

## THE GALA AND THE GALLOS

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“There is a class of Babylonian priests called *kalu*, Sumerian *gala*, concerned especially with the temple tympanon and bull sacrifice ... whom it is tempting to connect with the Meter cult, too....” With these words, Walter Burkert revived the search for the origins of the *gallos* of Rome and Hellenistic Greece among the Bronze Age cultures of the Near East (1979, 198 with previous literature).<sup>1</sup> Burkert himself prefers to relate the *galloi* to the beings called *gallu* who carry Ishtar’s consort Dumuzi to the Underworld in Mesopotamian myth. Nevertheless, a possible relationship between the GALA of Mesopotamia and the Hellenistic *gallos* (Latin *gallus*) is suggested not only by the phonetic resemblance of their names, but also by the striking agreement of certain characteristics of the two cultic functionaries. The typological similarity between them has received detailed examination in recent cross-cultural studies of the role of transgendered individuals in religion and ritual (e.g., Roscoe 1996). The Hittite texts, however, offer evidence for the historical continuity of tradition between the GALA and the gallos beyond mere typological resemblance.

The galloi were self-castrated eunuch devotees of Cybele, the mother goddess of the Greek and Roman world, whose cult was overwhelmingly associated with Phrygia in antiquity.<sup>2</sup> They are noted for their wailing and lamentation of Attis, Cybele’s mythological companion who died after castrating himself. The processions of the galloi, accompanied by the clanging of cymbals, were characterized by ecstatic self-mutilation and bloodletting. The stereotypical *gallus* of Roman literature wore feminine dress and heavy makeup, had long yellow-tinted hair, and was willing to perform sex acts considered degrading by the Romans. Martial (3.81), for example, reproaches a *gallus* for cheating on his vows to Cybele by engaging in oral sex with women, rather than men.

The GALA priests, on the other hand, were professional cultic singers, attested in texts from the third millennium onwards. They were not eunuchs, as Renger demonstrated (1969). Their repertoire included songs in various genres, including the BALAG (performed to the BALAG-drum and usually translated “lamentation”) and the ÉR.ŠEM<sub>5</sub>.MA (“wail of the šem drum”).<sup>3</sup> The cultic songs of the GALA are composed in emesal (EME.SAL), a variety of Sumerian whose exact nature has been a subject of much dispute. Emesal may simply be the “refined” dialect of Sumerian, considered softer or more beautiful, or it may at one time have been an actual female *genderlect*, the existence of which is paralleled in other languages (Schretter 1990, 105–23). Whittaker provides a summary upon we may base a discussion: “Emesal occurs only as a literary dialect: that is, as the vehicle of specific literary and cultic genres and as a literary device employed, among other things, to identify female speakers generically” (2002, 641).

Although the exact nature of the GALA and the evolution of his role in Mesopotamian cult over the millennia remain topics of controversy, some evidence suggests that Mesopotamian society considered the GALA to have transgendered characteristics. Steinkeller provides evidence for the original transgendered status of the GALA in his analysis of the origin of the Sumerian sign GALA (UŠ.TUŠ; 1992, 37). He notes that

the Sumerian word for “son-in-law,” usually written *mussa* (SAL.UŠ)<sup>34</sup>, “contains the logogram SAL.UŠ (more correctly: GAL<sub>4</sub>.GĪŠ ‘vagina + penis’), which is used in third-millennium sources (mostly ED [Early Dynastic – P.T.]) to write various words connected with the idea of heterosexual intercourse.... In this connection, we may also mention the logogram UŠ.TUŠ (more correctly, GĪŠ.DÚR ‘penis + anus’), standing for GALA, which is clearly the ‘homosexual’ equivalent of SAL.UŠ.”

In the Sumerian myth of the Descent of Inanna, the god Enki creates two cultic personnel from the dirt underneath his fingernails and sends them to revive Inanna, who lies dead in the Underworld. He forms a GALA.TUR (perhaps “lowly gala, low-ranking gala,”) with another cultic functionary called a KUR.GAR.RA. The KUR.GAR.RA is also suspected of engaging in homosexual sex and behaviors that we may consider transgendered within the context of Mesopotamian society (Bottéro and Petschow 1972, 463; Henshaw 1993, 289). In the Akkadian versions of the myth, the Descent of Ishtar, the GALA.TUR and KUR.GAR.RA are replaced by a single figure, an *assinnu* or *kulu’u*, also males who engage in prostitution or transgendered behavior. The Sumerian Proverb Collections depict the GALA as ridiculous in general, and Alster interprets the following proverb as a crude joke (Sumerian Proverb Collection 2, 100, ed. Alster 1997, 1, 65): *gala-e biḏ-da-ni ḥa-ba-an-da-zé-er / èm ga-ša-an-na ga-ša-an-mu / ba-ra-zi-zi-dè-en-e-še* “A lamentation priest wiped his anus and said, ‘I must not stir up that which belongs to the Queen of Heaven, my lady.’” The quoted speech contains the emesal forms ÈM for NIĜ, “thing,” and GAŠAN for NIN, “lady,” and the low humor of this proverb recalls the origin of the sign GALA.

Some of the first attestations of the word γάλλος in Greek indicate the preservation of Mesopotamian tradition. Five epigrams in the Greek Anthology, 6.217–21 and 6.237, tell slightly differing versions of story about a devotee of Cybele who encounters a lion. As a typical example of these poems, we may quote AP 6.217 (attributed to Simonides, ed. Gow and Page 1965, 1: 180, translation mine):

Χειμερίην νιφετοῖο κατήλυσιν ἡνίκ’ ἀλύξας  
Γάλλος ἐρημαίην ἦλυθ’ ὑπὸ σπιλάδα,  
ὕετὸν ἄρτι κόμης ἀπομόρξατο, τοῦ δὲ κατ’ ἵχνος  
βουφάγος εἰς κοίλῃν ἀτραπὸν ἵκτο λέων·  
αὐτὰρ ὁ πεπταμένη μέγα τύμπανον, ὃ σκέθε, χειρὶ  
ῥαξεν, καναχῇ δ’ ἴαχεν ἄντρον ἅπαν·  
οὐδ’ ἔτλη Κυβέλης ἱερὸν βρόμον ὑλονόμος θῆρ  
μεῖναι, ἀν’ ὕλην δ’ ὥκύς ἔθυνεν ὄρος,  
δεῖσας ἡμιγύναικα θεῆς λάτριν, ὃς τάδε ῥεῖα  
ένδυτὰ καὶ ξανθοὺς ἐκρέμασε πλοκάμους.

A gallos, taking shelter from the wintry falling of snow, entered a desolate cave. He had just wiped the sleet from his hair, when in his footsteps came a cattle-devouring lion down the hollow path. But the gallos with outspread hand beat the big tympanon that he held and the whole cave echoed with the sound. The forest-dwelling beast could not bear the holy noise of Cybele, but rushed swiftly up the tree-covered hill, in fear of the half-woman servant of the goddess, who dedicated to Rhea these robes and yellow locks.

The poems from the Greek Anthology curiously echo a Sumerian proverb from the Old Babylonian period (Sumerian Proverb Collection 2, 101 ed. and trans. Alster 1997, 1: 101–2): *gala-e ur-mah-e edin-na ù-mu-ni-in-te / ḥe-en-du èrim( ?)<sup>ki</sup> ká d<sup>i</sup>inana-še / ur-šika-da-ra / šeš-zu edin-na ta-àm mu-un-na-ak-e-še* “A lamentation priest, after he had met a lion in the desert, said, ‘Let him come! In the town ... at Inanna’s gate, oh dog, chased away with potsherds, what is your brother doing in the desert?’” The agreement in motifs between the Greek poems and the Sumerian proverb suggests the possible transmission of elements of the institution of the GALA from Mesopotamia to the Hellenistic world.

The typological similarity between the institutions also invites an etymological equation of the words GALA and γάλλος. The Sumerian word, first borrowed into Akkadian, would have entered – perhaps through

the mediation of Hurrian – the local languages of Anatolia, eventually to be passed to Phrygian and Hellenistic Greek. However, the preservation of the initial *g* is somewhat surprising in light of constraint against initial voiced stops characteristic of the Anatolian linguistic area in the Bronze Age. Moreover, the word GALA appears in Akkadian as *kalû* with a *k*, the usual realization of Sumerian *g* in early borrowings into Akkadian. However, the consonant *k* seems peculiarly susceptible to voicing in the process of borrowing, as exemplified for example by Italian *gamba*, French *jambe* from Greek *καμπή* “bend (in a limb),” or Latin *guberna* “rudder” beside Greek *κυβερνάω* “steer,” and the same voicing may have occurred during the transmission of the term to Greece. As for the geminate *l*, we may again reckon with the vagaries of borrowing or influence from other word.<sup>4</sup> A variety of other etymologies of Greek γάλλος have been proposed, however. Lane (1996) has advocated the derivation of γάλλος from the name of the Gaulish tribes who occupied parts of Phrygia in the third century BC, while Puhvel (*HED* 2, 414) has proposed that the word is native Phrygian and related to Greek κόλος, “docked,” referring to the self-mutilation practiced by the galloi.

Evidence for a historical continuity of tradition between the institutions of the GALA and the gallos would strengthen the case for Burkert’s association of the two, whether or not the Sumerian word is the ultimate source of the Greek word. The local cults of Anatolia provide an obvious means of transmission of the institution of the GALA from Mesopotamia of the third and second millennium to Phrygia of the first millennium, and thence to Greece. Roller notes the paucity of evidence for eunuch priests resembling the galloi in Iron Age Phrygia, with the possible exception of a figurine from Bayandir (1996, 105). She also disputes a Phrygian origin for the drum that formed an essential part of the later Hellenistic and Roman conception of Cybele (1996, 148): “the tympanon was a Greek addition to the Meter iconography.... Thus the Greek iconography of Meter/Kybele presented a goddess who had departed quite far from her Anatolian origins.... And one key symbol, the tympanon, had acquired a prominence that it did not have in the Anatolian tradition.”

Textual evidence, however, suggests a cultic continuity from the Hittites and Luwians of the Bronze Age to the Phrygians of the Iron Age and thence to the Hellenistic world. Several scholars have remarked on one cultic practice shared by Bronze Age Anatolia and the later cult of Cybele, namely, the distinctive ritual gesture of drinking from a musical instrument (Polvani 1988, 173; *HED* 3, 359). Clement of Alexandria preserves the *symbolon* of the mysteries of Cybele (*Protrep.* II): ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον· ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν “I ate from the *tympanon*-drum, I drank from the cymbal, I carried the sacred dish, I went behind the curtain of the nuptial bed.” Firmicus Maternus (*De err. prof. rel.* 18.1) transmits another version of the same formula as spoken by the initiates of Attis.

A strikingly similar ritual practice is described in the group of Hittite and Luwian texts edited by Stark (1985, 294–353) under the rubric of the “Kult des Pantheons von Ištanuwa” and partially translated by Güterbock (1995). Ištanuwa is located in the Lower Land, in south-central Anatolia. The festivals associated with the city involve the participation of a group of people called the Men of Lallupiya, and a musical instrument called the *ḥuḥupal*-instrument occupies a central place in this cult. The word *ḥuḥupal* has been adduced as a possible relative of Greek κύμβαλον “cymbal,” an instrument that played a large role in the worship of Cybele (*HED* 3, 359). Güterbock (1995, 71), however, interprets the *ḥuḥupal* as a drum of some sort, rather than a metallic cymbal.

Before they begin to drink from the *ḥuḥupal*, the Men of Lallupiya first beat on the instrument. They then pour *marnuan*-beer into the *ḥuḥupal*, and the *marnuan* flows out into another *ḥuḥupal*. They begin the ritual drinking (*KUB* 25.37 i + *KUB* 51.9 obv., translation following Güterbock 1995, 66): [*m*]aḥḥan=ma=kar<sup>GIŠ</sup>ḥuḥupal IŠTU GEŠTIN šunnanz[i] n=at=kan ḥantezzi palši<sup>LÚ</sup>SAGLA=pat waršuli arḥa ekuzi LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup>Lallupiya=ma kiššan =‘iš’ḥamiškiuan ‘tian’z[i w]īntar wīntar taruwaliy[a]n wīntar ‘nu kuitman ak’ kuškanzi kuitman a[kuan]n<sup>ḥuḥumanteš</sup> ‘irḥānzi’ iḥamiškiuan=ma apā[t] SĪR [n]=at iḥamiyauanzi EGIR=‘pa’ w[aḥnu]škanzi “When they fill the *ḥuḥupal* with wine, the first time, only the cupbearer drinks it up, sniffing. The Men of Lallupiya sing as

follows, *wīntar*, *wīntar taruwiliyan wīntar*, while they drink, and while they finish drinking, that song is sung. They reply(?) singing.” The cupbearer and the others then continue to drink from the *huhupal*. Surely this is the Anatolian rite antecedent to those carried out in honor of the Phrygian goddess Cybele later in the Roman world.

However, a curious incident immediately follows, another singular detail linking the cult of Istanuwa to that of Cybele a thousand years later. The cupbearer offers the *huhupal* to the head of the Men of Lallupiya, and he sings like a woman (KUB 25.37 i 41' + KUB 35.131 i 1'ff. trans. after Güterbock 1995, 66): [n]=ašta *maḥḥan* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*huhupal* <sup>LÚ</sup>SAG[1.A ... n]=at šunnai=pat šanḥazi=ma=at=k[an? UL Š]A LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Lallupiya kuiš LÚ.GAL-ŠU[NU nu] 'a'pēdani pāi nu=šši GIM-an L[Ú ... ] šūw[a]n[n]a(?) menaḥḥanda ēpzi [nu=šši men]aḥ[ḥanda Q]A-TAM-MA MUNUS-nili i[šḥamāi] “When the cupbearer ... the *huhupal*, he just fills it, but [does not] wipe it out.... He gives it to him who is the head of the men of Lallupiya. When a man of Lallupiya holds out to him [...] and a full one, he s[ings] opposite [him] like a woman in the same way.” Güterbock's restoration of the verb i[šḥamāi] here is supported by a somewhat similar procedure found later in the festival (KUB 25.37 iii) that does not involve “singing like a woman.” Occurring as part of a festival that otherwise resembles of the rites of Cybele, this incident of transgendered behavior (MUNUS-nili i[šḥamāi]), suggests the existence of cultic functionaries who may have developed into the galloi of Hellenistic and Roman times.

A third detail suggests continuity between the cult of Istanuwa and the later cult of Cybele. The Sahiriya is the only river-deity to be mentioned in the festivals of Istanuwa (KUB 35.135 iv 14'–17'): “Then the king and queen, sitting, drink to the Storm-god of Istanuwa, Kinaliya, Gurnuwala, Maliya of the horn, the Hurrian Inar, and the River Sahiriya three times.” Forlanini (1987, 115 note 23) has identified the Sahiriya with the Sangarios (modern Sakarya) in western Anatolia and proposed that Istanuwa may have been situated near Gordion. We may add that in the myths of Cybele, the Sangarios plays a significant role. The Sangarios is the father of Attis's mother according to the accounts of Pausanias (VII, 17) and Arnobius (Adv. nat. 5.6). According to Ovid (Fasti, 4.229), on the other hand, Attis is unfaithful to Cybele with a nymph named Sangaritis. Among the other deities toasted in this list of gods, a deity called *hurlaš* <sup>d</sup>Inar, “the Hurrian Inara,” is otherwise unknown, as noted by Kammenhuber (1976, 73), and it remains unclear why a Hurrian version of the goddess Inara should appear in this Luwian context. However, we may note that both Cybele and the Hittite goddess Inara are known for their attachment to mortal lovers, Cybele to Attis and Inara to Hupasiya – attachments that have unfortunate consequences in Attis' case and probably also in Hupasiya's.

A further link between the cult of the Istanuwian Pantheon and the cult of Cybele is suggested by an incident of ritual bloodletting (KUB 53.15 i 13'ff + KUB 41.15 i(!) 3'ff, lines 13'–24' translated by Beckman 1985, 143).

- 13' [... aku]wanna 3-ŠU irḥāizzi nu <sup>LÚ</sup>A.ZU-aš 1 *huhupalli*  
 14' [-a]z dāi nu walḥannai DINGIR.MEŠ-aš=a ŠĪR.ḪI.A-uš  
 15' [iḥa]miškizzi <sup>URU</sup>Ištanumnili  
 16' [2 <sup>URUDU</sup>š]epikušteš n=aš=šan šuppiyanti NINDA.KAŠ  
 17' [dā]i nu 1 LÚ karapzi <sup>LÚ</sup>A.ZU-[aš]=a šarā tizzi tā GUNNI  
 18' 4-ŠU ḥūyanzi <sup>GIŠ</sup>*huhupal* walḥannai iḥamiškizzi=ya  
 19' mān 4-ŠU ḥūyanzi nu=za <sup>LÚ</sup>A.ZU-aš 2 <sup>URUDU</sup>šepikuštuš dāi  
 20' nu=za=kan ḥatta nu=za namma <sup>GIŠ</sup>*huhupalli* dāi nu <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR-aš piran  
 21' tar-uk'-zi mān 3-ŠU wē[hz]i n=uš=z=ašta arḥa SUD-ya nu GEŠTIN(!) NAG-zi  
 22' piraššet kuiēš ašanzi nu-uk(!)-kán apušš=a ḥatta kuiš  
 23' aniyaēzzi n=an=kan ḥatta kuiš=za MIMMA IDU  
 24' [nu] ANA DINGIR-LIM tezzi

... makes the rounds 3 times ... The “physician” ... one *huhupal*-instrument. He beats on it and sings the songs of the gods – in the manner of the city of Istanuwa.

[Two copper] pins – they are stuck into the holy bread (and) beer (portion[?]). He [pla]ces (them) on the table. One man lifts (it – the portion[?]), and the “physician” steps up. Then they run around the hearth four times striking the *h*-instrument and singing continually.

When they (have) run around four times, the “physician” takes the two copper pins and pierces himself. He takes the *h*-instrument again and dances before the table. When he spins three times, then he pulls them (the pins) out and drinks (some) wine. Whoever are seated before him, them he pierces – whoever participates, him he pierces! Whoever knows something tells it to the deity...

We may compare this incident with the ecstatic dancing and bloodletting that formed a well-known part of the cultic performances of the galloi in Rome (Graillot 1912, 126, n. 4). Many Romans found this behavior disturbing and senseless, as exemplified by the following vivid lines of Propertius (2.22a, 5–16): *cur aliquis sacris laniat sua bracchia cultris / et Phrygis insanos caeditur ad numeros?* “Why does anyone lacerate his own arms with sacred knives. And why is he wounded to the mad measures of a Phrygian (musician)?”

Not only do the Istanuwian festivals hold evidence for the survival of Bronze Age Anatolian elements in the cult and myth of Cybele, but they also resemble the cultic performances of the Mesopotamian GALA. Hutter offers an analysis, worth quoting at length, of the Istanuwian festivals based on the names of the songs recorded on the tablets:

In the shelf list KUB 30.42 i 1 we read...: “First tablet. Song(s) of conciliation of the men of Istanuwa.” The same we read in Luwian language in broken context in KUB 32.13 i 6–11: “I will conciliate, I will conciliate [...] they shall conciliate him, the gods [...], the pure ones [...] they shall conciliate him [...] above the Sun-god [...]” It is neither clear who is the one to be conciliated nor why this has become necessary, but some general rite of conciliation or pacifying is possible within a festival.

Another aspect of one of the purposes of the festival we see in KBo 4.11 when we read the colophon: “They sing the songs of thunder”.... [I]f we combine “the songs of thunder” with the “songs of conciliation” we can understand a little bit more concretely the reason for the festival: it is celebrated (annually) as a reconciliation of the people of Istanuwa and Lallupiya with their gods, removing all the “misdeeds” which might have caused the Storm-god's anger and thus also his thunder. (2003, 241)

When we consider Hutter's analysis together with the cultic incident of singing like a woman (MUNUS-nili i[šḥamāi]), a possible ritual “missing link” between the GALA and the gallos emerges in the Men of Lallupiya. The GALA sings a genre of compositions that can aptly be characterized as “songs of thunder” and “songs of soothing”: the BALAG, often translated “lamentation.” The BALAGs are composed in emesal, suspected of being the female genderlect of Sumerian, which recalls the head of the Men of Lallupiya singing “like a woman.” Black summarizes the typical contents of the BALAG as follows: “praise, or self-praise of the deity ... all-powerful, violent and irrational gods whose purpose cannot be divined, laments over the destruction, by an unknown enemy, of now deserted temples, haunted buildings, and ruin mounds ... the enemy, the sheepfold, the cowpen, the flood, the storm, abandonment, humiliation, lamentation, nostalgia....” (1991, 25–26).

The BALAG-compositions can be considered “songs of thunder” in several respects. The name of the Mesopotamian genre is taken from the BALAG-drum, and the sound of drums is likened to thunder in Sumerian literature (Curse of Akkad II. 200–201, ed. Cooper 1983, translation partly following Renger 1969, 190): *balaḡ imin-e an-ur gub-ba-gim ki mu-un-ši-ib-ūš ub me-zé li-li-iš* <sup>d</sup>Iškur-gim ša-ba mu-na-an-tuk “(The people of Akkad) put in place seven BALAG drums, as if they stood at heaven's base and played ub, meze, and lilis-drums loudly like Iškur [the Storm-god] among them for him (Enlil).” A cultic drum plays a large role both in the performances of the GALA and in the Istanuwian festivals. Moreover, the storm, considered as the manifestation of the power of the gods, is a ubiquitous motif of BALAG-incantations, as illustrated by a litany from the BALAG *Immal Gudede* “The Lowing Cow” (translated by Cohen 1988, 2, 625): “Storm,

destructive heart of Enlil! Furious storm killing people.... Storm which has no regard for a mother! Storm which has no regard for a father! Storm which has no regard for a spouse! Storm which has no regard for a child!"

The BALAG can also be identified as “songs of soothing,” comparable to those identified by the Hittites as *li-la-u-wa-aš* ŠIR. The compositions often contain a section in which forms of the Sumerian word *hun*, “soothe, pacify” are reiterated as part of an attempt to soothe the deity. The long lamentation *Elum Gusun* “Honored One, Wild Ox” offers a typical example (lines 164 and 167–169, ed. and trans. Cohen 1988, 1, 280, 295, boldface mine):

- 164 balag ðim-me-er mu-lu šùd-da <sup>d</sup>Mu-ul-[líl-še mu]-  
 ...  
 167 me-en-dè ki-e-šè a-ra-zu-a mu-un-re,-en-dè-en <sup>d</sup>Mu-[ul-líl-še mu]-  
 168 ù-mu-un šà-ab **hun-e-da** in-gá-re,-dè-en <sup>d</sup>Mu-[ul-líl-še mu]-  
 169 šà-ab **hun-gá bar hun-gá-da** in-gá-re,-dè-en <sup>d</sup>Mu-[ul-líl-še mu]-  
 ...  
 164 With lamentations god and man going in prayer going to Enlil.  
 ...  
 167 We go to that place in prayer. We go to Enlil.  
 168 We go **to calm the heart** of the lord. We go to Enlil.  
 169 We go **to calm the heart, to calm the liver**. We go to Enlil.

Another BALAG relates a myth in which Enki fashions the GALA specifically to soothe Inanna (BM 29616, ed. Kramer 1981, 3–5, boldface mine):

- 21 **gala-mu-lu-ir-ša-hun-e** da(?)-ni(?) - ?- ? mu-na-an-ðim  
 22 ir-ša-ne-ša<sub>4</sub>-i-si-iš-ma-al-la-ni ? ? [si] bí-ni-sá  
 23 <sup>kuš</sup>ub-li-li-ès-mùš-àm-di-da-ni šu-ni-šè bí-in-mar  
 24 <sup>d</sup>am-an-ki-ke<sub>4</sub> kù-ga-ša-an-na-ra mu-lu da(?) MEŠ(?) mu-ši-in-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 25 nin-da(?) **ša-zu ha-im-hun-e** <sup>giš</sup>gu-zu-za tùš-ù  
 ...  
 21 He fashioned for her **the gala, him of the heart-soothing laments...**  
 22 He arranged his mournful laments of supplication...  
 23 He placed the *aḥulap*-uttering *ub* and *lilis* (drums) in his hand.  
 24 Enki sent him who... to holy Inanna:  
 25 “Oh queen, **may your heart be soothed**, seat yourself on your throne”

In the Iṣtanuwian festivals, we may compare the Luwian “song of soothing” that repeats forms of the verb *lila*- “soothe, pacify, conciliate” (*KUB* 32.13 i 6–11, translated by Hutter above): [*li*]-[*la*]-*i-lu li-la-i-lu* [ ... ] [*i*]-*la-an-du-an* DINGI[R<sup>MEŠ</sup>...]’*ku*’-um-ma-i-in-zi ‘a’[ ... ] wa-ti-in-az-ḥa ‘a’-x[ ... ] *li-la-an-du-an* [ ... ] šar-ra <sup>d</sup>UTU-w[a ...].

The Mesopotamian BALAG and ÉR.ŠEM<sub>5</sub>.MA also invoke the theme of the destruction of the god’s temple, and these genres show certain similarities with the Mesopotamian city laments. This in turn suggests another connection with the repertoire of Istanuwa and Lallupiya. Among the incipits of the Songs of Thunder collected on KBo 4.11, there is a sentence that Watkins (1986, 58–60) has interpreted as the beginning of a Luwian poem about the city later known as Troy, a “Wilusiad”: EGIR-ŠU <sup>d</sup>Šuwašunan ekuzi aḥḥ=ata=ta alati auienta wilušati “Afterwards he drinks to Šuwašuna. [He says in Luwian:] ‘When they came from steep Wilusa...’” Watkins compares the opening line and refrain of the Old Welsh poem *Y Gododdin*, which begins *Gwyr a aeth Gatraeth*, “Men who went to Catraeth.” Just as the Welsh poem describes a disastrous military defeat and laments the loss of great warriors, we may suggest that the song for Suwasuna functions as a “Lament over Wilusa,” an Anatolian echo of the city laments of Mesopotamia, which exalt the power of the gods. The Men of Lallupiya address Suwasuna with the song appropriate to him, just as the GALA addresses

the deity with the appropriate BALAG-lamentation and ÉR.ŠEM<sub>5</sub>.MA about the destruction of the city and the deity’s temple.

Thus we observe several striking similarities between the GALA and certain cultic personnel among the Men of Lallupiya, and these suggest either the regional diffusion of a cultic institution of Mesopotamian origin or the inheritance of a transgendered institution developed in common within the Near Eastern region. The practices carried out by the Men of Lallupiya may have survived into the Iron Age to form a characteristic part of the developing cult of the Mother Goddess in western Anatolia. These cultic practices may then have become typical of the worship of Cybele among the galloi as her cult expanded to Greece and Rome, preserving a Bronze Age heritage into Hellenistic times and beyond.

## NOTES

- 1 I would like to thank Paul-Alain Beaulieu, Yoram Cohen, Piotr Steinkeller, and Calvert Watkins for discussing with me various aspects of the ideas presented herein. All errors remain my own.
- 2 For full documentation of the cult of Cybele, the reader is referred to the magisterial works of Graillot (1912) and Roller (1999).
- 3 Black (1991, 28 n. 39) presents evidence for the interpretation of the Mesopotamian BALAG-instrument as a drum, rather than a harp.
- 4 We should also note that the Sumerogram GALA was used by the Hittites to write the their word *ḫalli(ya)ri*-, a word referring to a kind of cultic singer and of unknown etymology (Puhvel *HED* 3, 30). I will not speculate if the <sup>LÚ</sup>ḫalliyari had a role in the transmission of the institution of the GALA to Anatolia.

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