

THE GREAT MOTHER AT GORDION: THE HELLENIZATION OF AN ANATOLIAN CULT*

Gordion, the principal city of Phrygia, was an important center for the worship of the major Phrygian divinity, the Great Mother of Anatolia, the Greek and Roman Cybele. Considerable evidence for the goddess's prominence there have come to light through excavations conducted at the site, first by Gustav and Alfred Körte and more recently by the continuing expedition sponsored by the University Museum in Philadelphia. These include sculptural representations of the goddess and numerous votive objects dedicated to her. The material pertinent to the goddess and her cult in Gordion during the most prominent period of Phrygian culture, the eighth and seventh centuries BC, is similar to that from other contemporary Phrygian centers. Even after the loss of Phrygian political independence in the seventh century, the cult of the goddess in Anatolia continued to flourish, and the older traditions of iconography and votive types were maintained. During the Hellenistic period, however, we see a different version of the goddess at Gordion. The earlier Phrygian forms of cult image and votive were gone, and in their stead are figurines and votive objects which are clearly of Greek inspiration. The Mother goddess was still at home in Gordion—several stone and terracotta representations of her from this period attest to that—but her visual image had become thoroughly Hellenized.

This essay seeks to examine this phenomenon and place it within the broader context of the process of Hellenization in Gordion, and more widely in central Anatolia, following Alexander's conquests. We will be concerned with several facets of this problem. First, what was the source of the Greek iconography used to represent the goddess in Hellenistic Gordion? It seems clear that these representations were not developed independently, and we will want to determine from what Greek centers of artistic production the Gordion figures were derived. Second, why was the Greek image of the Phrygian goddess adopted at Gordion? Since there was already a well-established local tradition of cult images for the goddess, we need to consider why the older Phrygian iconography was displaced by the newer Hellenic form. And finally, what effect did this change in religious iconography have on actual religious practice? Did the

* This paper is part of a longer study I am preparing on the cult of the Phrygian Mother goddess and its transmission throughout the Greek and Roman world. It is a direct outgrowth of my association since 1979 with the archaeological excavations at Gordion, and also of my desire to understand the relations between the Greek and non-Greek peoples of Anatolia. I would like to thank G. Kenneth Sams, Director of the Gordion Project, for permission to discuss several of the finds from the Gordion excavations, and for his interest and encouragement of this project. Thanks also are due to my Gordion colleagues Ellen Kohler, Irene B. Romano, and Frederick A. Winter, and to Christopher Simon.

In addition to the standard abbreviations listed in *AJA* xc (1986) 384-394, the following works are cited in shortened form:

CCCA = M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* (Leiden 1977-1989).

Haspels, *HoP* = C. H. E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia* (Princeton 1971).

Mellink, *Comments* = M. J. Mellink, 'Com-

ments on a Cult Relief of Kybele from Gordion,' *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens* (Mainz 1983) 349-360.

Naumann, *Kybele* = F. Naumann, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und der griechischen Kunst, IstMitt Beiheft xxviii* (1983).

Roller, *Texts* = L. E. Roller, 'Hellenistic epigraphic texts from Gordion,' *AnatSt* xxxvii (1987) 103-133.

Romano = I. B. Romano, *Gordion special studies II. The terracotta figurines and related vessels* (Philadelphia, forthcoming).

Winter = F. A. Winter, *Late Classical and Hellenistic pottery from Gordion: the imported black glazed wares* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1984, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms).

Young, 1951 campaign = R. S. Young, 'Progress at Gordion, 1951-1952,' *UPMB* xvii (1953) 3-39.

Young, 1963 campaign = R. S. Young, 'The 1963 campaign at Gordion,' *AJA* lxxviii (1964) 279-292.

Phrygian devotees of the Hellenistic goddess still perceive the Hellenized deity as the same one worshipped by their ancestors, or were there meaningful changes in the cult as well as in the form of the Great Mother? We will not be able to give equally confident answers to all of these questions, but examining them will allow us to gain some insight into the impact of Hellenization on an age-old Anatolian cult.

The degree of change present in the Hellenistic cult of the Mother at Gordion can be defined more accurately after reviewing the evidence for the goddess's cult at the site during the most flourishing period of Phrygian culture, the eighth through sixth centuries BC.¹ Knowledge about this Phrygian cult is derived largely from representations of the goddess herself and of attendant figures, and from other votive objects. The name of the divinity is not attested epigraphically at Gordion, although inscriptions from other sites record her Phrygian name: *Matar*, or Mother, occasionally qualified by the epithet *kubileya*.² The site has, however, furnished several representations of the goddess. The largest and best preserved example is a cult relief found outside the city near the Sangarios River.³ (PLATE III(a)) It depicts a female figure standing in a frontal pose within a rectangular frame. The figure is shown wearing a voluminous, long-sleeved gown which disguises the contours of the body, and a high headdress and veil. In her right hand she holds a shallow bowl, while in her left she grasps a bird of prey by the legs. Other representations of the goddess found at Gordion have these same features,⁴ as do reliefs of figures which evidently represent attendants of the goddess.⁵ In virtually all of these works the bird of prey is the most characteristic attribute, both of the goddess and of her attendants. A bird of prey was also a frequent choice for a votive offering.⁶

The iconographic image of the Mother goddess illustrated by the finds at Gordion is consistent with the cult reliefs and statues from other Phrygian sites in central Anatolia.⁷

¹ The cult of the Phrygian Mother goddess has been the subject of a number of special studies. For a general overview, see M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* (Leiden 1977), although this work deals primarily with the goddess's Roman cult and is less critical about the Phrygian material. For a careful review of Phrygian and Greek cult images of the goddess, see Naumann, *Kybele* 39-100; for cult images of the goddess at Gordion, see Mellink, *Comments*. On the pre-Phrygian background of the cult, see E. Laroche, 'Koubaba, Déesse anatolienne et le problème des origines de Cybèle', *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris 1960) 113-128. For general reviews of Phrygian cult practices, see M. J. Mellink, 'Temples and high places in Phrygia', *Temples and high places in Biblical times* (Jerusalem 1981) 96-104, and L. E. Roller, 'Phrygian myth and cult,' *Source* vii (1988) 43-50.

² C. Brixhe, 'Le nom de Cybèle,' *Die Sprache* xxv (1979) 40-45. The name *matar* occurs ten times in Phrygian epigraphical texts, seven times alone, once with the epithet *areyastin*, and twice with the epithet *kubileya*; see C. Brixhe and M. Lejeune, *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes* (Paris 1984) nos. M-01c, M-01d I, M-01d II, M-01e, W-01b, W-03, W-06, W-01a, W-04, B-01.

³ Mellink, *Comments*, pl. 70; Naumann, *Kybele* pl. 5, 3. F. Prayon, *Phrygische Plastik* (Tübingen 1987) pl. 5c.

⁴ Other early Phrygian representations of the goddess from Gordion include a red stone statuette, Mellink, *Comments* pl. 73, 1, Prayon (n.3) pl. 16f.; an alabaster figure, Mellink, pl. 73, 2, Prayon pl.

16c (in this piece the position of the arms is reversed); and a limestone relief, Mellink, pl. 73, 4, Prayon pl. 9c. In the last representation the goddess is shown with arms extended out from her sides.

⁵ Two examples are illustrated by Mellink, *Comments* pl. 72, 1-3, Naumann, *Kybele* pl. 16, 1-2, Prayon (n.3) pl. 16a-b; and by Mellink, pl. 72, 4-5, Prayon, pl. 16d-e.

⁶ Young, 1963 campaign pl. 83, fig. 6; Mellink, *Comments* pl. 73, 3; and Prayon (n.3) pl. 31c-f, illustrate a well-preserved alabaster example with a collar. For other examples in stone, see M. J. Mellink, 'A votive bird from Anatolia,' *Expedition* vi (1963-64) 28-32, and Prayon, pl. 18d-c. For examples in terracotta and faience, see Romano, nos. 148-151, 153-155. There are also several unpublished examples of votive birds from Gordion in stone, ivory, and silver.

⁷ Reliefs depicting the goddess in a similar costume and pose, and with the same attributes, are known from Bahçelievler, in Ankara, R. Temizer, *Anatolia* iv (1959) 179-187 (see also Naumann, *Kybele* pl. 5, 2, and Prayon [n. 3] pl. 9a), and from Ayaş, K. Bittel, 'Phrygisches Kultbild aus Boğazköy,' *Antike Plastik* ii (Berlin 1963) 15 n. 51, pl. 11c, d; Prayon, pl. 2a-b. The goddess appears in the same costume and pose, but with different attributes in a well-known relief from Boğazköy; here she is shown holding a round object, perhaps a pomegranate, across her chest in her right hand, and is accompanied by two small male figures, one of which plays a lyre, the other the double pipe. See Bittel, 7-21, pl. 1-8; Naumann, pl. 7, 1; and

In each case we find a figure of a heavily draped woman, standing within an architectural frame, frequently holding a bird of prey. The precise chronology of these images of the Mother is uncertain, but all should probably be dated during this period of Phrygian cultural prominence, the eighth through sixth centuries BC.⁸ The origin and style of the Phrygian representations of the goddess have been much debated, but it seems most likely that they were not derived from Mediterranean prototypes.⁹ The immediate sculptural antecedents of the cult reliefs of the goddess seem to lie in the Neo-Hittite tradition of sculpture,¹⁰ while the choice of attributes, especially the frequent appearance of the bird of prey, was derived from Bronze Age tradition on the Anatolian plateau, especially from the Hittite religious tradition.¹¹

The early Phrygian material from Gordion gives us some idea of the nature of the Mother goddess's cult at the site during this time. She is the only divinity represented iconographically, testifying to the undisputed prominence of her cult. At the same time there are no temples or other major architectural monuments which can clearly be identified as cult places of the goddess.¹² Inscriptions from other Phrygian sites suggest that the rulers of Phrygia took an active interest in the cult,¹³ but many of the votives associated with the goddess are very humble objects, such as crude stone idols and stone and terracotta birds of prey, found in ordinary household contexts; this implies that the goddess's cult was not limited to the upper stratum of society.

Prayon, pl. 3a-c. A cult relief from Etlik, in Ankara, depicts the goddess accompanied by a winged fantastic creature; see Naumann, pl. 5, 4; Prayon, pl. 9b. Naumann, *Kybele* 62-88, discusses the cult reliefs of the goddess from central Phrygia as a group; see also Prayon 39-41.

⁸ All of the Gordion reliefs of the goddess and her attendants appear to be later than the Kimmerian destruction at the site in the early seventh century BC, although there are terracotta hawks and representations of hawks among material of the eighth century. The Boğazköy goddess was found in an archaeological stratum dated by the excavators to the late seventh or sixth century BC (Bittel, n. 7, 7-8), but early cult activity is attested by an eighth century B.C. shrine with representations of birds of prey, cf. T. Beran, 'Eine Kultstätte phrygischer Zeit in Boğazköy,' *Mitt. Deutsch. Or. Ges.* xciv (1963) 33-52. For other comments on chronology, see Mellink, *Comments* 359, and the dates assigned by Naumann, *Kybele* 294-296, and by Prayon (n.3) 20-31.

⁹ Temizer (n.7), 179-187, and Bittel (n.7), 12-14, have argued that the Phrygian cult reliefs of Cybele reflect East Greek influence, citing the handling of the drapery in the goddess' garment and the presence of the bird, analogous with the pet doves held by several East Greek korai, as evidence of Greek, specifically Samian stylistic traits. F. Prayon, (n.3) 71-79, esp. 76, also argued that Greek prototypes lay behind these reliefs. The raptor, or bird of prey held by the goddess is, however, quite different in appearance and function from a pet dove. Moreover, the tradition of plasticity in sculpture is well demonstrated by Neo-Hittite monuments, and the costume worn by the Phrygian Mother is very close to that found on Neo-Hittite images depicting the goddess Kubaba. See Mellink, *Comments* 354, and Naumann, *Kybele* 27-38.

¹⁰ Mellink, *Comments* 354-355. The relationship of the Phrygian goddess to a Neo-Hittite antecedent will be discussed further in L. E. Roller, 'The Phrygian character of Kybele: the formation of an iconography and cult ethos in the Iron Age,' *Proceedings of the third international Anatolian Iron Age symposium* (forthcoming).

¹¹ Mellink, *Comments* 351-352.

¹² Almost every building in the Phrygian city, both the Kimmerian destruction and post-destruction levels, is in the form of an Anatolian megaron, with the result that no plan of any one building is distinctive enough to suggest use as a temple. R. S. Young, *Gordion: A guide to the excavations and museum* (Ankara 1968) 28, suggested that Megaron 4, a late eighth century BC structure, may have been a temple, basing his suggestion on the fact that the building was constructed on a terrace. Mellink, *Comments* 356-359, proposed that Megaron 2 of the same level be identified as a temple. Her hypothesis was based largely on the presence of graffiti depicting birds of prey and architectural structures resembling Phrygian megara on the walls of Megaron 2. Such graffiti are, however, also found on other classes of objects, including pottery and stone vessels, as well as on the city walls, and thus are unlikely to define the function of Megaron 2. Both suggestions, moreover, are unsupported by any finds of cult objects within the buildings.

¹³ Note especially the important inscription on one of the goddess's cult reliefs in Midas City, Haspels, *HoP* 289, no. 1, and Brixhe and Lejeune (n.2), no. M-01a. The text states that the monument was a dedication by Ates to Midas. Both of these are names which figure prominently among Anatolian rulers. For a possible interpretation of these royal names, see Roller (n.1) 48-49.

This form of the Mother's cult, as it is illustrated by the early Phrygian material, apparently lasted until the Hellenistic period.¹⁴ The succeeding fifth and fourth centuries BC have yielded much less information, but those objects from this period which can be ascribed to the cult of the Mother suggest that the basic forms of this cult remained constant. The continuing prominence of her principal attribute, a bird of prey, is attested through a number of scattered finds of votive birds of prey from mixed fifth and fourth century contexts, although images of the goddess herself are disappointingly few.¹⁵ There is, however, one possible exception which should be introduced, a small alabaster figurine, discovered in a fourth century BC context which also included earlier material.¹⁶ (PLATE III(b)) Only the head and torso above the waist of the figure survive, but the upper part of the back of a throne is clearly visible, indicating that the figure was seated, not standing, and was not framed within an architectural niche. The alabaster surface of the figure has been damaged by prolonged contact with damp earth; as a result, many surface details have been partially dissolved, leaving the face featureless, apart from one eye, an almond shape incised on the left side, and the costume completely undelineated, except for a central vertical line down the front. The figure itself is bare-headed, and its hair appears as a mass of vertical ringlets across the back of the shoulders, each incised with a herringbone pattern. The hair across the figure's forehead is worked very superficially into a pattern of curls. The sculptor apparently intended to show that the figure was holding something in its left arm across the chest, although the nature of that object cannot now be determined.

Despite its crude workmanship and damaged condition, the piece is of interest for several reasons. The date of its context makes it a likely indicator of the iconography of the Mother goddess at Gordion during the Middle Phrygian period, the centuries between the loss of Phrygian political independence and the period of strong Hellenistic Greek influence to be discussed below. The appearance of the figure, a heavily draped female with no head covering, seated on a throne, is very similar to contemporary representations of the goddess found in central and western Phrygia.¹⁷ The pose of these figures may have been influenced by Greek works, for the iconography of the seated Mother goddess seems to have developed in the Greek cities of western Anatolia.¹⁸ Apart from its pose, however, the Gordion seated figure remains essentially a Phrygian

¹⁴ As we will see below, the break between the earlier Phrygian and Hellenistic Greek material at Gordion comes not with the visit of Alexander to the site in 333 BC (which apparently had little immediate impact on Gordion, see Winter, 8-12), but rather as a result of the closer relations between central and western Anatolia following Attalos I's victory over the Galatians in 241 BC. The three centuries following the rebuilding of the acropolis in Gordion in the early sixth century BC are, archaeologically, very imperfectly attested. The reasons for this lie in the confused stratigraphic record on the Gordion acropolis, caused by a severe earthquake in the early fourth century, and the disturbances resulting from subsequent efforts at rebuilding in the later fourth century. An unbroken sequence of imported Greek pottery clearly indicates that the site was continuously inhabited during this time, but only rarely has it been possible to determine a more precise chronological sequence for other classes of locally made material. For a discussion of the Classical and early Hellenistic chronology, see Winter, 37-44; Roller, *Texts* 103-104; and K. DeVries, 'The Gordion

excavation seasons of 1969-1973 and subsequent research,' *AJA* xciv (1990) 399-400.

¹⁵ Several unpublished figurines depicting birds of prey, in stone, clay, ivory, and silver, were found in these chronologically mixed contexts. There is also one unpublished figurine fragment of a female head wearing a polos; this may represent the goddess herself. While none can be dated precisely, as a group they demonstrate that the cult of the goddess continued to flourish during fifth and fourth centuries.

¹⁶ Unpublished, Gordion inventory no. S 106.

¹⁷ Naumann, *Kybele* 118-124, especially no. 46, a statuette from Takmaköy, a village near Eskişehir. The piece depicts a seated woman on a throne with her arms drawn across her body, as in the Gordion figurine. Like the Gordion piece, the figure is carved in the round and not attached to a architectural frame.

¹⁸ Naumann, *Kybele* 117-118. J. de La Genière, 'De la Phrygie à Locres Épizéphyrienne: les chemins de Cybèle,' *MEFR* xcvi (1985) 704. See also *infra*, n.46.

work, with little sign of Hellenic influence. This can be seen from the strong stylistic affinities of this piece with one of the representations of an attendant figure mentioned above, a slightly larger alabaster figurine which was found in Gordion in a similarly mixed chronological context.¹⁹ The two works were made of the same material, and both have the same tight mass of curls across the forehead, the same almond-shaped eyes, and a similar aspect of the head jutting forward from the body. These common points suggest that the two works may have been products of the same sculptural workshop in Gordion. This is worth emphasizing since, as was noted above, the figure of the attendant male, which is much better preserved, parallels in its iconography and attributes the earlier, purely Phrygian style. Thus this small figurine of the seated goddess is clearly connected with the early Phrygian tradition. Its pose was probably derived, not directly from a Greek model, but through the indirect influence of seated statuettes from other parts of Phrygia. Taken together with the votive birds of prey, the work supports the contention that the cult of the goddess retained its earlier forms until the third century BC.

The material evidence for the cult in the late third and second centuries BC, however, provides a sharp contrast.²⁰ We can best begin to examine this contrast by reviewing the evidence for the cult in Hellenistic Gordion, and then seek to analyze the reasons for the changes. Such evidence is furnished by Hellenistic objects depicting the goddess or her associates, including several statuettes in stone and terracotta, and by votive offerings connected with the cult. A few short inscriptions help supplement the archaeological material.

There are several Hellenistic representations of the goddess herself. One is a marble statuette which depicts a mature woman seated on a high-backed throne.²¹ (PLATE III(c)) The head, left forearm, and part of the right hand of the piece are missing. The figure wears a sleeveless chiton, belted just below the breasts, and a mantle, which extends from the back of the shoulders over the left arm, hangs in a series of vertical folds from the left arm, and is then drawn horizontally across the lap; from here it falls over the knees and across the lower legs in a series of catenary folds. Vertical folds of the chiton can be seen below. The right lower leg is straight, while the left knee is pointed outward with the left ankle drawn inward. Long locks of the figure's hair fall over the shoulders almost to the belt. Traces of a patera are visible in the right hand, which rests on the right arm of the throne. A rather dog-faced lion, crouching on its hind quarters with front legs erect, appears in front of the throne's right armrest.

Another representation in stone, a small alabaster statuette, is of much cruder workmanship.²² The piece lacks its head and is now rather battered, but is still recognizable as a figure of the goddess. She is shown seated on a throne, with her right arm on the throne armrest and her left resting on a tympanum. The figure wears a chiton which covers the shoulders and is cut low across the breasts, with a belt below the breasts. The folds of the chiton's skirt are indicated by vertical lines, while the mantle is

¹⁹ Mellink, *Comments* pl. 72, no. 4-5, supra n. 5. This piece was included in the previous discussion because of its similarity to the early images of the goddess, but its absolute date, as well as that of the other attendant figure illustrated by Mellink, is very uncertain, particularly as the style and iconography of Gordion's cultic objects seem to have been very conservative.

²⁰ For a general discussion of the evidence for the Hellenistic period at Gordion, see Winter 5-52, and DeVries (n.14) 400-405.

²¹ Gordion inventory no. S 81, illustrated by Young, *1963 campaign* 280, pl. 83, fig. 3. See also Naumann, *Kybele* no. 565, and G. M. A. Hanfmann and J. C. Waldbaum, 'Kybele and Artemis,' *Archaeology* xxii (1969) 268.

²² Gordion inventory number S 103, discussed briefly by L. E. Roller, 'A Hellenistic statuette from Gordion,' *AJA* xc (1986) 209. See also Roller, *Texts*, 111-112, no. 6, pl. 24c and F. A. Winter, 'Phrygian Gordion during the Hellenistic period,' *Source* vii (1988) 62, fig. 1-2.

shown as if drawn up in diagonal folds across the lap and upper legs. A lion crouches at the left side of the throne.

In addition to these two stone pieces, there are a number of representations of the goddess in terracotta. Seven clear examples have been recognized, as well as two possible examples, and three fragments depicting the attributes of the goddess, such as her patera or her tympanum.²³ Several different types are recognized: the enthroned goddess can be shown with a lion in her lap,²⁴ with a lion and tympanum,²⁵ with a lion and patera,²⁶ with a tympanum and a lion at her feet,²⁷ with a tympanum and patera,²⁸ or the goddess can be shown holding a patera while seated on a lion's back.²⁹ Most of these are small mould-made figurines, but one unusual piece, the image of the goddess with tympanum and patera, is fairly large, over half a meter high, and was partly hand-made and partly made in a mould.

In addition to these images of the goddess, there are other objects whose appearance or find spot suggests that they were connected with the cult. One is a marble statuette of a draped female figure, which was found in the same context as the marble statuette of the seated goddess and may represent an attendant figure.³⁰ (PLATE IV(a)) The piece lacks the head, the right arm below the shoulder, and both legs below the knees. It depicts a young woman who is shown standing upright and resting her weight on her left hip with the right knee slightly bent. She wears a thin chiton, visible only on her upper right arm where the pinned strap has fallen off her right shoulder. The rest of her body is covered by a mantle which extends over her left shoulder and arm, then around her back, under the right armpit, and across the front of her body, where the folds are bunched up into a knot at the left side of the waist. The folds of the mantle are drawn across the figure so as to reveal the contours of the breasts and abdomen. No trace of hair locks is visible on the extant portions of the neck and shoulders. Along her left side the figure holds an upright torch, which is depicted with a series of vertical striations and two pairs of horizontal lines near its upper and lower ends, clearly a bundle of sticks tied together. This she supports along her hip with her left hand. Traces of an object along the figure's right side suggest that she may have held a torch in her right hand as well.

Found together with the two marble statuettes were two small alabaster stands, probably votive offerings. One was turned on a lathe, and is decorated with vertical, half round, and egg and dart mouldings. On its base is inscribed the Phrygian name *Mistraboutas*, presumably the name of the dedicator.³¹ The other, a somewhat cruder hand-made work, appears to be a model of an architectural structure in the form of a small altar.³² (PLATE IV(b)) Three recessed steps form the base and top of the piece, and on its front surface is a representation of a door with four panels; above this is a moulding imitating dentils, and above this a raised area carved with two narrow triangles flanked by two broad half triangles. The recessed area above the triangles is lightly scored, as is

²³ Only a few brief comments on the terracotta images of the goddess will be made here, since the entire corpus of Gordion terracottas will soon be published by Irene B. Romano (for the full citation, see the short abbreviations preceding the notes). I am grateful to Dr. Romano for sharing her information and her manuscript in press with me.

²⁴ Gordion inventory no. T 13/T 19 = Romano, cat. no. 53.

²⁵ Gordion inventory no. T 61 a and b = Romano, cat. no. 58.

²⁶ Gordion inventory no. T 6 = Romano, cat. no. 59, illustrated in Naumann, *Kybele* no. 537, pl. 39, 3, and CCCA I, no. 54; and Gordion inventory

no. T 53/T 115 = Romano, cat. no. 61.

²⁷ Gordion inventory no. T 34 = Romano, cat. no. 60.

²⁸ Gordion inventory no. T 35 = Romano, cat. no. 52, illustrated in Young, 1951 campaign 7, fig. 3; Naumann, *Kybele* no. 626, pl. 47, 4; CCCA I, no. 52.

²⁹ Gordion inventory no. T 7 = Romano, cat. no. 57, illustrated in Naumann, *Kybele* no. 617, pl. 47, 2; CCCA I, no. 53.

³⁰ Young, 1963 campaign 280, pl. 83, 4.

³¹ Young, 1963 campaign 280, pl. 83, 5. Roller, *Texts* 128 no. 52, pl. 25a.

³² Unpublished, Gordion inventory number S 83.

another band of triangles above. On each of the other three sides of the piece is carved the image of a palm tree. Both of these alabaster pieces have shallowly concave upper surfaces, suggesting that each was meant as a stand for an offering bowl.

A few short Greek inscriptions shed further light on the cult of the goddess. On the throne back of the Hellenistic alabaster statuette of the Mother is carved ΜΟΥΣΑΙΣ, 'to the Muses'.³³ Another text of interest appears on a small limestone pedestal, whose upper surface is shallowly concave, suggesting that it too was intended to hold a basin or some similar object and thus may have been the stand for a votive offering. Around the pedestal is inscribed ΑΓΑΘΗΣ ΤΥΧΗΣ, picked out in red paint.³⁴ It seems likely that the piece was used in the cult of the Mother, for Agathe Tyche appears in both Anatolian and Greek texts as a divinity worshipped jointly with this goddess.³⁵ We have no instance of the names *Meter*, *Cybele*, or an epithet of the goddess in any text at Gordion.

Almost all of these objects were found in household contexts. The two marble statuettes and the two alabaster bases were found in what was evidently a small private house of the late third or early second century BC. A large complex of rooms from the late third or early second century, probably a combination of domestic quarters and pottery establishment, included a small domestic shrine; in this were found the terracotta figurine of the goddess holding a patera and lion, several terracotta fragments of the goddess or her attributes, a figurine of the goddess Tyche, and several thymiateria and figurines of draped females. A more modest early second century BC house produced the terracotta statuette of the enthroned goddess with patera and tympanum, and a smaller figurine of the goddess with the lion at her feet, together with two thymiateria. The cellar of a Phrygian house of the late third or early second century produced a terracotta figurine of the enthroned goddess holding a lion and tympanum, a figure of Eros, thymiateria, and a rather enigmatic figurine which may represent an Amazon. Two figurines of the goddess, the goddess riding on the lion and the seated goddess holding a lion and patera, as well as several figurines of draped females, were recovered from the largest house of the early second century BC, called Level 2 House.³⁶ A few objects, such as the alabaster statuette and the inscribed *Tyche* base, are essentially without context. In general, these are the types of objects, e. g. figurines, small votives, and incense burners, which one would expect to find in a household cult. There is no building in the Hellenistic levels which can be clearly identified as a temple.³⁷

The chronology of these contexts can be determined from the historical circumstances of the site, for the houses mentioned above all occur in the levels of the city preceding its desertion in 189 BC, a desertion which resulted from Manlius Volso's

³³ Roller, *Texts* III-III, no. 6.

³⁴ Roller, *Texts* IIO-III no. 3.

³⁵ A fourth century BC inscription from Thera, IG xii, 3, no. 436, records the boundary of the precinct of the Mother of the Gods, also dedicated to Agathe Tyche. Agathe Tyche is one of the divinities coupled with the goddess Agdistis, another name for the Mother, in a second century BC text from Philadelphia, O. Weinreich, 'Stiftung und Kultsatzen eines Privatheiligtums in Philadelphia in Lydien,' *SBHeidelberg* 1919, 16. Abhandlungen, 1-68 = *SIG*³ 985; *CCCA* I, no. 489.

³⁶ The figurines of the goddess are: Gordion inventory no. T 7 and T 6 = Romano, cat. nos. 57 and 59. I am grateful to Dr. Romano for sharing

her information on the context of the terracotta figurines. For the location of Level 2 House, see Young, 1951 *campaign* 5, pl. 2, and Winter (n.22) 64-65 and fig. 4.

³⁷ One building from the Hellenistic levels at Gordion has been proposed as a candidate for a temple, a substantial structure with a mosaic floor, known as the Mosaic Building, see Young, 1951 *campaign* 11-14. Its construction probably dates from the late fourth century BC. No identifying artifacts were found in it, and so its function is unknown. Young, *op. cit.* 14, suggested that it might have been a residence for an Achaemenian dignitary. We should note, however, that less than half of the settlement has been excavated.

campaign against the Galatians.³⁸ This date is further supported by coins found together with the marble statuettes and alabaster votive stands.³⁹

One of the most striking aspects of these Hellenistic objects is their abrupt break with the earlier material. We can see this especially clearly when placing an earlier Phrygian representation of the goddess beside a Hellenistic one. The Phrygian images did not develop gradually into Greek forms, but simply disappeared altogether. This is true not only of the goddess's appearance, i.e. her facial features and costume, but also of her attributes. The characteristically Phrygian bird of prey vanished, and was replaced by the lion and tympanum. In addition, the young male companion of the Mother who holds her attributes is gone, and in his stead is a torch-bearing female. It will be our task to determine how and why this break occurred, and to what extent the change in form indicates a change in cult.

The first step in this process, to determine the source of the iconography of Gordion's Hellenistic representations of the Mother, is perhaps the easiest. The source lies in the Greek world. While Kybele, the Mother of the Gods, was originally an Anatolian divinity, she had won a place in the Greek pantheon by the seventh century BC,⁴⁰ and already appeared in characteristically Hellenic form in sixth century representations from the Greek cities of western Anatolia.⁴¹ The immediate prototype for these Archaic Greek images were undoubtedly the sculpted images of the goddess made by the peoples of western Anatolia, in western Phrygia and Lydia, where the images of the goddess are somewhat different from those in Gordion.⁴² While the costume and pose of the goddess are similar to the central Anatolian sculptures and the divinity is again shown framed within an architectural structure, the goddess of western Phrygia is the mistress of lions, vividly illustrated by a well-known western Phrygian monument, the cult relief of Arslankaya.⁴³ The earliest representations of the Mother from Greek settlements in western Anatolia follow these western Phrygian monuments by representing the goddess in her Phrygian costume, with lion attribute, and by placing her within an architectural framework.⁴⁴

³⁸ Gordion was abandoned in 189 BC as a result of the military operations of the Roman consul Cn. Manlius Volso (Livy xxxviii 18.11-14). After a hiatus of approximately two centuries a small Roman settlement occupied the site. The Roman remains, as yet very imperfectly known, have not yielded any information on the cult of the Mother.

³⁹ Young, *1963 campaign* 280. D. H. Cox, 'Gordion hoards III, IV, V, and VII,' *ANSMN* xii (1966) 49-55. The coins in question form Gordion hoard VII.

⁴⁰ The name of the goddess, *Kybelas*, appears in a late seventh century BC inscription from Lokroi, M. Guarducci, 'Cibele in un' epigrafe arcaica di Locri Epizefiri,' *Klio* lii (1970) 133-138. See W. Burkert, *Greek religion* (English ed., Cambridge 1985) 177-178, and La Genière (n.18) 693-694.

⁴¹ S. Reinach, 'Statues archaïques de Cybèle découvertes à Cymé,' *BCH* xiii (1889) 543-560. E. Will, 'Aspects du culte et de la légende de la Grande Mère dans le monde grec,' *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris 1960) 95-111. Naumann, *Kybele* 101-155.

⁴² The cult monuments of Kybele in western Phrygia are discussed by Haspels, *HoP* 73-111, and Naumann, *Kybele* 41-62.

⁴³ Haspels, *HoP*, fig. 186-191. The lion, however, is not nearly so frequently represented

with the goddess in Phrygian sculpture as is often assumed. Of the sculpted monuments in the Phrygian highlands, only the Arslankaya monument depicts the Mother goddess actually holding lions. The monument known as Büyük Kapıkaya (Haspels, *HoP* 87, fig. 183-184) may have had lions placed on either side of the figure of the goddess.

⁴⁴ Note the Greek examples published by Naumann, *Kybele* nos. 37-43, from Miletos and Smyrna, and from Lydia, the miniature temple shrine from Sardis, G. M. A. Hanfmann and N. H. Ramage, *Sculpture from Sardis: the finds through 1975* (Cambridge and London 1975) 43-51, no. 7, Naumann, no. 34.

The attribute of bird of prey, the most common attribute of the Mother in central Phrygia, does find an echo in Ionian Greek cult, in the figurines of hawks and hawk-priestesses found at the Archaic Artemision of Ephesos. These may well imply that the cult of the Greek goddess Artemis in Anatolia absorbed some of the elements of the Anatolian Mother goddess. There are, however, no Ionian depictions of the Mother goddess herself with a bird of prey. For examples of hawks and hawk-priestesses at Ephesos, see P. Jacobsthal, 'The date of the Ephesian foundation deposit,' *JHS* lxxi (1951) 85-95, esp. pl. 34-36, and E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens* (Berlin 1961) 204-210, fig. 167-

The East Greek depiction of the standing goddess with a lion gives way towards the end of the sixth century BC to a seated image, which either appears alone or with a lion in her lap.⁴⁵ In the sixth century this East Greek type was imported into the Greek mainland,⁴⁶ and became the source of the most influential fifth century representation, the statue by the sculptor Agorakritos, which was set up in the Athenian Agora.⁴⁷ This work, known through literary citations and small copies, depicted the goddess in purely Hellenic form: she was a mature woman seated on a throne, wearing a chiton and a mantle draped over her lap. She held a tympanum in her hand, while a lion lay at her feet. It is the fifth century Athenian model which becomes the prototype for the Hellenistic representations of the goddess, so widely disseminated throughout the Hellenistic world.⁴⁸

All of the Hellenistic Gordion pieces representing the goddess are clearly works drawn from this Greek tradition. The marble statuette of the goddess holding a patera and accompanied by a lion is paralleled by numerous examples, large and small, stone and terracotta, from many parts of the Greek world.⁴⁹ The alabaster statuette, although a coarser piece of work, also owes its source to a Greek original, for the combined attributes of lion and tympanum are frequently found in Greek images of the Mother.⁵⁰ The same is true of the different types of terracotta figurines. The goddess shown with the lion cub in her lap, with the lion cub at her feet, with tympanum and patera, and the goddess seated on a lion all have close parallels of style and iconography with terracottas and stone statuettes manufactured in the Greek world.⁵¹

Not only do the Gordion pieces exhibit Greek style, but many are actually of Greek manufacture. The marble statuette of the goddess was almost surely imported into Gordion from a Greek workshop, for marble is a stone which does not occur in the region around Gordion and was never used by local craftsmen. The statuette of the draped woman is also a work of marble; both the material and the strong stylistic affinities of the piece with Hellenistic Greek sculpture, evident in the figure's pose and drapery, suggests that it too may have been made by a Greek artist.⁵² In addition, some

175. On the relationship between Artemis and the Mother, see G. M. A. Hanfmann, 'On the gods of Lydian Sardis,' *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien* (Mainz 1983) 219-225.

⁴⁵ Reinach (n.41) pl. 8. Naumann, *Kybele* 117-149.

⁴⁶ La Genière (n.18); *eadem*, 'Le culte de la mère des dieux dans le Péloponnèse,' *CRAI* 1986, 29-48.

⁴⁷ Pausanias i.3.5; Arrian *Periplus* 9; Pliny, *NH* xxxvi.17. For an attempt to reconstruct the statue, see A. von Salis, 'Die Göttermutter des Agorakritos,' *JdI* xxviii (1913) 1-28. For an evaluation of the surviving copies of this work, see G. I. Despines, *Symbole ste melete tou ergou tou Agorakritou* (Athens 1971) 111-123, and Naumann, *Kybele* 159-169.

⁴⁸ CCCA I and II illustrate examples from virtually the entire Greek world, including all major cities on the mainland of Greece, on the islands, and in Anatolia.

⁴⁹ Note, for example, the fourth century sculpture found in the Piraeus, CCCA II, no. 307, Naumann, *Kybele* no. 123, pl. 22,1. The type is also common in statuettes from many Greek sites, see CCCA II, nos. 53, 55, 67, 71, 81, 98, 121, 166, 210, 215-218, 354, 357 (all from Attica); 571 (from Samos). While most of these date from the second

century BC or later, they were clearly derived from the earlier prototype.

⁵⁰ The goddess with lion and tympanum derives directly from the work of Agorakritos, cf. Arrian, *Periplus* 9. For extant examples from the Classical period, see Naumann, *Kybele* 182-183, type 2 r.

⁵¹ The goddess with lion on her lap is by far the most common type, see the examples listed in CCCA II, 238. For the goddess with the tympanum and lion at her feet, see Naumann, *Kybele* 182-183, type 2f. Representations of the goddess with tympanum and patera only include CCCA II, nos. 222, 239, 368, 399, 461, 509-510, 521, 527, 570, 640, 724. For Greek examples of Cybele seated on a lion, see Naumann, *Kybele*, 263-268, nos. 610-617. On terracotta figurines of the goddess, see Naumann, 269-274.

⁵² The rendering of the drapery has close parallels with several fourth century B. C. works, including one of the Muses on the Mantinea Base, G. M. A. Richter, *Sculpture and sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven 1970) fig. 727 left, and the figure of Persephone on Eleusinian reliefs, G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) fig. 74; A. Peschlow-Bindokat, 'Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhundert,' *JdI* lxxxvii (1972) 155,

of the terracotta figurines were imported from Greek cities. Three of the figurines are of Pergamene manufacture, the goddess seated on the lion, the enthroned goddess with tympanum and lion in her lap, and the enthroned goddess with lion and patera. Two pieces may be from Greek cities in the Black Sea region, the enthroned goddess with tympanum and lion at her feet, and the enthroned goddess with lion and patera.⁵³

Other Gordion objects connected with the Mother are clearly the products of local craftsmen. One such is the alabaster statuette with the dedication to the Muses. The crudeness of the statuette and its lack of detail suggest that it is a derivative work, i.e. it was copied from a model at Gordion rather than directly from a major Greek original. Local manufacture is also suggested by the material, alabaster, the stone most frequently used at Gordion for sculpture and other objects.⁵⁴ The prominent terracotta statuette of the goddess, the large work depicting the goddess with her patera and tympanum, was also locally made, as was another figurine of the goddess holding a lion. Even in pieces of local Gordion workmanship, however, the iconography of the Phrygian goddess was totally under the influence of Greek models.

We may suggest a more specific iconographic antecedent for these works, both the Hellenic pieces and the locally made Hellenizing objects, in the representations of the goddess from northwestern Anatolia, especially Pergamon. The marble statuette of the goddess, for example, finds a particularly close parallel in a Hellenistic marble statuette of the enthroned goddess from Troy.⁵⁵ (PLATE IV(c)) In both cases we see a female figure wearing the same configuration of chiton and mantle, and in both works the goddess's right hand, holding a patera, extends out over a rather dog-faced lion. Even very specific details, such as the ringlets of the goddess's hair on her shoulders and the tassel hanging from one corner of the mantle at the goddess's left side, are found in both pieces. Small works such as these presumably owe their original conception to a large cult statue, and one model may have been the piece found near the city wall in Pergamon and now in Berlin.⁵⁶ The right arm of the work in Berlin is missing and the left only partially preserved, so we cannot see if this figure's arms parallel those of the Gordion piece, but the angle of the upper arm suggests that they do. No trace of a lion can be seen in the statue in Berlin, but the details of pose and drapery are similar enough to suggest that the Gordion statuette may have been influenced by the Berlin statue, itself almost surely a cult statue from a Pergamene shrine of the goddess.⁵⁷

fig. 54. For a discussion of the type, see R. Kabus-Jahn, *Studien zu Frauenfiguren des vierten Jahrhunderts vor Christus* (Darmstadt 1963) 1-22. A similar treatment of drapery can be found in Hellenistic works, see Kabus-Jahn, 19, pl. 5-6, a 2nd century BC work in Copenhagen. Less direct parallels can be noted in the Serving Maid of Anzio, C. Havelock, *Hellenistic art* (New York 1961) fig. 116, and in various statues of Muses, M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic age* (New York 1961) fig. 498, 501. The precise identification of the Gordion torch-bearing woman will be discussed below.

⁵³ The figurines from Pergamon: Gordion inventory no. T 7 = Romano, cat. no. 57, Gordion inventory no. T 61 a and b = Romano, cat. no. 58, Gordion inventory no. T 6 = Romano, cat. no. 59; the Black Sea figurines: Gordion inventory no. T 34 = Romano, cat. no. 60, Gordion inventory no. T 53/T 115 =

Romano, cat. no. 61. Other fragmentary figurines of the goddess may also be Greek imports, although their exact provenience is unknown. I owe this information to the kindness of Irene B. Romano.

⁵⁴ Many of the numerous examples of worked alabaster from Gordion are discussed by N. P. Zouck, *Turned and hand-carved alabaster from Gordion* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania; Ann Arbor, University Microfilms 1974).

⁵⁵ CCCA I, no. 330.

⁵⁶ F. Winter, *Altortümer von Pergamon* vii (Berlin 1908) 69-71, no. 45, pl. 12. Bieber (n.52) 119, fig. 474. Naumann, *Kybele*, no. 554, pl. 41, 1-2.

⁵⁷ The find spot of the work in Berlin suggests that it originally stood in the Megalesium, known to be the principal sanctuary of Cybele within the city of Pergamon. Varro, *LL* vi 15; E. Ohlmutz, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* (Würzburg 1940, repr. Darmstadt 1968) 184-185.

Pergamene influence is evident in the terracotta figurines as well. As noted above, three of the Gordion figurines are actual imports from Pergamon.⁵⁸ While the large terracotta statuette of the goddess with patera and tympanum was manufactured in Gordion, the work has several features suggesting that it was derived from a Pergamene model. These include the sphinxes on the arms of the throne, also found in the Berlin statue, and the finials with floral design on the back of the throne, details which occur in Pergamene terracottas as well.⁵⁹

Thus by the third century BC the people of Gordion used only the Hellenic image of their own Mother goddess. Some of the reasons for this wholesale adoption of a Greek form can be seen in the changing economic and social conditions at the site during this time. After the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander and the increasing influence of Hellenism which followed in his wake, a much stronger degree of Hellenization appears in several classes of material at Gordion. The quantity of imported Greek pottery, while always considerable, increases substantially during the late fourth century, and Greek wares become extremely common at the site during the third century.⁶⁰ More extensive commercial contact with the Greek world during this time is demonstrated by the presence of large numbers of Greek stamped amphora handles and Greek coins.⁶¹ We also see increasing numbers of pottery vessels made in Gordion out of the local clay, but imitating Greek shapes.⁶² Moreover, in the early fourth century Greek letters start to appear in the pottery graffiti found at the site, and become common by the end of that century; by the third century BC Greek had replaced Phrygian as the written language of the site.⁶³

These factors suggest more than just commercial contacts with the Greek world. They indicate that Greek culture had become increasingly prestigious to the Phrygian population of Gordion, and that at least some of the local Phrygian population wished to identify themselves more strongly with Greek attitudes and forms of expression.⁶⁴ Similar circumstances may well have influenced the choice of representational form of the Phrygian goddess, for it is only in the third century BC that we see the first Hellenized images of the Phrygian Mother there.

The presence of Pergamene imports and objects imitating Pergamene cult images suggests a more specific reason for the Hellenistic Phrygians' inclination towards the Greek world. Central Anatolia had suffered severely from the depredations of the Galatians during the early and mid-third century BC. At Gordion these depredations are apparent through the lack of imported Greek objects at the site during the period of c. 275-240 BC, indicating a cessation of commercial contacts with the Greek world, and a general period of stagnation in the settlement during this time.⁶⁵ The worst of the

⁵⁸ For a close parallel with the Gordion figurine of the goddess riding on a lion, see A. Conze and P. Schazmann, *Mamurt Kaleh, JdI Ergänzungsheft ix* (1911) pl. 12, 3. Note also the figurine holding a lion and patera, Gordion inventory no. T6 = Romano, cat. no. 59, and compare this with the figurine illustrated by E. Topperwein, *Terrakotten vom Pergamon, Pergamenischer Forschungen iii* (Berlin 1976) pl. 30, no. 188.

⁵⁹ R. Holloway, *AJA* lxii (1958) 223. Romano, forthcoming.

⁶⁰ For Greek imports during the sixth and fifth centuries, see G. K. Sams, 'Imports at Gordion,' *Expedition xxi* (1979) 6-17, and K. DeVries, 'Phrygians and Hellenization,' *AJA* lxxxvii (1983) 232. Greek pottery imported during the Hellenistic period is discussed by Winter, 272-284.

⁶¹ See V. Grace, 'Assortment and dating of Gordion stamped amphora handles,' (unpublished, available through the Gordion Office, University Museum, Philadelphia). On Hellenistic coins at Gordion, see D. H. Cox, *A third century hoard of tetradrachms from Gordion* (Philadelphia 1953) and n. 33.

⁶² Young, 1951 campaign 6. Winter, 283-84.

⁶³ Roller, *Texts* 107.

⁶⁴ This is further suggested by the use of Greek letters and Greek spelling to write common Phrygian names at Gordion. Note, for example, Roller, *Texts* nos. 1, 48, 51. See also Winter 283-84, and Winter (n.22) 62-64.

⁶⁵ Strabo xii 5.1-2; Livy xxxviii.16. Winter, 45-48, argued that Gordion was actually abandoned for a little over a quarter of a century, basing his

Galatian menace was halted by the victory of Attalos I over the Galatians in 241 BC.⁶⁶ As a result of this, the Galatians were pushed back into the interior of Anatolia. The territory around Gordion fell within the Galatian sphere, and a Galatian presence is attested there to a limited extent through pottery, inscriptions, and figurines.⁶⁷ One can, however, note a strong revival at the site after the middle of the third century through an active building program and a resumption of commercial contacts with the Greeks.⁶⁸ It seems entirely feasible that both the honor attached to Attalos' military activities and the strength of the cult of the Mother at Pergamon made the Pergamene model of the goddess especially attractive to the people of Gordion.⁶⁹

Thus we can see how and why the Phrygian Mother first became Hellenized and then, in Hellenic form, returned to Phrygia. This, however, leaves the most critical question unanswered, namely what effect, if any, the change in religious iconography had on religious practice. Did the Phrygians of Hellenistic Gordion merely adopt a superficial Greek image, or were there significant changes in cult practices as well? As we will see, Hellenic influence on the Phrygian settlement did affect cult practices to an extent, but many of the traditional Phrygian aspects of the Mother remained unchanged.

Evidence for the influence of Greek cult at Gordion is found in the presence of new, specifically Greek divinities, which now play a role in the cult of the Mother during the Hellenistic period. Among these are the Muses, whose presence is attested by the inscription on the alabaster figurine of the goddess dedicating the piece to the Muses. The Muses were best known to the Greeks as patrons of poets and guardians of the philosophical schools.⁷⁰ Their cult, supposedly introduced by Thracians to Mount Helikon in Boiotia, is attested in many parts of the Greek world.⁷¹ While there is no direct testimony for a joint cult of the Muses and the Greek Kybele, the association of the Muses with the Mother's worship is strongly implied by references to joint veneration of these goddesses in Attic tragedy.⁷² The cult of the Muses, however, is unknown in Gordion apart from this piece, and had not previously been associated with

conclusions on the lack of imported Greek wares at the site during the period of 275-240 BC. There is, however, no observable break in the occupation levels during this time, and it seems more likely that people continued to live at Gordion, but that their commercial contacts with the Greek world were disrupted.

⁶⁶ Polybius xviii 41.7; Livy xxxiii 21.3; Pausanias i 8.2, x 15.2. D. Magic, *Roman rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 6-7. On Pergamene relations with the Galatians, see R. E. Allen, *The Attalid kingdom* (Oxford 1983) 136-144.

⁶⁷ F. A. Winter, 'Late Classical and Hellenistic pottery from Gordion,' *AJA* lxxvii (1973) 232-233, and Roller, *Texts*, nos. 56, 57, 60, and n.28. Winter (n.22) 64-68, reviewed the evidence for a Galatian presence at Gordion and concluded that Phrygians continued to form the majority of the population, but the opposite point of view was argued by DeVries (n.14) 371-406, esp. 402-405. DeVries, noting the citation of Livy xxxviii 17.9, that the population in Galatia had adopted Greek language and customs, argued that the Greek texts in Gordion might be the work of Galatian residents and that the Hellenistic coin hoards might have resulted from Galatian military service.

⁶⁸ Winter, 48-49. DeVries (n.14) 401-402.

⁶⁹ On the cult of the Mother at Pergamon, see Ohlmutz (n.57) 174-191.

Pergamene influence at Gordion can also be detected in a series of large pithoi found in Level 2 house (n.36). Incised on the pithoi are marks denoting capacities, apparently using the Pergamene system of measurement. See L. E. Roller, *Gordion special studies 1: the non-verbal graffiti, dipinti, and stamps* (Philadelphia 1987) 63-65, nos. 3B-34 through 3B-38. Level 2 House is also the structure in which two Pergamene figurines of the goddess were found, perhaps suggesting that Pergamene Greeks were living there.

⁷⁰ Hesiod, *Theogony* 1-103. M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Munich 1955) 253-255. On the Muses as patrons of the arts, see Hesiod, *Theogony* 26-28; *Odyssey* viii 488.

⁷¹ On the Thracian origin of the Muses' cult, see Strabo x 3.17. The cult of the Muses is attested in Athens, *IG* i² 324. 62 and 91; in Boiotia, *SIG*³ 457 and 1117; on Teos, *SIG*³ 578; on Chios, *SIG*³ 959; and on Cos, *SIG*³ 1000. For evidence of the cult in Thespia, see G. Roux, 'Le val des Muses et les Musées chez les auteurs anciens,' *BCH* lxxviii (1954) 22-48.

⁷² Euripides, *Helen* 1337-1352, and *Bacchae* 410 (cf. 72-88).

the cult of the Mother in Phrygia. It seems most likely that the association was made by Greek worshippers. When we remember that the alabaster statuette was almost surely made and inscribed at Gordion, it strongly suggests the presence of Greek individuals there who combined the cult of the Hellenic Muses with that of the Anatolian Mother. The connection, moreover, was strengthened by the prominent role of music in this cult, as we know from both Anatolian and Greek representations of the goddess.⁷³

The votive pedestal with the inscription ΑΓΑΘΗΣ ΤΥΧΗΣ should also be considered in this context. The cult of Agathe Tyche too was Greek, first attested in the Greek world in the fourth century BC. While this goddess is best known as the Fortune of an individual or a city, we find her worshipped as a divinity in her own right, together with the Mother, in the fourth century BC on Thera.⁷⁴ In Anatolia the cult of Agathe Tyche could also be linked with that of the Mother, as in a second century BC inscription from Anatolian Philadelphia. Here Agathe Tyche is one of a group of divinities embodying positive qualities, named the *Theoi Soteres*; all these Savior Gods were to receive an altar in the sacred house of Agdistis, another name for the Mother.⁷⁵ While the Gordion pedestal has no clear reference to the cult of the Mother, the association of this goddess with Agathe Tyche in both Greece and Anatolia makes the connection likely.⁷⁶ The pedestal too is made of local stone, and thus provides further evidence for the absorption of a Greek divinity into Anatolian cult.

An intriguing example of cross-cultural influence is furnished by the marble figure of the draped woman holding a torch, found together with the marble statuette of the Mother. The thoroughly Hellenic character of this piece suggests that it should represent a purely Greek figure. It might be a Greek divinity, for there are several Greek goddesses who are frequently depicted with torches, including Demeter, Kore, Hekate, and Artemis.⁷⁷ The figure could also simply be an attendant or devotee of the Mother. This seems to be the more likely attribution, for a torch-bearing maiden was a frequent associate of the Mother in the Greek world. The pair first appears together in an early fourth century BC relief from the Piraeus, which depicts a young woman with a lighted torch approaching the seated goddess.⁷⁸ The torch-bearing attendant of the Mother becomes a standard figure on many representations of the third century BC and later,

⁷³ Roller (n.22) 209, and Winter (n.22) 61. On Anatolian representations, see the lyre and flute players who accompany the goddess in the Phrygian statue from Boğazköy (Bittel, n. 7), and also the statuette of Roman date published by M. I. Tunay, 'A Terracotta Statuette of Cybele,' *Belleten* xxxvi (1972) 137-143 = CCCA I, no. 200. On music in the Greek cult of the goddess, see Herodotos iv 76; Plato, *Crito* 54d. The tympanum was a standard attribute in Greek representations of the goddess from at least the fifth century BC, cf. von Salis (n.47).

⁷⁴ See n.35.

⁷⁵ For the inscription, see n.35. On Agdistis as equivalent to the Mother, see Strabo x 3.12, p. 469; Haspels, *HoP* 199-200.

⁷⁶ A general similarity of the sculptural representations of Tyche and of the Mother may have encouraged the association of the two deities, for both Tyche and the Mother are depicted as mature women, seated, and wearing a similar conformation of chiton and mantle. Note especially Tyche figures which appear on coins, cf. R. Fleischer, 'Die Tyche des Demetrios I. von Syrien,' *AAnz* 1986, 699-706, fig. 3, 5, and 6.

⁷⁷ Demeter holds a torch in the Parthenon frieze, M. Robertson and A. Frantz, *The Parthenon frieze* (New York 1975) fig. IV, 25. For other examples, see Peschlow-Bindokat (n.52) 60-157, especially 84. Kore is frequently depicted with two torches, Peschlow-Bindokat 84-89; H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle* (Paris 1951) 231-265, pl. 34, 1-3, 32, 33, 1-2. A torch-bearing Hekate appears as a companion of Demeter in Attic vase painting, see *ARV²* 1012, 1; Metzger, 232. For representations of Artemis as torch-bearer, see *LIMC* II, 1, sv. 'Artemis,' nos. 407-528. We should note, however, that the long torch depicted as a tied bundle of sticks is particularly characteristic of Demeter and Kore, C. Landwehr, *Die antiken Gipsabgüsse aus Baiae* (Berlin 1985) 57-59.

⁷⁸ Naumann, *Kybele* no. 135, fig. 25, 1; CCCA II, no. 310. The identity of this figure has been much disputed, and Kore, Demeter, Artemis, and Hekate have all been proposed. Naumann, 176 n. 61, calls the figure simply a young torch-bearing goddess, while Vermaseren considers her an attendant.

including a relief from Lebadeia, a silver plaque from Mesembria, a plaster relief from Cairo,⁷⁹ a bronze matrix in New York,⁸⁰ and several statuettes and votive reliefs of the goddess.⁸¹ To the Greeks, the torch-bearing female may have represented an allusion to the mystic and nocturnal nature of the Mother's cult in the Greek world,⁸² and also to the chthonic aspect of the cult.⁸³

What meaning the Phrygians attached to the torch-bearing maiden is far from clear. This statuette is the earliest evidence we have for a torch-bearing companion of the Mother in Phrygia, and the implications of the torch in religious cult may well be another feature which appears with the pronounced Hellenization of the third century BC. We do not know if the rituals in the cult of the Mother in Gordion were similar to those of a Greek mystery cult. We do know that the Mother was the supreme divinity throughout Phrygia and that her worship had evidently been sanctioned by the governing authorities, and so it seems unlikely that her cult in a Phrygian settlement was limited to a select group of initiates. Her cult may well have had chthonic aspects, however. This can be inferred from Phrygian reliefs of the Mother of the seventh and sixth centuries BC, several of which are found in conjunction with funerary monuments. Two impressive cult reliefs from Ankara, from the modern districts of Etlik and Bahçelievler, were found in close proximity to prominent groups of Phrygian burial tumuli,⁸⁴ and a relief of the goddess from Gordion reminiscent of the Ankara reliefs was found in one of the Gordion burial tumuli.⁸⁵ In this context we should recall one of the alabaster votive stands found together with the marble torch-bearer and statuette of the Mother. The piece is incised on one side with four panels imitating a door, resembling a class of Anatolian burial monuments decorated with false doors.⁸⁶ This particular piece imitates the shape of an altar and was, as stated above, likely to have been a support for a votive offering such as a bowl. Since, however, its shape and decoration are reminiscent of a funerary object, its use as a votive to the Mother implies that there was a chthonic aspect to her cult. For these reasons the torch-bearing attendant of the Mother in Greek tradition may have found a receptive audience among the Hellenistic Phrygian people at Gordion, who already associated the Anatolian Mother with funerary cult.

The allusion to Greek torch-bearing divinities present in this statuette may also have been readily accepted by the Phrygians. The Greek Demeter was an important mother goddess, and had long had elements of the Anatolian Mother in her cult.⁸⁷ The goddess Artemis also was closely associated with the Mother.⁸⁸ Hekate too had strong elements of a Mother goddess in Anatolia, and her chthonic associations may have corresponded well to the similar character of the Anatolian Mother.⁸⁹ While none of these factors permit us to identify the torch-bearing figure as one specific Greek goddess, these overlapping associations reinforced similar concepts already present in the cult of the

⁷⁹ These are all illustrated by Naumann, *Kybele*, no. 422, the relief from Lebadeia; no. 442, the silver plaque from Mesembria; no. 441, the plaster relief from Cairo.

⁸⁰ E. D. Reeder, 'The Mother of the Gods and a Hellenistic bronze matrix,' *AJA* xci (1987) 423-440, fig. 1-4.

⁸¹ CCCA II, nos. 45, 54, 182, 339, 425.

⁸² Herodotos iv 76; Pindar, *Pythian* 3.77-79. M. Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon* (Berlin 1895) no. 334; see also Ohlemutz (n.57) 180-182. In general, see G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology and mystic aspects in the cult of Cybele and Attis* (Leiden 1985) 9-25.

⁸³ M. Vassits, *Die Fackel in Kultus und Kunst der Griechen* (Belgrad 1900) 12. Landwehr (n.77) 59-60.

⁸⁴ S. Buluç, 'Phrygian orthostat reliefs found in Ankara,' *AJA* xcii (1988) 258, and 'The architectural use of the animal and Kybele reliefs found in Ankara and its vicinity,' *Source* vii (1988) 20-21.

⁸⁵ Mellink, *Comments* pl. 73, 4.

⁸⁶ M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine* (Mainz 1986), esp. 7-8.

⁸⁷ Euripides, *Helen* 1301-1368. Schol. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 708. G. Sfameni Gasparro, 'Connotazioni metroache di Demetra nel coro dell' "Elena"', *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* (Leiden 1978) 1148-1187.

⁸⁸ Hanfmann and Waldbaum (n.21) 264-269. Reeder (n.80) 437. See also n. 44.

⁸⁹ T. Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg 1960) 28-56.

Mother and facilitated the blending of the Greek figure with Anatolian cult. We should also note that the two marble statuettes of the Mother and torch-bearer were found together with the alabaster base inscribed with a Phrygian name.⁹⁰ This base too was undoubtedly a votive offering, and its find spot suggests that its donor, presumably a Phrygian resident of Gordion, had accepted the combination of the Mother and her torch-bearing attendant.

One conspicuous evidence of Hellenism lies in the iconography of the goddess herself, namely the adoption at Gordion of the goddess's principal Greek attribute, the lion, which replaces the goddess's most characteristic attribute found in the early Phrygian representations, a raptor, or bird of prey. It is difficult to determine if the change of attribute was merely a formal one, or if it involved a change of substance in the cult. The bird of prey helped define the character of the early Phrygian goddess, at least in part, as a hunting deity, for the early Phrygian Mother is almost always represented with a predator, whether natural or supernatural. This aspect of her character is specifically depicted in a stele from the Phrygian level at Boğazköy, which illustrates a schematic image of the goddess surrounded by human and animal groups hunting,⁹¹ and is further emphasized by depictions of the goddess's bird of prey hunting.⁹² Her character as a hunting goddess reinforces her general characteristics of power and communion with the wild and natural environment, but also brings her closer to man in a beneficial way. The goddess's bird of prey can be trained to hunt for man, and it also hunts fish, surely a staple food source for the people of Gordion. Thus the bird of prey brings the goddess close to her human worshippers and makes her essentially a benign, although awesome figure.

The attribute of the goddess in western Anatolia, on the other hand, is the lion, an animal which, while also a predator, is known primarily for its fearsome aspects. The presence of the lion has the effect of removing the goddess from her human sphere and making her even more a figure of power and awe. It is this psychological aspect of distance and awe, reinforced through the association with wild animals, which seems to be the chief impression we receive from the goddess's cult in the Greek world.⁹³ In Hellenistic Anatolia, however, the information we have about the cult of the Mother presents a different picture. The inscription from Philadelphia mentioned above describes in great detail the cult of the Mother Agdistis, who is worshipped together with a number of other savior and healing divinities.⁹⁴ The beneficial qualities of the Phrygian goddess and her closeness to her human worshippers have been retained. Evidently to the people of Gordion the goddess's Hellenistic lion could reinforce her qualities of power, without creating any emotional distance between the divinity and her human worshippers.

Taken together, these characteristically Greek features of iconography, attributes, and newly appearing Greek deities in the cult of the Mother at Hellenistic Gordion signal some critical syncretisms that shaped the older Anatolian cult practices at the site. There is no evidence of a gradual infiltration of Greek cult practices, but rather a sudden fusion of the two traditions, Anatolian and Greek, in the third century BC. By that time the

⁹⁰ Roller, *Texts* no. 52. See n.31.

⁹¹ R. M. Boehmer, *Die Kleinfunde von Bogazköy. Bogazköy-Hattusas* vii (Berlin 1972) no. 2144A, pl. 78; Prayon (n.3) pl. 35.

⁹² Young, 1963 campaign pl. 84, fig. 14. Mellink, *Comments* pl. 73, 1.

⁹³ Note, for example, the way the Mother is characterized in the *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* (Hymn 14), or in the *Bacchae*, 72-82.

⁹⁴ For the Philadelphia inscription, see n.35. Note also CIG 3993, a second century AD text from Iconium, in which the Mother is again mentioned together with Savior Gods. In general, see Sfameni Gasparro (n.82) 115, Haspels, *HoP* 200, and S. Mitchell, *Regional epigraphic catalogues of Asia Minor II*, BAR International Series cxxxv (1982) 16.

Mother goddess had long since passed from Phrygia into Greece and had been absorbed into the Greek pantheon. When this Hellenized deity was reintroduced into Phrygia, she was accepted unquestioningly, and her older Phrygian iconography disappeared without a trace. At the same time, however, we can see that the Hellenic aspects of the Mother's cult only reinforced Phrygian aspects that were already present. The Phrygians adopted Greek ideas, but they did so selectively, using the Greek forms and practices which they could relate to their own.⁹⁵

For this reason we should consider what aspects of the cult of the Mother remained the same after the Gordion settlement came under strong Hellenic influence. To one approaching the goddess from a Greek perspective, there are certain conspicuous gaps in the Phrygian material, suggesting that the process of Hellenization was far from complete. For example, we find no temples or major shrines of the goddess in the Hellenistic levels at Gordion. The statuettes and other finds attesting to the prominence of her cult were all recovered from private houses, in some cases from household shrines. This corresponds to the picture we receive of the cult of the goddess in the earlier Phrygian city of the eighth and seventh century, where there is as yet no clear evidence for a temple of the Mother. A Greek observer would surely also have been struck by the lack of any evidence for the cult of Attis, the goddess's male companion in the Greek world. This too is consistent with our evidence from Phrygia. Despite the presence of Attis in the representations of the Greek Kybele from the fourth century BC and later, Attis is never represented in any Phrygian monument, nor does he seem to have found a role in the goddess's Anatolian cult.⁹⁶

In sum, we see at Gordion a mixture of Phrygian cult practices of great antiquity, combined with Greek iconography and Greek deities which were absorbed into the cult of the Anatolian Mother. Taken as a whole, the material testifies to the willingness, even eagerness, of the local inhabitants to adopt Greek artifacts and Greek divinities, but at the same time to the deep staying power of this, the most characteristically Anatolian of deities. The Great Mother had been worshipped in central Anatolia long before the advent of the Phrygians, and, although frequently reshaped and altered, would remain an important figure after the Phrygians ceased to exist as a distinct people.

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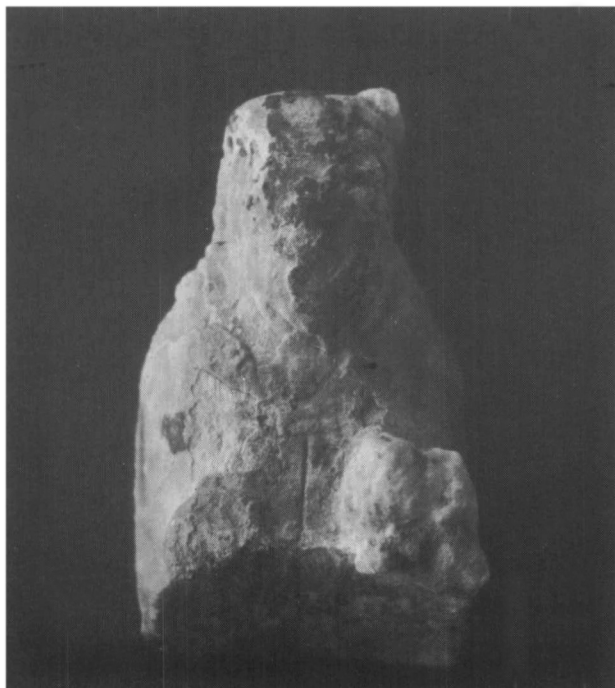
⁹⁵ We can note a similar process at the important Phrygian site of Midas City, also a major center of cult for the Anatolian Mother. Here the citadel which had formed the main center of the earlier settlement was abandoned in the late fourth century BC, but evidence for the continuation of the cult, now Hellenized, in one of the Mother's sacred places has been found in the form of Hellenistic figurines and inscriptions from a small pit on the citadel. The Greek inscriptions, all of Roman date, state clearly that the sanctuary was dedicated to *Mater Thea* (or *Theon*) *Agdistis*. For the Hellenistic material from Midas City, see C. H. E. Haspels, *Phrygie III, La Cité de Midas. Céramique et trouvailles diverses* (Paris 1951) 7, 21-22, pl. 36-37, although according to Haspels, *HoP* 154 n. 43, only a small portion of the Hellenistic material has been published. For the inscribed monuments to the Mother see Haspels, *HoP* 194-202, and 295-301, nos. 1-16.

⁹⁶ Mellink (n.1, Jerusalem 1981) 103-104. Naumann, *Kybele* 98-100.

Irene Romano has drawn my attention to another curious gap in the Gordion material relating to the cult of the Mother. In other East Greek centers one common type of terracotta figurine is the mantled dancer, also known as the Phrygian dancer, as in the material from Troy, D. B. Thompson, *Troy, the terracotta figurines. Supplementary monograph III* (Princeton 1963) 100-105, and Pergamon, Conze and Schazmann (n.58) pl. 12, nos. 6-8. These are generally interpreted as orgiastic dancers performing in the rites of Kybele. This class of figurine is almost totally absent at Gordion (one possible example, Romano, cat. no. 75). This suggests that such dances may have been limited to the goddess's Greek rituals, and had little place in her Phrygian cult.



(a) Cult relief of the standing goddess with bowl and bird of prey, from Gordion.



(b) Alabaster figurine of the seated goddess, from Gordion.



(c) Marble statuette of the seated goddess with lion, from Gordion.

THE GREAT MOTHER AT GORDION



(a) Marble statuette of torch-bearing attendant, from Gordion.



(b) Alabaster votive stand imitating altar, from Gordion.



(c) Marble statuette of the seated goddess with lion, from Troy (after Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* fig. 330).