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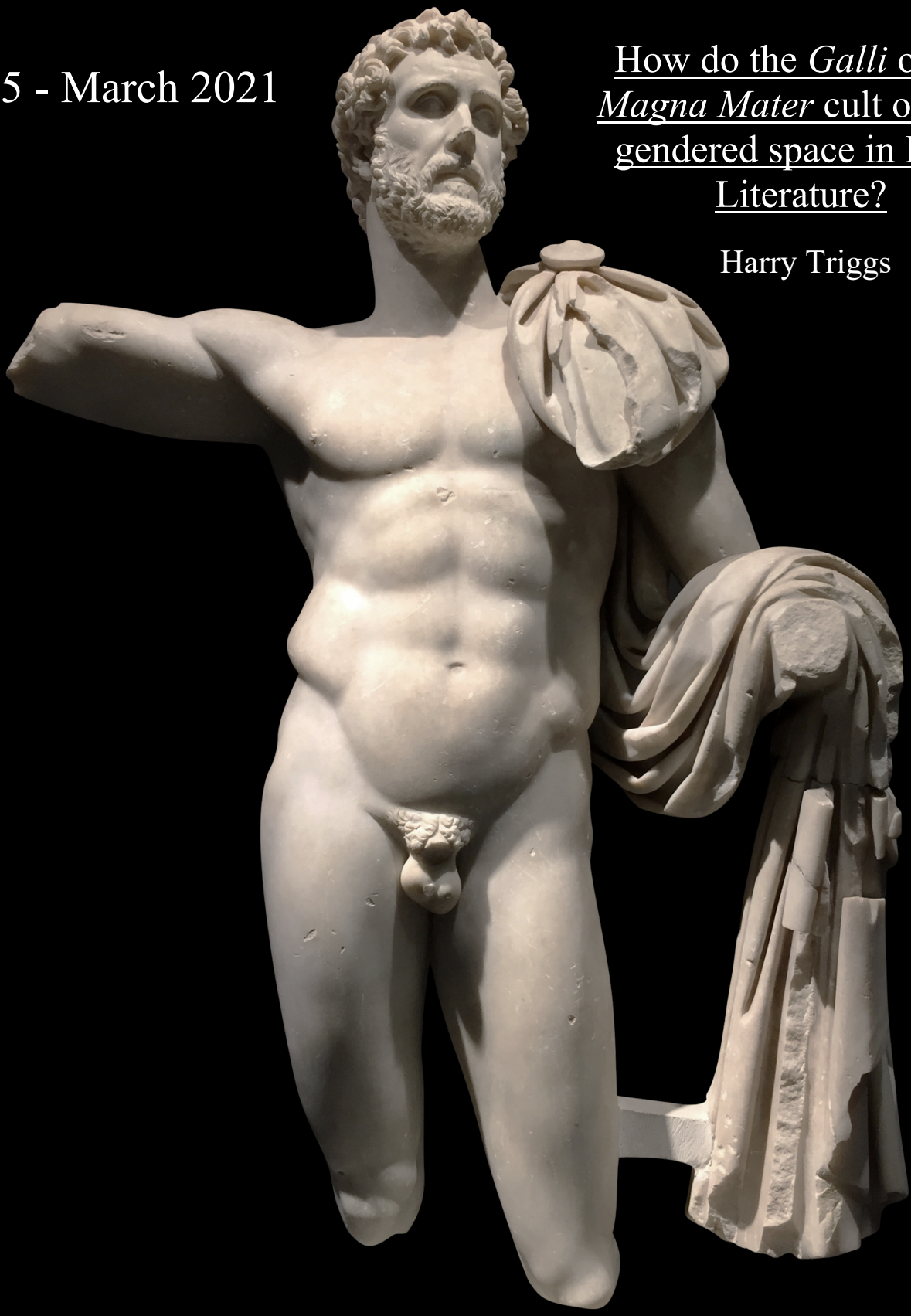

How do the *Galli* of the *Magna Mater* cult occupy gendered space in Latin Literature?

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How do the *Galli* of the *Magna Mater* cult occupy gendered space in Latin Literature?

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The *galli* were the self-castrated devotees of *Magna Mater,* a Phrygian goddess introduced to Rome in 204BCE during Hannibal's invasion of Italy (Roller, 1999, p.263),[1] ostensibly due to a prophecy claiming that her arrival in Rome would expel the invaders.[2] *Magna Mater's* arrival in Rome was consequently not the result of a long-term development, but a direct response to political crisis, leading Roller (1999, p.263) to assert that her impact was "real, vivid and public from the very beginning." As her devotees, the *galli* were subsequently introduced to Roman life in a similarly vivid way, perhaps becoming the most recognisable symbol of the cult (Beard, 2012, p.341). Their status as eunuchs and publicly active religious figures often put them in conflict with traditionally gendered norms and spaces of Rome.

This article argues that the interaction between the *galli* and the gendered spaces they occupied in literature is central to the *galli* and their representation. Their presence in these spaces is not simply a conflict of cultural values, but an interaction constructed to enforce these values by using the *galli* as a negative paradigm. By investigating this we can interpret how gendered space and the *galli* were constructed and understood by contemporary writers and audiences. As Fitzgerald and Spentzou (2018, p.10) summarise, "the meaning of a space changes as people interact with and react to that space." This essay will view this concept through the spatial interaction and reaction of the *galli.*

The eunuch *galli* openly defied normative gender binaries. Valerius Maximus, in a text concerning Roman legal practices, describes a *gallus* called Genucius being denied an inheritance on the grounds that as a *gallus* he "should not be reckoned among either men or women" and that his presence in front of the tribunal would be obscene, banning him from the court.[3] This transgression, demonstrated by Genucius' exclusion from court, directly impacted the ways they were perceived in certain spaces, as their transgressive identity clashed with Roman ideals and the spaces through which they were performed. This interaction between space and *gallus* is a common feature in Latin literature, although it is not often depicted definitively. It is these interactions that will be examined. The primary focus will be on the depiction of the *galli* in the works of Lucretius and Catullus' depiction of *Attis,* a figure associated with both *Magna Mater* and the *galli*, having been chosen due to the spatial elements foregrounded in both. Whilst the *galli* are mentioned in numerous sources, Lucretius and Catullus depict a central spatial relationship with great potential for analysis within this study.

Unfortunately, literary sources chiefly offer the perceptions of the elite male literate classes, and there are no surviving first-hand accounts of a *gallus'* understanding of their gender (Roller, 1998, p.119).

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[1] Cicero, *De Haruspicum Responsis,* 13.27; Ammianus Marcelinus, 22.9.5
[2] Livy, 29.10.4-6
[3] Valerius Maximus, 7.7.6

Whilst monuments exist which may depict *galli,* Latham (2015, p.73) stresses that literary depictions often convey a sense of uniform *gallus* identity, contrary to the varied monumental representations. Consequently, the literary evidence may not be a totally accurate depiction of how the *galli* understood their own gender identity. Latham (2015, p.54) therefore posits that literary representations of the *galli* became an absurdist fantasy through which the Roman elite could project its own self-image of virtuous and traditional masculinity. This material still has utility for furthering our understanding of how gendered space was conceived in Latin literature; their function as "an evolving foil with which elite Roman men renegotiated Roman masculinity" (Latham, 2015, p.51) provides a literary tool through which we can ascertain how space and its use could be gendered via reference to "negative" paradigms such as the *galli.*

This study requires the definition of some key concepts. Gender is related to, yet separate from biological sex. Instead, gender is the result of culture and socialisation, a performance of the norms, customs and roles of a given society, a definition echoed by Foxhall (2013, p.2). Holmes (2012, p.79) describes ancient gender practices as "the different ways that individuals upheld or violated gender norms," particularly regarding idealised masculinity, a trait so obviously rejected by the *galli*. Sissa (2009, p.139) expands upon this, describing gender as "the construction of a certain use of the body." Gender is a performative reflection of certain behaviours, norms and customs derived from the culture and society of an individual, socially constructed rather than biologically defined.

"Space" must be differentiated from "place." Place is the physical environment within which activity takes place, whilst spaces are not strictly geographical, but are what Klooster and Heirman (2013, p.5) describe as "lived" space, "experienced and valued by the narrator or (one of the) characters in an ideological, emotional, experiential relation to society and power, not as a number of coordinates on a geographical map." Space is the intersection of culturally significant human social experience with places, such as a house, street or forest. It is a "cultural product," produced by "cultural interpretations, which may include historical associations, and the everyday experience of space" (Fitzgerald and Spentzou, 2018, p.2).

These experiences create "gendered spaces" as gender norms encoded within these spatial experiences become part of their spatial identity. Gendered space is not a singular division, but as Russell (2016, p.165) emphasises, can refer to spaces restricted to a certain gender or associated to a particular gender identity or gendered activities. Russell (2016, p.166) indicates that whilst it was a gender stratified society, Rome "had a low degree of spatial segregation by gender," although spaces like the forum were more definitively gendered; Livy has Cato suggest that the presence of women in the forum for political reasons was transgressive and embarrassing (Russel, 2016, p.169).[4] Boatwright (2011,p.119) further suggests that it was "extraordinary, transgressive, and anomalous" for women to be in the forum unless for religious purposes, which both demonstrates the impact of gender identity on spatial practices, whilst hinting at the importance of context and functionality, with Trümper (2012, p.291) suggesting that multifunctional spaces may have altered the spatial dynamic by allowing access to those who would have previously been excluded. Gendered space is not monolithic but is fluid depending on the function of the space at a given time.

This is seen in "ritual" or "sacred" space. As spaces are differentiated from places by socio-cultural interactions, events occurring within these places temporarily alter spatial dynamics; the spatial

[4] Livy, 34.2-4

experience of a street is different from a typical day during a festival. Religious places can also be altered by the social conventions of their use; A church is experienced differently during a funeral than it is during a wedding, and ritual space can be gendered depending on the nature of the ritual and its associated norms and expectations. Sacred space is central to the *galli,* as the sources concerning them and their interaction with spaces depict them in their religious capacity as cult devotees.

Sacred space is central to Lucretius' description of the Megalesian Games in honour of *Magna Mater* in *The Nature of Things.*[5] This procession forms the intersection between the public streets and the social element of a religious celebration, creating a distinct spatial experience superimposed upon the place through religious practices. Specifically, this is a procession for a mother goddess, a distinctly feminine figure who is named "The Great Mother, Mother of Gods and Wild Beasts" by Lucretius.[6] The celebration of such an overtly feminine goddess would suggest the creation of a feminine spatial identity. However, the gendered aspects of this ritual space are complicated by the presence of the *galli* and other cult actors.

The *galli* lead the procession, attending the icon of the goddess[7] and carrying flint blades "in order to affright the crowd's ungrateful souls and impious hearts at such a sight with awe for her divinity."[8] Whilst other celebrants are present, the *galli* dominate the description, suggesting they were the most significant human element of the experience. Ovid compounds this, singling the "half-men" out at the heart of the procession, carrying the icon of *Magna Mater*.[9] Beard (2012, p.340) attests that the *galli* were one group of a varied organisation of cult officials for *Magna Mater,* comprising numerous demographics. However, the *galli* come across as being of central importance, with their castration a vital aspect of this. Beard (2012, p.341-342) suggests that it was unlikely that full castration was a commonplace due to the dangers of the process, and that perhaps in reality a less extreme procedure took place. Latham (2015, p.55) expands on this, detailing how "no known Metroac devotee's self-representation ever depicts or refers (directly or indirectly) to castration," including many figures of Attis. Lucretius and Ovid portray an accepted stereotype of the *galli,* the key identifier for which is their supposed castration. Their literary identity becomes synonymous with their rejection of normative gender, and Nauta (2004, p.615) indicates that Lucretius' readership would have been familiar with the castration, and Tougher (2020, p.7) suggests that whether or not the *galli* were castrates, "the Romans were fixated with the notion that they were."

Whereas the festival itself has feminine overtones, "the eunuch *galli* who, above all others, stood for the cult of Magna Mater" (Beard 2012, p.341) are the central figures, characterised by their castration and defiance of gender expectations. This creates a point of conflict in the space. According to Roller (1999, p.318), fertility "was an essential part of *Magna Mater's* character" for the Romans, and central to their understanding of her. A space honouring femininity and fertility becomes warped by the centrality of the *galli* and their self-inflicted infertility, contrasting normativity with transgression and seemingly undermining a core gender dynamic of the space.

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[5] Lucretius, *The Nature of Things*, 2.600-660
[6] Ibid, 2.598
[7] ibid, 2.614-615
[8] ibid, 2.621-624
[9] Ovid, *Fasti,* 4.184-186

The presence of the *curetes*, "a troop of youths in armour" following the *galli,* dancing "delirious with bloodshed," as if "ready with courage and arms to defend the fatherland"[10] compounds this confused spatial identity. Their presence echoes the Roman triumph, a public celebratory military procession which would have undoubtedly been a masculine space. Whilst the triumphal audience would have included many women, the triumphal spatial experience would have been generated by the masculine celebration of martial strength and victory. As Summers (1996, p.342) indicates, a procession replete with brandished weapons is a strikingly Roman concept. The links with such a procession, the military imagery, the brandishing of weapons and the celebration of militarism, constructs a masculine performative space around the Megalesian procession, especially considering that the cult of *Magna Mater* was a recognised part of Roman religion (Roscoe, 1996, p.196). Whilst there are both feminine and masculine attributes to the space, the contrasting identities of *Magna Mater* and the *curetes* are generated through the celebration of idealised gender performance. The cult itself is coded feminine; the central religious figure is unmistakably female, with her title, "great mother," creating a distinctly feminine identity, coupled with her "strong emphasis on fertility" (Roller, 1999, p.318). The ritual space honours a mother goddess, whilst echoing a hypermasculine military celebration, complete with symbolic representations of the youthful soldiers ready to violently defend Rome. It should be noted that if we are to follow Trümper (2012, p.290), the public street through which the procession takes place is often characterised as "masculine" space. Combined, these spatial aspects would create a space celebrating an idealised performance of gender normativity, honouring aspects of both masculinity and femininity which complement each other rather than clash. However, the most significant literary participants are eunuchs, who have deliberately removed their physical masculinity as a religious devotion, subsequently becoming something other than a man and not quite women. The *galli* are a central yet seemingly incongruous element of a multifaceted gendered space, their rejection of traditional gender performance writ large against a background of celebrated and ritualised gender activity.

The "half-men"[11] *galli* however, despite opposing the ideals personified by the *curetes* and *Magna Mater,* are not incompatible with this space. Indeed, rather than being barred from this space they have a central role in proceedings. Lucretius proposes that their gender identity is central to their religious role and vital in constructing the ritual identity of the space. He states that the *galli* are eunuchs "to illustrate that those who would degrade the mother's power, ungrateful to their parents, had no right to bring descendants forth unto the boundaries of Light."[12] Their castration is a warning that those who lack familial piety are undeserving of having their own children, "to follow traditional Roman values and not be like the *galli*" (Roller, 1999, p.126). This stands in contrast with the *curetes,* who "for their parents they became both guardian and glory"[13] due to their willingness to defend their homeland. The *curetes* are a reflection of the *galli;* as Nauta (2004, p.617) observes, "*pietas* towards parents and fatherland belongs together, and the castrated state of the *galli* may be interpreted as a punishment for the failure to fulfil one's duties." The *galli*'s rejection of normative gender performance is reinforced by comparison to the idealised *curetes*. In a space constructed by the normative performance of childbearing and militarism, the *galli* symbolise a defiance towards both masculinity and femininity. Bremmer (2004, p.557) describes how the *galli* gave up their male sexuality for their religion. In doing so, they openly rejected the important socio-political roles associated with this sexuality.

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[10] Lucretius, *The Nature of Things*, 2.629-645
[11] Ovid, *Fasti,* 4.184
[12] Lucretius, *The Nature of Things,* 2.615-617
[13] Ibid, 2.641-643

The transgression of self-inflicted infertility is compounded by the *curetes'* description as "a troop of youths in armour"[14] and "a circle of armed boys."[15] Whilst the *galli* threaten the impious with the inability to have children, with self-castration described by Nauta (2004, p.617) as "forsaking one's duty to one's fatherland," the *curetes* are the personification of these pious children, juxtaposing the eunuch *galli* with the living symbols of adherence to traditional gender roles. The items they brandish during the procession enhance this distinction; The *curetes* wear armour[16] and escort *Magna Mater* with weapons,[17] obvious symbols of Roman masculinity. In comparison, the *galli* lead the procession, scaring onlookers with "a display of flint blades."[18] Stallings (2007, p.244) indicates that these blades represent the auto-castration of the *galli,* and Catullus, writing at a similar time to Lucretius, depicts Attis, a figure with strong associations with the *galli,* using a sharp flint to castrate himself.[19] This inverts the masculine associations of weaponry; the *curetes* embody warfare and valour, a symbol of the brave Roman youth. The *galli* bear knives used to violently remove their genitalia as a warning to those who don't deserve to raise children. The *galli* become a dark reflection of the *curetes,* warning onlookers to follow the examples they set alongside the *Magna Mater*.

The *galli's* occupation of this gendered space is a foil for the normative associations of the festival, using their presence to re-emphasise the importance of traditional gender roles. The conflict with gender norms represented by the *galli* and the space they occupy is constructed by Lucretius as their religious role in the proceedings, and their opposition to the normative gendered space is emphasised to reinforce traditional gender performance. Rather than excluding them from the space, their autocastration serves as their reason for occupying it, becoming a central aspect of the ritual space they occupy, with their impact on the identity of the space becoming a central aspect of the ritual itself. Latham (2015, p.51) suggests that the *galli* "provided an evolving foil with which elite Roman men renegotiated Roman masculinity." We can see this in Lucretius' description of the Megalesian procession; The imposition of the transgressive *galli* constructs and promotes traditional masculine values through the opposition represented by the *galli* and the warning they represent. Rather than excluding them from the space, their identity forms a core element of the procession, magnifying the social message of the ritual.

Lucretius' description of the procession draws parallels with another gendered Roman space; the Roman funeral procession. Funerary rituals were culturally significant and contained certain expectations, creating ritual funerary space. Hope (2017, p.92) suggests that the public performance of mourning meant that "both the streets and forum temporarily became mourning environments, and must have been spaces which were regularly affected by such events." Erker (2011, p.40) argues that some funerary tasks were considered men's work, and some tasks were designated as female, with the upper-class ideal of female funerary interaction being that women traditionally lamented and mourned the dead. Erker (2011, p.49) continues to explain that it was a practice to hire professional female mourners and musicians to accompany the funeral procession who would sing, scream and tear at their cheeks, a view echoed by Hope (2017, p.96), with Lucian in his treatise on funerary practices describing the prevalence of "cries of distress, wailing of women, tears on all sides, beaten breasts, torn hair, and

[14] Ibid, 2.629
[15] Ibid, 2.635
[16] Ibid, 2.629-633
[17] Ibid, 2.640-641
[18] Ibid, 2.621-622
[19] Catullus, 63.5

bloody cheeks."[20] Whilst funerary processions took place in public "male" spaces, the funerary activities changed the spatial dynamic. As Hope (2017, p.94) describes, "mourning had a temporary impact on certain environments and locations," and that "there was also a certain fluidity in the parameters and definition of mourning bodies and spaces," denoted by sensory clues such as sounds. These sonic cues were traditionally created by the lamentations of female mourners, creating a feminine sensory experience, imposing a feminine dynamic upon the ritual space. Lucretius describes the *galli's* procession as being accompanied by various musical instruments[21] as well as evoking the image of the "wailing of the infant Jove" when describing the *curetes,*[22] an image reproduced by Ovid,[23] drawing parallels with mourning practices. The sensory environments of both the Megalesian and funerary processions were culturally distinct, and the *galli* emulate what the spectators would recognise as feminine mourning practices within this ritual space. Whilst they are described as less than men by Lucretius and Ovid, these writers do not liken them outright to women in their descriptions. However, the *galli* create a feminine sensory environment within this procession, one that would have been recognised by onlookers and spatial convention, re-emphasising their gender identity and non-conformity.

This suggests an interaction between the *galli* and their spaces transcending occupation. The Megalesian procession is shown as a heavily gendered space, as weapons and violent imagery are superimposed against a feminine, maternal cultic background. Whilst the *curetes* provide the masculine dynamic for this procession, the rites of the *galli,* their playing of music and loud howling, emulate feminine aspects of a Roman funeral procession, drawing aspects of the masculine and feminine spaces together. The imposition of feminine spatial practices upon militarised, masculine ritual creates a confused identity, and the *galli's* appearance therein serves to reinforce their non-conformity and divergence from the traditional binary. Whilst the identity of the Megalesian procession was already multifaceted, it was constructed as such by the mingling of two traditional normative performances. The *galli's* interaction reinterprets this, superimposing a new transgressive identity onto the spaces via a rejection of normative gender performance through their cult role. The *galli* once more stand between two acceptable performances of normative gender, serving as a visual and audible reminder as to what becomes of those "who would degrade The Mother's power."[24] The relationship between the *galli* and space is complex; they inhabit a space designed to reassert traditional gender performance, yet their own presence undermines this dynamic. The result is a space centred on the negative paradigm of the *galli* in order to reinforce these Roman gender ideals.

The idea of the *galli* as a negative literary paradigm is strengthened by their foreign identity. Latham (2012, p.84) asserts that they were "not Roman," and indeed, Lucretius describes them as "Phrygian,"[25] with Dionysius of Halicarnassus taking great pains to separate the acceptable Roman celebrations of *Magna Mater* from the "fabulous clap-trap" of "Phrygian ceremonies," and "foreign religious customs."[26] Latham (2012, p.101) subsequently claims that earlier written sources imagine the *galli* as "strange, non-Roman, non-masculine objects of curiosity," asserting that the *galli* consistently transgressed the boundaries of Roman masculinity (Latham, 2012, p.89). Further, Beard (2012, p.345)

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[20] Lucian, *On Funerals,* 12
[21] ibid, 2.617-621
[22] ibid, 2.634-646
[23] Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.340-344
[24] Lucretius, *The Nature of Things,* 2.615-616
[25] ibid, 2.611
[26] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities,* 2.19

suggests that the prohibition on Romans undergoing castration "put the *galli* outside the bounds of Roman society," as the *galli* were symbolic of a distinctly un-Roman and transgressive practice.

Accordingly, the *galli* created "foreign" space at the procession, as the social experience of the space was determined by the overwhelmingly foreign associations of the ritual activity. Conversely, the Phrygian *galli* were themselves acting in foreign space, as they were not Roman citizens, heightening the cultural divide between cult actors and spectators. The ritual, gendered space is couched firmly in a foreign spatial dynamic, highlighting the foreign *galli's* incompatibility with Roman law and gender ideals. Latham (2015, p.51) suggests that "the Roman and the foreign were mutually constructed" by the difference presented between Roman norms and the activity of the *galli.* This creation of foreign ritualised space in a procession in Rome's public spaces is a stark example of this. Through mutual construction, the negative paradigm of the *galli* is plainly depicted in opposition to the normative idealisation of Roman gender practices.

The evocation of foreign gendered space as a contrast to normative Roman gender performance plays a similar role in Catullus 63.[27] Whilst not about the *galli* themselves, the central figure of the poem, Attis, can be seen as the prototype literary model for the *galli* (Roller, 1998, p.119), and Nauta (2004, p.618) suggests that Catullus' readers would have seen Attis as a *gallus*. Bremmer (2004, p.558) posits that Catullus 63 is the first time Attis is mentioned by name in Roman literature, although the character itself bears no resemblance to *Cybele's* mythical consort (Bremmer, 2004, p.566). This poem was also written at a time during when there was interest in the cult and its figures (Bremmer, 2004, p.558), suggesting that the link between Attis and the *galli* would have been noticed by readers, especially given that *galli* were visible and active in the Rome of Catullus and his readership (Nauta, 2004, p.599). Catullus describes Attis and their fellow devotees as *gallae* twice, further strengthening this association with the cult[28] and Attis' role as a literary *gallus*.

The poem details Attis' transformation into a *gallus*. The starkest example of the gender identity of Attis, and by extension the *galli*¸ is the way they are explicitly gendered in the text. Initially, Attis is described using male pronouns, but immediately after the castration Catullus describes her using female pronouns.[29] Catullus moves his depiction of Attis' gender closer to that of Valerius Maximus' Genucius*,* declaring Attis as "woman yet no true one,"[30] suggesting that Attis is somewhere between the normative binary, although more feminine than masculine,[31] in contrast to Ovid's "half-men."[32] The castration takes place in "Phrygian woodland," Attis having travelled there from across the sea.[33] Judging from this geographical juxtaposition, Harrison (2004, p.522) claims that it appears likely that Attis has come from a Greek *polis* and a "traditional Greek culture," which Nauta (2004, p.600) suggests may be Athens. There is a split of gendered space present here; the male Attis comes from a

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[27] Catullus, *The Poems of Catullus*, 63
[28] Ibid, 13/34
[29] ibid, 4-6
[30] ibid, 27
[31] The use of female pronouns to describe the *galli* has prompted Christian-Blood (2015) to suggest that the *galli* may have included transgender people. It should be remembered that in literature, the *galli* do not define their own genders, but they are assigned by the author. As Roller (1998, p.119) points out, there is no first-hand evidence to suggest that the *galli* saw themselves as women after their castration. It is possible that some *galli* identified as women, and the possibility should not be ruled out, but in a study of their occupation of gendered space in literature it must be remembered that their identities are ascribed to them by someone else, rather than being self-asserted. It is also reductive to associate castration with being transgender.
[32] Ovid, *Fasti,* 4.184-186
[33] Catullus, 63.1-2

Greek *polis,* a symbol of culture and civilisation, to a Phrygian woodland, the homeland of Cybele and a wild, uncivilised environment, where she becomes female. There is a split between the public, male-dominated life of the city state and the foreign woods of Attis' isolation. Catullus describes the woods as "mountain forests of Cybele"[34] and the "Phrygian forests of the goddess,"[35] creating a feminine space by associating the woods strongly with the goddess. Much like Lucretius' *galli,* gender-transgressive behaviour is strongly associated with the Phrygian identity of the cult, distancing it from Roman cultural values. The distance is physical and metaphorical. Attis is portrayed as a man moving from masculine space to feminine space and becoming female. This new female space is reinforced by Attis' companions, as the only other people in the woods are also *galli,* noticeably referred to as the feminine form "*Gallae"* (Bremmer, 2004, p.560).[36] This is a literary creation that puts forward perhaps the stereotypical transition from male worshipper to *gallus*. Unlike the multifaceted space of the Megalesian procession, Attis appears in a singularly feminine space, characterised by nature and wilderness, detached from civilisation.

This comparison of female wilderness with masculine metropolitanism is reaffirmed by Attis herself. As Bremmer (2004, p.561-562) highlights, mountainous woods were traditionally seen as home to the maenads, raving female devotees of Bacchus. Indeed, Attis makes the same association, referring to herself as a "barren man" and a "maenad."[37] Attis compares the loss of genitalia with a loss of manhood, a change in identity which confines her to the spaces populated by frenzied, feminine religious figures. Regretting her castration, she decries her fate to be "absent from the market, the wrestling-place, the racecourse, the playground,"[38] and lamenting her past as "the flower of the playground… the glory of the palaestra."[39] Becoming a *gallus* has prohibited her from these spaces as a direct result of her new gender identity, as she says "I, now a woman, have been a stripling, a youth, a boy"[40] and calls herself "a handmaid of the gods, a mistress of Cybele."[41] Her transition from male to female is linked to her exclusion from masculine civic spaces, confining her to a foreign, uncivilised, feminine space. By abandoning her homeland and her manhood, Attis has banished herself from society.

The exclusion from metropolitan spaces links to the earlier ideals of manly spaces and highlights the fact that to elite writers such as Catullus these were indeed masculine spaces, and eunuch *galli* could not, or should not, access them. As Roller (1998, p.128) suggests, their exclusion from these masculine civic spaces is indicative of "an individual who is outside the bounds of any social organisation or contact." If we consider the dual functionality of spaces like the palaestra and the gymnasia (Trümper, 2012, p.291), Attis has been excluded from more than just male space. If Attis is excluded from these spaces, she is excluded from her old spaces of masculinity, and as a *gallus* she is excluded from spaces that women may have been able to use. By defying traditional gender norms and physically cutting herself off from masculinity, Attis has also cut herself off from civil society and humanity, reinforcing the importance of traditional gender performance through the creation of a negative paradigm.

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[34] ibid.12
[35] ibid.19-20
[36] Ibid.12
[37] Ibid.69
[38] ibid.60
[39] ibid.64
[40] ibid.63
[41] ibid.68

To conclude, the interaction between gendered spaces and the *galli* was a primary aspect of their literary depictions, reinforcing both normative gender roles and the agency of the *galli* in public cult practice. The *galli* didn't simply inhabit gendered spaces. They had a reciprocal relationship with space, as their presence affected the spatial dynamic, and gendered spaces were not always binary by design. Rather than simply a source for criticism, however, this spatial dynamic played an important part in the *galli's* public role. In Lucretius' account, their role in the space is a crucial element of the ritual atmosphere of the procession. This role could only be performed through contrast with the gender dynamic already coded in the space, as their identity contrasted with its pre-existing gender connotations. By occupying a space with such strong associations with normative gender performance as the Megalesian games, the negative paradigm of the *galli* enforced normativity by becoming a warning against rejecting it. Lucretius also shows how gendered space could be understood; rather than being simply masculine or feminine, the space is instead a promotion of the desired elements of both, embodying an idealised portrayal of masculinity and femininity. The *galli* stand counter to this as a way of reinforcing these ideals. Catullus' poem also uses gendered space to reinforce traditional gender performance; Attis' punishment for castrating himself is rendered on a spatial level, as they are cut off from the civilisation they had once known. The denial of access to spaces of their youth, and the subsequent confinement in the Phrygian wilderness, is the crux of the punishment. This outlines the importance of gendered space to the *galli* and their appearance in Latin literature. space plays a key role in creating the image through which Latham (2012, p.86) suggests Roman masculinity was understood. Both Lucretius' *galli* and Catullus' Attis use space and gendered spatial dynamics to reinforce the importance of submitting to traditional Roman norms, and to warn of the dangers of rejecting one's masculinity and place in society.

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