, who pressed him in promising that he would remain a boy forever. However, he broke his promise and fell in love with the nymph Sagaritis. Kybele took revenge by killing the nymph, at which Attis lost his mind. Imagining that the Furies pursued him, he ran to the top of Mt Dindymon where he castrated himself. Once again we have here a relatively 'sanitised' version of the myth: there is no mention of copulation with a rock or the hermaphrodism of Agdistis, but the castration receives full attention—as could have been expected from Ovid.

In its simplicity, Ovid's account also conforms to that of Pausanias (7.17.10-2), whose account largely overlaps with that of Timotheus, as Hepding already saw. According to Pausanias, Zeus copulated with a rock and thus begot the hermaphroditic Agdistis, whom the gods castrated. From his organ there grew an almond tree, of which a fruit made the daughter of the river Sangarios (Ovid's Sagaritis) pregnant. A boar raised the child, Attis, who grew into a very handsome young man. When he was going to get married to the daugh-

65) *Contra* Lancellotti 2002, 44.
66) Knox 2002, 167-70.

ter of the king, Agdistis appeared, whereupon Attis, in a frenzy, castrated himself and the king. Agdistis repented, and he requested Zeus not to let Attis' body be corrupted or rot away.

In his chronological enumeration, Hepding prints Pausanias' notice in a column parallel to Timotheus' account. This procedure has had the unhappy effect that not even Burkert differentiates between the two.[67]) However, there is a remarkable difference between the two accounts. Whereas Timotheus mentions Agdistis and the Mother of the Gods, Pausanias mentions only Agdistis. On the other hand, Hermesianax, Dionysius Scythobrachion and the Anonymus Ovidianus make no mention of Agdistis but only of Kybele. How can we explain these differences?

We know that Pausanias wrote in the last quarter of the second century AD, came from Magnesia on Mount Sipylus,[68]) and had observed that in 'his own time' the well of Midas in the temple of Zeus was still shown in Ankyra, which was not that far from Pessinous. As he accurately locates Pessinous 'below Mount Agdistis where they say that Attis was buried' (1.4.5), there is thus every reason to believe that he had visited Pessinous himself and made some inquiries.[69]) As he himself stresses that he relates the local myth (*epichôrios logos*), we should not conflate his account with that of Timotheus, but consider Pausanias' notice a most valuable witness for what was narrated in Pessinous towards the end of the second century AD.

This conclusion naturally raises the question as to why Pausanias did not hear anything about Kybele, but we can understand this problem only when we now try to reconstruct the history and meaning of the myth and ritual at Pessinous. We have already looked at a number of details when discussing the various versions, but now we will try to present in broad strokes an integral picture of

67) *Contra* Hepding 1903, 104; Burkert 1979, 190 note 23; 1987, 73; and 2003a, 93; similarly, Lancellotti 2002, 23, who also did not notice that Pausanias distinguishes between the versions of Hermesianax (who is not even mentioned in her index) and Pessinous: source criticism is a weak side of especially the first part of her book.

68) For Pausanias' time and place see Habicht 1985, 9-15; Ameling 1996, 156-7 (after AD 170).

69) For Pausanias' interest in interviewing people, see Andersen 1996.

the Pessinuntine cult. Let us start once again by looking at the mythical protagonists. Timotheus, our earliest extensive source, mentions four names that also recur in the other reports: the Mother of the Gods (in other versions called Kybele), Agdistis, Gallus and Attis. The occurrence of the Mother of the Gods is probably due to the influence of Kybele. As two sixth-century Phrygian inscriptions show, Kybele was worshipped in Phrygia itself as *matar kubileya* or *kubeleya*, 'Mother of Mt Kubel(l)on or Kubela'.[70]) In the seventh century she was already 'exported' to Greece. Here, from the early fifth century onwards, she became known either more general as *Matâr oureia*, 'Mountain Mother',[71]) or more specifically as *Matêr Idaia*, 'Mother of Mt Ida',[72]) or *Mêtêr Dindymenê*, 'Mother of Mt Dindymon/a',[73]) the mountain that gave the name to the mother of Kybele in the account of Dionysius Scythobrachion (above). However, in Mycenaean times the Greeks also had a Divine Mother (PY Fr 1202), and the two Mothers may have soon become identified.[74])

Now Timotheus has introduced both the Mother of the Gods and Agdistis in his story, but that was one goddess too many. This is also clear from the other three accounts that we have discussed: they all make use of either Kybele or Agdistis, but none retains them both. Presumably, Timotheus thought that Agdistis would be insufficiently known to his public, and thus he introduced the Mother of the Gods to represent the ecstatic side of the goddess. Yet he

70) Brixhe & Lejeune 1984, W-04, B-03. Note that the manuscripts have *Kybellon* in St.Byz. *s.v.* Κυβέλεια; note also the plural *Kybella* in Schol. Lyc. 1170; the same strange alternation of singular and plural also in Dindymon/Dindyma (note 76). Jacoby (on Alex. Polyh. *FGrH* 273 F 12) rejected the etymology, but Brixhe (1979) and Zgusta (1982) have since convincingly defended it.

71) *H.Hom.* 14.1; Pi. fr. 70b.9, 95.3 Maehler; Ar. *Av.* 746, 873 ff.; Telestes, *PMG* 810.2-3; E. fr. 472.13 N²; Tim. *Pers.* 124.

72) E. *Or.* 1453; for her cult on Ida see also E. *Hel.* 1323-4, fr. 586 N², to be read with the observations on the text by Radt (2002, 439-40); Varro, *Onos lyras* 358 Cèbe; Strabo 10.3.12, 22; Verg. *A.* 9.600-1; Hsch. *s.v. Idaia*; Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 182.

73) Hdt. 1.80.1, 4.76.3 (Cyzicus); Strabo 14.1.40 and Plu. *Them.* 30.6 (Magnesia); Arr. *An.* 5.6.4 (Dindyma; the plural also in Ov. *Fast.* 4.234). Mitchell (1993, II.22) observes that "there is remarkably little evidence that the Pessinuntine cult of Meter Dindymene travelled", noting *MAMA* VIII.363.

74) For the place of the Mother of the Gods in Athens see Borgeaud 1996, 31-55; Parker 1996, 159-60, 188-94; Robertson 1996.

apparently also felt that he could not do without Agdistis who represented the hermaphroditic side, and thus he introduced them both into his story. This narrative trick apparently worked outside Pessinous, as the versions of Hermesianax and Dionysius Scythobrachion show, but it did not catch on in Pessinous itself. This becomes clear from Strabo, who in his report of his visit of about 50 BC writes that Pessinous contains 'a temple of the Mother of the Gods that is deeply venerated. They call her Agdistis.' (12.5.3) In other words, the locals had rejected the Greek innovation and stuck to the original name of their goddess, Agdistis, and that is why Pausanias too did not hear anything about Kybele or the Mother of the Gods. Yet in due time the Greek tradition caught up with Pessinous and in later Roman times Agdistis is called 'Mother of the Gods' on coins and three local inscriptions.[75])

Agdistis was the name of the local mountain Agdus (so Arnobius) or Agdistis (Pausanias 1.4.5) of Pessinous,[76]) which is not otherwise attested in literary sources. Fortunately, though, Louis Robert has published several coins that carry the name Agdistis and show a mountain;[77]) it may well have been the highest or most prominent peak of Mt Dindymon. Apparently, Agdistis was the local variant of the type of mountain goddess that had also generated Kybele.

As regards Gallus, recent studies of Kybele and/or Attis have argued that it were the invading Gauls that gave the name Galli to the priests of Pessinous and the river Gallos.[78]) This explanation cannot be true. As we have seen, Timotheus probably already mentioned the castration of Gallus, who seems to have been the king and the mythical reflection of Attis' eunuch priests, just like Attis

75) Inscriptions: *IGR* III.225, 230; Lambrechts & Bogaert 1969, II.405-14. Coins: Devreker & Waelkens 1984, 173-4, nos 1-10.

76) Strabo (12.5.3) calls the mountain Dindymon and says that it gave the name Dindymene to the goddess, just like Kybele was named after Mt Kybela (plural, strangely enough). For (Meter) Dindymene see Hdt. 1.80.5; A.R. 1.1125; *AP* 7.728; Hor. *Carm.* 1.16.5; Strabo 10.3.12, 12. 8.11, 13.4.5, 14.1.40; Mart. 8.81.1; Arr. *An.* 5.6.4; Paus. 7.17.9, 7.20.3, 8.46.4; Hsch. ὸ 1858, ι 157; *I. Prusa* 1021; *MAMA* I.338.

77) Robert 1980, 236, who on p. 238 note 69 refers to the epigraphical bibliography with the varying forms of the name, such as Agdissis, Aggistis, Angdisis, Angistis or Anggdistis.

78) Borgeaud 1996, 119-20; Lane 1996; Takacs 1999, 951; Lancellotti 2002, 101 note 203.

himself. His name, then, predated the invasion of the Gauls;[79]) a Gallos even occurs in the genealogy of the Cappadocian kings (D.S. 31.19.1) but we do not know the antiquity of this (undoubtedly imaginary) ancestor. Moreover, Gallus' name can hardly be separated from the name of the river Gallos, which was already called so before the arrival of the Gauls, since Timotheus (*apud* Alexander Polyhistor) calls the neighbouring peoples Potamogallitai, just as Promathidas (*FGrH* 430 F 6), a contemporary of Alexander, called them Potamogallenoi.[80]) There seems therefore no reason to doubt the ancient explanation that the Galli were named after the river Gallos or its eponymous king Gallos.[81])

Soon after Timotheus the name of the priests became widely known in Greece. We meet a Gallus perhaps first in an anecdote about the philosopher Arcesilaus (*apud* D.L. 4.43), and subsequently the name occurs in Callimachus (F 411 Pfeiffer),[82]) Rhianus (*AP* 6.173 = 3236-41 GP), Dioscorides (*AP* 6.220 = 1539-54 GP), Antipater (*AP* 6.219 = 608-31 GP) and 'Simonides' (*AP* 6.217 = 3304-13 GP). Alexander Aetolus (*AP* 7.709 = 150-5 GP) refers to them without mentioning their name and is therefore commonly overlooked in this respect.[83])

As regards Attis we must observe first that this form of the name is not attested in palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions,[84]) where we find only Ates and Ata:[85]) the name Attis is clearly a Greek invention, as the oldest inscription with the name, Timotheus and Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) attest. On the other hand, Demosthenes, Neanthes, Hermesianax, Nicander (*Al.* 8), Arrian (*Tact.* 33) and Pausanias call

79) As was seen already by Graillot (1912, 292).

80) For the river and its name see Waelkens 1971; Tischler 1977, 56.

81) Call. F 411 Pfeiffer; Alex. Polyh. *FGrH* 273 F 74; Ov. *Fast.* 4.361 ff.; Pliny *Nat.* 5.147; Hdn. 1.11.2; Festus 84L; *EM* 220.28; App. *Prov.* 1.67; Macar. *Prov.* 2.92.

82) Note also the reference to a Gallus in F 193.35-6 Pfeiffer, cf. Kerkhecker 1999, 78-80; Acosta-Hughes 2002, 245 f.

83) Magnelli 1999, 234-8.

84) *Contra* Lancellotti 2002, 34: "The name Attis is quite widespread in Phrygia." It is therefore misleading when Lancellotti (2002, 34-5) speaks about "the name of Attis (in the Old Phrygian variant form 'Ates')".

85) Zgusta 1964, 119-21; Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1982, 70, 83; Brixhe & Lejeune 1984, I.G-107, 118-9, 128, 221, 224, 234, W-10, Dd-101; Varinlioglu 1992; Darga 1993, 316 f.

the god Attes, whereas Dioscorides (*AP* 6.220, 3 = 1541 GP) names his priest of Kybele Atys.[86]) There seems to have been no authoritative tradition in this respect.

The first time that we hear of Attis in Pessinous itself is in 189 BC, when the Roman consul Cn. Manlius Vulso campaigned against the Galatians. When he had crossed the Sangarius river, two Galli appeared in full ornament 'on behalf of Attis and Battakos,[87]) the priests of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinous'.[88]) Apparently a double priesthood was in charge of the cult, and we may perhaps compare the occasion when in 190 BC Livius Salinator threatened to besiege Sestus and *duo Galli* came out to beseech him (Plb. 21.6.7; Liv. 37.9.9). A series of letters from Eumenes II and Attalos II to Attis between 163 and 155 shows that 'Attis' was a title rather than the personal name of an individual priest and that, moreover, the 'Attis' was clearly the more prominent member of this duo.[89]) As Aioiorix, the Galatian name of the brother of this 'Attis', demonstrates, the Galatians had taken over the supervision of the cult, and they may well have skipped the traditional castration of the high priest! It seems, then, that after 300 BC Pessinous had started to differentiate between the mythical figure Attes and the priest 'Attis', with the latter variant of the name apparently imported from Greece.

A development from name to title is not totally unique. In Ephesus, the eunuch (!) priest of Artemis was called Megabyxos and this title must have developed from the name of one of the first Persians that took over the office.[90]) Now in Timotheus' account the king is called Gallus, as we have seen. Can it be that in his time the highest priest was perhaps called Gallus and that things had changed

86) For further variants see Lightfoot 2003, 359 f.

87) For the epichoric character of the name Battakos see Robert 1963, 533 f.

88) Plb. 21.37.5; D.S. 36.13; Liv. 38.18.9; Plu. *Mar.* 17.

89) For the correspondence see Welles 1934, nos 55-61, republished by Virgilio (1981); see also Devreker & Waelkens 1984, 218 f.

90) Office: Tzetzes *H.* 8.400 (painting of a M. by the Ephesian Parrhasios [*ca.* 440-380]); X. *An.* 5.3.6; Pliny *Nat.* 35.132 (tomb of a M. by Antidotos [earlier fourth century]); Pliny *Nat.* 35.93 (painting of a procession of a M. by Apelles); Strabo 14.1.23; Plu. *Mor.* 58d, 471-2; Quint. 5.12.21, who also mentions paintings; Heraclit. *Ep.* 9; Ael. *VH* 2.2; Burkert 2003b, 113-5. Name: Hdt. 3.70, 153, 160 and 7.82, 121; Th. 1.109.3; Bremmer 2004.

in the period between him and 190 BC, just as there may have been some changes in the Ephesian cult of Artemis after the take-over by the Persians? In any case, the mythical Attis did not rise to great prominence in Pessinous, since he is mentioned only once in local inscriptions and appears on coins only with the goddess and never just by himself.[91])

Even though we may now know a bit more about the protagonists of the cult, much remains obscure about the myth and the ritual. The myth apparently told of the miraculous birth of Agdistis, the birth of Attis, the amorous relationship between the two, the wedding with the daughter of the king, the castration of Attis and his father-in-law Gallus, and Attis' death. However, the exact Pessinuntine narration around 300 BC, if there was indeed an authoritative narration, is no longer recoverable. It is clear, though, that the myth made use of ancient Anatolian traditions and explained the relationship between Agdistis and Attis, which may well have been the model for the self-presentation of the Galli, the castration of the priests and, perhaps, the yearly festival in memory of Attis.

On the ritual level it is clear that we have to do with a festival and a priesthood, the Galli. The festival is recoverable only in outline, as we have only two early sources. The festival took place in spring, as it later did in Rome,[92]) and an important element was the mourning for Attis, apparently in front of an image of him.[93]) However, 'ritual logic' requires that lamentations are succeeded by rejoycings, just as in the later Roman ritual the setting up of the pine (22 March) and the *dies sanguinis* (23 March) were followed by the Hilaria (24 March). It is here that I would like to place the tree. Recent studies of Attis have stressed the absence of the pine in his Phrygian cult (above). Yet it is hard to imagine that the Romans would have invented the presence of the pine completely *ex nihilo*, the more so as pine cones are already attested in the Magna Mater's second-century (BC) shrine on the Palatine.[94]) And indeed,

91) Devreker & Waelkens 1984, 173-4, nos 1-4, 222 no. 25.

92) Scholion on Nic. *Al.* 8e; for the Roman evidence see the full bibliography in Lightfoot 2003, 500 note 2.

93) Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) *apud* D.S. 3.59.7; Scholion on Nic. *Al.* 8e.

94) Roller 1999, 279.

Pausanias' mention of an almond tree and the Greek name of the *dendrophori*, the central actors of the Roman ritual of the *Arbor intrat*,[95]) do suggest an Anatolian origin of the Roman pine. Now we know that a decorated tree was part of the Hittite New Year festival, the spring EZEN *purulliyaš*, as symbol of the blessings desired for the new year.[96]) As Dionysius' version of the Attis myth relates that the mourning was preceded by infertility of the land,[97]) we would expect that the ritual would end this desolate situation. The ritual of the tree, perhaps an almond tree, would well fit such a new beginning.

At the spring festival of Atargatis in Hierapolis, decorated tree-trunks also played a prominent role and it seems that during this festival the prospective Galli of Atargatis castrated themselves.[98]) Given this resemblance, it is hardly probable that there is not some connection between this festival and that of Attis in Pessinous, even though the historical lines are totally obscure. It may therefore well have been the case that prospective Galli also castrated themselves during Attis' festival in Pessinous.[99])

Burkert suggests connecting the name of the Galli, who were hierarchically structured,[100]) with the Mesopotamian *gallu*, who are Inanna's infernal retinue, and with that of the Babylonian *kalu*, the lamentation priests, by adducing the name *Kalaos* of Attis' father as given by Hermesianax.[101]) However, as the name of the Galli derived from the river, as we just saw, the name Kalaos is more likely a variant of Gallos than a trace of Babylonian priests who were not

95) See most recently Salamito 1987; Rubio Rivera 1993; Gordon 1997; Liertz 2001.

96) Haas 1994, 718 f.

97) Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) *apud* D.S. 3.59.7.

98) Burkert 1979, 137; Lightfoot 2003, 500-4.

99) For a detailed discussion of the nature of these castrations see Rousselle 1988, 122-8, who overlooked the probable eye-witness report by Aretaios, cf. Henrichs 1998, 56-7; note also the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 11.14.

100) This is also stressed by Thomas (1984, 1528). However, the term *archigallus* is not attested before the second century AD and clearly an imperial invention, see *TLL s.v. archigallus*; *TAM* III.1.267, 578, 619; Lambrechts & Bogaert 1969.

101) Burkert 1979, 111 and 198 note 20, who by mistake ascribes the name Kalaos to Timotheus.

castrated and thus lacked the most prominent aspect of the Galli.[102])

Although influence from Mesopotamia is not impossible,[103]) castration was reasonably popular in Anatolia itself, since it is also attested in the cult of Ephesian Artemis (above), of Hekate of Carian Lagina,[104]) and in the temple of the Galli in Phrygian Hierapolis (Strabo 13.4.14). Moreover, castration already plays a prominent role in the Hurrian *Kumarbi Cycle*, that inspired Zeus' swallowing of the phallus of the first cosmic king in the Derveni Papyrus (Col. XIII.4).[105]) It seems, then, preferable in this case to derive the practice from epichoric, perhaps originally Hurrian traditions. Phenomenologically, as Borgeaud has seen,[106]) the Galli belong to those transcultural groups of men who have given up their male sexuality in the service of religion, such as the American Berdaches and Indian Hijras.[107]) Their particular choice enables them to function in a male-dominated society where they perhaps might not have survived otherwise or not achieved the important function they evidently coveted.

4. *Attis' Arrival in Rome and the Poem of Catullus*

In 204 BC Kybele was introduced in Rome as *Mater Deum Magna Idaea* or, more shortly, *Mater Magna*—not *Magna Mater*, as even the most recent British history of Roman religion writes.[108]) The mention of Ida, the name of the Mother of the Gods, the *dendrophori* (§ 3), the Greek language of the cult songs (Servius on Verg. *G.* 2.394) and the iconography of the Roman votive figurines all support

102) Note also the persuasive criticism of Burkert's suggestion by Borgeaud (1996, 77 f.).

103) But note that, among the Assyrians, eunuchs were only very rarely attached to temples, cf. Grayson 1995; Deller 1999; Reade 2001.

104) *I. Stratonikeia* 513, 544, 1101.19.

105) Burkert 2003b, 99-100; Brisson 2003; for the Hittite original see most recently the discussion by García Trabazo (2002, 167).

106) Borgeaud 1996, 78-9; see also Burkert 1996, 47-51; for castration in antiquity in general, Muth 2001, 286 ff.

107) For these two categories see most recently: Roscoe 1998; Nanda 1999; Bremmer & van den Bosch 1999.

108) Beard *et al.* 1998, I.96; similarly, Morisi 1999, 81, cf. Wissowa 1912, 317-25; Ziegler 1969; add *I. Pessinus* 146: *Mêtêr Magnê*. For the introduction of the cult see most recently Graf 1985, 304-7; Bremmer & Horsfall 1987, 105-11 (by Bremmer); Gruen 1990, 5-33; Borgeaud 1996, 89-130.

Varro's notice that the goddess came from Pessinous via Pergamum,[109]) and not straight from Pessinous as most sources tell us.[110]) Although second-century terracotta votive figurines of Attis were found at the shrine of the Mater Magna on the Palatine,[111]) in the surviving literature his name appears for the very first time in Roman literature in Catullus 63.

Catullus wrote his poem at a time that was interested in the cult of Kybele and, occasionally, Attis. In the years 80-67 BC,[112]) Varro wrote about the cult of Kybele in his Menippean satires *Cycnus* (fr. 79 Cèbe), and *Eumenides* (fr. 132-43 Cèbe);[113]) somewhere between 80 and 45 BC, Laberius put on his mime *Galli* (Gellius 6.9.3), just at the time when Valerius Messalla Niger also mentioned the Attis myth (§ 3). In 57 and 56 BC Cicero paid much attention to the battle for the office of 'Attis' between Deiotarus and Brogitarus in Pessinous,[114]) exactly in the years that Catullus served in Bithynia under Memmius as propraetor: he may well have regularly heard about the affair.[115]) It is in this very same decade that Catullus' friend Caecilius wrote a poem about the *Dindymi domina*, as we know from Catullus' reaction (35.14) and that Lucretius published his *De rerum natura* with his picture of the cult of Kybele (2.600-60).[116]) It is attractive to date Catullus' poem, too, to these early years of the 50s, and see perhaps a connection with the struggle for the main office in Pessinous. Such a connection would explain why in his

109) Varro: *L.* 6.15, cf. Kuiper 1902. Pergamene influence: Roller 1999, 212, 278. Beard *et al.* (1998, I.96) goes too far in not even mentioning Pessinous.

110) D.S. 34.33.2; Strabo 12.5.3; V.Max. 8.15.3; Sil. 17.3; App. *Hann.* 56.233; Hdn. 1.11.1.

111) Roller 1999, 275-9, who thus refutes the objections raised by Lambrechts (1967, 3); Thomas 1984, 1506.

112) For the chronology see Zaffagno 1977, 208-12.

113) In his poem Catullus probably alluded to both satires. Cèbe (1975, 338) persuasively compares Varro's *tua templa ad alta fani properans citus itere* (*Cycnus* 79) with both Catullus' *agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora simul* (12) and *viridem citus adit Idam properante pede chorus* (30). Roper (1858, III.39) had already compared Varro's *apage in dierectum a domo nostra istam insanitatem* (*Eum.* 142) with Catullus' *procul a mea tuos sit furor omnis, era, domo: alios age incitatos, alios age rabidos* (92-3).

114) Cic. *Dom.* 60, 129; *Har.* 28; *Sest.* 57-9.

115) Curiously, Cairns (2003) does not mention our poem.

116) For Lucretius' picture see more recently Lacroix 1982; Jope 1985; Schmidt 1990, 113-25; Summers 1996; Craca 2000.

poem the chief, *duce me* (15) and *per nemora dux* (32), of the group of castrated Galli (17) is called Attis, as there is no Hellenistic example of the name in this capacity.

Catullus' Attis has received much attention over the years, but here we will limit ourselves to the religious aspects of Catullus' poem. Such a point of view is of course one-sided, but it may not be without interest, given the mainly literary attention over the years and the almost total lack of attention to the religious side of the poem in the more recent commentaries of Fordyce (1961), Quinn (1970), Thomson (1997) and Morisi (1999), in contrast to the older ones of Ellis (1889) and Kroll ([2]1929).

The poem starts with the hurried voyage of Attis to the wooded mountain range of Ida (2-3, 30, 70).[117]) Attis is not introduced at all, but the central position of his name in the opening line and many others (27, 32, 42, 45, 88) leaves no doubt about his pre-eminent position within the poem.[118]) The choice of Ida is not evident and must have been motivated by the official Roman name of Kybele, *Mater Deum Magna Idaea* (above), and the Trojan descent of the Romans.[119]) The mention of fury (*stimulatus furenti rabie*, 4), a major theme in the poem,[120]) prepares the reader for Attis' instant castration with a flint (5),[121]) as they already did in Pessinous (Arnobius 6.11). However, from the first century onwards less 'manly' prospective members (*excusez le mot*) of the cult may also have used a knife.[122]) By this deed Attis lost his manhood and thus, in the logic of gen-

117) For the prologue see Fedeli 1979, I.149-60.

118) Means 1927, 101 f.

119) For the Roman association of Kybele with Ida and their interest in that mountain, see Lucr. 2.611; Verg. *A.* 9.617, 10.252 and Harrison *ad loc.*; Ov. *Fast.* 4.182; Liv. 29.10.5; Stat. *Theb.* 10.170. See further Nauta 2004a, 600, 622-5.

120) Note also *demens* (90), *furens* (4), *furibundus* (31, 54), *furor* (38, 78-9, 92), *rabidus* (38, 85, 93) and *rabies* (4, 44, 57). The theme is discussed by Syndikus (1990, 92), but overlooked in the useful enumerations of key themes by Elder (1947, 402-3) and Sandy (1968); Kroon 2004, 641-4 (this issue).

121) For this traditional usage of the flint or a pot sherd see Lucilius *Sat.* 7; Ov. *Fast.* 4.237; Plin. *Nat.* 35.165; Juv. 6.514; Mart. 3.81.3; Plut. *Nic.* 13.4; Min. Fel. 23.4, 24.12.

122) Pliny *Nat.* 35.165; Juv. 2.116, 6.514; Stat. *Theb.* 12.227; Mart. 2.45.2, 3.24.10 and 81.3, 9.2.14; Lact. *Inst.* 5.917; Manetho *Ap.* 5.179-80; Prud. *Perist.* 10.1081; Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 4.237; Sanders 1972, 1004. Philippus *AP* 6.94.5 (= 2724 GP) calls the knife σάγαρις with an evident allusion to the river Sangarios near Pessinous (§ 3).

der, had become a woman. The text signals this by both a change of gender to the feminine (8, 11, 14-5, etc.)[123]) and the use of the term Gallae (12), a device that Catullus had borrowed from a Hellenistic predecessor (below). Vergil followed suit and wrote *O vere Phrygiae neque enim Phryges* (*A.* 9.617), even though the Homeric model is hardly to be overlooked (*Il.* 2.235, 7.96); not surprisingly, then, the Galli are called *semiviri* by Varro and *semimares* by Ovid.[124])

At first Catullus leaves the identity of the object of his worship literally somewhat in the dark: *opaca . . . loca Deae* (3). However, the tambourine (8-9), the instrument *par excellence* of Kybele already in Greece (below), betrays the name of the goddess, although *Cybebe* (9) is a much more frequent variant of her name in Roman than in Greek poetry.[125]) Even closer to the world of Attis is her name *Dindymena domina* (13), an expression almost similar to the *Dindymi dominam* of Catullus' friend Caecilius (35.14) and perhaps a homage to him. In Latin, we find both Dindymon and Dindyma, which, curiously, is the same alternation between the singular and plural that we find between Kybel(l)on and Kybela (§ 3). It is her mountain that is the goal of Attis and his group.

However, we only occasionally hear of Galli worshipping Kybele in the mountains, whereas we know very well a group of women—and remember that we are talking here about 'women'—that regularly went into the mountains for cultic reasons, namely the Maenads. And they are exactly whom Catullus is referring to here; in fact, he even calls the mountains the area of the Maenads (23) and Attis' group a *thiasus* (27; similarly used in 64.254), the technical term for the Dionysiac group. This connection between the cults of Kybele and Dionysos is not new. It had already struck Strabo (10.3.12-6), who, probably via Apollodorus,[126]) provides us with some important testimonies for this development. This becomes already epigraphically visible in Olbia in the sixth century (*SEG* 48.1020), but in

123) For a brief discussion of the text-critical aspects of this change see Syndikus 1990, II.85.

124) *Semiviri*: Varro *Eum.* 140 Cèbe; Verg. *A.* 4.215, 12.97; Sen. *Ep.* 108.7; Sil. 17.20; Stat. *Ach.* 2.78; Mart. 3.91.1, 9.20.8. *Semimares*: Ov. *Fast.* 4.183.

125) *TLL s.v. Cybebe.* Cf. Nauta 2004a, 601 with n. 20.

126) Schwartz 1894.

literature it takes really off in Euripides after fleeting appearances in Aeschylus (F 57 Radt) and Pindar (fr. 70b.8-11 Maehler).[127]) Ptolemaeus Philopater was even called Gallos as he had himself tattooed with ivy (*EM* 220).

Given the *rapprochement* between Kybele and Dionysos, it is hardly surprising that scholars have drawn attention to the fact that in this epyllion Catullus draws on both Metroac and Dionysiac literature. An example of the combination is the Hellenistic fragment that served as the example for the term Gallae:

> Γάλλαι μητρὸς ὀρείης φιλόθυρσοι δρομάδες
> αἷς ἔντεα παταγεῖται καὶ χάλκεα κρόταλα[128])

It is clear that the Gallae and the Mountain Mother refer to Kybele, whereas the thyrsos was typical of Dionysos, just as παταγεῖν is attested only in a Maenadic context (Pratinas, *PGM* 708.2-3). 'Running', on the other hand, is suitable to both Galli (speed is a major theme in our poem)[129]) and Maenads,[130]) just like the castanets are attested for both Dionysos and Kybele.[131])

Recently, scholars have also pointed to the influence of the *Bacchae* and Theocritus 26, a poem with also a version of the *Bacchae*, in order to explain the structure of Catullus' poem.[132]) It is not surprising, then, that we can find at least three more examples of this influence. First, Attis calls his 'women' to the woods (12), the *Idalium frondosum* (64.96), just like the mountainous woods are the settings

127) See Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 1301-68; Dodds, Roux & Seaford on E. *Ba.* 78-9; Parker 1996, 189 note 134; Fedeli on Prop. 3.17.35-6; Lavecchia 2000, 141-4.

128) This anonymous fragment is quoted by Heph. 12.3 and was once thought to be by Callimachus (fr. dub. 761 Pfeiffer), cf. Mulroy 1976; Courtney 1985, 91; Harder 2004, 575-7 (this issue); Nauta 2004b (this issue).

129) Cf. *celer* (1), *celerare* (26), *citatus* (2, 8, 18, 26), *citus* (30, 42, 74), *excitus* (42), *incitatus* (93), *mora cedat* (19), *properante pede* (30), *properipedem* (34), *rapidus* (16, 34, 44) and *volitare* (25); Kroon 2004, 641-4.

130) E. *Ba.* 136, 748; note also E. *Ant.* F *22 Jouan-Van Looy = *Antiope* F 4 Diggle (= *POxy.* 3317).

131) Dionysos: E. *Cyc.* 205; Antipater, *AP* 9.603, 6 (= 597 GP). Kybele: *HHom.* 14.3; Pi. F 70b.10 Maehler; E. *Hel.* 1309.

132) Hutchinson 1988, 310-4; Perutelli 1996, 267-9; Morisi 1999, 92 (a good comparison of E. *Ba.* 152-67 with the beginning of the poem); Fantuzzi & Hunter 2002, 551-3. Also Harrison 2004, 522-5, 530-1 (this issue).

of the traditional Maenads.[133]) Secondly, his cry *agite ite ad alta nemora* (12), even if parodied by Vergil's Numanus Remulus as *ite per alta Dindyma* (*A.* 9.617-8), comes close to the traditional cry *eis oros, eis oros* that guided the Maenads to the mountains.[134]) And thirdly, the wanderings of the followers of Dionysos, "le dieu voyageur" as Jeanne Roux (on E. *Ba.* 13-20) calls him, are reflected in the wanderings of the *vaga pecora* (13) of Kybele,[135]) the *vaga cohors* (25), with their *citatis erroribus* (18) and *volitare* (25), a word that Catullus also uses for the wanderings of Dionysos.[136]) As Cicero (*Har.* 11.24) knew that *Matrem Magnam . . . agros et nemora cum quodam strepitu fremituque peragrare*, we may have here another convergence between the myths of Dionysos and the cult of Kybele, since the Galli more and more became "nomades qui vont de place publique en place publique".[137])

After the initial call, Attis now proceeds with a description of the nature of the woods, where again he combines the activities of the followers of Dionysos and Kybele (19-26). He first enumerates the typical musical instruments of Kybele,[138]) which are also found in the cult of Dionysos, such as the cymbal, tambourine (both instruments are often mentioned together)[139]) and the Phrygian *tibia*.[140])

133) *H.Dem.* 386; E. *Ba.* 218-9, 688, 876; Verg. *A.* 7.385, 387, 404, with Horsfall *ad loc.*

134) E. *Ba.* 116, 164, 986, cf. Bremmer 1984, 276-7; Riu 1999, 173-6; Morisi 1999, 84, who rightly compares the Maenadic ὀρειβασία; Mureddu 2000; Horsfall on Verg. *A.* 7.385.

135) Note that Accius *Ba.* F 1 Dangel uses *vagant* for the Maenads; Ov. *Fast.* 4.207.

136) Catul. 64.251-2: *volitabat Iacchus cum thiaso Satyrorum.*

137) Borgeaud 1996, 63 with a good discussion of the gradual 'nomadisation' of the Galli.

138) In general on Kybele's music: Graillot 1912, 257-8; Wille 1967, 56-60; Robert 1969, 1003-4.

139) Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 5.441.

140) Cymbal: A. F 57 with Radt *ad loc.*, but also note his second thoughts on the text of this fragment in Radt 2002, 441-4; *AP* 6.51.5 (3836 GP); Varro *Eum.* 132; Prop. 3.17.36; Ov. *Fast.* 4.189; Graillot 1912, 257-8. Tambourine: A. F 71 Radt; Pi. fr. 61 Maehler; E. *Hel.* 1346, *Ba.* 59, 124, 156, *Cyc.* 205, fr. 586 N^2; Diog. Ath. *TGF* 45 F 1; *AP* 6.51.8 (anon. 3839 GP), 217.5 ('Simonides' 3308 GP), 218.6 (Alcaeus 139 GP), 219.9 (Antipater 616 GP), 220.10 (Diosc. 1548 GP); Varro *Eum.* 140 and *Onos lyras* 358 Cèbe; Catul. 64.261; Lucr. 2.618-20; Prop. 3.17.33; Maec. fr. 5-6 Courtney; Ov. *Fast.* 4.183; Babrius 141.9; Vikela 2001, 90 (connection with Kubaba in Carchemish). *Tibia*: Diog. Ath. *TGF* 45 F 1; Call. F

The Romans did not like these instruments. Horace thinks the tambourine *saeva* (*Carm.* 1.18.13-4) and Ovid its sound *inanis* (*Fast.* 4.183); it was even associated with effeminacy.[141]) The sound of the cymbal *terret* (Ov. *Fast.* 4.190; V.Fl. 2.583) and is *rauca* (Prop. 3.17.36), like that of the flute (*rauco . . . buxo*: Sen. *Ag.* 689; *buxus circumsonat horrida cantu*: Claud. *De raptu Pros.* 2.269), and the horns are threatening with their *raucisono cantu* (Lucr. 2.619) and a *signum luctus* (Stat. *Theb.* 6.120-1). In short, this side of Kybele's cult evokes a picture of threatening, lugubrious cacophony rather than of harmonious and pleasant music.

Then he evokes the activities of the ivy-bearing Maenads who toss their heads in ecstasy (23), howl (24, 28; not Dionysiac, but again an unpleasant acoustic aspect of Kybele's rites), and swiftly wander about (above).[142]) This is the area where he and his followers should speed to with their *citatis tripudiis* (26). Fordyce (*ad loc.*) rightly points out that the *tripudium* belongs to the ritual of the Salii,[143]) but we should also note that the Salii were identified with the Kouretes (D.H. 2.70-1), whom Lucretius (2.631) represented as leaping about in the service of the Mater Magna; moreover, the term soon became associated with ecstatic dances.[144]) As jumps and whirling dances were also part of the Maenadic ritual, it is perhaps not surprising to find in Accius' *Bacchae* Dionysos (probably) *in Parnaso inter pinos tripudiantem in circulis* (F 4 Dangel).[145]) Once again we notice the merging of ecstatic techniques in both cults.

193.34ff Pfeiffer; Varro *Eum.* 139 Cèbe; Catul. 64.264; Lucr. 2.620; Tib. 2.1.86; Verg. *A.* 11.737; Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 689; Morisi 1999, 93.

141) M.W. Dickey 1985, 175; add Quint. 5.12.21.

142) Tossing of head in ecstatic cults: Graillot 1912, 304; Bremmer 1984, 278-9; add Varro *Eum.* 140 Cèbe; Lucr. 2.632; Maec. fr. 5-6 Courtney; Tac. *Ann.* 11.31; Quint. 11.3.71; Servius auct. on Verg. *A.* 10.22. Howling: Verg. *A.* 7.395; Ov. *Fast.* 4.186, 341, *Ars* 1.508, *Tr.* 4.1.42; Maec. fr. 5-6 Courtney; Luc. 1.567; Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.87-8; Mart. 5.41.3; Firm. *Err.* 3.3; Claud. *De raptu Pros.* 2.269, *Eutrop.* 2.302; Servius auct. on Verg. *A.* 10.22; note also the *absonis ululatibus* of the followers of the Dea Syria in Apul. *Met.* 8.27.

143) Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.27; Liv. 1.20.4; Plu. *Num.* 13; Festus 334L.

144) Ov. *Fast.* 6.330; Apul. *Met.* 8.27; for the ecstatic dances of Kybele's worshippers see also Pachis 1996.

145) See Bremmer 1984, 279 (whirling dances; add Welcker's comparison between maenads and derwishes as discussed by Henrichs 1986, 222), 280 (jumps). For Accius and Euripides see Mariotti 1965.

It is no wonder that the group got out of breath and became exhausted when they finally reached the *domum Cybebes* (35), their goal (20). The term *domus* is probably indicative of a Greek background, since *oikos* is a well-known Greek term for a more private 'sanctuary'.[146]) They collapsed and fell asleep *sine Cerere* (36), a sign of their exhaustion rather than a reference to the required abstinence of bread in later times.[147]) Once again the best parallel for such a collapse is found in Maenadic ritual. Euripides' *Bacchae* already noted 'welcome in the mountains whosoever from the running *thiasoi* falls to the ground' (135-7) and described their sleep from exhaustion (683).[148]) And indeed, just like the members of Attis' *thiasus*, Maenads also fall on the ground from exhaustion. Plutarch, who had access to the female leader of the Delphic Maenads, the Thyiads, relates that about 353 BC they once had been so exhausted from their dancing on the mountains that they had fallen asleep in the agora of Amphissa.[149]) Apparently, such scenes appealed to the Romans, since not only Catullus, but also Propertius (1.3.5-6) and Ovid (*Am.* 1.14.21-2) briefly sketched the exhausted Maenads.[150])

When Attis wakes up from his sleep, he has also woken up from his fascination for the Mater Magna; the critical moment receives special attention through Catullus' spending four lines on the rising of the sun that symbolizes Attis seeing the light (39-43).[151]) His thoughts now focus on his fatherland that he will never see again. The address to the *patria* (50) was a Roman device when the place had not been previously specified,[152]) but the qualifications *creatrix* and *genetrix* of the fatherland are rather ironic here and focus attention on the fact that Attis himself would never be able to sire an

146) Henrichs 1976, 278.

147) *Contra* Weinreich 1973, 526: "Aber das kann ja rationalistische Umwandlung der in der Vorlage versteckt angedeutenden kultischen νηστεία sein" (farfetched and the more so as we do not have the *Vorlage*); Ellis *ad loc.*, who compares Arnob. 5.16; Lancellotti 2002, 88, who sees it as expressing "the dialectical opposition between these two goddesses" (i.e. Kybele and Ceres).

148) For a probable parallel note also Chaeremon *TGF* 71 F 14.

149) For the episode and its representation by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema see Bremmer 1984, 274; add Henrichs 1994, 51-6.

150) Leo 1891, 49.

151) For this part of the poem see especially Fedeli 1977.

152) E. Dickey 2002, 300.

offspring. He now contrasts his elevated social position from before with his new low status in the cult of Kybele. Will he end up as a *Cybeles famula* (68)? A *famulus* is the property of a *dominus* or *domina*, and Varro (*Res div.* 16, fr. 269 Cardauns) already knew *Dominam proprie Matrem deum dici*, just as our source for this fragment, Serv. auct. on Verg. *A.* 3.113, observes: *hanc eandem Eram appellari, hoc est Dominam tradunt.*[153]) Indeed, Kybele was often called Despoina or Kyria in Greece, and *Domina* must be the translation of this Greek title;[154]) it would fit this particular title that *famulus* was particularly used in relation to the followers of the Mater Magna.[155]) However, in our poem, the 'slaves' do not address Kybele as *domina*, which would be against Latin usage, but as *era* (18), which is the typical term of address of slaves to their owner.[156]) The term *famula* is also one more testimony to the development in Hellenistic times where cults started to flourish in which the worshippers saw themselves as the slaves of their autocratic divinities. This development is visible even in the New Testament, where Paul regularly calls himself a 'slave of God' (*Romans* 1.1, etc.).[157]) Attis continues with wondering 'Will I be a Maenad, I only part of myself, I an infertile man?'[158]) Once again we are struck by the merging of the Dionysiac and Metroac. Evidently, it made little difference whether one was a Maenad or a Gallus.

The result of all this soul-searching is that Attis already feels regret about his life choice: *iam iamque paenitet* (73). Such a regret naturally came *geminas deae . . . ad aures* (75), the more so as Kybele/Agdistis was also a goddess *epêkoos*,[159]) and the poem closes with a funny variant on a theme often treated in the *Greek Anthology*, namely the meeting of a Gallus with a lion, in which the Gallus chased away the lion with the tambourine.[160]) In the version by Alcaeus

153) Note that neither Thilo nor Cardauns capitalizes here.

154) See the learned study by Henrichs (1976).

155) Varro *Eum.* 140 Cèbe; Cicero *Leg.* 2.22; Liv. 37.9.9; Germ. 38; V.Fl. 3.19-20.

156) For the usage of *domina* and *era* see E. Dickey 2002, 77-99 and 2001.

157) This aspect was already seen by Weinreich (1973, 527), but put in a wider Hellenistic context by Pleket (1981) (although overlooking Weinreich); Versnel 1990, 90-1; Lightfoot 2003, 538.

158) For the frequent repetition of *ego* see Granarolo 1978.

159) Weinreich 1969, 135, 147.

160) *AP* 6.217 ('Simonides' 3304-13 GP), 6.218 (Alcaeus 134-43 GP), 6.219

(*AP* 6.218 = 134-43 GP) the Gallus even converts, so to speak, the lion, which starts to dance as a follower of Kybele. From the very beginning of her representations, Kybele had been connected with lions. Dionysius Scythobrachion's (?) closing statement about the positioning of lions and panthers next to her statue (§ 3) is one more testimony to the merging of the Dionysiac and Metroac, since panthers are never associated with Kybele but typical of Dionysos.[161]) In Catullus' case, though, he reversed the usual theme and let the outcome be that the lion effected that Attis *omne vitae spatium famula fuit* (90).[162])

In his closing prayer Catullus one more time mentions the *furor* of the *era* (92), but with a typical Roman *epipompê* he prays that this fury may pass to others.[163]) Kybele might be a powerful goddess, but Catullus preferred to stay outside her sphere of influence. Some editors (Mynors 1958 = Fordyce 1961, Quinn 1970, Goold 1983) print the first line of this prayer (91) as *dea, magna dea, Cybebe, dea domina Dindymi* (Goold with an additional comma after the third *dea*), but this presents a wrong combination (*magna dea* instead of *dea magna*)[164]) and disturbs the *tricolon crescendo* and anaphora, which are typical of ancient prayer.[165]) So the line should be punctuated as *dea magna, dea Cybebe, dea domina Dindymi* (with e.g. Thomson 1997, Morisi 1999, as well as Harrison in this issue).

5. *Concluding Observations*

Catullus' poem, then, has no reference to the mythical Attis, just as Attis or Attes as a personal name is not attested in Rome before the first century AD,[166]) when his name gradually becomes more

(Antipater 608-31 GP), 6.220 (Diosc. 1539-54 GP), cf. Gow 1960; Fedeli 1981; Courtney 1985, 88-91; Gall 1999. Also Harder 2004, 577-9.

161) Lions: Simon 1997, passim. Panthers: Gasparri 1986, 461 nos 430-4.

162) For a clever, if perhaps not totally persuasive, attempt in interpreting the behaviour of the lion as reflecting that of the Galli, cf. Shipton 1986. See also Nauta 2004a, 607-8.

163) For the type of prayer see E. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1573 and Fraenkel 1957, 410-1; Weinreich 1973, 517-21 and 1979, 156-84; Versnel 1981, 18-21.

164) Cf. Prop. 3.17.35: *dea magna Cybebe* and p. 557 with n. 108 on Mater Magna instead of the usual Magna Mater.

165) Weinreich 1973, 516-8.

166) Solin 1982, I.372 and 1996, II.300.

frequent in the poets. Evidently, Attis was not a major cultic or mythical figure in Republican Rome.

In his major analysis of the poem from the religious point of view, Otto Weinreich made a very modern observation. According to him, we should look at the poem from the perspective of the psychology of religion, and suggested that we have to do here with a "radikaler *Fall von religiöser Bekehrung*" (his italics).[167]) Weinreich had clearly been influenced in this view by the recent appearance of Nock's classical study on conversion.[168]) However, it is clear that conversion is not Catullus' focus. On the contrary, he pays no attention at all to the process that led to Attis' entry into Kybele's service. Admittedly, he does provide us with a fairly detailed description of the activities of Kybele's followers, but, as we have seen, in this description Catullus hardly distinguishes between the cults of Kybele and Dionysos. This seems to suggest a Greek literary model, since the two cults developed in rather different directions in the Roman world.[169])

What must have also struck the Roman reader is Catullus' stress on the elevated social status of Attis. Both the mention of the gymnasium (60-4) and the hint at his male lovers (64-6) show that Attis is represented as belonging to the *jeunesse dorée* of his town. This went of course totally against the ruling ideas of Catullus' time. Roman citizens and even slaves were forbidden to join the cult,[170]) just as it was forbidden to Roman citizens and slaves to castrate themselves. In 77 BC the Roman consul Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus even reversed an earlier judgment that a Roman citizen turned Gallus could inherit: such a person, after all, was neither man nor woman.[171]) One cannot escape therefore the thought that this part too came from a Greek model, although we need not agree with

167) Weinreich 1973, 490. Note also that he approvingly quotes Frazer 1914, 270 note 2, that "als Schilderung eines Menschenschicksals" the poem "gains greatly in force and pathos. The real sorrows of our fellow-men touch us more nearly than the imaginary pangs of the gods", of which he will have hardly missed the anti-Christian tenor.

168) Nock 1933.

169) For the development of the Dionysiac cult in Hellenistic times see Burkert 1993b.

170) D.H. 2.19.5; V.Max. 7.7.6; Jul. Obseq. 104.

171) V.Max. 7.7.6; Jul. Obseq. 44; *Dig.* 48.8.4.2.

Weinreich that Catullus when writing these lines was thinking about a "Fahnenflucht aus dem Vaterland" or an "Exil in der Welt des orientalisch-weibischen Wesens".[172])

As we have already seen, the last part about the lion is equally a variation on a Hellenistic theme. This surely refutes Wiseman's unwise suggestion that the poem was meant as a hymn for the Roman Megalesia.[173]) One may also wonder whether the Roman population at large would have appreciated a hymn on a youth, whom everybody would associate with passive homosexuality,[174]) with awful music (§ 4) and that was written in the 'weakly effeminate galliambus'.[175]) The poem, then, drew on Hellenistic model or models,[176]) even if the 'quote' from Accius shows that Roman models should not be overlooked either. The fact that Varro in his *Onos lyras* (358 Cèbe) had also mentioned the anecdote of the lion and the Gallus indicates that the anecdote exerted a certain fascination not only on the Hellenistic, but also on the Roman public. In his own variation, Catullus seems to have played with the lion theme in at least three different ways. First, he incorporated the theme into a larger poem, whereas his Hellenistic predecessors had focused their poems on the theme only; Varro may in this respect have shown the way. Secondly, Catullus reverses the theme by letting the lion be the winner. And thirdly, in the Hellenistic anecdotes the event is related by the poet, who does not display any involvement in the cult of Kybele. In Catullus' poem, though, the storyteller immediately proceeds with what the commentaries (Fordyce, Quinn) call a 'concluding prayer'. This prayer starts with a most solemn invocation of Kybele (91) but also presents the poet indirectly as a slave of the goddess by addressing her, "servilely and

172) Weinreich 1973, 522 (written in 1936!). For Weinreich's political sympathies see Cancik 1982.

173) *Contra* Wiseman 1985, 198-206. The interpretation is also rejected by Hutchinson (1988, 314 note 74), by Fantuzzi & Hunter (2002, 551 note 74) and by Nauta 2004a, 609.

174) As appears from Martial's use of the name Dindymus, cf. Obermayer 1998, 69-73.

175) Mart. 2.86.5: *mollem debilitate galliambon*, tr. Shackleton-Bailey, Loeb; see also Quint. 9.4.6. For the most recent analysis of this metre see Morisi 1999, 49-56.

176) For this background see most recently Shipton 1987, 444-9 and, if hardly advancing our knowledge of this aspect, Lefèvre 1998, 308-28.

abjectly",[177]) as *era* (92). In other words, in the end the poet presents himself, rather tongue in cheek,[178]) as a worshipper of the goddess, but as one who would rather do without the most characteristic quality of a follower of the goddess, that is, the loss of his manhood. Catullus, then, ate his cake and had it. He praised the powers of the goddess but wisely wanted to keep her as far away from himself as possible. Is that not the best attitude for any male student of Kybele and, especially, Attis?[179])

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177) Dickey 2002, 80 note 9.

178) The humorous side of the poem is stressed (exaggerated?) by Holzberg (2002, 126-32).

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