

# THE EPIDAURIAN HYMN FOR THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

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## Methodological premiss

The following contribution uses the methods of traditional philology and historical research to address some unanswered questions about the text concerned. The assumptions of such a method include the possibility of understanding a text written in a foreign language and in a different culture and epoch from one's own. The interest of the inquiry lies in precisely the distance which separates ancient Greece from modern Europe. The study of an ancient text is, in a way, to open a grave in order to try to reconstruct the past life within. One approaches the past with modern education and enculturation in one's head; the reconstruction of the past involves an openness to all evidence of that past culture, whether textual or material. Trying to approach understanding of the Other is, however, little different from the attempt to understand another person in the same room, through speech, sight and the other senses. Understanding as well as imagination is required, an imagination checked constantly against self-questioning and the opinions of others. As the successful anthropologist must learn the language and communication systems of the people he is studying, so we must listen to all the sign systems of the past and not attempt to "colonialise" the life we find there with an imposed order.

## The text

The text of the Epidaurian hymn to the Mother of the Gods has suffered in modern scholarship from attempts to "improve" the sometimes clumsy lines of the original.<sup>1</sup>

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1. *Editio princeps*: *IG IV<sup>2</sup>* 1, 131 (Hiller). Editions and Studies: Maas 1933, p. 134 *sq.*; Powell, Barber (eds) 1933, p. 204-208; *PMG* 935; Koster 1962; West 1970a; Pizzocaro 1991; Wagman

The inscription itself is a rather rough document without colometry and containing at least one serious corruption and a number of minor orthographic mistakes. But that is all; as the present discussion is intended to show, there is no reason, with e.g. West, to rewrite the inscription or even (with e.g. Maas) to excise repeated lines or (with Page) to mark a lacuna after line 18. The text is naive in style, not high poetry, but not hopelessly corrupt either. It takes its place beside other epigraphic hymns dating from the Hellenistic period which have literary aspirations but fall short of the classical canon. The word sub-literary has often been used in this connection, but that gives too negative an impression. “Flawed-literary” might be fairer. Another reason for reexamining this text is the fact that the major mythological theme – the breach between the Mother of the Gods and Zeus – still calls for satisfactory explanation. For the text I rely on earlier editions, in particular Wagman’s study of the Epidaurian hymns based on autopsy,<sup>2</sup> who has also kindly provided the photograph (*fig. 18*).

[ - - - ]ς θεαί,  
 δεῦρ’ ἔλθετ’ / <ἀ>π’ ὠρανῶ  
 καί μοι συναείσατε  
 τὰν / Ματέρα τῶν θεῶν,  
 ὡς ἦλθε πλανωμέ/να 5  
 κατ’ ὄρεα καὶ νάπας  
 σύρουσα ῥύπῳι / κόμαν  
 καὶ τευρομένα φρένας. /  
 Ὁ Ζεὺς δ’ ἐ{ι}σιδῶν ἀναξ  
 τὰν Ματέρα τῶν / Θεῶν 10  
 κεραυνὸν ἔβαλλε, καὶ  
 τὰ / τύμπαν’ ἐλάμβανε,  
 πέτρας διέρ{ο}ησσε / καὶ  
 τὰ τύμπαν’ ἐλάμβανε· 15  
 « Μάτηρ / ἄπιθ’ εἰς θεοὺς,  
 καὶ μὴ κατ’ ὄρη πλαγ[ῶ]. /  
 μὴ σ’ <ἦ> χαροποὶ λέον-  
 τες ἢ πολιοὶ / λύκοι... »  
 καί· « Οὐκ ἴᾶπειμι εἰς θεού<ς>, /  
 ἂν μὴ τὰ μέρη λάβω, 20  
 τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ / οὐρανῶ,  
 τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ < > γαίας, /  
 πόντω τὸ τρίτον μέρος,  
 χοῦτως / [ἀ]πελεύσομαι. »  
 Χαῖρ’ ὦ <μ>εγάλα / ἀνασ- 25  
 σα Μᾶτερ Ὀλύμπω.

1995, p. 107-146; Will 1960, p. 95-111; Robertson 1996; Roller 1996; Furley, Bremer 2001, no. 6.2. For a description of the stone and a discussion of its setting, see in this volume Wagman, p. 220-221.

2. Wagman 1995.

1 ὦ Μναμοσύνας κίθραι Hiller: Πιμπληϊάδε]ς Peek, West: ὦ Πιερίδε]ς Wifstrand: Ὀλυμπιάδε]ς vel ἀγναὶ Χάριτε]ς Diehl. 7 ῥύπῳι vel ἱεράν Furley: συρουσα ῥπα[.]τα[.] κομαν leg. Maas, Page: σύρουσ' ἀβρ[ό]τα[ν] κόμαν Maas ap. Hiller: σύρουσα β [2-3]. [.] κόμαν leg. Wagman: σύρουσα ῥυτὰ[ν] κόμαν West. 8 Furley: χατωρημένα Hiller, Page: κ[ό]τῳι †ρημένα φρένας Maas: φρένας τ' ἀλύουσα West: κωρινομένα φρένας Powell-Barber: ἀκηχεμένα Latte. 9 corr. Maas 11 καί: χά hic et v. 13 conī. Wilamowitz. 12 et 14 del. Maas. 13 διέροξε Maas. 15-18 semichoro A attrib. Wagman. 16 suppl. Hiller. 17 μη σε χαρ- lap., corr. Kalinka: μῆ σοὶ West. 18 post hunc v. lacunam stat. Page. 19-24 semichoro B attrib. Wagman. 19 propter m. creticum alii alia emend. καί: interp. Furley οὐκ ἀπελεύσομαι West. 20 †ἄν Maas. 21 τῶρανῶ Powell-Barber. 22 γὰς ἐμᾶς possis. 23 τε τρίτον Latte, West. 24 et 25 suppl. Hiller. 24 χοῦτως ἀπίῳ εἰς θεοῦς: propter metr. possis.

### Translation

... Goddesses [of music]  
 come down from heaven  
 and sing with me a hymn  
 to the Mother of the Gods:  
 how she came wandering  
 over the hills and vales,  
 trailing her hair in the < dirt >,  
 distraught in her senses.  
 Zeus the king observed her  
 –the Mother of the Gods–  
 aimed his thunderbolt and  
 made to take her drums,  
 he split rocks in two and–  
 made to take her drums.  
 “Mother, be off to the gods!  
 Don’t wander over the hills  
 in case the keen-eyed lions  
 or grey wolves [catch] you...”  
 And: “... I *won't* go off  
 unless I receive my share:  
 a half of the sky above  
 and a half of <my own> earth  
 and a share of ocean too.  
 Only then will I depart.”  
 Hail! Great Queen!  
 Mother of all Olympus!

## Notes

The following notes only address new points in the text. I take as read the *apparatus* and commentaries of Maas 1933, West 1970a, Wagman 1995, Furley, Bremer 2001, no. 6.2.

1. ]ς θξ Wagman reads ς θε]αί, saying that the bracketed letters, read by Maas, are no longer legible. But one can still see traces even on Wagman's picture. In particular the trace of sigma is sufficient to rule out κ]όραι (Hiller). The line must have contained an invocation of the Muses or Graces in some form. There have been many suggested supplements. Πιμπληϊάδε]ς (Peek, West) seems to me too literary.

3. συναείσατε I am not sure why Page objects to the prosody of the final syllable ("brevis in longo"). It recurs in lines 8, 12, 14 and 23.

7. I suggest ρύπωι, "in the dirt," as a suitable place or manner for the goddess to drag her hair. An excellent "metroac" parallel is provided by Ovid's description of Attis' grief: *longaque in immundo pulvere tracta coma est* (*Fasti* IV, 238). Wagman reads on the stone σύρουσα β [2-3]..[.] κόμαν, but his beta may, in my opinion, be rho; the apparent lower loop may be a chip in the stone. The putative lower loop is, moreover, smaller than the lower loop of the other betas in the inscription. At the end of the line on the stone there is an upright which could be iota. The intervening letters, however (υ - π - ω) are anything but certain. An advantage of this supplement would be that it makes σύρουσα more intelligible: to "drag" one's hair is an odd expression by itself but to "drag" or "trail" one's hair in the dirt or dust is an intelligible expression of grief.

Alternatively, one might consider ξερῶν, but this is palaeographically less convincing as the first letter after alpha of σύρουσα looks like anything but iota. Sense would be good, analogous to Maas' ἀβρόταν, which he only advocated doubtfully, for dearth of parallels (but see *Il.* 14, 78: νύξ ἀβρότη). In Furley, Bremer 2001 (*ad loc.*) we adopted Maas' suggestion. The goddess is said to "drag her hair," a phrase which Page calls "*kakemphaton*," but which appears possible in view of Maas' parallels (Joh. Gaz., 1, 47: καὶ ἐπ' αὐχένι βόστρυχα σύρων; Christodor., 91: καὶ ταναῆς ἄπλεκτος ἐσύρευτο βότρυς ἐθείρης). That the goddess let her hair down in her grief is likely; cf. Furley, Bremer 2001 (II, p. 170), Maas 1933 (p. 138) and Wagman 1995 (p. 137) who cites *A.P.* VI, 220, 2 (said of the eunuch Atys) *μαινομένην δοὺς ἀνέμοισι τρίχα*, commenting that σύρουσα ... κόμαν "è plausibilissima imagerie metroaca" (p. 137). For the supplement ξερῶν cf. Rhianus of Crete, *A.P.* VI, 173, 1-2, where a devotee of the Mountain Mother, Achrylis, is said often to have "let down her holy hair to the torches [sc. of ritual]" (ἡ περὶ πεύκας / πολλάκι τοὺς ἱεροὺς χευαμένη πλοκάμους).

8. *τειρομένα* Furley 2001. The reading on the stone seems to be *κατωρημενα* (Hiller, Page, Wagman), but this nonsense may have originated through doubling of *κατωρ-* from the line above in the stone-cutter's hand-copy (Page, West and Robertson). For *τείρομαι* in this sense see the parallels in Furley, Bremer 2001 (II, p. 170-171). For the combination with *φρένας* cf. *Cypria* (ap. Athen., VIII, 334B) frg. 9, 5-6 (sc. Nemesis) *ἐτείρετο γὰρ φρένας αἰδοῖ / καὶ νεμέσει*. Omega (-τω-) may have been written by the stone-cutter through palaeographical similarity to epsilon-iota (-τει-).

13. *διέρο*{ρ}ησε. To preserve the telesilleian we have to read single rho, with initial scansion ~ ~. Maas *ad loc.* provides ample parallels for this. His emendation to *διέρο*ηξε restores a form of *διαροήγνυμι* (older) but breaks the sequence of imperfect forms, and this action of Zeus is surely repeated, too: "he kept on splitting rocks" (sc. with the thunderbolts he threw). Imperfect *διερόηνυ* will not work as the final upsilon is long. LSJ *s.v.* *διαροήσω* give only late instances of the verb (Babrius, 38, 7; Artemidorus, *Onir.* 4 *Praef.*), but there is an earlier instance of *διαροήσσεσθαι* (alongside forms of *διαροήγνυμι*) in Hippokr., *De affectionibus interioribus* (= *Περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς παθῶν*) 42 line 7.<sup>3</sup> This work is probably pre-Alexandrian, so the form *διέροησε* is not proof of late (imperial? Latte) composition.

18. After 18 Page marks a lacuna of indeterminate length; the immediate reason is the lack of a verb in this clause introduced by *μή*. If we do not like this, we must assume *aposiōpēsis* on Zeus' part; such a breaking off in mid speech is made easier by Wagman's suggestion that the two speeches in the hymn (first Zeus', then the Mother's) were sung by two semi-choruses, making the delivery more dramatic and comprehensible; cf. Furley, Bremer 2001 (II, p. 173).

19. If we punctuate thus, Meter's answer begins in a possible manner with a plain refusal ("Mit καὶ kann keine Rede anfangen" Maas). Zeus' speech was not introduced in any way; *καί* used in this way might be sufficient to mark the Mother's response: [Zeus said this:] ... and [the Mother said this:].

19 and 24. If we invert the order of *οὐκ ἄπειμι* and *ἀπελεύσομαι* on the stone we might preserve the metre in 19. As it stands, the line seems to consist of dubious cretics ("cretici miserrimi" Page). West already suggested writing *ἀπελεύσομαι* in 19 for this reason. If, further, we write *ἀπίω εἰς θεοῦς* in 24 (with synaloepe between *ἀπίω* and *εἰς*) we might mend the metre here, too. Furthermore, the subjunctive *ἀπίω* might be thought to give better sense. A voluntative sense "I will go" would mark the Mother's declaration of intent if she receives her fair share of rights in the universe. Moreover, *ἄπειμι* only has future sense in Attic.

3. Perhaps Page noticed this ("vid. LSJ *s.v.* *ῥάσσω*"), but the passage in Hippokrates is in fact noted under *ῥήγνυμι*.

20. ἄν μῆ. Attic ἄν (= ἐάν) does not suit lyric *koinē*. Maas considers original αἰ μῆ (without modal particle) “not impossible.” A text on its way through the Hellenistic centuries, however, might easily pick up such Atticisms.

21-22. τὸ μὲν (~ ~) stand here for the usual aneps whereas, in the following line, τὸ δὲ should probably be elided.

22. There is a gap before γαιας in the inscription large enough for three or four letters and, as it stands, the line scans as a reizianus (= catalectic telesillean). It looks as if the stone-cutter wished to insert a word later. The only other comparable gap (about half the size of this one) occurs before the final address to the Mother (χαῖρ' ὦ κτλ.). There it clearly marks a break in sense, but here there is no such sense break. I suggest γᾶς ἐμᾶς which both mends metre and would explain the gap in the text. That the Mother says “my Earth” makes sense as she *is* Ge. An analogous passage describing Hekate's privileges in Hesiod's *Theogony* has μοῖραν ἔχειν γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρογέτοιο θαλάσσης (413).

23. πόντω τὸ. Probably West's πόντω τε τρίτον μέρος, “a half share of the sea thirdly,” is preferable. But conceivably τὸ τρίτον μέρος is theologically accurate: the Mother knows she has not only Zeus to contend with as master of this realm, but also Poseidon. Of the first two realms, Zeus is clearly master of the sky whilst in the case of earth the Mother has only an *alias* of herself as Earth Mother to contend with in addition to the tyrant Zeus. A half of sky and earth and a third of the sea might be a reasonable claim, and that is certainly what the text says as it stands. If we retain τὸ the line follows 22 asyndetically.

24. I suggest χοῦτως ἀπ'ίω εἰς θεούς, see note on line 19.

25. <μ>εγάλα ἄνασσα. Perhaps a relic of the digamma was still felt in this traditional expression, alleviating the hiatus (Wagman).

### The cause of the Mother's anger

The Epidaurian hymn gives no explanation why the Mother is wandering distraught. Until now this, together with the strange partition of the universe between Zeus and the Mother, has been considered an unexplained mystery. Recent work, including that of Pizzocaro and Wagman, see in the hymn's myth a sign of “originality,” a “*hapax mitico*” which does not connect with other known events in the Meter's career. Pizzocaro<sup>4</sup> suggests that this individuality, or eccentricity, of the myth may mark it

4. Pizzocaro 1991, p. 243.

out as a sacred text in mystery rites: initiates into the Mother's mysteries were taught strange secrets about the goddess which nobody else had heard. However, assuming that the Mother of the Gods may be equated with her Phrygian counterpart Kybele (= Meter Oreia/Idaia, Dindymene and other names), some important evidence has been neglected hitherto.

Clement of Alexandria includes the Mysteries of Deo (= Demeter) in his exposure of the folly of Greek mystery religions (*Protrepticus* 2, 15).<sup>5</sup> His treatment starts with an amusing etymology, showing his spleen: the *orgia* of Demeter derive from the Mother's *orgê*, "anger;" and the Mysteries derive from the *musos*, filth, of their *hieroi logoi* (*Protrep.* 2, 13). Then Clement explains that Deo's anger (*μῆνις*) was caused by sexual assault (*ἀφροδίσιον συμπλοκαί*) on her by Zeus. Zeus tried to pacify the offended Mother goddess (*ἰκετηρίαί Διός*), a charm offensive which is said to have included "a drink of bile," "tearings out of the heart" and "filthy practices" (*πόμα χολῆς καὶ καρδιουλκίαί καὶ ἀρρητουργίαί*). At this point Clement adds that these rites coincide with those performed by Phrygians for Attis and Kybele and the Korybantes. Zeus then tricked the Mother by tearing off the balls of a ram and throwing them into the Mother's lap, as if he had castrated himself to atone for the rape (*τιμωρίαν ψευδῆ τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτιννύων*). Finally Clement quotes the motto of initiates into the Mother's mysteries, as he feels sure this will raise a laugh among his readers: "I ate from the *tympanon*. I drank from the *kymbalon*. I carried the *kernos*. I descended into the bridal chamber" (*ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον· ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν*).<sup>7</sup>

Which Mysteries is Clement reporting on here? Certainly not the Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter and Kore, to which he turns in chapters 20-22 of the same work, in order to debunk them. In the above passage we note that he equates these mysteries of Demeter with the Phrygian rites of the goddess. The equation of Demeter/Deo with the Mother of the Gods (= Mountain Mother) is one which is well attested from the fifth century BC on in a number of sources. I will consider some of these in more detail below. It will suffice at this point to recall the famous Mountain Mother ode of Euripides' *Helen* (412 BC) in which the chorus describe how the Mountain Mother (1301-1302: *ὄρεία μάτηρ*) roamed over the earth distraught with grief over the loss of her daughter (1306-1307: *πόθῳ τᾶς ἀποικομένης κούρας*).<sup>8</sup> This is the motif

5. I cite from Marcovich (ed.) 1995.

6. *ἐκερνοφόρησα* cod., corr. P. Leopardus.

7. For discussion of this passage of Clement, see Borgeaud 1996a, p. 156-168, who is concerned, however, to show the connection between Clement's account and the initiatory rite of *taurobolion* in the 2nd-4th centuries AD, which seems to have involved the ritual castration of a ram or bull. The altars (National Museum of Athens no. 1746 and 1747) discussed by Loucas, Loucas 1986 (p. 394-396) have inscriptions recording the performance of a *taurobolion* in the cult of Rhea-Ge-Demeter.

8. See Kannicht (ed.) 1969, *ad loc.* Borgeaud 1996a, p. 39-45, links this ode (datable to 412 BC) to the institution of a new *mêtrōon*, with cult statue by Agorakritos, in the ancient *bouleutērion* in

familiar from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. The goddess is pacified by a gift of the Mountain Mother's favourite musical instruments – *tympana* – and is addressed as Deo in line 1343. Thus we seem to have a clear case of syncretism between the Mountain Mother and Demeter-Deo.<sup>9</sup> Can Clement's account of the reason for Deo's wrath at Zeus be supported by other sources?

A century or more after Clement, the Latin patristic writer Arnobius adds some details to this account but follows the same narrative frame (*Adversus nationes* 5, 20-21 Reifferscheid). Arnobius makes it clear that the myth he relates about Zeus' rape of Demeter (his mother) belongs to the Phrygian mysteries of the goddess (*quibus Phrygia initiatur atque omnis gens Ilia*, 20). According to Arnobius' account, Zeus (*Diespiter*) assumed the shape of a bull in order to insinuate himself into the mother goddess' favour.<sup>10</sup> In this form he rapes her and is recognized in the act. His mother rages at the indignation and punishes her lewd son with all means at her disposal (*poenis quibus potis est persequatur*). Zeus is repentant but fails to pacify her until he conceives the plan (as in Clement) of castrating a ram and throwing its testicles into the Mother's lap as a sign of his contrition (*virilitate pignoris visa sumit animum mitiorem*, 21). Like Clement, Arnobius goes on to narrate the sequel: the birth of a daughter, Libera or Proserpina, to Demeter, for whom Zeus also conceives an incestuous passion. The fruit of this union is Sabazios (Sebadiis).

If we give credence to Clement and Arnobius here, or their shared sourcebook on the Mysteries, as Riedweg<sup>11</sup> would argue, we have a clear motive for the Mother's anger in the Epidaurian hymn. Zeus had either raped her, or tried to rape her. An unfortunate piece of incest, as Clement points out, as the Mother was also Zeus' mother: "I don't know whether I should call her mother or wife from now on" (*Protrep.* 15, 1). His testimony not only supplies the motive of a *hieros gamos* or perhaps we should say, with Clement, a *musaros gamos*, sparking off the rift between Zeus and Deo/Meter; it also explains Zeus' subsequent attempt to make amends. The actions appear to have combined a show of violence (rending the heart, presumably of a sacrificial victim in ritual) and various forms of supplication. This stage of the *neikos* between the gods is expressed dramatically in the hymn by the thunderbolts, the splitting of rocks and the persecution of the Mother. Although the theme of forceful persuasion is the same, the

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the Athenian agora; the construction work dates to the years 415-406. He adds that this was also the time when many Ionian states were defecting from Athenian rule; these states were also the main centres of metroac worship in Ionia. Euripides' Mountain Mother ode, may, in Borgeaud's opinion, have been intended to alert the Athenians to the necessity of propitiating Meter, just as the chorus say Helen should do. Loucas, Loucas 1986, p. 397, notes that Euripides was registered in the deme of Phlya, famous for its mysteries of the Great Goddess. Cf. *Bacch.* 275-276 for identity of Ge and Demeter.

9. For evidence of the syncretism generally see Maas 1933, p. 138; Wagman 1995, p. 132-133; Pizzocaro 1991, p. 241-242; Borgeaud 1996a, p. 161-162; Loucas, Loucas 1986, p. 397-399.
10. A motif otherwise associated with the Cretan myth of Zeus' rape of Pasiphae.
11. Riedweg 1987.



individual elements in both accounts differ widely. The Christian writers were clearly not using this hymn as their source. Above all there is no mention of the pseudo self-castration in the hymn, a motif which may have entered the tradition later as *aition* for the castrated *galloi* in Meter's cult. The initiates' motto quoted by Clement proves the symbolic value of *tympana* and cymbals in the Mother's Mysteries. One can only speculate what is meant by "eating and drinking" from these instruments.

Clement and Arnobius are late, biased sources, intent on discrediting the Greek Mysteries. This does not invalidate their testimony. On the contrary, their desire to reveal truly damning information about the Mysteries makes it likely that they were not tilting at windmills. Relatively recently, however, a fourth-century BC source has become available which provides confirmation of the theme of a rape of Demeter, alias the Mother of the Gods, by Zeus.<sup>12</sup> The Derveni Papyrus has been dated by letter forms and archaeological context to the later decades of the fourth century. The text itself may date to around 400 BC, or somewhat later. From the seventh column of writing preserved the anonymous author comments on a (perhaps the) Orphic cosmogony in hexameter verses. He allegorizes the mythical figures and actions in his source text in a manner reminiscent of pre-Socratic *physikoi*. He also picks out individual words of the Orphic text(s) in order to advocate an often strained and implausible interpretation of them. In column 22 he makes the sweeping claim that the various mythological names for the Mother god are one and the same person:

Ge and Meter and Rhea and Hera are the same. She was called Ge by common custom, Meter because all things come to be from her, Ge and Gaia according to people's individual dialect. And she was called Demeter in the sense of Ge Meter by a combination of both names, for they were the same. And a passage in the *Hymns* runs "Demeter, Rhea, Ge, Meter, Hestia, Deo."<sup>13</sup>

The Derveni author then goes on to explain the name Deo (a "normal" alias of Demeter): "She is also called Deo (Δηιώ) because she was rent (or "torn") in the course of the union (μειξεί)."<sup>14</sup> Surprisingly, Kouremenos<sup>15</sup> *et al.* suggest that μειξείς here means "child-bearing" or "parturition," adducing Plato's *Laws* 773d4, ἐν τῇ τῶν παίδων μειξεί. But this surely means "in intercourse of (= for) children,"

12. Cf. Burkert 1968, p. 102, writing soon after parts of the papyrus first became known: "Zumindest ein Vers und ein Motiv – der Inzest – sind aus der kaiserzeitlichen Überlieferung in die klassische Epoche zurückgeschwemmt." Also noted already by Loucas, Loucas 1986, p. 398.

13. Col. 22, l. 7-12. Text quoted from the new edition by Kouremenos *et al.* (2006, col. 22, l. 7-12): Γῆ δὲ καὶ Μῆτηρ καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Ἥρα ἢ αὐτή. Ἐκλήθη δὲ / Γῆ μὲν νόμῳ, Μῆτηρ δ' ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης πάντα γίνεται, / Γῆ καὶ Γαῖα κατὰ [γ]λωσσᾶν ἐκάστοις. Δημήτηρ [δὲ] / ὠνομάσθη ὡσπερ ἡ Γῆ Μῆτηρ, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐ[ν] ὄνομα· τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ ἦν. – Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὑμνοῖς εἰρ[η]μένον· / « Δημήτηρ [Ῥ]έα Γῆ Μῆτηρ Ἐστία Δηιώ ». For these "Hymns" see below. For "they were the same" (most translate in the singular, "it was the same") cf. Plato, *Prot.* 329c5.

14. Col. 22, l. 12-13: καλεῖ[τ]αι γὰρ[ο] / καὶ Δηιώ ὅτι ἐδη[ι]ώθη ἐν τῇ μειξεί.

15. Kouremenos *et al.* (eds) 2006, p. 255.

8. *τειρομένα* Furley 2001. The reading on the stone seems to be *κατωρημενα* (Hiller, Page, Wagman), but this nonsense may have originated through doubling of *κατωρ-* from the line above in the stone-cutter's hand-copy (Page, West and Robertson). For *τείρομαι* in this sense see the parallels in Furley, Bremer 2001 (II, p. 170-171). For the combination with *φρένας* cf. *Cypria* (ap. Athen., VIII, 334B) frg. 9, 5-6 (sc. Nemesis) *ἐτείρετο γὰρ φρένας αἰδοῖ / καὶ νεμέσει*. Omega (-τω-) may have been written by the stone-cutter through palaeographical similarity to epsilon-iota (-τει-).

13. *διέρο*{ρ}ησε. To preserve the telesilleian we have to read single rho, with initial scansion ~ ~. Maas *ad loc.* provides ample parallels for this. His emendation to *διέρο*ηξε restores a form of *διαροήγνυμι* (older) but breaks the sequence of imperfect forms, and this action of Zeus is surely repeated, too: "he kept on splitting rocks" (sc. with the thunderbolts he threw). Imperfect *διερόηνυ* will not work as the final upsilon is long. LSJ *s.v.* *διαροήσω* give only late instances of the verb (Babrius, 38, 7; Artemidorus, *Onir.* 4 *Praef.*), but there is an earlier instance of *διαροήσσεσθαι* (alongside forms of *διαροήγνυμι*) in Hippokr., *De affectionibus interioribus* (= *Περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς παθῶν*) 42 line 7.<sup>3</sup> This work is probably pre-Alexandrian, so the form *διέροησε* is not proof of late (imperial? Latte) composition.

18. After 18 Page marks a lacuna of indeterminate length; the immediate reason is the lack of a verb in this clause introduced by *μή*. If we do not like this, we must assume *aposiōpēsis* on Zeus' part; such a breaking off in mid speech is made easier by Wagman's suggestion that the two speeches in the hymn (first Zeus', then the Mother's) were sung by two semi-choruses, making the delivery more dramatic and comprehensible; cf. Furley, Bremer 2001 (II, p. 173).

19. If we punctuate thus, Meter's answer begins in a possible manner with a plain refusal ("Mit καὶ kann keine Rede anfangen" Maas). Zeus' speech was not introduced in any way; *καί* used in this way might be sufficient to mark the Mother's response: [Zeus said this:] ... and [the Mother said this:].

19 and 24. If we invert the order of *οὐκ ἄπειμι* and *ἀπελεύσομαι* on the stone we might preserve the metre in 19. As it stands, the line seems to consist of dubious cretics ("cretici miserrimi" Page). West already suggested writing *ἀπελεύσομαι* in 19 for this reason. If, further, we write *ἀπίω εἰς θεοῦς* in 24 (with synaloepe between *ἀπίω* and *εἰς*) we might mend the metre here, too. Furthermore, the subjunctive *ἀπίω* might be thought to give better sense. A voluntative sense "I will go" would mark the Mother's declaration of intent if she receives her fair share of rights in the universe. Moreover, *ἄπειμι* only has future sense in Attic.

3. Perhaps Page noticed this ("vid. LSJ *s.v.* *ῥάσσω*"), but the passage in Hippokrates is in fact noted under *ῥήγνυμι*.

20. ἄν μῆ. Attic ἄν (= ἐάν) does not suit lyric *koinē*. Maas considers original αἰ μῆ (without modal particle) “not impossible.” A text on its way through the Hellenistic centuries, however, might easily pick up such Atticisms.

21-22. τὸ μὲν (~ ~) stand here for the usual aneps whereas, in the following line, τὸ δὲ should probably be elided.

22. There is a gap before γαιας in the inscription large enough for three or four letters and, as it stands, the line scans as a reizianus (= catalectic telesillean). It looks as if the stone-cutter wished to insert a word later. The only other comparable gap (about half the size of this one) occurs before the final address to the Mother (χαῖρ' ὦ κτλ.). There it clearly marks a break in sense, but here there is no such sense break. I suggest γᾶς ἐμᾶς which both mends metre and would explain the gap in the text. That the Mother says “my Earth” makes sense as she *is* Ge. An analogous passage describing Hekate's privileges in Hesiod's *Theogony* has μοῖραν ἔχειν γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρογέτοιο θαλάσσης (413).

23. πόντω τὸ. Probably West's πόντω τε τρίτον μέρος, “a half share of the sea thirdly,” is preferable. But conceivably τὸ τρίτον μέρος is theologically accurate: the Mother knows she has not only Zeus to contend with as master of this realm, but also Poseidon. Of the first two realms, Zeus is clearly master of the sky whilst in the case of earth the Mother has only an *alias* of herself as Earth Mother to contend with in addition to the tyrant Zeus. A half of sky and earth and a third of the sea might be a reasonable claim, and that is certainly what the text says as it stands. If we retain τὸ the line follows 22 asyndetically.

24. I suggest χοῦτως ἀπ'ίω εἰς θεούς, see note on line 19.

25. <μ>εγάλα ἄνασσα. Perhaps a relic of the digamma was still felt in this traditional expression, alleviating the hiatus (Wagman).

### The cause of the Mother's anger

The Epidaurian hymn gives no explanation why the Mother is wandering distraught. Until now this, together with the strange partition of the universe between Zeus and the Mother, has been considered an unexplained mystery. Recent work, including that of Pizzocaro and Wagman, see in the hymn's myth a sign of “originality,” a “*hapax mitico*” which does not connect with other known events in the Meter's career. Pizzocaro<sup>4</sup> suggests that this individuality, or eccentricity, of the myth may mark it

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4. Pizzocaro 1991, p. 243.

out as a sacred text in mystery rites: initiates into the Mother's mysteries were taught strange secrets about the goddess which nobody else had heard. However, assuming that the Mother of the Gods may be equated with her Phrygian counterpart Kybele (= Meter Oreia/Idaia, Dindymene and other names), some important evidence has been neglected hitherto.

Clement of Alexandria includes the Mysteries of Deo (= Demeter) in his exposure of the folly of Greek mystery religions (*Protrepticus* 2, 15).<sup>5</sup> His treatment starts with an amusing etymology, showing his spleen: the *orgia* of Demeter derive from the Mother's *orgê*, "anger;" and the Mysteries derive from the *musos*, filth, of their *hieroi logoi* (*Protrep.* 2, 13). Then Clement explains that Deo's anger (*μῆνις*) was caused by sexual assault (*ἀφροδίσιον συμπλοκαί*) on her by Zeus. Zeus tried to pacify the offended Mother goddess (*ἰκετηρίαί Διός*), a charm offensive which is said to have included "a drink of bile," "tearings out of the heart" and "filthy practices" (*πόμα χολῆς καὶ καρδιουλκίαί καὶ ἀρρητουργίαί*). At this point Clement adds that these rites coincide with those performed by Phrygians for Attis and Kybele and the Korybantes. Zeus then tricked the Mother by tearing off the balls of a ram and throwing them into the Mother's lap, as if he had castrated himself to atone for the rape (*τιμωρίαν ψευδῆ τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτιννύων*). Finally Clement quotes the motto of initiates into the Mother's mysteries, as he feels sure this will raise a laugh among his readers: "I ate from the *tympanon*. I drank from the *kymbalon*. I carried the *kernos*. I descended into the bridal chamber" (*ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον· ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν*).<sup>7</sup>

Which Mysteries is Clement reporting on here? Certainly not the Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter and Kore, to which he turns in chapters 20-22 of the same work, in order to debunk them. In the above passage we note that he equates these mysteries of Demeter with the Phrygian rites of the goddess. The equation of Demeter/Deo with the Mother of the Gods (= Mountain Mother) is one which is well attested from the fifth century BC on in a number of sources. I will consider some of these in more detail below. It will suffice at this point to recall the famous Mountain Mother ode of Euripides' *Helen* (412 BC) in which the chorus describe how the Mountain Mother (1301-1302: *ὄρεία μάτηρ*) roamed over the earth distraught with grief over the loss of her daughter (1306-1307: *πόθῳ τᾶς ἀποικομένης κούρας*).<sup>8</sup> This is the motif

5. I cite from Marcovich (ed.) 1995.

6. *ἐκερνοφόρησα* cod., corr. P. Leopardus.

7. For discussion of this passage of Clement, see Borgeaud 1996a, p. 156-168, who is concerned, however, to show the connection between Clement's account and the initiatory rite of *taurobolion* in the 2nd-4th centuries AD, which seems to have involved the ritual castration of a ram or bull. The altars (National Museum of Athens no. 1746 and 1747) discussed by Loucas, Loucas 1986 (p. 394-396) have inscriptions recording the performance of a *taurobolion* in the cult of Rhea-Ge-Demeter.

8. See Kannicht (ed.) 1969, *ad loc.* Borgeaud 1996a, p. 39-45, links this ode (datable to 412 BC) to the institution of a new *mêtrōon*, with cult statue by Agorakritos, in the ancient *bouleutērion* in

familiar from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. The goddess is pacified by a gift of the Mountain Mother's favourite musical instruments – *tympana* – and is addressed as Deo in line 1343. Thus we seem to have a clear case of syncretism between the Mountain Mother and Demeter-Deo.<sup>9</sup> Can Clement's account of the reason for Deo's wrath at Zeus be supported by other sources?

A century or more after Clement, the Latin patristic writer Arnobius adds some details to this account but follows the same narrative frame (*Adversus nationes* 5, 20-21 Reifferscheid). Arnobius makes it clear that the myth he relates about Zeus' rape of Demeter (his mother) belongs to the Phrygian mysteries of the goddess (*quibus Phrygia initiatur atque omnis gens Ilia*, 20). According to Arnobius' account, Zeus (*Diespiter*) assumed the shape of a bull in order to insinuate himself into the mother goddess' favour.<sup>10</sup> In this form he rapes her and is recognized in the act. His mother rages at the indignation and punishes her lewd son with all means at her disposal (*poenis quibus potis est persequatur*). Zeus is repentant but fails to pacify her until he conceives the plan (as in Clement) of castrating a ram and throwing its testicles into the Mother's lap as a sign of his contrition (*virilitate pignoris visa sumit animum mitiorem*, 21). Like Clement, Arnobius goes on to narrate the sequel: the birth of a daughter, Libera or Proserpina, to Demeter, for whom Zeus also conceives an incestuous passion. The fruit of this union is Sabazios (Sebadiis).

If we give credence to Clement and Arnobius here, or their shared sourcebook on the Mysteries, as Riedweg<sup>11</sup> would argue, we have a clear motive for the Mother's anger in the Epidaurian hymn. Zeus had either raped her, or tried to rape her. An unfortunate piece of incest, as Clement points out, as the Mother was also Zeus' mother: "I don't know whether I should call her mother or wife from now on" (*Protrep.* 15, 1). His testimony not only supplies the motive of a *hieros gamos* or perhaps we should say, with Clement, a *musaros gamos*, sparking off the rift between Zeus and Deo/Meter; it also explains Zeus' subsequent attempt to make amends. The actions appear to have combined a show of violence (rending the heart, presumably of a sacrificial victim in ritual) and various forms of supplication. This stage of the *neikos* between the gods is expressed dramatically in the hymn by the thunderbolts, the splitting of rocks and the persecution of the Mother. Although the theme of forceful persuasion is the same, the

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the Athenian agora; the construction work dates to the years 415-406. He adds that this was also the time when many Ionian states were defecting from Athenian rule; these states were also the main centres of metroac worship in Ionia. Euripides' Mountain Mother ode, may, in Borgeaud's opinion, have been intended to alert the Athenians to the necessity of propitiating Meter, just as the chorus say Helen should do. Loucas, Loucas 1986, p. 397, notes that Euripides was registered in the deme of Phlya, famous for its mysteries of the Great Goddess. Cf. *Bacch.* 275-276 for identity of Ge and Demeter.

9. For evidence of the syncretism generally see Maas 1933, p. 138; Wagman 1995, p. 132-133; Pizzocaro 1991, p. 241-242; Borgeaud 1996a, p. 161-162; Loucas, Loucas 1986, p. 397-399.
10. A motif otherwise associated with the Cretan myth of Zeus' rape of Pasiphae.
11. Riedweg 1987.

individual elements in both accounts differ widely. The Christian writers were clearly not using this hymn as their source. Above all there is no mention of the pseudo self-castration in the hymn, a motif which may have entered the tradition later as *aition* for the castrated *galloi* in Meter's cult. The initiates' motto quoted by Clement proves the symbolic value of *tympana* and cymbals in the Mother's Mysteries. One can only speculate what is meant by "eating and drinking" from these instruments.

Clement and Arnobius are late, biased sources, intent on discrediting the Greek Mysteries. This does not invalidate their testimony. On the contrary, their desire to reveal truly damning information about the Mysteries makes it likely that they were not tilting at windmills. Relatively recently, however, a fourth-century BC source has become available which provides confirmation of the theme of a rape of Demeter, alias the Mother of the Gods, by Zeus.<sup>12</sup> The Derveni Papyrus has been dated by letter forms and archaeological context to the later decades of the fourth century. The text itself may date to around 400 BC, or somewhat later. From the seventh column of writing preserved the anonymous author comments on a (perhaps the) Orphic cosmogony in hexameter verses. He allegorizes the mythical figures and actions in his source text in a manner reminiscent of pre-Socratic *physikoi*. He also picks out individual words of the Orphic text(s) in order to advocate an often strained and implausible interpretation of them. In column 22 he makes the sweeping claim that the various mythological names for the Mother god are one and the same person:

Ge and Meter and Rhea and Hera are the same. She was called Ge by common custom, Meter because all things come to be from her, Ge and Gaia according to people's individual dialect. And she was called Demeter in the sense of Ge Meter by a combination of both names, for they were the same. And a passage in the *Hymns* runs "Demeter, Rhea, Ge, Meter, Hestia, Deo."<sup>13</sup>

The Derveni author then goes on to explain the name Deo (a "normal" alias of Demeter): "She is also called Deo (Δηιώ) because she was rent (or "torn") in the course of the union (μειξεί)."<sup>14</sup> Surprisingly, Kouremenos<sup>15</sup> *et al.* suggest that μειξείς here means "child-bearing" or "parturition," adducing Plato's *Laws* 773d4, ἐν τῇ τῶν παίδων μειξεί. But this surely means "in intercourse of (= for) children,"

12. Cf. Burkert 1968, p. 102, writing soon after parts of the papyrus first became known: "Zumindest ein Vers und ein Motiv – der Inzest – sind aus der kaiserzeitlichen Überlieferung in die klassische Epoche zurückgeschwemmt." Also noted already by Loucas, Loucas 1986, p. 398.

13. Col. 22, l. 7-12. Text quoted from the new edition by Kouremenos *et al.* (2006, col. 22, l. 7-12): Γῆ δὲ καὶ Μήτηρ καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Ἥρα ἢ αὐτή. Ἐκλήθη δὲ / Γῆ μὲν νόμῳ, Μήτηρ δ' ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης πάντα γίνεταί, / Γῆ καὶ Γαῖα κατὰ [γ]λωσσᾶν ἐκάστοις. Δημήτηρ [δὲ] / ὠνομάσθη ὡσπερ ἡ Γῆ Μήτηρ, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐ[ν] ὄνομα· τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ ἦν. – Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὑμνοῖς εἰρ[η]μένον· / « Δημήτηρ [Ῥ]έα Γῆ Μήτηρ Ἐστία Δηιώ ». For these "Hymns" see below. For "they were the same" (most translate in the singular, "it was the same") cf. Plato, *Prot.* 329c5.

14. Col. 22, l. 12-13: καλεῖ[τ]αι γὰρ[ο] / καὶ Δηιώ ὅτι ἐδη[ι]ώθη ἐν τῇ μειξεί.

15. Kouremenos *et al.* (eds) 2006, p. 255.



*i.e.* which “leads to” children (LSJ *s.v.*). The natural interpretation of the passage in the Derveni text is that Demeter was ravaged, physically injured, in the course of sexual intercourse.<sup>16</sup>

At this point in the text the author gives no further details, but in the missing last portion of column 25 and the extant part of column 26 there is discussion of a line of the Orphic poem which indicates that Zeus conceived a desire for his own mother, once the process of cosmogony was complete. The line has been reconstructed by West<sup>17</sup> as ἤθελε μητρὸς ἑᾶς μιχθήμεναι ἐν φιλότῃτι, “he wished to be united in love with his mother.” The Derveni author’s comment on the line concerns the sense of ἑᾶς, which he takes (perversely) as “good” (as if from εὖς) rather than “his own”. He gives no information about the identity of the Mother, and the lines which may have named the issue of the union are lost.<sup>18</sup>

Since these two passages of the Derveni text – “etymology” of Deo and Zeus’ incestuous union with his mother – are quite close together in the author’s exegesis it does not seem too bold a step to link them:<sup>19</sup> Demeter = Ge Meter = Deo was physically harmed by a sexual assault. None other than Zeus, the most powerful of the gods, raped her. Nothing is said here of Demeter’s anger following the rape, or of a rift between the gods with cosmic consequences as a result, but we have neither the full text of the Derveni author, nor a complete version of the Orphic texts on which he is commenting. It is possible that the mention of the rape of Deo itself was not in the Orphic cosmogony which is the Derveni author’s primary source, but in another Orphic work. The Derveni papyrus, despite its anonymity and its puzzling, sometimes bizarre, style of comment, nevertheless yields strong confirmation as early as the fourth century BC of (1) the identity of Meter and Demeter (2) her rape by – here we have to put two and two together – Zeus.

What are these “Hymns” from which the Derveni author quotes in addition to the Orphic cosmogony? They may certainly not be identified with either the Orphic “Rhapsodies” or the surviving collection of Orphic hymns, as these are later. Obbink<sup>20</sup>, however, has pointed out that the fourth-century Atthidographer Philochoros makes

16. Obbink 1994, p. 123, translates: “For she is called Deio too because she was cut asunder (*i.e.* ravaged) in the mixture (or: ‘in sexual intercourse’).” For the sexual imagery cf. Calame 1997, p. 71. For the cosmological sense of this “tearing” in the Derveni author’s theory, see Betegh 2004, p. 263-264.

17. West 1983, p. 115, l. 47.

18. Cf. Jourdan (ed.) 2003, p. 106, who suggests that col. 26 of the Derveni Papyrus “announce la naissance de Dionysos”, but that is only a possibility if the supplement of line 13 υἱὸς δ’] ἀὐτῆς ἄν εἴη (Tsantsanoglou *ap.* Janko 2002) is correct. No letters of Dionysos’ name appear in the broken bottom section of this column. Obbink 1994, p. 123, n. 40, says, without stating reasons, that their offspring was Persephone. This suits the genealogy in Clement and Arnobius, but tells against the supplement υἱὸς δ’] in line 13.

19. As Obbink 1994, p. 123, n. 40, does.

20. Obbink 1994.

a similar citation from “Hymns” of Orpheus, so similar in fact that Obbink believes that Philochoros was quoting from the Derveni text itself. The passage in question runs *κἄν τοῖς Ὑμνοῖς δ’ Ὀρφ[εὺς παρὰ Φιλοχόρῳ γῆν [κ]αὶ Δήμητρα τὴν αὐτὴν Ἑστία*, “Orpheus says in the *Hymns*, as cited by Philochoros, that Demeter is the same as Hestia.”<sup>21</sup> It seems to me equally possible that the Derveni author and Philochoros are quoting independently from the same collection of Orphic hymns known then.<sup>22</sup> Obbink reconstructs the Derveni author’s citation from the hymns as a hexameter as follows: *Δεμέτερ Ῥέα Γεῖ Μέτερ* <e.g. *τε καὶ*> (Janko) Ἑστία Δειοῖ (*sic*: all vocative forms). This collection of “Orphic hymns” is a nebulous entity. A passage of Pausanias (IX, 30, 12 = OF 304) refers to a small collection of short hymns by Orpheus. He says that “the Lykomids know them and chant them at their ceremonies (*ἴσασι τε καὶ ἐπάδουσι τοῖς δρωμένοις*).” They are lost to us, however.

To sum up so far: I believe that the “missing link” in the narrative of the Epidaurian hymn to the Mother of the Gods can be supplied from sources revealing, or alluding to, a *hieros logos* in mysteries of Deo/Demeter. For the argument to be cogent it is necessary, as we have seen, to assume syncretism between Demeter in certain contexts and Meter (= Mother of the Gods). Sources indicating that from the fifth century BC on are not lacking. Obbink<sup>23</sup> argues that the syncretism Meter/Demeter was a product of Attic cult. It will be useful to consider further evidence bearing on the question from both Attica and beyond.

(1) The same passage of Philodemos discussed above cites a number of other poets in illustration of Philodemos’ theme, the syncretism, or *synoikeiōsis*, of gods’ names, specifically: names for the Earth-Mother goddess. Following on from the citation of Philochoros (above) Philodemos writes:

... just as Sophocles in *Inachos* (*TrGF* 4, 269a, 51 Radt) says that Ge and the Mother of the Gods are [the same], and in *Triptolemos* (*TrGF* 4, 615 Radt) Hestia as well, Kleidemos says that Rhea and the Mother of the Gods [are the same], which various authors in the Sacred Texts have also expounded. Melanippides (*PMG* 764) says that Demeter and the Mother of the Gods are one entity and Telestes (fig. 5) in the *Birth of Zeus* says the same, and Rhea too.<sup>24</sup>

21. P. Herc. 1428 frg. 3 = Philodemos, *De pietate* (HV2 II, 2 p. 63 + II, 51 p. 23 Gomperz). The fragment of Philochoros = *FGrHist* 328F 185.

22. Obbink makes the further intriguing suggestion that the citation may derive from a hymn by Musaios (later attributed to Orpheus) to Demeter, which the poet composed for the Attic *gens* of Lykomidai (see below).

23. Obbink 1994.

24. Philodemos, *De piet.* 23 and 63 Gomperz = P. Herc. 1428 frg. 3: [Καθὸ] καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐ[ν Ἰνά]χῳ τὴν Γῆν Μη[τέ]ρα τῶν θεῶν φη[σιν.] ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ [δὲ] καὶ Ἑστίαν εἶν[αι.] Κλειδήμος δὲ [Ῥέαν] Μητέρα θεῶν ὁ[περ] κἄν τοῖς Ἱεροῖς Λ[ό]γοις τινὲς ἐξεν[ηνό]χασιν. Μελανίπιδης δὲ Δήμητρ[α καὶ] Μητέρα θεῶν φη[σιν] μίαν ὑπάρχ[ειν] καὶ Τελέστ[ης ἐν Διὸς γοναί]ος τὸ [αὐτὸ] καὶ Ῥέαν φη[σιν].



Sophocles and Kleidemos are certainly Attic writers, but Melanippides and Telestes were dithyrambic poets from Melos and Selinus respectively. Philodemos' poetic sources are therefore not exclusively Attic.

(2) The cult of the Attic *genos* of Lykomidai at Phlya involved mystery rites which were reputed to be older than the Eleusinian Mysteries. We hear of Orphic hymns and a hymn to Demeter by Mousaios.<sup>25</sup> Demeter seems to have been involved centrally. However, archaeology has also turned up an altar of Rhea-Cybele and the Great Goddess<sup>26</sup>. É. and I. Loucas conclude that the Great Goddess of the mysteries of Phlya was "l'antique divinité de la Terre invoquée sous le nom de Rhéa... à laquelle étaient assimilées Déméter et Cybèle."<sup>27</sup> The cult house, called a *klision* by Pausanias, contained on one wall images of a grey-haired, ithyphallic, winged man chasing a woman in a dark mantle.<sup>28</sup> The scene of orgiastic dancing on an Attic rf. krater datable to approximately 440 BC<sup>29</sup> has also been connected with this cult in Phlya. The scene is presided over by two deities, one clearly Meter, the other a bearded male deity who has not been identified definitively.

(3) A recently published gold funerary lamella from near Pherai in Thessaly records initiation in the *orgia* of Chthonic Demeter and the Mountain Mother. With the lacuna at the end of line 1, the text runs: "Admit me to the company of Initiates. I have the *orgia* [one word missing] / the mystery rites of Chthonic Demeter and the Mountain Mother."<sup>30</sup> It is not clear whether the rites of Chthonic Demeter and the Mountain Mother are to be seen as a joint ritual or two initiations undertaken singly, but either way the phrasing points to a close affiliation of the rites of the two goddesses. The gold leaf therefore documents precisely what I propose as background for the Epidaurian hymn: rites and belief in the cult of the Mother of the Gods in a form linked to, or compatible with, mystery rites for Demeter, possibly with a distinct identity (chthonic). Demeter Chthonia was worshipped principally at Hermione in the Peloponnese.<sup>31</sup>

25. Pausanias, I, 22, 7; IV, 1, 6; Orphic hymns in the same cult: IX, 30, 12; Hippolytos, *Ref.* 5, 20, 5; for the connection of the ancient mystery cult of the Lykomidai with a mystery cult of the Great Goddesses at Messene and the Boeotian Mysteries of the Kabeiroi, cf. Pausanias, IV, 1, 5-9. For the cult of the Lykomidai, cf. Parker 1996, p. 305; Loucas, Loucas 1986, p. 396-399.

26. Loucas, Loucas 1986, p. 399.

27. *Op. cit.*

28. Burkert 1977, p. 416.

29. Discussed below, p. 248-249.

30. 4th or 3rd c. BC. See Parker, Stamatopoulou 2004; without supplementing the first line the text reads πέμπτε με πρὸς μυστῶν θιάσους· ἔχω ὄργια [ ] / Δήμητρος χθονίας †τέλη καὶ Μητρὸς ὀρεΐ[ας]. In Furley 2009 I suggest the supplement ὄργια [ῥέξας / ... <τε> τέλη (τε iam edd. pr.). For commentary on the role of the Mountain Mother here see Parker, Stamatopoulou 2004, p. 14-15. For more discussion of this text, see Ferrari, Prauscello 2007.

31. Pausanias, II, 35, 4-8; for the syncretism of Demeter and the Mountain Mother here cf. Ferrari, Prauscello 2007.

(4) For Epidaurus specifically we note an inscription from the third century AD which records a dedication to Zeus and Helios and All the Gods by one Diogenes, “attendant of Deo and priest of Asklepios.”<sup>32</sup> This makes it likely that the cult of the Mother of the Gods in Asklepios’ sanctuary was associated, if not identical, with that of Deo/Demeter.<sup>33</sup>

The point is this: Meter could be called Deo, and Demeter could, in certain contexts, be considered as Mother of the Gods. But this connection should not induce us, as it has Pizzocaro,<sup>34</sup> to seek an equivalence between rites for the Mother at Epidaurus and the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>35</sup> Clearly Demeter’s myth at Eleusis involved the loss of a daughter to Hades. It is Zeus who, through mediators, pacifies her with a compromise solution for her daughter. The central myth of Meter’s Mysteries, on the other hand, if we are to believe the sources presented above, involved rape by Zeus of the Mother followed by cosmo-political reconciliation. As others have pointed out, the rights to a half-dominion of the elements which are accorded the Mother in the Epidaurian hymn, find an interesting parallel to those granted Hekate in a passage of Hesiod’s *Theogony*.<sup>36</sup> In some contexts Hekate, too, is assimilated with Meter.<sup>37</sup>

### The role of the *tympana*

The repeated line τὰ τύμπαν’ ἐλάμβανε, “and he made to take the *tympana*” has caused commentators considerable difficulty. Maas condemned them as an interpolation, though from what source or prompted by what he did not like to say. West pointed to the similar expression in the *Helen* stasimon –τύμπανά τ’ ἔλαβε– and rewrote the lines of the Epidaurian hymn to allow Aphrodite to take the *tympana* on the instigation of Zeus and give them to the Mother to pacify her rage: καὶ <Κύπρις ἔπειθε, καὶ> / τὰ τύμπαν’ ἐλάμβανε.<sup>38</sup> Pizzocaro<sup>39</sup> suggests that the repeated line constitutes a kind of refrain spoken (sung) by the hymnede or chorus to accompany the narrative of Zeus’ fulmination. The *tympana* are the attribute *par excellence* of

32. Διοῦς πρόπολος, Παιήονος ἱερεύς. For the full text and discussion of the inscription, see Wagman 1995, p. 45-46. It dates to the year 297 AD.

33. Cf. Pizzocaro 1991, p. 235-256.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 236 and p. 242-243.

35. Cf. Riedweg 1988, p. 129 with n. 13.

36. *Th.* 411-427; cf. Maas 1933, p. 140f; Pizzocaro 1991, p. 242.

37. Cf. Roller 1991, p. 141-142 and Roller 1999, p. 226.

38. West 1970a, p. 213. Gallavotti proposed that the lines in the hymn originated as a marginal gloss written by someone wishing to point out the parallel between the situation in this hymn and the *Helen* stasimon (1301 *sq.*).

39. Pizzocaro 1991, p. 239.

Meter;<sup>40</sup> accordingly, the mention of them here in conjunction with Zeus gives the ritual setting for the events related in the myth. Moreover, he says that by “making to take the *tympana*” Zeus is trying to get on the Mother’s “wavelength” so that he can communicate with her better. He takes her main attribute in his hands, according to this suggestion, so that he appears as one of her devotees.<sup>41</sup>

With Zeus as subject ἐλάμβανε is ambiguous. It might mean “took” away from the goddess as a way of pressurizing her; or it might mean “took” into his own hands, *i.e.* “assumed” the *tympana* in order, presumably, to play on them. Pizzocaro’s explanation of this passage clearly depends on the latter reading. In context the former seems to me more likely: Zeus tried to take away the Mother’s *tympana* as another way of trying to coerce her into submission.

Possible confirmation of this comes from a rather tenuous skein of evidence assembled by Handley<sup>42</sup> in connection with Menander’s lost play *Theoproumenê*, or “The Girl Possessed.” The combination of two papyri in Florence allows us to trace some of the dialogue between two friends in this play, Lysias and Kleinias, who wish to test whether a girl is genuinely possessed by the Mother and in an abnormal mental state. Among the symptoms she has displayed is her wandering alone outside her home like the Mother. The friends hit on the idea of playing Korybantic music outside the house in question to see whether she responds automatically by coming outside and dancing in a manner showing her Korybantic possession. The girl herself is quoted at one point in their dialogue as complaining that someone has “stolen her gifts:” ... «τὰμὰ δῶρ, ἀκούεις;» ἡ κόρη / «τὰ δῶρα» φησί, «τὰμὰ μ’ ἀφείλονθ’»...<sup>43</sup> The context is uncertain but conceivably we have here an aspect of metroac “madness:” the person possessed imagines he/she has been deprived of her gifts, which are likely to include the prime attribute, the *tympana*.<sup>44</sup>

Clement also discloses that the mystic *synthema* in Deo’s rites involved “eating from the *tympana*,” whatever that entailed (*Protrep.* 15, 3). When Zeus in the hymn tries to “take the *tympana*” he was presumably striking at the heart of the Mother’s identity. His other actions are violent in the extreme; the “taking of the *tympana*” must be seen in this context, as an attempt to force the Mother into submission. Her huffy reply – “I will not return to Olympus unless I receive a generous share of rights

40. Cf. Euripides, *Bacch.* 124-125 where *tympana* are said by the chorus to have been invented by the Korybantes: βυρσότονον κύκλωμα τόδε μοι Κορύβαντες εὔρον, with *ibid.* 78-82, invoking Meter’s rites.

41. P. 242: “... Zeus, per interloquire con la Madre degli dèi e placarla, allo scopo di parlare nel linguaggio della dea rinuncia ai propri attributi e assume quelli della dea stessa: i timpani.”

42. Handley 1969.

43. *PSI* 12, 1280 Bartoletti (from Oxyrhynchos) lines 17-21 (text Handley).

44. That *tympana* are a mark of the person participating in Meter’s cult is indicated by Philokleon’s behaviour in Aristophanes’ *Wasps*. The son tries to cure the father of his addiction to litigation by sending him to the Korybantes for treatment (ἐκορυβάντιζ, 119). But the father absconds, *tympanon* in hand, and goes on adjudicating (ὁ δ’ αὐτῶ τυμπάνῳ / ἄξιας ἐδίκαζεν, 119-120).

in the universe!” – marks her rebuttal of Zeus’ threatening stance. It seems unlikely that, amid his other acts of aggression, Zeus would want to play the *tympana* in a placatory manner, as Pizzocaro suggests. Nor should we forget that Zeus acts in a conciliatory fashion in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and in the *Helen* stasimon only when forced to. Life on earth ceases to function as a result of Deo’s rebellion. Zeus is forced to the bargaining table by her show of power and only becomes conciliatory then. In the Epidaurian hymn the sequence is compressed; the Mother flees distraught (we have to supply the motive of sexual assault); Zeus tries to force a change of heart; she stands firm against his threats and makes far-reaching demands; Zeus (presumably) consents and that is the moment of conciliation. The short compass of the hymn elides this natural step in the exchange between the two gods and merely salutes the “Queen Mother of the Gods” in closing.

### Conclusions

If the above suggestions are acceptable, we may see in the Epidaurian hymn to the Mother of the Gods a reflection of the “Phrygian” style of rites for Meter-Demeter performed within the compass of Asklepios’ healing cult. Since the inscription was on public display we cannot expect it to reveal the *mysteria* themselves. This consideration provides, in fact, a good explanation of why the essential link in the logic of the hymn’s narrative is missing: why Zeus and the Mother are at loggerheads and why she is wandering across the land. The incestuous rape motif belongs to the *arcana* of the cult which Clement and other Christian writers were willing to divulge in order to defame the Greek mysteries, but which adherents of the cult would prefer not to advertise as being *aprepes*.<sup>45</sup> For this reason we need not attribute the display of the text on stone to a period when the cult’s sanctity was fading, as the text does not reveal the true secrets of mystic doctrine.

On balance, the language of the hymn does not preclude composition in, say, the fourth century BC (in this I concur with Page). As in the case of the Palaikastro *Hymn to the Greatest Kouros*,<sup>46</sup> we appear to be dealing with an older composition written down at a time when its forms and rhythms were becoming unfamiliar and therefore liable to corruption. This is not the place to consider in detail the history of the cult of the Mother of the Gods in mainland Greece; suffice it here to say that records begin in the seventh and sixth centuries,<sup>47</sup> and by the fifth century literary

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45. Similarly – if my suggestion as to the cause of the quarrel is right – the hymn elides the issue of the incest (Persephone, probably). This, too, belongs to the *hieros logos* of the mystery cult, and should not be divulged.

46. See in this volume Brulé, p. 253-268.

47. Pausanias, III, 22, 4, identifies the oldest sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in the Peloponnese in Akriai. See La Genière 1992 (earliest remains from 7th c.), who even wonders

and archaeological sources document a wide distribution of, and familiarity with, the cult of Meter-Kybele.<sup>48</sup> Our fourth century sources show that Korybantic initiation, the cult of the Mother and her associate divinities (especially Sabazios) were familiar enough to the Athenians, even if they were considered disconcertingly “Oriental” and hence disreputable.<sup>49</sup> The archaeological record of Meter’s cult in Epidaurus itself begins in the fifth or fourth century BC and continues for over half a millennium.<sup>50</sup> It would seem quite plausible that the Epidaurian hymn had at least its spiritual roots in the fourth century BC even if the text itself is somewhat later. The piece may have existed only in oral performance in its early history, permitting the infiltration of later forms and constructions in the course of time; perhaps the imperial-age inscription marks its first textual fixation.

Although Lucretius says that “Greek poets have sung” the Mother of the Gods, thus giving the impression that the description of the Mother’s orgiastic train which follows applies to Greek rites, these seem to have been more restrained than their Roman counterpart.<sup>51</sup> In our Greek sources we hear little about the castrated *galli* which make up Magna Mater’s procession in Lucretius, and less about self-mutilation.<sup>52</sup> What seems to have distinguished rites for Meter in Greece is the combination of penetrating music produced by *aulos*, *tympanon* and other percussion instruments with wild, enthusiastic dancing.<sup>53</sup> Such a performance is well illustrated by an Attic rf. krater in Ferrara (*fig. 19; ca 440 BC*) which shows dancers and musicians in a

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(p. 102) whether the Laconian cult does not have its origins in the Bronze Age “Ma-te-re te-i-a” (Linear B tablet PY 1202), “Divine Mother,” cf. Roller 1996, p. 134.

48. The material has been thoroughly collected and presented by Roller 1996. Of literary sources, the passage of Euripides’ *Helen* has already been mentioned; Roller 1996, p. 167, counts nine other fifth-century tragedies featuring Meter within a span of twenty-five years. Other significant literary loci of the cult of the Mother are: *HH* 14 Εἰς Μητέρα θεῶν; Pindar, *Pythian* 3, 77-79; *id.* frg. 80 Snell with Henrichs 1976, p. 254; Diogenes (tragicus), *TrGF* I, 45 frg. 1 Snell. For an interesting examination of the advent and significance of the cult in Athens, see now Munn 2006.
49. Demosthenes’ attack on Aischines (*On the Crown* 260) for assisting his mother in the rites of Sabazios and the Mother is a good example. Plato has a number of references to Korybantic initiation. Not only Menander’s *Theophoroumenē* but also his *Hiereia* had metroac possession and music as a theme (*fig. 210 Koerte*).
50. See Wagman 1995, p. 107-108.
51. *De rerum natura* 2, 600; the description of her wild procession, with self mutilation of the *galli*, extends to 660. The aetiological myth which Lucretius gives in connection with these rites is that of Zeus’ birth from Cronus and the Mother (= Rhea); the Curetes drown out the baby’s cries with their war dance so that Saturnus is frustrated of his desire to devour his offspring and thus inflict an *aeternum vulnus* (639) in the Mother’s heart. For the more controlled character of Greek rites of Meter, cf. Roller 1996, p. 140.
52. Cf. La Genière 1992, p. 99.
53. Cf. Diogenes tragicus, *TrGF* I, 45 frg. 1 Snell; Menander, *Hiereia* *fig. 210 Koerte*.

scene of metroac worship.<sup>54</sup> A female divinity identified clearly enough as Meter by a crown and lion is shown seated beside a male deity who may be Dionysos.<sup>55</sup> Before them dance a small gathering of *mystai* to *aulos* and *tympanon* accompaniment in a style which looks very like scenes of maenadism. Some of the dancers hold snakes aloft, as Demosthenes mocked Aischines as having done when he was “leader of the dance” in metroac initiations (see below).

The atmosphere is powerfully evoked in Pindar’s dithyramb entitled “Herakles” or “Kerberos”; here the gods themselves form a torchlit procession which, led by the Great Mother (Ματέρη παρ μεγάλα, 9), dances ecstatically (l. 12-14) to the beat of *tympana* and *krotala*.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, the close of Euripides’ Mountain-Mother ode in *Helen* evokes the stirring racket of Dionysos and Meter’s joint musical procession (1358-1365). In several passages of Plato we hear of the therapeutic quality of music in Korybantic rites.<sup>57</sup> And it was this music, produced by percussion instruments and accompanied by lively dances, which presumably led to the association of Meter and the Kouretes, the mythical warriors who drowned out the tell-tale cries of Zeus as a baby with the clashing of their weapons and their dance.<sup>58</sup>

Demosthenes paints a vivid picture of his opponent Aischines’ involvement in rites for (probably) Meter and Sabazios. During the day, says Demosthenes, the young Aischines led the “fine *thiasoi* of cult worshippers through the streets;” he held snakes aloft in his hands and called out “Euoi Saboi!” and other cult cries to Attis, dancing all the while in his capacity as leader of the congregation of “little old women” (γροαδίω).<sup>59</sup> From a survey of archaeological dedications to Meter, Roller<sup>60</sup> suggests that women were probably in the majority in Meter’s cult. An example of a woman who danced for Kybele (= the Mountain Mother) and was cured of the “madness in her foot” is given in an epigram by Rhianus of Crete (*A.P.* VI, 173); she is said to have danced repeatedly with hair waving freely and uttering penetrating cult cries. We do not know much more about the contents of the Mother’s initiatory rites.

In this paper I have suggested as *aition* for the Epidaurian hymn a myth involving an incestuous rape of the Mother by her son. A related cult provides a possible

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54. See Roller 1996, p. 151-153. For illustrations see Aurigemma 1960, pl. 19-30, with p. 48-51. Loucas 1992 interprets the scenes as a depiction of the mystic rites at Phlya (see above p. 244).

55. In view of my interpretation of the mysteries of the Mother here one might identify him as Zeus himself: the bearded figure certainly has the *dignitas* of a Zeus.

56. Pindar, vol. II, frg. 70b S.-M.; cf. Furley, Bremer 2001, no. 5.2. See also Le Meur-Weissmann, dans ce volume, p. 90-91, 103.

57. *Ion* 526c; *Kriton* 54d; *Symp.* 215e; *Phaedr.* 228b; *Laws* 790d. Cf. Linforth 1946.

58. Cf. Roller 1996, p. 173. Note also the *enhoplion* dance of followers of the Dindymian mother in Phrygia as described by Apollonius of Rhodes, *Arg.* I, 1123 sq.

59. *On the Crown* 260. For the connection of the cry ἄττης ἄττης and Attis, see Roller 1996, p. 181.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 182-183.

parallel. In the cult of the Idaean Dactyls one of the Dactyls, Kelmis, is said to have assaulted the Mother Rhea.<sup>61</sup> It is a pity that we do not have the full text of the Eretrian *Hymn of the Dactyls*, which mentions the foundation of the cult of the Mountain Mother in lines 8 and 23.<sup>62</sup> There is a mention of someone's rage (probably the Mother's: μηνίσασσα) but it is impossible to reconstruct the offence or the miscreant.<sup>63</sup> The prime witnesses for this *hieros* or *musaros logos* in Meter's cult remain the Christian apologists Clement and Arnobius. However, the passages in the fourth-century Derveni Papyrus discussed above can now be added as unequivocal witness to a myth of this nature told in connection with Demeter = Ge Meter.

I might allow myself a brief psychological foray at the close. The myth of the Mother of the Gods as partially narrated in the hymn seems designed to strengthen the claims of a mother figure against her upstart son, who becomes ruler of (her?) world. The uncouth young man has even assaulted her sexually, leading to complete despair and disorientation in the mother (τειρομένα φρένας). She flees the family, wanders destitute through the world. The young male tries to coerce her into returning; she refuses all his threats and psychological belabouring. In short, she stands up to him until he is forced into a kind of submission. The mother returns "home" (to Olympus) only when she has been guaranteed a half share in power. This myth "empowers" the mother against a dominant male head of the household. One can well imagine women initiates into Meter's cult being bolstered in their minds by celebrating this founding myth. Demosthenes sneers at Aischines that the members of the thiasos of Kybele-Meter he led through the streets of Athens were "little old women" (γροθίδων, above). A passage in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* shows that it was women predominantly who celebrated the rites of Sabazios and Adonis in Athens.<sup>64</sup> The cult itself with its loud percussion music seems to reflect a challenging, not to say provocative, stance. The speaker of the fragment of Menander's play *Hiereia* mentioned above says that these musical instruments – *kymbala*, cymbals, are mentioned specifically – have been invented by "shameless people [in a spirit] of audacity and aggression."<sup>65</sup> Likewise, the story of the Kouretes' protection of the infant Zeus by the din of their music and dance involves the defence of a mother's interests against a tyrannical partner. The myths of the Mother of the Gods seem, in short, to champion women's cause against

61. Zenobius, 4, 80, giving an explanation of the expression Κέλμις ἐν σιδήρω: Κέλμις γὰρ εἶς τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων τὴν μητέρα Ῥέαν ὑβρίσας...

62. Μήτηρ Ὀρείας, see Powell (ed.) 1925, p. 171-173; on this hymn see now Blakely 2006.

63. At any rate, nothing to indicate a rape of the Mother. Line 28 seems to indicate that "we" owed something; in line 31 there is talk of a "theft" (κλέπτων) but the sense remains elusive.

64. *Lysistrata* 387-388: ἄρ' ἐξέλαμψε τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ τροφή / χῶ τυμπανισμὸς χοῖ πυκνοὶ σαβάζιοι κτλ. with Henderson (ed.) 1987 *ad loc.* For a political interpretation of the women's actions here, cf. Furley 1992.

65. Ἄλλ' ἔστι τόλμησ καὶ βίας (Koerte: βίου *codd.*) frg. 210 Koerte. The cult concerned appears to have been that of Meter, as in *Theophoroumenê*, as "possession" and "healing" are mentioned in a synopsis of the play by (?) Sellios, preserved in P. Oxy. 1235, 14-102.



the wielder of the thunderbolt. Her healing cult attracted both men and women devotees, as dedications to the goddess show, but the style of initiation and worship which she and her itinerant priests, *metragyrtai*, offered seems to have combined the appeal of the outlandish with a challenging reversal of the traditional distribution of power between the sexes.

One cannot help noticing that the “gynaecocratic” challenge which the hymn represents matches a well known anecdote about the Argive poet Telesilla, after whom the metre of the Epidaurian hymn is named. Pausanias narrates how the Argive men were once defeated by Spartan forces under Kleomenes.<sup>66</sup> To prevent the Spartans taking the city, Telesilla, according to this folk tradition, armed the womenfolk and fought off the approaching Spartans. They backed off, for fear either of a humiliating defeat or a shameful victory. A statue (stele) celebrating Telesilla’s heroism was placed at a sanctuary of Aphrodite in Argos, her books at her feet and her hand on a warrior’s helmet. Epidauros is not far from Argos. Although we must hesitate to attribute the Epidaurian hymn to the Mother of the Gods to Telesilla herself (*pace* Maas), it seems that its author may have chosen the metre to remind celebrants of Telesilla’s legendary heroism, a human match to that of Meter in the hymn.

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66. Pausanias, II, 20, 8-10; Plutarch, *Mor.* 245c-f, citing Socrates of Argos (*FGrHist* IV p. 497). Kleomenes was king of Sparta, with Demaratos, *ca* 525-488 BC. The battle for Argos (Sepeia) is not certainly dated (510?).



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