

## MUSIC AND RITUAL IN PRIMITIVE ELEUSIS

*To Benjamin Schwartz, my teacher,  
on his seventieth birthday.*

The story of Persephone's rape and of Demeter's arrival in Eleusis is told primarily in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. Interestingly enough, once Demeter finds herself inside the palace of Keleos, it is not Metaneira, the queen, but wise old Iambê who knows how to entertain her (184—211). Demeter turns down the queen's throne for a humbler seat covered with a sheepskin offered by Iambê. It is Iambê's jests (χλεῦαι) which restore smile and laughter to the grief-stricken guest (200—204). Demeter also turns down the customary wine offered by the queen and bids her make a κυκεών, a mixed drink consisting of barley groats (ἄλφι), water (ὕδωρ), and pennyroyal (γλήχων). The version given in the *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Kern 46—53) is rather different. The most articulate account is the one given by Clement of Alexandria in *Protr.* II 20,1—21,2 (Kern 52). According to this account when Demeter reached Eleusis the most important local ruler was Dysaules, and his wife's name was Baubô. The lesser kings or barons were Triptolemos, the cowherd, Eumolpos the shepherd, and Euboulos, the swineherd. Baubô offered Demeter the *kykeôn*, but the goddess demurred because she was in mourning. Then Baubô resorted to an unusual means of persuasion:

ὥς εἰποῦσα πέπλους ἀνεσύρετο δεῖξε δὲ πάντα  
σώματος οὐδὲ πρόποντα τύπον· παῖς δ' ἦεν Ἰακκῶς  
χειρὶ τέ μιν ῥίπτασκε γελῶν Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλποις·  
ἣ δ' ἔπει οὖν μείδῃσε θεά, μείδῃσ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
δέξατο δ' αἰόλον ἄγγος, ἐν ᾧ κυκεῶν ἐνέκειτο.

Thus Baubô induced the goddess to smile and to accept the *kykeôn* by showing the unseemly 'impression' of her body, that is, her pudenda. The two versions differ in other respects. In the Orphic version the child's name is not Demophoôn but Iakkhos<sup>1</sup>, and the number of the local kings is four and not six. Triptolemos and Eumolpos are the only ones mentioned in both traditions. The former eventually became a semidivine figure who taught men how to cultivate the earth and sow the seed<sup>2</sup>, and the latter was the progenitor of the great priestly family of the Eumolpidae. Keleos and Dysaules, Iambê and Baubô are the true counterparts in the Homeric and Orphic traditions since Metaneira does not act with insight in the Homeric Hymn and is replaced with Baubô, Iambê's counterpart in the Orphic fragment.

1) It would be interesting to determine whether the «child» of our hymn, Demophoôn — Iakkhos, was in any way connected with the παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας initiated in Eleusis every year at state expense: George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 236—37.

2) Callimachus, *Cer.* 20—2; Ovid, *Met.* 5.645. According to Paus. i. 14.2 Triptolemos was the son of Trochilos or Keleos.

Space considerations force me to compress my views on Iambê's actions and on the nature of the *kykeôn*. I must confess that I have the feeling that the poet knew the nature of Iambê's χλεῦαι but did not think it becoming the dignity of his hymn to tell us what they were<sup>3</sup>. Scholars have drawn a parallel between what Iambê does and the *gephyrismoi*, the insults hurled by people standing on the bridge of the Eleusinian Kephisos at some of the participants in the procession to and from Eleusis<sup>4</sup>. They have also concluded that the purpose of these coarse abuses was apotropaic<sup>5</sup>. Eustathios, in an obvious attempt to connect Iambê and *iambos*, tells us that Iambê danced to an iambic measure (1684. 48. 53). With regard to Demeter's refusal to drink wine, we may remark that wineless offerings were the usual rule in the cult of Demeter and Kore, as well as in the worship of other chiefly chthonic deities<sup>6</sup>. There were several drinks which might be described by the generic name *kykeôn* (cf. *Iliad* 11. 638—42, and *Od.* 10, 233—36)<sup>7</sup>. The *kykeôn* of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter was wineless, and, in addition to water and barley groats, it contained pennyroyal. This last ingredient was also shared by the *kykeôn* which was drunk by the *mystai* at Eleusis<sup>8</sup>. The drinking of this potion could not have been part of the inner secret rites because its ingredients are freely revealed in the Hymn and no taboo was placed on depicting initiates drinking it<sup>9</sup>.

To stress that the cult of Demeter-Kore was primarily and at any rate originally a fertility cult would be to belabor the obvious. The *kykeôn* itself was doubtless of a nature calculated to increase fertility and sexual potency. The verbs *κυκάω* and *μίγνυμι* (cf. the Homeric φιλότῃτι μιγήμεναι) present us with interesting semantic possibilities<sup>10</sup>. The ingredients of the *kykeôn* may not be symbolically insignificant either. It is natural that the drink of the goddess who has the power over growth and fertility should contain water. The idea that the sky god impregnates the earth goddess through rain is expressed in the well-known Aeschylean line ὕμβρος ἔκυσε γαῖαν (fr. 44. 4) as well as in the ritualistic formula ὕε - κύε ('rain - conceive')<sup>11</sup>. The second ingredient, cracked or ground barley seed

3) Similar regard for propriety is exercised in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes 296, where the euphemism τλήμων γαστρός ἐριθος is used for our equally euphemistic *crepitus ventris*.

4) See Hesychios s. v. γεφυρίς, γεφυρισταί. For a review of the ancient literature on obscene taunting and obscene rites in general see Hanns Fluck, *Skurrile Riten in griechischen Kulte* (The book is an «inaugural dissertation» at the Albert - Ludwigs - Universität zu Freiburg : publ. Endingen 1931).

5) See George Mylonas, *op cit.* (above, note 1) 256.

6) See Dion. Hal. i. 33 ; Paus. v. 15.10 ; also Theodor Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griech. Kult* (Giessen 1910), 109 ; M. Nilsson, *Griech. Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Stuttgart 1957) 135 ; A. B. Cook, «The Bee in Greek Mythology» *JHS* 15 (1894 - 5) 21.

7) For other references to *κυκῶν* see Galen 11.155 ; Eust. 870.65 ; Scholiast on Nicand. *Alex.* 128 ; Hipponax 42.3.

8) This on the authority of Antoninus Liberalis XXIV. 1 ; Arist. *Pax.* 712 ; cf. also Herodas *Mimiambi* IX, 13 (ed. I. C. Cunningham, Oxford 1971).

9) See L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1907) iii, plate XV6 240 ; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.* ii, fig. 2637.

10) Modern Greek offers a parallel. ἀνακατώνω means «to mix», but in the medio-passive forms in the language of the goatherds of Epirus it means «to copulate».

11) Hippolytos, *Φιλοσοφ.* V, 1 and Proclus, *in Tim.* 293c.

(ἄλφι), is symbolic of all seeds, including the human seed, which must be kept inside the moist earth -or the moist womb- before they sprout and come to life<sup>12</sup>. In Homer ἄλφιτον of which ἄλφι is a shortened form, always occurs in the phrase ἄλφιτου ἀκτῆ (*Od.* 2, 355; 14, 429) which in *Iliad* 11, 631 is qualified by the significant adjective ἱερός. Thus ἄλφι(τον) was usually cracked grain (ἀκτῆ < ἄγνυμι) and sometimes, if the occasion was ritualistic, it must have been cracked in some religiously meaningful way. The third ingredient of the *kykeōn* must have been chosen for some special reason. Γλήχων/γληχῶ (Dor. γλάχων/γλαχῶ) is Ionic for Attic βλήχων/βληχῶ, a word of unknown etymology perhaps found in Mycenaean Greek in the form *karako*<sup>13</sup> (= γλήχων). There is no dispute as to the identity of the plant. It is the pennyroyal (*Mentha Pulegium*) and Modern Greek still calls it by the name γληχούνι, which strongly resembles γλήχων (cf. Cypriot γληφώνι). Kerényi is of the opinion that the barley of the *kykeōn* was allowed to ferment and that the pennyroyal -- although he admits that the pharmacological qualities of the plant are not known yet -- was most likely a mild narcotic (part of the argument for this last opinion is derived from the meaning of βληχρός)<sup>14</sup>. This opinion finds no support in the Hymn to Demeter or in other ancient literature in which the *kykeōn* is mentioned. Pennyroyal was used as a condiment for lentil dishes (VI, 250; VII, 276), as a means to obtain relief from feverish heat (VII, 158), but its main use was gynecological. Thus it was applied to a woman's pudenda or given to her as a potion to help her give birth (VIII, 164). It was used in douches (VI, 368; VIII, 190 and 192). It was given as a potion or as a vaginal suppository to aid conception (VIII, 166 and 178) or to cleanse the vagina after the first *post partum* menstruation (VIII, 92)<sup>15</sup>. Soranus recommends it as the main ingredient in sitz baths for the treatment of a woman whose uterus is filled with air and as an odoriferous analeptic for a parturient woman to whom also a clod of earth, barley groats and various sweet-smelling fruits are given<sup>16</sup>. Hesychios tells us that βλήχων / γλήχων may also stand for the pudenda (cf. *Suidas s.v.*). In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 89 the depilated βληχῶ is surely to be equated with the pudenda, and in the racy pun of *Pax*. 709–12 the κυκῶν βληχωνίας certainly means something that had better be translated into Latin (cf. also *Acharnians* 874). Both the medical use and the slang usage of βλήχων / γλήχων point to a strong connection with the female genitals. In view of this, it is not unlikely that the third ingredient of the Eleusinian *kykeōn* may have symbolized the female reproductive organs.

In the Orphic tradition preserved by Clement of Alexandria Baubō with the laughing infant Iakkhos is strongly reminiscent of the numerous mediterranean

12) Here it should be said that Fritz Wehrli was wrong in sharing the opinion of F. Speiser that the *kykeōn* symbolized bread: Fritz Wehrli, «Die Mysterien von Eleusis», *ARW* 31 (1934) 89.

13) See Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge 1959) 395 sub *ka-ra-ko*. It is interesting to note that κριθή, another word for barley, in Aristophanes *Pax* 965 is made to mean «membrum virile».

14) See C. Kerényi, *Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter* (New York 1967) 177–80.

15) The references in parentheses are to volumes and pages in *Hippocrates: Opera Omnia* (ed. Littré, Amsterdam 1962).

16) *Soranus' Gynecology*, transl. by Owsei Temkin (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore 1956) 70, 160.

versions of the divine mother and child motif<sup>17</sup>. Baubô's gesture of exposing her genitals is the well-known ἀναστροφὴ which is also mentioned by Herodotus (II, 60) in connection with the women pilgrims to the festival of Artemis at Boubastis in Egypt. This does not necessarily imply, as some have thought, that either the figure of Baubô or the ritualistic exhibition of the genitals is of Egyptian origin<sup>18</sup>. Statuettes of the θεὰ ἀναστροφόμενη have been found all the way from the Italian peninsula and Anatolia to the Nile delta<sup>19</sup>. Ritualistic exhibition must have been calculated to be apotropaic and to challenge those powers which are connected with fertility<sup>20</sup>.

That ritualistic exhibition need not have been borrowed from another culture and that it may be of archetypal significance is proven by a most remarkable passage from the Japanese *Ko-Ji-Ki*,

... And their Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female hanging [round her] the heavenly clubmoss from the Heavenly Mount Kagu as a sash, and making the heavenly spindle-tree her head-dress, and binding the leaves of the bamboo-grass of the Heavenly Mount Kaku in a posy for her hands, laying a sounding board before the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, and stamping till she made it resound and doing as if possessed by a Deity, and pulling out the nipples of her breasts, pushing down her skirt-string *usque ad privatas partes*. Then the place of High Heaven shook, and the eight hundred myriad deities laughed together<sup>21</sup>.

The cause of laughter here and in the Orphic fragment about Baubô cannot be too different. The Mother Goddess was pleased and smiled at the sight of Baubô's pudenda because she beheld the orifice of a reproductive organ so fundamental to procreation as to be identified in various Indo-European languages by a word which is frequently only slightly different from the very word for mother<sup>22</sup>.

After this preliminary consideration of the nature of the Iambê-Baubô episodes we may undertake an examination of the principal *dramatis personae*, Dy-

17) For an analysis of this great archetypal motif and for pictures of an artistic representation of the Great Mother see *The Great Mother*, Frich Neumann (tr. Ralph Manheim; Princeton 1963).

18) For example this was the opinion of Paul Foucart: *Les Mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris 1914) 467ff. See also A. Koerte, «Zu den eleusinischen Mysterien», *ARW* 18 (1925) 120ff.

19) See A. B. Cook, *Zeus* ii (New York 1965) 132, fig. 79 (a goddess exposing her pudenda as she is riding on a pig); also Th. Wiegand - H. Schrader *Priene* (Berlin 1904) 161ff., S. Reinach «Baubo» Series 4 *Revue Archéologique* 10 (1907) 166—67, and D. G. Hogarth «Naukratis, 1903» *JHS* 25 (1905) 128ff.

20) See Plutarch *Moralia* 248b; W. Deonna, «Questions d'Archéologie Religieuse et Symbolique» *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 69 (1914) 193—95; Fritz Wehrli, *op. cit.* (above, note 12) 81; H. Diels *Arcana Cerealia Miscellanea A. Salinas* (Palermo 1907) 12ff; H. Fluck *op. cit.* (above, note 4) 29ff. Carl Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig 1890) 104.

21) Basil Hall Chamberlain, translation of «Ko-Ji-Ki» or «Records of Ancient Matters», Kobe, Japan (1931) 68—70. This astonishing parallel is to be credited to Mr. Donald Samson, my assistant.

22) Cf. Grk. μήτρα; L. *matrix* in L. L. usage; Sp. *matrix*, *madre*; Lett. *mātes*; Dan. *moderlin*; Sw. *moderlif*; NHG *Mutterleib*, *Gebärmutter*; Russ. *matka* and see C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (The Univ. of Chicago Press; Chicago and London, 3rd ed. 1971) 255—56.



saules - Baubô and Keleos - Iambê. It is well-known that the etymology of proper names is a risky game. Yet, it is equally well-known that the vast majority of Greek names have both a meaning and usually a Greek origin.

### Δυσάλης

To begin with, proper compound names with δυσ- as their first component are bound to be rare on account of the undesirable semasiological potential of the compound. The Homeric Δύσπαρις (*Il.* 3.39) and the Euripidean Δυσελένα (*I. A.* 1316) are not names but word plays. Then, there is an Athenian archon by the name of Δυσνίκητος (370/69 B. C., Demosth. XLVI, 13; Diod. Sic. XV, 57); also a Δυσποντεύς, son of Oenomaus (Paus. 6, 22) and a Δύσποντος, son of Pelops and founder of Δυσπόντιον<sup>23</sup>. The second component of Δυσάλης is thought to be ἀλή<sup>24</sup>. I want to submit that it is equally possible to posit ἀλλός as the second member of the compound. It may be objected that in that case the name would be Δύσαυλος (cf. δίαυλος). To this it should be answered that, according to the usual rules of composition in Greek, we have δύσαυλος < δυσ + ἀλή (Soph. *Ant.* 356) and δύσαυλος < δυσ + ἀλλός (Antipater in *Anthol. Pal.* 9.266). The compound proper noun should end in -os whether the second component is ἀλή or ἀλλός, and whoever coined the unusual name Δυσάλης went out of his way to give it an unmistakably masculine termination. This also implies that he strove to give the name some special meaning. Now δυσ- in its numerous compounds means «kill-», «hard-», «bad-», etc., but what would «Ill-flute» or «Hard-flute», or «Bad-flute» mean? The context from which our word is taken makes a facetious or impolite meaning possible. English uses «damned» or «bloody» in a non-literal sense. Modern Greek uses ἔρημος (cf. τὸ ἔρημο σπαθί μου), μαῦρος (μαύρη ζωή) and παλιός (< παλαιός) in compounds only (cf. παλιάνθρωπος = rascal) in ways which scarcely betray the literal meaning. The δυσ- in Δυσάλης may be a jocular «damned» or «bloody» or even an intensifying prefix (cf. the intensifying positive meaning of «damned» and «bloody» in «damned good» and «bloody good»), and old «Bloody-Flute» may be nothing more or less than a personified phallus. This is much less astonishing than it sounds since scholars have already suggested that Βαυβώ is a personified vulva coupled with a personified Βαυβών (= ἑλισβος)<sup>25</sup>. I shall return to this argument when I discuss Βαυβώ. For the time being I wish to produce some additional support for the idea that Δυσάλης at some point in the development of the fertility cult at Eleusis was either some sort of pipe or flute and perhaps at a later date a musician priest attached to the cult. The flute, in its various forms is indeed one of the oldest musical instruments, and the single flute, on account of its obvious similarities to the male member, has frequently been identified

23) See Wilhelm Pape, *Wört. d. Griech. Eigennamen* s. vv.

24) W. Pape *Ibid.* s. v. translates «Übelhausner.» See also Ch. Picard «L'Épisode de Baubô dans les Mystères d'Éleusis,» *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 95 (1927) 230—31.

25) See A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig 1911) 127; L. Radermacher «Miscellen: ΒΑΥΒΩ, series 3, *RhM.* 59 (1904) 312ff; H. Diels *op. cit.* (above, note 20) 10. K. Kerényi *Niobe; Neue Studien über Humanität und Religion* (Zürich 1949) 74; W. Headam, *Herodas, the Mimes and Fragments* (Cambridge 1966) 288ff.

with it<sup>26</sup>. In Greek ἀλίσκος in some cases means the male member<sup>27</sup> and in English the «living flute», the «silent flute», the «one-eyed flute» are bywords for the penis. It is also in English that we find the following blatantly sexual doggerel:

The flute is good that's made of wood  
And is, I own, the neatest;  
Yet ne'ertheless I must confess  
The *silent flute's* the sweetest<sup>28</sup>.

### Β α υ β ὠ

The name Βαυβὼ is, to say the least, quite strange. Like Δυσούλης it hardly occurs again as a name and this in itself may indicate either that originally it was not a person's name or that, whatever it was, its semasiological associations and sound were not sufficiently desirable.

The name Βαυβὼ occurs in our well-known fragment given by Clement. It is found in the form Βαβὼ in Orphic fragment 53 preserved by Michael Psellos, in the form Βοβὼ in *CIG* 4142 (a Galatian inscription from Roman imperial times), and again as Βαυβὼ in a first century B. C. inscription from Paros *IG* XII 5,227)<sup>29</sup>. It is quite interesting that the Galatian inscription has preserved for us the variant Βαβὼ. The fact that in the fragment given by Psellos the form is βαβὼ and that in the above-mentioned Parian inscription the Y of the first syllable was inserted--one does not know when--above the space between the second and third letters is also of some importance. At the very least all this is indicative of some uncertainty as to whether the word was Βαυβὼ rather than simply Βαβὼ<sup>30</sup>.

26) For very ancient depictions of the single flute see Bernhard Aign *Die Geschichte der Musikinstrumente des Ägäischen Raumes bis um 700 vor Christi* (Frankfurt 1963) 87, 245, 256. For the primitive and also modern connection of the flute with the penis see Curt Sachs *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York 1940) 44—5.

27) See *LSJ s. v.* However the reference to Ptolemaios' *Tetrabiblos* 187 is wrong, because the correct reading there must be ἀλικοῦς.

28) *S. v.* flute in *Slang and its Analogues* by J. S. Farmer and W. E. Henley (New York 1970; reprint by Arno Press, Inc.).

29) See P. Foucart «Le Culte de Pluton dans la Religion Éleusienne» *BCH* VII (1883) 402; F. Bechtel *Inscr. des ion. Dialekts* (Göttingen 1887) 65. W. K. C. Guthrie thinks that Baubō came to Greece from Asia Minor or Anatolia. The reader may find it useful to consult both the discussion of his view and his list of Baubō's occurrences in literature, epigraphy and art: *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (New York 1966) 135—57.

30) This is the place to correct Psellos' inaccurate connection between Βαβουζικάριος and Βα(υ)βὼ and to dispell the erroneous notion held by R. M. Dawkins. «The Modern Carnival in Thrace», *JHS* 26 (1906) 206, that Βαυβὼ survives in M. Greek βάβω or Μπάμπω. Psellos implies that Βαβουζικάριος somehow came about from a corruption of the form Βαβὼ. Βαβουζικάριος to me seems to reflect the Slavic *Baba* (old woman or simply woman) / *Babushka* (grandmother) with the addition of the L. suffix -arius. As for Μπάμπω in some parts of Greece and βάβω in my own corner of NW Greece in Epirus there can be little doubt that these are the vocatives of Slavic *baba*; see also N. P. Andriotes, *Ἑτυμολ. Δεξ. τῆς Κοινῆς Νεοελλ.* (Θεσσαλονίκη 1967) *s.* βάβω. Bongas disagrees with this view; *Τὰ Γλωσσικά Ἰδιώματα τῆς Ἡπειρου* (Ἰωάννινα 1964) *s.* βάβου.

Be that as it may, both forms strongly suggest an onomatopoeic word. Some scholars have naturally turned to Βᾶ, the Greek imitation of a dog's bark (cf. Βᾶζω = to bark and English bow-wow), while others have seen the also obvious similarity to βαυβῶν (= to sleep in Hesychios)<sup>31</sup>. These connections are not insensible and are on the right path. My own opinion is that Βᾶ-/βα- are imitations of some sound, most likely the sound of some musical instrument. I think a percussion instrument is the likeliest candidate and I suggest some sort of drum. In various cultures drums and percussion instruments in general have been frequently called by onomatopoeic words. One may think of the tam-tam or tom-tom, the Vedic *dun-dubhih*, the Singhalese *temmettama*, the Akkadian *timbūtu*, the Tamil *tambattam*, the Italian *bubbolo* (a jingle of some kind), and many others<sup>32</sup>. We should also remember that βαύζω is used not only of a dog's bark but also of a loud human voice or of a vocal snarl and that βαυβῶν may have originally meant to lull to sleep by means of rocking or of making some repetitive lulling sound (cf. Modern Greek νάνι-νάνι and νανουρίζω). Apropos of an onomatopoeic etymology for βαυβῶν/βαβῶ we should mention the similar-sounding and definitely onomatopoeic word βαμβαλιαστὺς which is given as an alternate for κρεμβαλιαστὺς in *H. Apoll.* 162 by *mss.* E T. The context and nature of the words demand such meanings as «hubbub», «hullabaloo», etc. To these one must add Homeric βάζω, «to speak, to utter», and Epirotan βάζω (e.g. in the expression τὸ ποτάμι βάζει = «the river is roaring»). The drum is well attested in Greek literature and art as an instrument of worship in both orgiastic rites and fertility cults. Homeric Hymn XIV (To the Mother of the Gods) tells us that this goddess who is not so different from Demeter is pleased by the sound of κρόταλα, τύπανα, and αὐλοὶ (XIV, 3). I have already suggested αὐλός as the basic etymon of Δυσά-λης and I now proceed to suggest that Βαυβῶν/βαβῶ originally was some sort of τύπανον whose name was later identified with the name of the priestess who was attached to its care and worship. The drum I have in mind would not be the little drum carried by one hand and struck by the other which we see so frequently in the art of the Aegean basin and the Near East but a bigger kettle-drum or cauldron-drum requiring a drumstick or a pestle used as a drumstick<sup>33</sup>. The primitive version may have been some sort of wooden or earthenware pot used not only to make music or to beat time but also to pound grain necessary for the fertility ritual<sup>34</sup>. Now the symbolic identification of such a vessel-drum with the female pudenda is not only logical but also very widespread among primitive peoples<sup>35</sup>. In one example Curt Sachs tells us

31) See L. Radermacher *op. cit.* (above, note 25) 311ff; also Stephanus in *TLG* s. Βαυβῶν.

32) See Curt Sachs *op. cit.* (above, note 26) 279, 153—4. cf. also Russian *baraban*.

33) For the small drum struck by the hand see B. Aign *op. cit.* (above, note 26) 66—9, and for the use of a drumstick see pp. 57 and 65 in the same work.

34) For the origin of kettledrums from humble pots see Curt Sachs *op. cit.* (above, note 26) 249—51.

35) *Ibid.* 29, 34—36.

In the Eastern part of New Guinea there was an even simpler ritual of pounding. The aboriginal tribes had a trough of stone which was pounded with a pestle, and the pestle, the natives explained, was the penis of a spirit and the trough the vulva<sup>36</sup>.

The same tribes which identify the drum with the vulva also identify the drumstick with the penis. In this context it makes better sense than ever to associate βαυβῶ with βαυβών, the phallus, called also ὀλισβος<sup>37</sup>. Βαυβών, the drumstick, must have been the male counterpart, the «drummer» as it were, which at some more primitive stage of the cult was identified with the priest who pounded the ἱερὸν ἄλφειτον<sup>38</sup>. The fact that Βαυβῶ means κοιλία in Empedocles (Diels *PPF* 153) supports rather than weakens the idea that Βαυβῶ must have been a drum of some kind. The belly, especially when full or inflated, does resemble a drum. Also the Hesychian gloss βαυβάλλον· γυναικὸς μόριον is definitely a diminutive of Βαυβῶ which strongly suggests the identification of Βαυβῶ with the vulva. Incidentally, it should be pointed out that in the Orphic fragment quoted at the beginning of this study (Kern 52) Baubō's pudenda are called a τύπος, an «impression» or «something struck» and that τύπος and τύ(μ)πανον both go back to the root reflected in τύπτω, «to strike». When we look at the etymology of Κελεύς, we shall see that the Hesychian gloss βαύβυκες· πελεκῆνες may not be unrelated to Βαυβῶ and may also support the notion that Βαυβῶ was something beaten much as βαυβών was a «beater». But there will be more about beating as we now come to an inquiry into the origins of Baubō's counterpart, Iambē. However, before we do that we should say a word about the child which Baubō holds in her arms, the infant Iakkhos. Ἰακχος, a cult name by which Dionysos was invoked both at Athens and Eleusis, is a personification of the cry of the mystai (cf. Arist. *Frogs* 316 Ἰαχ' ὃ Ἰαχχε) and his name is derived from the same stem as ἱαχὴ/ἱάχω<sup>39</sup>. The notion that the cry of the mystai itself was called ἱακχος is found in Herodotos who also gives us the verb ἱακχάζω (VIII, 65). The support which the presence of Ἰακχος gives to the theory that Βαυβῶ and Δυσκόλης are also personifications of originally inanimate objects is strong. If the rhythmic chant of the celebrants can be personified and become a child, what can prevent «Father-Flute» and «Mother-Drum» from having in fact anticipated Ἰακχος in the process of assuming human shape?

### Ἰ ἄ μ β η

The existence of ἱαμβος makes the connection of Ἰάμβη with music a very probable one and the etymology of Ἰάμβη inextricably tied with that of ἱαμβος. I agree with Frisk that the efforts to derive ἱαμβος and the possibly related διθύ-

36) *Ibid.*

37) For the pair Baubō - Baubōn see Ch. Picard, *op. cit.* (above, note 24) 223ff.

38) For the expression see *Iliad* 11,631; cf. also Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἄκτῃν in Hesiod *Opera* 466.

39) See P. Chantraine *Dict. Étymol. s. Ἰακχος*; also M. Nilsson *Geschichte der griech. Religion* 1, 599, 664.

ραμβος, θρίαμβος, ἵθμβος from IE roots have thus far been rather futile<sup>40</sup>. This I add the equally futile efforts of scholars to find «Pelagian» ancestors for these words<sup>41</sup>. However, we should not fail to credit scholars with having noticed certain interesting clues. It has been noticed that there is a musical instrument, ἱαμβύκη, whose name bears sound and morphological resemblance to the better-known σαμβύκη. Further, it has been proposed that ἱαμβος is a compound of which the first component is the word ἰά<sup>42</sup>.

Both observations may help us shed a little more light on this thorny problem. We know nothing about the ἱαμβύκη as an instrument. The σαμβύκη was a triangular four-stringed harp whose name may be related to Aramaic *sabbekhā*<sup>43</sup>. Although authorities have disagreed as to the exact shape of the σαμβύκη, they have agreed that the resonant body of the instrument was boat-shaped. With the help of the ivory body of a Minoan harp, previously identified as a fifth century representation of a harp on an Athenian Lekythos, Duchesne-Guillemin was able to improve on Landel's ingenious reconstruction<sup>44</sup>. His reconstructed model attaches an upright mastlike stick to the receptacle into which the boat-shaped resonant body tapers. The strings are tied to this stick and to the body and are of unequal length. Except for the slightly rounded angle, the outer string, the body and the cord-stick form a triangle. This configuration makes its identification with the τρίγωνον credible and logical<sup>45</sup>. Now there is a chance that ἱαμβύκη and σαμβύκη have no more in common than partial homonymy. On the other hand, the rather naive but operative linguistic principle of naming A with a word which sounds partly like the name for B because A and B have some common qualities cannot be as recent as our offensive but perfectly understandable vulgarisms *telethon* and *aquarama*, to name only a couple. I think it quite possible that ἱαμβύκη may also have been a ship-shaped musical instrument for which ἱάμβη was a shortened form according to the well-known Greek principle of abbreviating compound names by retaining the first component and only one or more radical consonants from the second and then by attaching a feminine or masculine ending to the truncated form (cf. Σθένηςλος < Σθενέλαος, Αἰγισθος < Αἰγισθένης, etc.). However, the opposite process may also be possible: starting

40) Hjalmar Frisk *griech. etym. Wört.* s. ἱαμβος. See also Boisacq *Dict. Etymol. de la Langue Grecque* (3rd ed. Heidelberg 1938) s.v. Brandenstein's opinion in *IF* 54 (1936) which is also shared by J. B. Hoffman (*Etym. Wört. d. Griech.* Munich 1950, s.v.), that ἱαμβος, διθύραμβος, θρίαμβος are Greek compounds consisting of the numerals \**dvi*, \**kretur*, \**tri* respectively and an IE word comparable to Sanskrit *angam* («limb») is not tenable. \**Dvi* has given *di-* in Greek and it is at best linguistic jugglery to propose that «Tyrrhenian influence» can account for the disappearance of initial *dv*.

41) See D. A. Hester «Pelagian» *Lingua* 13 (1965) 354ff.

42) C. Theander «Ὀλοσυγή und ἰά» *Eranos* 20 (1921—22) 41ff; cf. also P. Kretschmer, «Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1921» *Glotta* 13 (1924) 243—44.

43) See *LSJ* s.v.; also Curt Sachs *op. cit.* (above, note 26) 83—4, 136.

44) See J. G. Landels «Ship-shape and Sambuca-Fashion» *JHS* 86 (1966) 69ff, especially 76—7 and figures 5, 6; also M. Duchesne - Guillemin «Restitution d'une Harpe Minoenne et le Problème de la «ΣΑΜΒΥΚΗ» *Ant. Class.* 37 (1968) 5ff., but especially pp. 15—18, figures 1, 3, and plate II.

45) So Porphyrius in *Comment. in Ptolemaei Harm.* i (Düring, pp. 34—5) and Vitruvius VI, 1. 5.

with a possibly Greek word ἰάμβη and adding to it -ύκη on the analogy of σαμβύκη. I do not pretend to have an airtight etymology for Ἰάμβη, but I will suggest one which, on second thought at least, may seem less arbitrary than it appears. I have already accepted the derivation of Βαυβώ from βαύ or simply βᾶ-, implying that this βαύ/βᾶ would be an imitation of a sound, a drum sound in this case, and something not too unlike our pam - pam, boom-boom, etc.<sup>46</sup> If Baubô's Eleusinian counterpart was also a musical instrument, as seems very probable especially on account of ἱαμβος, is it not possible that it was a percussion instrument beating simple time as it was used for pounding grain? I suggest Ἰάμβη < ἱαμ + βᾶ, where ἱαμ is the accusative singular ἱαν of the numeral ἱα and βᾶ the imitation of the pounding sound; it would literally mean *one-pam* or *one-boom* and might have even evolved into an exhortative cry similar to our «stroke! stroke!» in the boat races. \*Ἰάμβᾱ could easily change to Ἰάμβη as a name for the instrument struck and perhaps the priestess tending it and then even to ἱαμβύκη by analogy. In essence I am asking the question: if Ἰακχος can be the personification of a cry, why cannot Ἰάμβη be the personification of a similar cry? Ἰαμβος (in later mythology the son of Hephaistos) would be a derivative of Ἰάμβη and might originally have been the name for the rhythmic scurrilous chants sung to what came to be known as the iambic beat with the short element corresponding to the raising (arsis) of some sort of pestle or drumstick and the long to its fall (thesis) upon the instrument<sup>47</sup>. A scholium to Nicander's *Theriaca* 484 preserves a tradition according to which Metaneira had a son by the name of A(m)bas. It is possible, though not very probable, that the name contains the onomatopoetic syllable -βᾶ- which I have postulated for the name Βα(υ)βώ / Ἰάμβη (cf. Hesych. ἄβα· τρόχος. ἢ βοή). An additional clue that the ancients were not unaware of the onomatopoetic nature of the name Ἰάμβη may be contained in the tradition preserved for us by the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s. v.) that she was the daughter of Echo and Pan (cf. ἦχος / παρηχέομαι)<sup>48</sup>. But I have been speaking of some ship-shaped percussion instrument, which in a certain position *vis-a-vis* its percussive agent might resemble the σαμβύκη, without producing evidence for the existence of such an agent. It is time to turn to Iambê's partner Keleos.

### Κ ε λ ε ο ς

Κελεός occurs as a name for a person only in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and nowhere else<sup>49</sup>. As a word κελεός is the name of the green woodpecker (*Picus viridis*, Arist. *Hist. Anim.*, 593a 8 and 810a 9). The root κελ- is not confined only to this word but is found in its ablaut variation κολ- and zero

46) The fact that in Ancient Greek βαύ was imitative of a dog's bark gave rise to the otherwise untenable theory that Baubô was a demonic canine bogy in the train of Hecate: L. Radermacher, *op. cit.* (above, note 25) 311—13.

47) For the pair Iambê-Iambos see Ch. Picard *op. cit.* (above, note 24) 223ff. O. Kern. put forth the theory that Iambos preceded Iambê: *Die Religion der Griechen* (Berlin 1926) 153—63.

48) For Ἰάμβη as a toponym see Pape *op. cit.* (above, note 23) s. v. and Pliny *Hist. Nat.* 6, 29, 33.

49) For the possible existence of a Cretan Keleos who was transformed into a bird see Rosher, *Lexicon s. Aigolios, Keleos*; and A. B. Cook, *op. cit.* (above, note 6) 2.



grade κλ- in several well-known words: κελεῖς ἄζινη (*Hes.*), δίκελλα (= two-pronged fork), κέλετρον (= ὃ τοὺς ἰχθύας θηρώσιν ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς *Hes.*) κελέοντες, κολάπτω, κόλαφος, δρυοκολάπτης, κόλος, κλήμα, κλάδος, κλάω (cf. Latin *clava*, *clades*, *percello*)<sup>50</sup>. The root principally means «to strike,» «to smite,» «to beat.» Κελεός, the woodpecker (cf. πελεκᾶς, etc.), gets his name from striking or pecking at tree trunks and branches with his beak<sup>51</sup>. The Hesychian gloss κέλετρον must have been some sort of fishing spear of fishing rod and Κέλετρον, the ancient name for the city of Kastoria in Macedonia, must have been so named for being situated on the clublike or spearlike peninsular projection into Lake Kastoria. Therefore, the original meaning of Κελεός must have been «pecker,» «beater,» «striker,» and the like. It is quite possible that originally κελεός was a sort of pestle used to pound corn inside a ship-shaped slit-drum or kettle-drum called Ἰάμβη which, when the pestle rested at one of its nearly angular ends, resembled the σαμβύκη and was, perhaps in jest, at times called ἱαμβύκη. Further just like their Orphic counterparts Βαυβώ/Δυσάυλης, Ἰάμβη/Κελεός could—for obvious reasons—become personifications of the male and female genitals, the phallus and the vulva.

Now anything used as a pestle or anything resembling a pestle bears an obvious similarity to the penis. English uses woodpecker for the bird which pecks at wood and «pecker» to refer to the male organ. There is nothing barring Greek from having treated κελεός in the same manner. The ship-shaped kettle-drum, ἰάμβη, in which grain may have been pounded would be a most obvious symbol for the vulva. First of all its shape, especially if close to that of the naviform σαμβύκη, highly suggests the configuration of the female pudenda. To this one should add the fact that drum and pestle in resting position would definitely resemble the triangular σαμβύκη and this would be an additional reason for identifying the main instrument with the female pudenda. The σαμβύκη, the τρίγωνον, and, most likely, the ἱαμβύκη were triangular harps—a type seen frequently in ancient art—and we all know how the triangular Greek letter Δ in Aristophanes is a byword for the female pudenda (Arist. *Lys.* 151) and how the pubic triangle is both an ideogram for woman in early cuneiform writing and, in its older upside-down form, a characteristic delineation of the pubic area in female statuettes<sup>52</sup>.

Clement has preserved for us a *synthêma*, a password uttered by the mystai at Eleusis, which has given birth to diverging and even contradictory theories: ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην (*Protreptikos* II, 21 p., 18). Lobeck's contro-

50) For the IE root see Julius Pokorny, *Indogerm. etym. Wört.* (Bern-München 1959) 545—48; also Chantraine *op. cit.* (above, note 39); Frisk, *op. cit.* (above, note 40) s. κλάω, κολάπτω, κελεός, etc.

51) In some parts of Italy the woodpecker (*Picus*) was an oracular bird (Dion. Hal. *Antiquitates Rom.* I, 14). Plutarch informs us that the Romans «reverenced and honored the woodpecker especially» (*Vit. Rom.* IV; cf. Ovid *Fasti* III, 53). Jane Harrison in *Themis* (Cleveland 1962) 101—10, maintains that *Picus* was an important and gradually displaced combination of bird-augur-god.

52) See David Diringer, *The Alphabet; a Key to the History of Mankind* (New York 1968) vol. ii., 19, 21. Both for the sexual and the cosmogonic symbolism of Δ see Franz Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Musik und Magie* (Leipzig-Berlin 1922) 21—2.

versal emendation ἐγγευσάμενος for ἐργασάμενος has not gained acceptance<sup>53</sup>, and the translation of this formula is «I fasted; I drank the kykeôn; I took from the kistê; having done my task, I placed in the basket, and from the basket into the kistê.» With the exception of Lobeck who, partial to his own emendation, maintained that the subject of the *synthêma* was a sacramental meal<sup>54</sup>, most scholars have thought that ἐργασάμενος refers to the manipulation of male or female genitals or of both<sup>55</sup>. Mylonas discusses these theories, summarily dismisses them as simply phantastic, and concedes no more than Martin Nilsson, who thought that only the first seven words could refer to Eleusis and that the rest is taken from a related cult at the Alexandrian suburb of Eleusis<sup>56</sup>. Since the main argument for excluding the rest of the formula from Eleusis in Greece proper is based on the absence of references to a *kalathos* in its mystic celebration and the presence of such a *kalathos* at Eleusis in Alexandria, I do not think it unreasonable to ask that the *kistê* be spared. In other words, is it not possible that the original uncontaminated Eleusinian formula was «I fasted; I drank the kykeôn; I took from the kistê; having done my task, I placed back into the kistê?» Now the *kistê* could easily represent the *pudenda muliebria*. It is, after all, a receptacle and a repository. The object which the initiate took and handled--we shall never know how--may have been the phallus, and both *kistê* and phallus in turn may have been the symbolic substitutes of a later age for the drum-mortar and drumstick-pestle of an earlier Eleusis which was closer to the soil than its classical descendant. It should be stated here, in all fairness to objective inquiry, that Mylonas' moralistic statement «the handling of the phallus and of the *kteis* is an unclean act, no matter how we may try to explain it»<sup>57</sup> colors his view of the whole matter and contributes little to the understanding of a cult at the base of which the multiform miracle of generation lies unchallenged.

By now one may wonder whether my suggestions are products of a prurient imagination with no basis in human reality. What does music have to do with the pounding of grain- and what does all this have to do with sex? There are those who seem to think that, contrary to so much suggested by Greek history and mythology, the Greeks miraculously escaped the truly primitive stage. This is sheer foolishness. Malaysians and Siamese make music while they pound rice in slit-drums. This primitive musical instrument, found in parts of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific Islands, frequently takes on a sexual significance of such symbolic importance in the lives of certain peoples that priestesses may be attached to its worship and care<sup>58</sup>.

I have been talking about the pounding of corn without having justified the

53) C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophanus* (Königsberg 1829) 25.

54) *Ibid.*; So, too, L. R. Farnell, *op. cit.* (above, note 9) 111, 186.

55) See A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig-Berlin 1903) 123; A. Körte, *op. cit.* (above, note 18) 122ff.; Ch. Picard, *op. cit.* (above, note 24) 237ff.; O. Kern, *Die Griechischen Mysterien der klassischen Zeit* (Berlin 1927) 10; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Ulrich von, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin 1931—32) vol. II, p. 53.

56) *Op. cit.* (above, note 1) 293—305; M. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York 1940) 45.

57) *Op. cit.* (above, note 1) 297—8.

58) Curt Sachs, *op. cit.* (above, note 26) 29, 34—35, 40.

introduction of corn into the stories of Iambê and Baubô. I think I should refrain from expatiating on the subject of Demeter as Corn-Mother and of Persephone as her younger double. Ground or pounded grain is called Δημήτερος ἀκτὴ (*Iliad* 13, 322; 21, 76). A variety of adjectives ranging from ξανθὴ (*Iliad* 5, 500) to ἀγλαόκαρπος (line 5 in the Hymn) describe her in such ways as to leave no doubt about her connection with life and growth in general and wheat and barley in particular<sup>59</sup>. Further, we know that an ear of corn may have been part of the sacred objects exhibited to the mystai at a high point of their initiation, the *epopteia*<sup>60</sup>. This we have on the authority of Hippolytos (*Philosophoumena* V, 38–41). Mylonas argues convincingly that this can hardly be the case, since the ear of corn was freely displayed in art<sup>61</sup>. However we still have the statement of the Sophist Himerios (4th cent. A.D.) that the initiates were ordered by law to take handfuls of agricultural produce with them to Eleusis<sup>62</sup>. It would be interesting to know what older custom this law re-enforced and what was done with the grain or various grains once they were brought to Eleusis. From all the surviving customs pertaining to the threshing or pounding of corn among people still close to the soil I want to single out the Cypriot marriage custom of *résin*<sup>63</sup>. Throughout rural Cyprus and especially in the district of Paphos at wedding feasts at the houses of both the bride and groom, wheat is cleaned by young girls to the sound of music. Then it is placed in baskets, sieves or even sheets, and a procession is formed to take it to the spring. Folk music and songs accompany both the procession and the washing of the wheat in the village spring; then the procession returns to the houses of the bride and the groom. The two ceremonies are distinct and do not necessarily take place at the same time. There, while music is still played and the atmosphere is festive and merry, men and women pound the wheat with a pestle (*faouta*) until it is sufficiently cracked (sometimes they grind it with small gristmills). After that the cracked wheat is boiled in a big cauldron with milk or water. There seems to be some evidence that the *résin* used to be cooked at certain agricultural festivals. But, although I have been told by people of Paphos that occasionally it is cooked at Christmas, everyone knows it as the traditional wedding meal. Is it possible that the same corner of the Hellenic world which has preserved for us so many ancient customs and so many ancient Greek words in their pristine form has also preserved in the custom of the *résin* a ritual connected with some ancient agricultural festival in which an ἱερὸς γάμος was performed? Incidentally, since I have put forth an idea which may at first sound rather preposterous, namely, that musical instruments, symbolic of the male and female sexual organs, were employed

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59) Adjectives connecting Demeter with grain, seed, fruits etc. have been collected by J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (New York 1935) I, 63–4.

60) See Paul Foucart, *op. cit.* (above, note 29) 433–34.

61) G. Mylonas, *op. cit.* (above, note 1) 275–76.

62) Himerios, *Orat.*, Z, 2, p. 512.

63) This custom is not included in Frazer's marvellous second volume, which offers the reader an incredible wealth of comparative materials. I consider various etymologies suggested by Arist. Tamasokles in his Ἑτυμολογικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Κυπριακῆς (Athens 1966) 204–5 unsatisfactory. See also A. Sakelariou's Κυπριακὰ (Athens 1890) II, 769; G. Ch. Papacharalambous, Κυπριακὰ Ἡθῶν καὶ Ἔθιμα, in Δημοσιεύματα Ἑταιρείας Κυπρ. Σπουδῶν 3 (1965) 108ff. and Athena Tarsouli, Κόπρος ii (1963) 438ff.

at some point of time in the history of the Eleusinian cult, I should add here that Cyprus, which has preserved the custom of the *résin*, also gives us assurance that some such idea has crossed the minds of men before. Indeed, from the Cypriot oral poet's scurrilous repertory comes the following distich:

μέσα στὴ μέσῃ τοῦ γιὰλοῦ ἀνάγκῃ ἓνα φανάριον  
νᾶταν ὁ ποῦτος τῆς βκιολὶν τζ' ὁ βίλλος μου τοξάριν :

To put it euphemistically, the scabrous bard wishes that some woman's vulva were a fiddle and his own penis a bow. I am citing this distich to show with yet another example that the imagination of man has connected musical instruments with sex.

It is time now to offer a brief theoretical reconstruction of what lies behind the story of Demeter's visit to Eleusis and of the ancient ritual of which our dim searchlight allows us to catch a fleeting glimpse. The ritual I have in mind belongs more to the rude beginnings of the Eleusinian cult and may even precede the foundation of Demeter's cult in the fifteenth century B. C. Let us recall that the Eleusinian mysteries took place in the month of Boedromion, roughly therefore at the end of September. This is the time of the first autumnal rains which fecundate the earth, as it were, and make it possible for the ploughman to till the ground. It is the time to offer to the corn-mother, who is another version of mother-earth herself, the fruits of the latest harvest not only in gratitude for the old crop but also in propitiation for a new and even better one<sup>64</sup>. In fact, ploughing and sowing must have taken place in the month of Pyanepsion, which roughly corresponds in part to our October and in part to our November<sup>65</sup>. We cannot be exact on this point, but the ploughing and sowing started sometime after the fall rains. The custom of «offering» the fruits of the latest harvest has survived in the widespread Modern Greek custom of *poulousporia* (NW Greek for *polysporia*) according to which corn of all sorts and other crops are boiled together on November 21, the feast of the Eisodia of Theotokos. That this meal is cooked on a holiday celebrating the Presentation of Virgin Mary to the temple is significant, because it shows that the Mother of Christ has obviously supplanted an older pagan mother. As the ploughing was about to begin, a ritualistic ploughing took place accompanied or followed by an *ἱερὸς γάμος* the purpose of which was to re-enact the union of the corn-mother or mother-earth with her own son, the corn seed, in order to make the ground fertile. Such a festival, celebrated as part of the carnival in the winter and at the beginning of Lent, was still held at Viza (ancient Βιζύγη) in Thrace on Cheese-Monday in the beginning of the twentieth century. It was a complete rustic drama consisting of two old men (*καλόγεροι*), an Old Granny (*Μπάμπω*) and her baby, two men dressed as brides, two «gypsies» and two «policemen.» The salient features of this rustic drama were a phallic rod, a parody of a wedding ceremony, a death and resurrection sequence, and a ritualistic ploughing of the periphery of the village square<sup>66</sup>. This festival is definitely descended from an ancient ritual. I contend

64) Frazer argues that the first fruits were offered at the times of ploughing and sowing; *op. cit.* (above, note 59) 45ff.

65) *Ibid.*

66) I owe the description of this festival to George A. Megas *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens 1958) 62ff. With some minor differences in description and interpretation M. Dawkins has discussed the same festival and has ascertained its Dionysiac origins (above,

that something not very different from this took place at Eleusis. It seems probable that the people gathered with offers of corn, which later became handfuls of various grains brought to the mystic festival at Eleusis. They acknowledged the recent rains and their beneficent role by cries of ὕε-κύε (= rain-conceive) which may have survived into historical times in the mysteries. Then in a sequence which we cannot hope to recapture an ἱερὸς γάμος followed by a death and resurrection ritual, and a symbolic ploughing took place. Judging from the Thracian ritual at Viza and everything we know about such folk festivals, we are justified in including music at every step of the deeply meaningful celebration. Perhaps, the spirit of the old harvest was personified by an old woman who tended the sacred drum (Iambê - Baubô). The corn to be sown was represented by everyone's corn offers which were placed inside a drum. Evidence that this is not an unreasonable suggestion is furnished by the following lines :

τίς οὐκ ἀπαρχὰς ὀσπρίων τε καὶ σίτων  
ἀγνῶ φέρων δίδωσι τυμπάνῳ 'Ρεῖης; (Babrius 141,9)

Then this corn was pounded to the sound of a phallic *aulos* (Δυσάβλης) by a pestle-priest employing a pestle which was also a phallic symbol (Κελεός). Perhaps, as the wheat was being cracked, the ritualistic marriage, complete with copulatory simulation, took place on the freshly ploughed land<sup>68</sup>. The custom of filling drums with grain may not be unconnected with ritualistic pounding of grain in drums<sup>69</sup>. It was at this time that scurrilous songs were sung and overtly

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note 30) 191—206. For Dionysiac elements in Eleusinian worship see Ch. Picard *op. cit.* (above, note 24) 224—26. See also Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Fourth printing of third ed., New York 1960) 556—62. See also A. J. B. Wace, *North Greek Festivals and the Worship of Dionysos* (London 1909—10) 232—53 and by the same author «Mumming Plays in the Southern Balkans» *BSA* XIX (London 1912—13) 248—65; R. M. Dawkins «A Visit to Skyros» *BSA* XVI (London 1904—05) 72—80. The reader might also like to consult Jane Harrison's «*Mystica Vannus Iacchi*» in *JHS* XXIII (1903) 292—324. For parallels from England see E. C. Cawte, Alex Helm and N. Peacock, *English Ritual Drama* (London 1967) 25ff.; for the so-called Plough Monday Plays see R. J. E. Tiddy, *The Mummers' Play* (Oxford 1923) 241ff. and E. K. Edmonds, *The English Folkplay* (Oxford 1933) 89ff. and 206ff. Especially interesting for their phallic significance are the lines from one of the Chapbook Mummers' Plays: «Here come I, Beelzebub / And over my shoulder I carry a club / And in my hand a dripping pan, / And I think myself a jolly old man...» Alex Helm thinks that the club and dripping pan «are recognisable symbols of the male and female principles, relics of the fertility motive inherent in the old ceremony: *The Chapbook Mummers' Plays* (Congleton, Cheshire 1969) 12.

67) See above, note 11.

68) See G. Megas, *op. cit.* (above, note 66) 65 and plate VI which contains a picture of young men falling to the ground on their knees. For ritualistic copulation upon plowed and sown land see G. Megas, «Ελληνικαὶ Ἑορταὶ καὶ Ἔθιμα τῆς Λαϊκῆς Λατρείας (Athens 1957) 103ff.

69) On grain-filled drums see Curt Sachs, *op. cit.* (above, note 26) 172—73. There is a strong hint at drums turned to mortars in the «Ko-Ji-Ki» (above, note 21) 290. Cf. also the lines «Did they who made this wine / grind their rice / in drums turned to mortars?...» in *Festive Wine, Ancient Japanese Poems from the Kinkafu* by Noah Brannen and William Elliot (New York and Tokyo 1969) poem no. 20.

sexual taunts were tossed back and forth by the celebrants. Perhaps the ritualistic marriage did not involve only the mother in the form of an old woman similar to the disguised Demeter and the Iambê of the Homeric Hymn or the Baubô of the Orphic fragments, who are her doublets, but also the ritualistic chase and rape of the corn-mother's daughter, who is her younger double<sup>70</sup>, by someone impersonating the dark and incomprehensible forces which lie beneath the ground and which represent life and death (life, because everything sprouts forth from beneath the earth, and death, because everything goes back into the earth: cf. πολυδέγμων of Hades in Hymn to Demeter, 17). The survival of an ἱερὸς γάμος in the Eleusinian mysteries as part of the *drômena* has been rejected by Mylonas<sup>71</sup> but eloquently and forcefully defended by Foucart<sup>72</sup>. The evidence which comes to us from Christian apologists and the very nature of the original cult at Eleusis suggest this possibility strongly<sup>73</sup>. In any case, the earlier agricultural ritual from which the splendid Eleusinian cult evolved must have contained some form of ἱερὸς γάμος. The corn which was brought by the celebrants may have been pounded in a sacred drum in such a way as to produce some kind of primitive music. The cracked grain (ἄλφιτον) was then made into a sacramental meal which cannot have been too different from the *résin*, the Cypriot wedding meal. Some of the same cracked barley with water and mint added to it was most likely used in a sacramental potion, a *κυκεών*, of which everyone partook. Both customs may have survived in the Eleusinian mysteries, but the survival of one of them, the drinking of the *κυκεών*, cannot be disputed. This brings us to the high point of the argument which I have set forth. One is indeed fully justified in asking: What is all this talk about a drum and a sacramental meal? Is there any mention of such matters with regard to the mysteries at Eleusis? Clement of Alexandria in his *Protreptikos*<sup>74</sup> draws a parallel between the mysteries of Dêô and those of Attis and kybelê in Phrygia and then proceeds to reveal what he considers the ridiculous symbols of the initiation into the mysteries of Dêô in the phrase, «I ate from a drum; I drank from a cymbal; I carried the sacred kernos; I stole into the bridal chamber». Mylonas rejects the idea that Clement is talking about the Eleusinian mysteries in this passage. He points out that in the same passage Demeter is called mother of Zeus, that Clement's passage mentions the incestuous union between Zeus and his mother Rhea whom—he thinks—Clement identifies with Demeter, and that the phrase ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα, γέγονα μύστης Ἀττεως found in Firmicus Maternus<sup>75</sup> shows that «Clement's 'Mysteries of Dêô' were the mysteries held by the Phrygians in honor of Rhea—Kybelê—Attis»<sup>76</sup>. To these not unreasonable

70) For the idea that Korê is Demeter's younger «double» see Erich Neumann, *op. cit.* (above, note 17) 307.

71) Mylonas, *op. cit.* (above, note 1) 270, 305ff.

72) Foucart, *op. cit.* (above, note 29) 477ff.

73) Mylonas, *op. cit.* (above, note 1) 311ff., argues that the statement of Bishop Asterios (Ἐγκώμιον Μαρτύρων in Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. 40, cols. 321—24) about the existence of a dark *katabasion*, i.e., an underground chamber in which the hierophant and the priestess engaged in sexual union, has been disproved by archeology.

74) Loeb edition, transl. G. W. Butterworth, p. 13ff.

75) *De Erroribus*, 18, p. 102 (Holm). For a variation on this formula see M. Psellos *De Operatione Daemonum* (ed. J. F. Boissonade, Norinbergae 1838) 39f.

76) G. Mylonas, *op. cit.* (above, note 1) 289ff.; the quotation is found on p. 291.



arguments it should be replied that Clement, even if he gives another version of Demeter's relationship with Zeus, definitely has the great Eleusinian mysteries in mind. It would be very odd, if he chose to attack pagan practices, to mention the «mysteries of Dêd» with a goddess other than Demeter in mind. Furthermore, there was a definitely Orphic version of the drama of Demeter-Kore and male consort or male child and a long-standing tradition that Orpheus brought all sacred mystic rites from Egypt, taught them to the Greeks, and even introduced them into the worship of Demeter and Dionysos<sup>77</sup>. It is therefore unwise to deny the existence of Orphic elements in Eleusinian worship. Lastly, it should be said that the phrase γέγονα μύστης Ἀττεως is not contained in the symbolic formula given by Clement. However, the phrase ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα may have been part of a ritualistic formula both at Eleusis and in Phrygia. Since I have suggested that the original τύμπανον at Eleusis was a naviform slit-drum, I should dwell for the moment on the κύμβαλον. In Greece the κύμβαλον came into vogue as an importation from Eastern orgiastic cults. It is impossible to tell if and when it became incorporated into some portion of the Eleusinian ritual. The presence of a naviform τύμπανον or of a vessel of that shape would have made its introduction easier. Of course, since the word κύμβαλον is derived from κύμβη - κύμβος, words with a good IE etymology (cf. Sanskrit *kumbhás* = 'pot'), it is possible that a κύμβαλον of some sort -- perhaps a simple percussive concave plate -- had anticipated the arrival of the Eastern cymbals. Be that as it may, it is interesting to note that in Nikander's *Alexipharmaca* 129-30, we read ἐμπλήδην κυκεῶνα πόροις ἐν κύμβει τεύξας νηστείρης Διοῦς μορῶν ποτόν. Although it is the *phialê* which is usually connected with the drinking of the *kykeôn*, here we have a case in which the «fatal drink of fasting Dêd» is drunk out of a κύμβος. Since κύμβαλον is a derivative of κύμβη - κύμβος and since at least in the above-cited passage the *kykeôn* is to be prepared in a κύμβος, one may rightly wonder whether there is a connection between this κύμβος and the κύμβαλον of the formula ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα<sup>78</sup>. The principal meaning of κύμβη is «hollow vessel», «boat», «skiff». Can it be mere coincidence that the naviform drum which I have postulated now finds an etymologically defensible analogue in the same formula, a naviform percussive vessel of some sort?

Clement and Firmicus Maternus are not our only sources for the connection between drums and cymbals and the worship of Demeter. In the *Helena* Euripides has dedicated a beautiful ode to the sorrow of Demeter over the rape of her daughter and to the way in which Zeus chooses to humor the anger of the goddess. The most pertinent lines from the ode are 1341-1352:

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77) Diodorus Sic. i, 96 ; iii, 52 ; iv, 25 ; Demosthenes, *In Aristog.* i, 11 ; Plutarch *Fragm.* 84 (Ed. Didot, vol. V, 55). For possible contamination between Orphism and local Eleusinian beliefs about Demeter - Korê see Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena* (above, note 66) 539ff. and W. K. C. Guthrie, *op. cit.* (above, note 29) 153-56. Harrison accepts the idea of Orphic and, in general, of Eastern influence at Eleusis but pointedly and, I think, correctly states «Demeter at Eleusis did not borrow her cymbals from Rhea, she had her own» (561).

78) For evidence of the preparation of the *kykeôn* in a κύμβιον see F. J. M. De Waele, «Het Drinken van den κυκεῶν op Votiefplaatjes vit Lokroi Epizephuriōi» *BVAB* 12 (1927) 5-7.

Βᾶτε, σεμναὶ Χάριτες,  
 ἴτε τᾶ περι παρθένῳ  
 Διοῖ θυμωσαμένα  
 λύπαν ἐξαλλάξατ' ἀλαλᾶ,  
 Μοῦσαι θ' ὕμνοισι Χορῶν.  
 χαλκοῦ δ' αὐδὰν χθονίαν  
 τύπανά τ' ἔλαβε βυρσοτενῇ  
 καλλίστα τότε πρῶτα μακά-  
 ρων Κύπρις· γέλασέν τε θεὰ  
 δέξατό τ' ἐς χέρας  
 βαρύβρομον αὐλὸν  
 τερφθεῖσ' ἀλαλαγμῷ.

This passage, which is curiously reminiscent of *Corinthians* 1, 13 and *Psalms* 150, 4–5, seems to preserve an Orphic tradition according to which Zeus through music made Demeter relent her anger<sup>79</sup>. The Graces and the Muses danced and sang, but Aphrodite, obviously part of Zeus' embassy to Demeter, went along equipped with an instrument made of copper or brass and a drum. Although in *Corinthians* 1, 13 the expression is χαλκὸς ἡχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον, it is possible that χαλκοῦ αὐδὰν χθονίαν stands for the sound of a copper cymbal (cf. χαλκοτύπων βόμβοις κυμβάλων in Diog. Ath. *TGF*, p. 776) and that we have here a much more ancient testimony for the cymbal and the drum mentioned in the formulae preserved by Clement of Alexandria and Firmicus Maternus. Even more important for my argument is the role of the βαρύβρομος αὐλός. It is interesting that Demeter, who in the Homeric Hymn smiles and laughs because of Iambê's jests and in the Orphic fragment smiles because of Baubô's exposed pudenda, here laughs when she takes the «heavy-sounding flute» into her hands. In the two other instances Demeter is induced to laugh or smile as a result of some overtly or covertly sexual act. Is it not possible that in this third instance she laughs because in the flute she sees a symbol of the male sexual organ? And is it not possible that the Δυσαύλης of another Orphic tradition is not very different from the all-important αὐλός of the Euripidean version?

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The important role of music and musical instruments both in the rude beginnings of the Eleusinian cult and in its later more sophisticated form is strongly and quite overtly suggested by several of the names associated with the cult. Eumolpos, «the Good Singer», was the ancestor of the powerful clan of the Eumolpidae from which the highest Eleusinian priest, the hierophant, was chosen by hereditary right. Eumolpos may have been an *aidos* who sang songs about Demeter's story<sup>80</sup>. The name of Dysaulês hardly needs an etymological probing to be connected with αὐλός, the flute. «Hard-Flute» originally may have been a flute with phallic significance and later also the priest-musician attached to it. The pro-

79) For a detailed discussion of this passage see Richard Kannicht, *Euripides: Helena*, vol. ii (Heidelberg 1969) 349–53.

80) Basing her theory on Schol. ad *Oed. Col.* 1048 Jane Harrison maintains that Eumolpos was a Thracian warrior and musician who came to Eleusis with other Thracian immigrants: *Prolegomena* 553–56.

cess of taking a sound or a cry and personifying it is well-illustrated by the name of Baubô's child, Iakkhos, from the cry of the initiates. If the child's name can be onomatopoeic, so can the mother's: Βαυβώ comes from a reduplicated βαύ/βα, and her counterpart, Ἰάμβη, from the same βα preceded by the accusative of ἰα; ἰαν + βα > \*Ἰάμβα > Ἰάμβη. (Cf. ἄβα, ἄβας, and perhaps βαμβαλιαστὺς for βα as an onomatopoeic component.) Finally, Κελεός, the «Beater» or «Striker» may well be derived from the well-known root κελ- = to strike, to beat (cf. κελεός, δίκελλα, κέλλω κέλετρον etc.).

A look into primitive agricultural ritual shows that the pounding of grain is sometimes done with instruments associated with the male and female genitals. The existence of such customs as that of the Cypriot *resin* and that of the Thracian festival at Viza on Cheese-Monday suggests the possibility for the pounding of grain to the sound of music at a wedding and for the practice of mock-weddings and of ritualistic ploughing. Given the suggested etymologies of Δυσάυλης - Βαυβώ, Κελεός - Ἰάμβη, the pertinent material from the practices of people still close to the soil, and the fact that ἄλφι(τον), cracked barley, was the primary ingredient of the *kykeôn*, we may be justified in imagining that Baubô and Iambê were once drums in which sacred grain was pounded -- perhaps to the sound of a flute-- and that Keleos was a phallic drumstick. (Here the Hindu veneration of the Lingam - Yoni combination may offer helpful parallels.) In time the functionaries attached to these instruments were identified with them in name and in the mythological *aition* of a more advanced culture they became kings, queens and royal handmaids. The fact that Keleos and Dysaulês hardly play a role in Demeter's visit to Eleusis is in keeping with the principally matriarchial and feminine nature of the cult. It is also indicative of the vigor and survival of patently pre-Indo-European religious beliefs and rituals. Keleos and Dysaulês are as inconspicuous and secondary as the consorts of the various *personae* of the Anatolian and Mediterranean mother goddess. That the names of the principal actors of the Homeric and Orphic versions of the Eleusinian drama might be explained in Indo-European terms should not come as a surprise. It was a process of superficial Hellenization conforming to the realities imposed by the dominant group, and a gesture not much unlike the Americanization of the personal names and institutions of many immigrant groups in the United States.

The interpretation set forth in this inquiry is not only consonant with the proposed etymologies but also gives meaning to an important mystic «symbolon», which may have eventually lost the significance it had in the humbler and more primitive Eleusinian cult. Indeed, when the initiate cried out ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, he, much like Clement of Alexandria, may not have known that, when his forefathers «ate from the drum», they did so from an actual sacred drum named Ἰάμβη in one tradition and Βαυβώ in another<sup>81</sup>.

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81) No article such as this would be complete without mention of M. P. Nilsson's *Die Eleusinischen Gottheiten* in *Opuscula Selecta* vol. ii (Lund 1952) 542—626. The reader might wish to consult pages 547—78 (Iakkhos), 551 (ploughing, agriculture), 552 (on the title Δαμάτερες referring to Demeter - Korê), 562 and 565 (vases depicting a female player of a *tympanon*), 566 (Demeter's mating with Iasiôn), 572 (on the phrase Δημήτερος ἀκτὴ), 574—75 (corn-mother and corn-daughter), 599 (on the *synthêma* «I fasted etc.»), 605—06 (on the θεθερισμένος στάχυς).

# Π Ε Ρ Ι Λ Η Ψ Ι Σ

Μὲ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τῆς Δήμητρος εἰς τὴν Ἑλευσῖνα συνδέονται στενῶς τὰ ὀνόματα *Δυσσώλης - Βαυβώ*, *Ἰάμβη - Κελεός*. Πιθανολογῶ τὴν ἐτυμολογίαν των ὡς ἐξῆς : *Δυσσώλης* < *δυσ* + *αὐλός*· *Ἰάμβη* < *ἴαν* (αἰτ. τοῦ *ἴα*) + *βα(υ)*· *Βαυβώ* < *βα(υ)* με ἀναδιπλασιασμόν· *Κελεός* < *κελ-* = *κοπανίζω*, *κτυπῶ*. Προτείνω τὴν θεωρίαν ὅτι τὰ δύο αὐτὰ ζεύγη ἀντιστοιχοῦν μετὰ τὸ τύμπανον (ταυτόχρονα καὶ γουδί) καὶ τὸ τυμπανόξυλον (ταυτόχρονα καὶ κόπανος ἢ γουδοχέρι) μετὰ τὰ ὅποια ἐκοπάνιζον τὸ ἄλφι (τον) [πρβλ. καὶ *ἀκτὴ* < *ἄγ-νυμι*]. Ὁ *Δυσσώλης* ἴσως νὰ ἦτο φαλλοειδὴς αὐλὸς ἢ καὶ ἀπλῶς φαλλοειδὴς κόπανος. Τὸ τύμπανον θὰ ἤμποροῦσε νὰ εἶχεν ὀνομασθῇ *Βαυβώ* ἢ *Ἰάμβη* μετὰ βᾶσιν τὸ ἡχοποιητικὸν *βα(υ)* (πρβλ. *βαυβᾶν*, *βαμβαλιαστὺς*, καὶ τὰ σημερινὰ *μπάμ* - *μπούμ* κ.λ.π.). *Κελεός* ἤμπορεῖ ἐπίσης νὰ ἦτο ἡ ὀνομασία μιᾶς ἄλλης παραδόσεως διὰ τὸ τυμπανόξυλον - γουδοχέρι (πρβλ. *κέλλω*, *κέλετρον*, *κολάπτω* κ.λ.π.). Τύμπανον (γουδί) καὶ τυμπανόξυλον (γουδοχέρι) ἐσυμβόλιζον ἀντιστοίχως τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ τὸ πέος.

Ὅτι μία τοιαύτη θεωρία εἶναι ἐντὸς τοῦ πλαισίου τοῦ δυνατοῦ, ἀποδεικνύεται ἀπὸ τὰς ἐρεῦνας κορυφαίων ἐθνομουσικολόγων. Εἰς τὸ μυθολογικὸν αἷτιον καιρῶν ποῦ ἠκολούθησαν τὸ πρωτόγονον στάδιον τὰ μουσικὰ ὄργανα - σκευὴ ἐπροσωποποιήθησαν ἢ ἀπλῶς ἔδωσαν τὰ ὀνόματά των εἰς πρόσωπα ποῦ εἶχον ἄμεσον σχέσιν μετὰ τὴν λατρείαν τῆς κατ' ἐξοχὴν θεᾶς τῆς γονιμότητος. Ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Εὐρύπλου, αἱ λέξεις τοῦ μυστικοῦ συμβόλου ἐκ *τυμπάνου βέβρωκα*, ἐκ *κυμβάλου πέπωκα* . . . , ἐπίσης τὰ *τύμπανα*, τὰ *κύμβαλα*, καὶ «ὁ βαρύβρομος αὐλός» τῆς ὥραιότητος ὥδῃς τοῦ Εὐριπίδου (*Ἑλένη* 1341—52) συνηγοροῦν ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας τῆς μουσικῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλευσῖνα. Δι' ὅσους δυσπιστοῦν ὑπερβολικὰ σημειῶνω ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ὀρφικὴν παράδοσιν ἡ Δήμητρα ἐγέλασε μόνον ὅταν εἶδε τὸ αἰδοῖον (πρβλ. *τύπον* ἐν Kern, *Fr. Orph* 52 καὶ *τύμπανον*). Δὲν θὰ ἦτο λοιπὸν καὶ τόσον παράξενον, ἂν ὁ βαρύβρομος αὐλὸς ὁ ὅποιος εἰς τὴν *Ἑλένην* τοῦ Εὐριπίδου προκαλεῖ τὴν θεὰν νὰ γελάσῃ, ὅταν τὸν παίρῃ εἰς τὰ χέρια τῆς, ἦτο κάτι ποῦ εἰς περισσότερον πρωτόγονον στάδιον ἐσυμβόλιζε τὸ ἀνδρικὸν γεννητικὸν ὄργανον (πρβλ. *βαυβάλιον* - *βαυβών* κ.λ.π.).