CYBELE TRISTIS

An Analysis of the Statuette of the Magna Mater

in the James Logie Memorial Collection

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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to identify the original context, date and provenance of the statuette of Cybele enthroned currently in the James Logie Memorial Collection. Central to this end is an understanding of certain iconographical characteristics of this work which serve to set it apart from more canonical representations of the seated goddess. These characteristics are: the distinctive gesture of Cybele's left hand; the absence of the tympanum; and the positioning of a lion on the left arm of the throne.

In chapter one, an analysis of these features leads to the conclusion that the Logie statuette would have been especially suited to utilisation in a funerary context. In particular, the hand-to-head gesture which is displayed appears to be a borrowing into the Cybele-enthroned tradition of what had served in other genres as a mourning motif. This interpretation is supported by the omission of the tympanum, whose orgiastic connotations would have made it incongruous in a sepulchral environment, and the metamorphosis of the guardian lion into a tame and empathetic companion. These iconographic variations are explained by reference to the emphatic commemoration of Attis in the ritualistic expression of grief which was the Tristia, and to the growing perception of Cybele as a mourning goddess, that is, Cybele tristis.

Chapter two argues for the tentative dating of the Logie statuette to the first or second centuries C.E., again on the strength of the distinctive iconographic characteristics of this work and on the chronology of changes made within the cult of Cybele and Attis during this period. Factors which are considered include: the rise to prominence of mourned Attis through the introduction of the Tristia in Rome; and the popularisation of Cybele as a caring, tutelary deity with chthonic associations at a time when the appeal of individualised religious experience began to outweigh adherence to the excessively formalised and impersonal cults of the Roman state.
In the final chapter another problematic task is attempted, that is, the identification of the most likely provenance of the Logie statuette. On the basis of the discovery of most iconographically similar representations of Cybele either in, or in close proximity to Bithynia, this province is subsequently put forward as the favoured origin of the work in question. Findings made during a study of Bithynian veneration of Cybele reinforce the validity of this hypothesis. These include: the existence of a long tradition of worship of both the Goddess and her consort; the pronounced emphasis placed on the relationship of individual devotees to Cybele; the considerable status of the tragic figure of Attis; and, more generally, a tendency for Bithynian ateliers to specialise in the production of funerary sculpture.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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In addition, thanks are due Professors H.A. Shapiro and S.A.M. Adshead, Julie King, Charles Manning, Prudence Buttery, Michael de Hamel, Dr Graham Zanker and Dr Robert Hannah for their assistance.

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It is due to the instruction and encouragement of Dr Katherine Adshead that
my interest in, and appreciation of classical history and art has developed
over the past seven years. In that period, her unstinting generosity both
with her time and advice has ensured that I owe her a debt of gratitude
unable to be repaid by mere words of thanks; it is to Katherine that I
dedicate this thesis.
# ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the text and list of illustrations:

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<td>AJA</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology</td>
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<td>ANRW</td>
<td>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Romischen Welt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arrian, <em>Periplous</em></td>
<td>Arrian, <em>Περίπλους Εὐχείνοις Πόντου</em></td>
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<td>BCH</td>
<td>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</td>
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<td>B.E.F.A.R.</td>
<td>Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCS</td>
<td>Cincinnati Classical Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIL</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</td>
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<td>CQ</td>
<td>Classical Quarterly</td>
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<td>Cumont, <em>After Life</em></td>
<td>Cumont, F. <em>After Life in Roman Paganism</em> (New York, 1959)</td>
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<td>EPRO</td>
<td>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain</td>
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<tr>
<td>JHS</td>
<td>Journal of Hellenic Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JRA</td>
<td>Journal of Roman Archaeology</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pliny, <em>NH</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>RGVVV</td>
<td>Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten</td>
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<td><em>TAPA</em></td>
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INTRODUCTION

Cybele, Magna Mater, Mater Idaea, Μήτηρ Ὑεδών, Μεγάλη Μήτηρ, Πότνια Ἐνερδών - these are but a few of the appellations given to a goddess whose cult once spanned the chronological and geographical limits of the ancient world. Evidence from Neolithic Anatolia, dated as early as 6000 B.C.E., attests to honour paid to an all-creating Earth Mother from whom it was perceived all life emanated, and to whom all living things returned in death. As such her forms were manifold. She was Cybele, the Mother of the Gods, Goddess of Mountains, Lady of the Beasts and Great Mother of Men.

From the seventh century B.C.E., Cybele found favour, first with Greeks in Asia Minor, then in Greece itself, where in her Hellenized aspect this Oriental goddess was equated with Rhea. Later, as the result of the syncretistic tendencies of Hellenistic religion, she also appeared in the company of Artemis - whose dominion over wild nature she shared, and Demeter - another archetypal mother goddess with chthonic associations. Under the aegis of the Romans, into whose pantheon Cybele was incorporated as the Magna Mater in 204 B.C.E., this essentially Eastern cult transcended the boundaries of Asia Minor and Greece to became a truly international religion. During the first three centuries C.E., the Graeco-Roman image of the Great Mother, the figure of her consort Attis, and the legends and rituals associated with their veneration spread to the very limits of the Roman Empire.

The cult of Cybele was remarkable for its virtually unprecedented longevity and diffusion. It was also distinguished by the continuity of imagery of the Great Mother. This was manifest in both literary and artistic portrayals of the Goddess. For example, in an oration written in honour of Cybele by the Neoplatonist Roman Emperor Julian in 363 C.E., just how little conceptions of her had altered over six millennia can be inferred from the description given of the Mother of the Gods. Here, it is claimed that:

'...She is the source of the intellectual and creative gods,...she is both the mother and the spouse of mighty Zeus; she came into being next to and together with the great creator; she
is in control of every form of life, and the cause of all generation; she easily brings to perfection all things that are made; without pain she brings to birth, and with the father's aid creates all things that are; she is the motherless maiden, enthroned at the side of Zeus, and in very truth is the Mother of all the Gods.¹

Save in the addition, in this account, of a male divinity to whom Cybele has evidently surrendered her position of unquestioned supremacy, it would appear that primitive perceptions of the Goddess as the progenitor of the gods and the creatrix of all life remained essentially unchanged, even as late as the fourth century C.E. This consistency of character finds parallels in the artistic traditions of the cult, where the main elements of a great many Graeco-Roman representations of Cybele are to be found in a number of significantly earlier, purely Asiatic monuments. Of those iconographic motifs which enjoyed virtually uninterrupted utilisation throughout the life of the cult, the most immutable and prolific was the depiction of Cybele enthroned.

A terracotta statue found at Çatal Hüyük in Turkey is believed to be the earliest known representation of Cybele (fig. 1). It is dated to c. 6000 B.C.E. In it, the Goddess has already assumed the essential form in which she was to be portrayed the ensuing millennia, that is, enthroned and flanked by two felines.² Her rocky seat and massive proportions reflect the earth and mountains over which she has dominion and the emphasis which is placed on her breasts, belly and genitals clearly conveys the nature of her role as a goddess of fertility.

As is only to be expected, developments in the way in which the human form was rendered and changes within the cult itself considerably influenced later representations of Cybele. Accordingly, in the majority of her surviving monuments, the ponderous dimensions of the Çatal Hüyük figure have ultimately given way to more refined, classical proportions and the indeterminate figures of her felines have become clearly identifiable as lions.

² ibid. pp.15-16, figs 4-5, pl. 5 = Vermaseren, M. J. Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque 1, 773 (EPRO, 50; Leiden, 1987).
Arguably the most influential work in the establishment of a generic type of enthroned Cybele figure was the cult statue from the Athenian Metroon. This sculpture no longer survives. However, its attribution variously to Phidias or, more probably his pupil Agorakritos, both of whom worked in the High Classical period (450-400 B.C.E.), gives some indication of the potential genius of this figure. Add to this its description by Arrian in the second century C.E. and the form of many works believed to have directly imitated it, and what emerges is the picture of a monumental statue of Cybele in which the Goddess was depicted enthroned and flanked by lions, supporting a tympanum with her left hand and holding a libation bowl in her right. Iconographically, the debt of this work to its Eastern precedents is obvious. But in appearance this sculpture was very much a product of the second half of the fifth century B.C.E., representing as it did an elegant Cybele attired in classical dress and in possession of attributes closely connected to her cult at this time.

The influence of this cult image on subsequent representations of the Goddess can scarcely be overestimated. Its echoes can be seen not only in the numerous works honouring Cybele which have been found in the Athenian Agora, but also in the many hundred cult monuments of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. That its importance in establishing what was in effect a standardised form for the depiction of the Goddess should have been so great is unsurprising, given the debt which these cultures owed to both Greek religion and Greek art, and the widespread dependence of later images of the gods on fifth-century prototypes. Thus, its like appear in a myriad of media and contexts, often differing from their model in quality or detail, but always remaining faithful to its essential form.

3 The site of this temple has been established by Prof. Homer A. Thompson as the south-west side of the Agora, close to the Tholos. Thompson, H. A. and Wycherley, R. E. The Agora of Athens - The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Centre (New Jersey, 1972) pp.29-38 = CCCA II, 1 (1982).
4 According to Rhys Carpenter, it is possible that a monumental statue of Cybele currently in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is the original Athenian cult statue. Carpenter, R. Greek Sculpture - A Critical Review (Chicago, 1960) pp.153-155. This attribution has been convincingly refuted by G. I. Despinis in Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Ἀγορακρίτου (Athens, 1971) p.111.
5 Both Pausanias in his Guide to Greece, I, 3, 5 and Arrian in Periplus, 9, are of the opinion that Phidias was the creator of this image, however, scholars such as C. Vermeule and Despins favour its attribution to Agorakritos on the basis of Pliny's testimony in NH, XXXVI, 4, 17. Vermeule, C. C. The Cult Images of Imperial Rome (Archaeologica, 71; 1987) p.38; Despins, ibid. p.111.
6 Arrian, Periplus, 9.
7 For example, the so-called Cybele of Livadia, in Despinis, op.cit. pp.112-115, pl.100-103.
To this tradition belongs a statuette of Cybele in the James Logie Memorial Collection of the University of Canterbury.  

This figure, hereafter referred to as the Logie statuette, is made of marble. It stands 41.5 cm high, 19.7 cm wide and 25.5 cm deep. It depicts Cybele seated on a high-backed throne, accompanied by a lion (figs. 2-10 and frontispiece).

In this work, the throne on which the Goddess is seated is exceedingly plain and summarily treated, lacking even arm-rests to relieve its block-like appearance (figs. 3-4). An equally unelaborated footstool extends from its base. In lieu of an arm rest, a small lion sits on its haunches at Cybele's left side, its head turned and inclined towards its mistress, its right leg raised with forepaw placed on the Goddess' thigh (fig.5). Despite its diminuitive size, the lion is presented in considerable detail, its mane carefully, if impressionistically, rendered as loosely defined curls which extend over the animal's head, shoulders and chest. There are similar ruffs under its belly and at the back of its legs. The details of its face are clearly defined, its mouth is open, as if in mid-roar.

The Goddess' right arm is outstretched and is holding a patera with an ornamental boss in the centre; her left arm is bent at the elbow, which rests on the head of the lion. Cybele's left hand is raised to her head, all its fingers curled loosely into the palm, save the index finger which is extended and rests lightly upon her hair. Her right leg is drawn inwards on a slight angle, her left is turned out so that her foot is placed on a diagonal on the front corner of the footstool.

The Goddess is wearing a sleeveless, high-waisted chiton and a himation (figs. 6-7). The chiton is belted with a reef-knotted fillet, the ties of which lie loosely on her belly. The fabric of the chiton is bunched on either side of her breasts and is gathered inwards by the girdle, forming a series of small folds which radiate over her breasts. A large tuck appears in the centre of the neckline. The chiton adheres closely to the upper part of Cybele's body, seeming almost transparent across her abdomen. This is in direct contrast to the lower portion of the garment, where heavy vertical folds form pools of drapery around the ankles and feet of the figure.

8 This work was purchased from Sotheby's, London, during the July 8, 1991 auction of antiquities. Antiquities catalogue no. 261.
The *himation* is worn over the *chiton*. One corner of this mantle is pulled up on to the Goddess' left shoulder. Drapery also belonging to it is visible beneath her raised left arm. From her left shoulder the *himation* presumably continues around the back of the figure, emerging under her right arm. It is then draped across her lap and knees, forming a series of diagonal folds which serve to contrast with the pronounced verticals of the *chiton* beneath. The mantle terminates in a gathering of material which falls in a swallow-tail pattern at the juncture of Cybele's left leg and the seat of the throne.

The Goddess wears a crown and a veil, the crest of which extends 2 cm above the top of the throne (figs. 8-10). The veil is draped over the back half of the crown and falls to Cybele's shoulders and down her back. It is left largely undistinguished from the marble which joins the figure to the throne. Some indication of its form is made at each side of Cybele's head, on her right shoulder and behind her right arm. The details of the crown are somewhat obscured by the veil. The presence of what would appear to be castellations emerging from beneath this covering supports the identification of this attribute as a mural crown, further encircled by the flat band of a crescent-shaped diadem. An alternative classification as some form of *stephane* is feasible, given the triangular apex of the central castellation. However, the predominance of the mural crown in similar representations of Cybele would suggest that it was this type which was intended to be portrayed. The Goddess also wears sandals, one thong of which is discernible between the toes of her right foot.

The face of the Goddess is oval-shaped and has high, full cheeks. Her nose is straight and long and rather broad, an impression enhanced by the worn quality of the marble. Her eyes, the irises and pupils of which are undistinguished, are large and are enhanced by smooth, clearly defined eyelids and eyebrows. In comparison, her mouth is small and straight. Deep indentations at its corners give the figure a rather severe expression. The neck of the figure is quite wide, and adds to the relatively full appearance of the face with its distinct undulations of flesh. The Goddess wears her hair drawn back from her face in loose 'rolls' which form three distinct locks of hair. Two of these emerge from beneath the veil to fall onto the shoulders of the figure, where each further divides into two wavy

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9 It is perhaps because the veil remains unidentified in the Sotheby's *Antiquities* catalogue that the crown of the figure was described therein as a cylindrical *polos*. (ibid.) The presence of considerable detail on this attribute, however, makes this categorisation unlikely.
strands. A third lock appears underneath Cybele's left hand, evidently intended to be represented falling down her back.

Overall, the statuette appears in good condition, the only major loss being the right-hand rim of the *patera* and the corresponding side of the Goddess' hand. The right side of her nose is worn and a small number of chips also appear, primarily on the folds of the *chiton* and the sides of the throne. It is possible that traces of red paint survive on the top of the veil and behind the central crenellation of the crown; however, close examination of these suggests that this colouration is more likely to be the result of marble pigmentation (fig. 10). Rasp marks are still visible on the stone, particularly on the right shoulder of Cybele and on the mane and chest of the lion.

The depiction of the Goddess on a throne, attended by a lion, firmly establishes a place for the Logie statuette within the lengthy tradition of representations of Cybele enthroned. Her classical features, attire and attribute (the *patera*) further denote a dependence on purely Hellenised prototypes. Beyond what can be inferred about the nature of the work from these iconographic and stylistic features, however, nothing is known of the Logie statuette. There are no records pertaining to the context or the location in which it was originally found, or the date to which it can be attributed.\(^{10}\) The purpose of this thesis is to endeavour to fill in these gaps, primarily through a study of the iconography of this work, in particular those features which appear atypical of the generic form of Cybele enthroned. When the Logie statuette is considered in conjunction with what is known of the development of the cult and is compared to other similar and dissimilar images of the Goddess, it is hoped that evidence will emerge to support conclusions as to the context for which the work was created, the date when this occurred and the likely provenance of the image.

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\(^{10}\) Subsequent correspondence with Sotheby’s, London, has failed to bring to light any information further than the brief description of the work which appeared in the July 8 1991 auction catalogue.
1: CONTEXT

"Α δὲ φουσκώση ἡ όλασσα, ο βράχος δὲν ἀφρίζει,
κι ἄν δε σὲ κλάνη ἡ μάνα σου, ο κόσμος δὲ δακρύζει

For if the sea won't swell and rise, the rock's not wrapped in foam,
and if your mother mourns you not, the world won't weep you home.

- 20th century Greek ritual lament\(^1\)

From even the most cursory examination of representations of the goddess Cybele enthroned, the most striking characteristic to be seen is the remarkable degree of iconographical consistency. The seated matriarchal figure with its attendant lions survived almost unchanged from Neolithic times into the Christian era. There can be few greater testaments to the power and efficacy of the image of Cybele enthroned than the remarkable longevity of this iconographical genre. This longevity can be attributed both to the fact that the image could be adapted to a number of media, and to its innate symbolism. The image depicted the goddess in her most majestic form and, from the fifth century B.C.E. onwards, provided an overt reference to the celebrated work of Agorakritos.

Just as remarkable as the consistency of this image over time is its consistency with respect to place and context. Even the wide diffusion of the cult throughout the Roman Empire and the syncretism of the Magna Mater with many local divinities failed to alter the essential image of the Goddess. The context of the image had little more effect. The image of Cybele enthroned and attended by one or more lions is found in monumental cult statues, more modest votive or personal statuettes, reliefs, the decoration on terracotta lamps, on silver plates and medallions, in wall paintings and even on a bracelet.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) Vermeule, E. *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (London, 1979) p.16.
\(^2\) But a few examples of these various media and forms from Asia Minor alone include, *CCCA I*; 52, 94, 138, 427, 493, 570, 862.
Paradoxically, a closer study of many of these works reveals that within this seemingly paradigmatic type lay the scope for a myriad of minor variations.\(^3\) There are numerous examples of this phenomenon. In Thrace during periods of occupation by Roman legions, Cybele was frequently depicted, both in relief and statuary, seated, but holding a lance rather the customary tympanum,\(^4\) while in many provinces where her worship was not indigenous, she was represented in the traditional fashion, but accompanied also by attributes suggestive of the assimilation of a local mother goddess.\(^5\) An example of variation based on contextual rather than geographic specificity can be identified in sacrifice scenes from Mysia and the Troad, where once again the tympanum is absent, while the right hand which traditionally holds the patera is extended towards a nearby altar.\(^6\)

Minor variations like these can sometimes provide a clue to the provenance or the specific context for which the image was intended. In the case of the Logie statuette there are three variations: the distinctive gesture of the left arm, bent at the elbow with the hand raised to the forehead; the lion upon which the left elbow of the goddess rests; and the absence of the traditional tympanum, which has been replaced by the lion seated on the left arm of the throne. This chapter will argue that these three characteristics can most satisfactorily be explained by the likely funerary context of the image. In this context, it will be shown, Cybele mourns, functioning in her capacity as a protector of the dead. To this end, the rationale behind the title *Attis tristis*, which has been used by modern scholars\(^7\) to refer to representations of Attis mourning, can be applied to the Logie statuette to yield 'Cybele tristis'.

Of those characteristics which distinguish the work in question from more common generic representations of the goddess enthroned, the gesture of the

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4 e.g., *CCCA* VI, 340, 341, 345, 346-48, 350, 352, 354-57, 359. The lance is here variously described also as a sceptre or staff, however its length and the position in which it is held are both suggestive of a military function. This association is given further credence by a comparison with similar renderings of goddesses associated with war such as Athena and Bellona.

5 In Germany, for example, these included a pear, cymbals and castanets. According to Vermaseren, these attributes are indicative of Cybele’s approximation to numerous Matres. Vermaseren, *Cybele*, p.140.


7 e.g., Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art* (EPRO, 9; Leiden, 1966) ch.5.
left arm of the Logie statuette is the most distinctive and the easiest to identify with any degree of certainty. A survey of those cult monuments presented in M. J. Vermaseren's *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* (CCCA) reveals that there are twelve known representations of the Goddess in this manner, the majority of which come from the province of Bithynia in Asia Minor. Surprisingly, this significant, but relatively rare variation in the repertoire of the Goddess' iconography seems to have received little attention from those scholars who have made a study of the cult of Cybele and its manifestations in the visual arts. E. Mitropoulou briefly discusses two works which have this gesture but makes mention only of the fact that the goddess rests her elbow on the back of the lion. F. Naumann notices the gesture and also identifies it as being characteristic of a 'Bithynian' group of images. She does not attempt to explain the symbolism of the gesture.

Far from constituting an iconographically meaningless action, the raising of the hand to the head is in fact one of the most enduring gestures in the history of art. It is symbolically suggestive of an outward expression of grief and mourning caused by the death of a loved one. At this point, a brief survey of works which show this gesture and its purpose, will better illustrate the strength of this artistic convention in the ancient world, and consequently the feasibility that it was with the intention of displaying Cybele in an attitude of mourning, that is, *Cybele tristis*, that the Logie statuette was created.

The precise origin and the initial significance of this hand-to-head motif is unknown, but it is unquestioned that the gesture was part of a long tradition and was linked to funerary contexts from a very early date. In all likelihood one of the first societies to use this outward form of lament were Egyptians in the Old Kingdom. This appears to have been an outcome of their preoccupation with the cult of the dead. Because the Egyptians were

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8 Excluding the Logie statuette, the remaining eleven of these works are: *CCCA* I, 225; 236; 239; 244; 253; 263; 363; 871; *CCCA* II, 465; *CCCA* VI, 372; 579. F. Naumann, in her discussion of those works labelled 'Bithynian' on the basis of the distinctive gesture of the left arm of the Goddess and the omission of the tympanum, also refers to twelve representations of Cybele in this manner, although it is unlikely that this figure included the statuette currently in the Logie Collection. Naumann, F. *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der Phrygischen und der Griechischen Kunst* (Istanbuler Mitteilungen, 28; Tubingen, 1983) pp.253-257 Unfortunately, no further references to the majority of those works cited by Naumann are given.


10 It has been suggested that the initial source of this action is to be found in relation to ecstasy gestures of the Minoan goddess, however, S. Alexiou takes pains to stress the quite distinct natures of these two conventions. Alexiou, M. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge, 1974) p.6, n.24.

11 A particularly graphic use by the Egyptians of such gestures of lamentation can be seen in slightly later wall paintings from the Tomb of Ramose in Thebes, c. 1500 B.C.E., where a group of wailing women stand before a funerary procession, all with their arms raised to their heads, or extended in front of their bodies. It has been suggested that they represent professional
renowned for the detail and grandeur of their funerary tradition, it is feasible that the hand-to-the-head gesture, with its funereal connotations, subsequently spread throughout the Mediterranean region.

In the Greek world, the placing of the hand on the head was a constantly recurring theme in both art and literature. While little is known of the ritual involved in Mycenaean burials, the fact that lamentation for the dead played a significant role in the late Bronze Age is eloquently attested to by the figures painted on clay larnakes from Tanagra in Boeotia. The schematic rendering of these figures shows little in the way of form or detail, yet their role as mourners is made clear both by the funerary context in which they are found, and most significantly by the position of their arms, that is, bent at the elbows, with hands raised to the head (ill.1).

ill. 1 Mycenaean mourners
 painted on sarcophagi from Tanagra

Clay mourning figures designed especially for placing in graves or in the vicinity of a grave (figs. 11-12), and decorative scenes on pottery (fig. 13), amply attest to the continuing use of this gesture in the Geometric and Archaic periods. Elaborate representations of both the prothesis, (formal lying-in-state of the dead), and ekphora, (funeral procession) on Attic and Athenian grave craters, for example, utilize this mourning convention extensively and illustrate graphically the importance placed on ritual lamentation at this time. Recurring scenes on pottery include the surrounding of the funeral bier by female figures, presumably kinswomen of the deceased and possibly professional mourners, the arrival of men at the wake, and the movement of both groups in processional form as they accompany the corpse to its final resting place.

Included in these scenes are a number of gestures which serve to effectively depict the grief of participants. The women grouped around the deceased

12 Kurtz, D.C. and Boardman, J. Greek Burial Customs (London, 1971) p.27, fig.1.
during the prothesis, for example, are shown variously clasping at the head of the corpse, and reaching out hands towards his body. By far the most common gesture of lamentation depicted is the raising of the hand to the head. The female mourners either tear at their hair with their hands or beat their brows, while the rigidly formal male figures, who sometimes carry weapons in one hand, are represented with the other hand raised to their head as a uniform display of sorrow and mourning.

It is evidence from the Classical period which first testifies to a type of mourning image from which the Logie statuette may specifically claim descent. At this time, the elaborate multi-figured funereal compositions and standing mourning figures typical of funerary iconography in the Geometric and Archaic periods, gave way to a new artistic convention. This was the seated mourning figure.

One work which may have been instrumental in this change is a monumental sculpture most commonly labelled 'Penelope', although its true subject is unknown. This sculpture, which was created in the fifth century B.C.E., represents a seated woman of classical proportions, dressed in a chiton, himation and veil, her head slightly inclined and her hand raised towards it. In this work no trace remains of the vigorous and emotional gestures of lamentation which had characterised earlier mourning figures. Rather, the motion of the hand is more restrained, and its index finger is clearly delineated and extended in a manner indicative of a more contemplative approach to grief. These developments are echoed in the facial expression of the figure which appears solemn and constrained. In matters of both iconography and character, the Logie statuette displays considerable similarities to this work.

That the monumental sculpture of Penelope survived to become the archetypal mourning image of antiquity can be seen in its reflection in numerous subsequent monuments. Not least of these is a marble replica, currently in the Vatican, which is dated to the Roman period (fig. 14). Less grandiose earlier works to come under its influence include a Cypriot grave relief, terracottas from a tomb at Marion and a Boeotian grave figure which depicts a mourning woman seated beside a funerary stele (fig. 15). In a more general form, seated women (and less frequently seated men) in the attitude of mourning are depicted in a multitude of media throughout the Classical period. These include paintings on black figure vases and the decorative reliefs of stone sarcophagi. It is to the adoption of this form by the

13 ibid. p.133.
creators of Attic grave reliefs that the stimulus for the widespread dissemination and enduring use of this image must be attributed.

Two works from the Hellenistic period further illustrate the consistent use of the hand-to-head gesture in sepulchral contexts. The first is a West Greek gravestone from Palairos on which two mourning sirens are shown standing on a high base, holding between them a plaque which bears the name of the deceased (fig. 16).14 The second, a relief dated c. 350 B.C.E. from Thrace represents a funerary banquet. In this a bearded male figure is depicted reclining on a couch. He holds a rhyton in his left hand and his right hand is elevated to the side of his head (fig. 17).15 These are of particular relevance due to the fact that in both, the mourning figures have their arms raised at the same angle and their hands placed in the same position as the Goddess in the Logie statuette.

As was the case with many artistic trends, Rome followed the lead of the Greek world in adopting the iconographic convention of this hand-to-head mourning gesture. Ample evidence of this is provided by the relief sculpture of sarcophagi from the Imperial period. Just as the prothesis and ekphora proved fitting subjects for the decoration of funerary monuments in the Geometric and Archaic periods, so too did their Latin equivalents, the collocare and the pompa in the Roman period. One example of this is the lamentation relief on a child's sarcophagus from Rome (fig. 18). Although this would have been one of a number of stock scenes available from an urban sculptural workshop, the personal grief of both parents of the dead child is emphasised. According to conventions established in the Classical period, they are shown seated, one at each end of the funerary bed, veiled in mourning, with their hands raised to their heads. This gesture is repeated by the mourners surrounding the bed. What is significant is that both the male figure second from the left and that at the far right, reproduce exactly the gesture of the left arm of Cybele in the Logie statuette; the forearm of each is raised at a right-angle to the body, with the hand placed with one finger extended to the side of the head.

14 ibid. p.233, pl.57.
15 Dentzer, J. M. Le Motif du Banquet Couché dans le Proche-Orient et le Monde Grec du VIe siècle avant J.C. (Rome, 1982) p.370, fig. 342. In Dentzer's discussion of this work, reference is made to the identification of this hand-to-head gesture by F. Cumont and R. Thonges-Stringaris. Both these scholars maintain that here it is indicative of the figure crowning himself. Dentzer is considerably less sure of this interpretation, but makes no alternative suggestion. Given the funerary context and the long tradition of this gesture in the representation of mourning, this would seem a likely, if not more probable, alternative.
Similarly, a marble relief from Amiternum, probably dating from the Augustan period, preserves a depiction of the funeral procession of an important person (fig. 19). The deceased, dressed in a short-sleeved tunic and toga, is represented lying on a *lectus funebris*, which is set on a bier, while the living participants in the cortege are divided into three superimposed tiers. Numerically and spatially, it is the bearers of the catafalque and the musicians who precede them that dominate the composition, a circumstance no doubt the result of a conscious attempt to emphasise the status of the deceased. Nevertheless, it is the figures of the mourners who surround the bier in the upper registers of the scene that clearly constitute the emotional focal point of the work. These include the figures of the grieving widow, who extends her hands in front of her face in a gesture suggestive of supplication, her two daughters, who follow with dishevelled hair behind the litter, and a group of professional mourners who are placed in the left hand corner of the work. Clearly the dominant mourner to which the eye of the viewer is drawn is, however, the figure of the man who stands at the head of the bier, his body inclining towards that of his deceased friend or relative, his grief tellingly conveyed, once again by the raising of his arms and the placement of his hands at either side of his head.

This symbol of the lamentation of mourners was used extensively throughout antiquity, as the examples cited clearly demonstrate. It is not surprising that such emphasis should be placed on the visual depiction of mourning when it is considered that such works only reflect one manifestation of numerous displays of lamentation in the funerary rituals of the ancient world. Just as the preparation of the body, and the provision of a suitable resting place for it were of fundamental importance in ensuring its peaceful existence in the afterlife, (and indeed peace for the living as well, since they would not be tormented by unappeased spirits), so too was the display of mourning considered essential in facilitating the slow transition of the soul from one world to the other. Thus, when the soul of Elpenor meets Odysseus in the Underworld, he pleads with his companion, saying, '... remember me, and do not go and leave me behind unwept, unburied, when you leave, for fear I might become the gods' curse upon you...'.

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16 *Odyssey*, XI.72-73 trans. R. Lattimore (New York, 1967) p.170. The importance of the correct observance of all funerary rites, in particular those of mourning and burial, is a constantly recurring theme in the literature of antiquity. Other illustrations of the fear of the wrath of the dead or the gods arising from neglect of these duties are found in the tragedies of Aeschylus (e.g. *Agamemnon*, 1541-6; *Septem contra Thebas*, 1002-3, 1058-9, 1066-71, *Persae*, 674); Sophocles (*Antigone*, 26-9, 203, 876; *Ajax*, 924, *Philoctetes*, 360); and Euripides (*Iphigenia Taurica*, 173-4). Alexiou, *op.cit.*, n.2, p.206.
When the hand-to-head gesture of the Logie statuette is considered alongside representations of figures throughout antiquity which also display this distinctive action (where its significance in a funerary context is known), there can be little doubt that, in the work in question, Cybele was intended to be represented in an attitude of mourning. But due to the extraordinary longevity of this artistic convention and the fact that this image of Cybele was conceived in an age characterised by complicated exchanges of stylistic currents and iconographical motifs between East and West, it remains impossible to establish the existence of a single image which served as model for the production of a mourning variant of the traditional enthroned image. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to conclude that works such as those discussed above created a climate conducive to this innovation within the iconographic tradition of Cybele enthroned.

While the existence of a convention suitable for the depiction of Cybele in mourning in an artist's repertoire of iconographic motifs may have made the actual rendering of such an image possible, and an appreciation of its significance by viewers probable, it does not provide sufficient grounds to explain its inception. For emphatic confirmation of the hypothesis that the Logie statuette was intended to be a mourning variation of Cybele enthroned, one must look to the cult of the Great Mother itself.

Of fundamental importance to the interpretation of the Logie statuette is the question: for whom does the Goddess mourn? The salient answer is her beloved, the youthful Attis, who was inseparably associated with Cybele from an early date in the mythology and ritual of the cult. Like the primitive vegetation god or sacrificial consort from which he is most likely derived, Attis is destined to die and to be lamented. There are many traditions which purport to explain the origins of Attis and his significance to Cybele. The fact that most of these appear to be variants of Phrygian legend is unsurprising, given the importance of Phrygia throughout the history of the cult. Despite minor discrepancies in narrative detail, all accounts incorporate the recurring motifs of the love of the Great Mother for the handsome youth, the descent into madness of one or more of the participants, the ultimate death of Attis, and the mourning of his passing by the Goddess.17

17 An alternative tradition of Lydian origin does exist, in which Attis appears as the son of a king who is killed, not by any act of self-mutilation, but rather during a boar hunt. In Herodotus I, 34-35, no reference at all is made to the Great Mother, and the death of Atys at the hands of Adrastus is perceived only as the inescapable fate of the son of Croesus. In a summary of Hermesianax dating from c. 340 B.C.E., which Pausanias takes care to point out the Phrygians themselves did not believe, Attis does appear in connection with Cybele, but only as the
In Pausanias, VII 17, 9-12, for example, Attis is reputed to have been conceived by the daughter of the Sangarius river, following her consumption of fruit from the tree which had sprung from the castrated male organs of the previously androgynous monster Agdistis (here an incarnation of Cybele in her most terrible form). Subsequently, Attis was exposed at birth, was cared for by a he-goat, and ultimately grew into a beautiful young man who inspired the love of the monster. Bethrothed to the daughter of the King of Phrygia, Attis was sent by his kinsmen to Pessinus, whereupon Agdistis appeared at the nuptial celebrations and drove her beloved into a frenzy at the end of which he emasculated himself. Seeing the consequences of the madness which she had inspired, Agdistis repented of her act, and prevailed upon Zeus to grant that the body of Attis never decay. Elsewhere Pausanias states that the burial-place of Attis was on the mountain Agdistis at Pessinus.18

An alternative interpretation is given by the fourth century Christian writer Arnobius, in a work based on the account of Timotheus, an Eleusinian priest.19 Differing from Pausanias only in details, in this account Cybele and Agdistis are separated, yet both love Attis, whose mother is identified as Nana, daughter of the river-god Sangarius.20 Once again, Attis is espoused to a king's daughter (here given the name Ia) but is nevertheless seduced by Agdistis, whose love he betrays whilst drunk. In revenge, Agdistis appears at the wedding ceremony, striking madness into all. When exhausted by his frenzy, Attis throws himself under a pine tree, castrates himself, and before his death delivers his severed organs to Agdistis. His body is then wrapped in wool by Ia, who mourns over him with Agdistis before killing herself. After burying her body, the Great Mother retires into her cave with the pine tree of Attis, where she also wildly laments his death. Agdistis, now regretting her behaviour, begs Zeus to resurrect Attis from the dead. This request is only partially fulfilled when the god allows Attis' body to remain uncorrupted, his hair to grow and his little finger to remain alive and move continuously.

20 In this form Nana is also considered by Vermaseren to be an incarnation of the Phrygian Goddess, here portrayed in the role of Mama, thus repeating the familiar convention of the son-lover. ibid. p.91.
Agdistis then proceeds to consecrate the body and institute annual ceremonies in honour of Attis at Pessinus.

Still another account, also given as Phrygian tradition, appears in Diodorus, in which the Goddess is the principal character, and thus her love for, and mourning of Attis is even more marked.21 Here, Cybele is the daughter of Maioon, king of Lydia and Phrygia, and his wife Dindyme. As an infant, she was abandoned on Mount Kybelon, from which she took her name. Nourished by wild animals and adopted by shepherds as a child, Cybele later invented the multi-reeded *syrinx*, cymbals and the *tympanum*. She was beloved of the shepherd Attis, and became pregnant, a fact which prompted Maioon to order the execution of Attis and all those who had nurtured his daughter. Their bodies were subsequently cast forth unburied. Wild with grief and in a state of madness, Cybele thus roamed the countryside, while in a situation parallel to the Eleusinian myth of Demeter, Phrygia became desolate and barren. In an attempt to reverse this condition, the people of Phrygia were advised by an oracle to entomb the body of Attis and worship Cybele as divine. Thus, an image of the youth was wrought (his body having since been lost to decay) before which his spirit was appeased by the performance of the necessary lamentation and dirges (a practice which, Diodorus states continued into his own time), while altars and a temple to Cybele were erected at Pessinus, and annual sacrifices instituted.

Despite the obvious differences between these versions, the themes of the love of Cybele for Attis and the grief which she displays following his death are common to all three. There is evidence that these motifs were far from confined to the realms of mythology. For instance, the lexicographer Harpocration mentions Neanthes of Cyzicus as having described the legend of Attis as 'a mystery tale' (*μυστικός δὲ ὁ λόγος*),22 which would seem to infer that, by the third century B.C.E. at the latest, myths such as those described above were associated with the Mysteries of the cult of Cybele.23

Any attempt to gauge the extent to which aspects of Phrygian mythology influenced actual cult practice in Asia Minor is hampered, however, by the lack of literary evidence documenting the rituals of the devotees of Cybele prior to the first century C.E. Nevertheless, an early correspondence between the two is suggested both by the quotation from Neanthes, and the statement which

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23 Vermaseren, *Cybele* p.111.
Diodorus made regarding the continuation of the ceremonies honouring Cybele and Attis. This is supported by the *scholia* to the *Alexipharmaca* of Nicander, second century B.C.E., in which an ancient annotator adds to the treatise (which refers to a sacred cult-place for Attis in the Lobrine Mountains near Cyzicus) the Lydian version of the death of Attis by boar, and the statement that, 'the Goddess buried him where the Phrygians mourn him in the spring'.

Information about cult ritual in Asia Minor and the rites of Cybele in Rome both prior to and during the Empire is derived mainly from Latin sources. Inferences made regarding worship in the East on the basis of evidence of cult practice in Rome can be justified by reference to evidence such as the following passage from Arrian: 'They [the Romans] worship the Phrygian Rhea [Cybele], who has come from Pessinus, and the Phrygian mourning for Attis takes place in Rome, and as to the bath (the *lavatio*): Rhea is bathed in the manner of the Phrygians; that is the end of the mourning.'

That is to say, Roman cult apparently reflects the Phrygian tradition.

The rites Arrian is referring to are the March festivals of the cult of Cybele, which were listed later in the calendar for Furius Dionysus Philocalus in the year 354 C.E. These were introduced in phases, primarily under the auspices of the emperors Claudius (41-54 C.E.) and Antoninus Pius (138-161 C.E.). Unlike the Megalensia, which was instituted at the same time (204 B.C.E.) as construction was ordered of the temple on the Palatine and, according to Livy, took place in April and commemorated the arrival of Cybele in Rome, the purpose of the March rites was to celebrate the death of Attis. Correspondingly, until the introduction of the *Hilaria* to mark the occasion of his resurrection, perhaps as late as the fourth century C.E., their character can be seen as entirely appropriate to a festival of mourning. The stimulus for this must surely have originated in the mythology of the Phrygians and in their translation of facets of these legends into cult practice.

The *Tristia*, as these mourning rites were known collectively in Rome, consisted of six phases, each of which was intended to represent a different stage in the passion of Attis (as it survived in legend). The festival began on
March 15 with *Canna Intrat* (entry of the reed): the members of the society of the *cannophori* (reed-bearers) cut and carried reeds in procession to the temple of the *Magna Mater* on the Palatine. The exact significance of this rite is uncertain, and scholarly opinion is divided as a consequence of this. The more favoured theories suggest the birth of Attis on the banks of the river Sangarios and his rescue from exposure on the shores of the Gallos river by Cybele;\(^{28}\) the love of Attis for a nymph or Reed Goddess from either of these rivers;\(^{29}\) and, more generally, the youth and emasculation of Attis.\(^{30}\) On March 16 began a nine day period of fasting and abstinence in which the faithful were denied wine, certain foods including bread, fowl, fish and fruits, and refrained from sexual relations.\(^{31}\) It is thought that participants in the rite believed themselves to be associating with the Goddess, through their abstinence, in her time of grief following the loss of her lover.

With the approach of the equinox began the sequence of major festivals connected with the drama of the death of Attis. *Arbor Intrat* (entry of the tree), took place on March 22, and consisted of a procession of the *dendrophori*, (tree-bearers), in which a pine tree was carried to the Palatine temple. This was symbolic of the pine tree under which, according to tradition, the scene of Attis' emasculation took place, and which Cybele was believed to have taken into her cave and mourned over after his death.\(^{32}\) Graillot believes that this ritual represented the funeral procession of Attis, whose spirit was believed to have been assumed by the tree.\(^{33}\) This was a direct reversal of traditional funerary practice where, following the *ekphora*, the pine was laid in state (*prothesis*), and Attis was mourned 'amid ululations (*ululatibus*) and to the rhythmic beating of the tambourine.'\(^{34}\)

Further evidence of the importance of the lamentational aspect of these ceremonies pertaining to Attis can be found in the setting aside of one day, March 23, for the expression of grief by the *galli*. This 'day of mourning', was characterised by the marching of the priests of Cybele around the temple, beating their shields like the Corybantes, accompanied by the sounding of


\(^{29}\) Vermaseren, *op.cit.* p.114.


\(^{33}\) Thus, the tree is considered identical to the god, as in it there dwells 'a divine power, present and altogether holy'. Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 17; Graillot, p.121, n.5.

\(^{34}\) Vermaseren, *Cybele*. p.115.
Following this, was the Day of Blood (dies sanguinis), March 24, on which initiations into the priesthood by self-emasculaton took place, along with the flagellation of the galli. The blood resulting from these rituals was sprinkled on the effigy of Attis and on the altars in the temple. On the night of March 24 the vigil over the symbolic body of Attis ended and the pine tree was buried. The burial rite was presumably accompanied by a display of ritual mourning. On March 27, with the ceremonial bathing of the statue (lavatio) of the cult statue of the Goddess in the Almo river, Cybele once again took centre stage\(^\text{36}\) and the Tristia ended.

Given the significant role that the display of mourning played in the mythology of Cybele and Attis and its subsequent translation into the rituals of the cult, it is unsurprising that a genre of statuary evolved which represented the Goddess in an attitude of mourning. This on its own could explain the iconography of the Logie statuette. However, the development of this genre is also consistent with the perception of Cybele in the ancient world and the concerns of her devotees. For Cybele's capacity as a goddess concerned with matters of life and death was fundamental to her appeal, as is attested to by her longstanding association with funerary contexts. An examination of the evidence for this association will make the mourning motif found in the Logie statuette all the more understandable.

Predominant among the enduring traits of Cybele was the conception of her as the Goddess of the Dead. The origins of this characteristic can be found in the duality of the prehistoric Earth Mother from which she is derived. As the embodiment of the cyclical nature of primitive civilisations, this figure was understood to be not only the source and sustainer of all life, but correspondingly, the destination to which all things living must one day return in death. 'Thou givest us the food of life with unfailing constancy,' says a prayer, 'and when our soul departs we will take refuge in thee. Thus all that thou givest, always falls to thee again.'\(^\text{37}\) Accordingly, in primitive representations of this matriarchal deity, the early association of the earth with

\(^{35}\) \textit{ibid.} p.115.

\(^{36}\) It is interesting to note, however, that Pieter Lambrechts would argue that the focus of attention during these festivals never diverged from the Goddess. In an effort to decrease the emphasis traditionally placed on Attis during this period, Lambrechts thus claims that the beloved of Cybele played no part in these rites beyond the funeral, and that the true focus throughout the March ritual was the Magna Mater, whose sorrow and cleansing after lamentation constituted the \textit{raison d'être} of the festival. Thomas, G. 'Magna Mater and Attis' \textit{ANRW II} 17.3 (1984) pp.1518-1519.

\(^{37}\) Cumont, F. \textit{Afterlife in Roman Paganism} (New York, 1959) p.36, n.91. Similarly the philosopher Xenophanes, who concludes that 'all comes from the earth and all ends in the earth', or the more poetic epigram, 'the earth produces all things and then enfolds them again.' Vermaseren, \textit{op.cit}, p.10.
the body of the Great Goddess is made clear in the massive forms of her statuettes, such as those of the Venus of Willendorf and the Goddess of Çatal Hüyük. It is also evidenced in the prominence given to the cave in her worship, which was regarded both as the womb of the Great Mother and as such, the entrance to the underworld.

That these chthonic aspects of the Goddess continued in the Phrygian cult of the Great Mother can be seen clearly in the consistency with which her image is incorporated into the decoration of funerary monuments in Asia Minor. Eight centuries before the Empire, Cybele is found enthroned over the cemeteries of her devotees; in this the association between the deity and the funerary context is so strong that 'every Phrygian tomb is a sanctuary and its epitaph a dedication.'38 Appropriately, often found in the vicinity of a shrine of Hades, and depicted with the pomegranate and the poppy (also funerary attributes of Persephone), Cybele thus appears as the guardian of the dead in the underworld and as a caring mother whose image was customarily placed in graves as a reminder that 'the Queen of the Shadows never abandoned the dead man.'39 Graillot effectively encapsulates her nature by describing this manifestation of the Anatolian Great Goddess as the 'Protectress of souls,...(who) also wishes to be their guardian. She stops them from wandering in the shadows; she is the lighthouse which shines through the tempests. She makes the soul brave against the spirit of evil; she shares with her devotees the courage of Hercules...Those who had committed sins could place their hope in her, because she was the redemptress. She wiped out sin and took away the stain of impiety...She promised endless felicity to the soul that was purified according to her law...She who saved Attis from death is the protectress of those who have died.'40

Thus, in Phrygia on the façades of monumental rock tombs from the sixth century B.C.E., representations of, or allusions to Cybele in this manifestation are very common. In the so-called 'Tomb of King Midas'41 in Yazılıkaya, for example, provision was made, in the form of a niche on the front of the tumuli, for a statue of the Goddess, now unfortunately lost; on the house-shaped façade of a sepulchral monument at Arslan Kaya, Cybele is still visible behind a doorway where she is depicted in high relief and flanked by two lions.42 At Büyük Aslanta, although the figure of the Goddess is absent, her presence is

38 Cumont, ibid. p.36.
39 Graillot, p.207.
40 ibid. p.207.
41 CCCA I, 168.
42 CCCA I, 145.
still implied by the inclusion in the facade decoration of two lions, represented leaping aggressively at a column.43 Less monumental, but nevertheless analogous in intention to these rock tombs is a grave stele from Dorylaion, dated to c. 525 B.C.E., upon which is depicted the Goddess as *Potnia Theron* (fig. 20).44 She is rendered in Ionian style, winged, holding her lion in her left hand, striding forward. This obviously depicts her as protector of the dead, this time most probably of the warrior who is represented on the reverse side of the relief seated on a horse and riding in a chariot.

Archaeological evidence suggests that far from being limited to the grave monuments of her native Phrygian devotees Cybele as the guardian of the dead found not only acceptance, but considerable popularity in the Greek and Roman worlds. Given the fact that those centres of the Anatolian cult which produced the remarkable tombs of the eighth to sixth centuries B.C.E. remained sites of constant habitation throughout the ancient world, it is perhaps to be expected that the Goddess to whom they were dedicated, one who was believed to ensure a felicitous passage in the world to come, would prove a popular addition to the pantheons of Greece and Rome. Thus, it has been suggested that in Ionian burial grounds of the Archaic period, figures found of Cybele enthroned with a lion on her lap were intended as guardians of the peace of the grave,45 while in Rome as the Goddess of Death, she appears on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus riding a lion, a fitting locale considering it was from the funerary games held for the deceased heroes of Etruria and Greece that the Roman *ludi* were derived.46

Consistent with this conception of Cybele as the protector of the dead and the goddess to whom all living things must return, is the significant role assigned to women in the rituals of death in antiquity. It has already been noted that women contributed significantly to the preparation of the bodies of the dead

44 Johansen, K. F. *The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period - An Essay in Interpretation* (Copenhagen, 1951) pp.76-77, figs.34a, 34b. This figure has also been variously identified as 'an eastern Artemis' (Kurtz and Boardman, *op.cit.* pl.50); cf. Akurgal, E. *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander* (Berlin, 1961) figs.210-211.
45 Johansen, *ibid.* p.78, n.4. Based on the evidence offered by similar representations found in the burial ground at Cyme, S. Reinach has interpreted these as sepulchral monuments. (*Statues Archaiques de Cybele decouvertes a Cyme* in *BCH* 1889, pp.543-562). That this attribution is uncertain, however, can be seen in the fact that closely related *naiskos*-shaped stelae from Massalia would appear to have no funerary significance, but rather appear to be votive monuments.
46 Central to this connection was the belief that, by performing special feats or even the shedding of blood, the vigour and life of contestants was somehow transferred to the earth, and thus the deceased was nourished and strengthened. The spina statue of the Goddess is now lost, however, its existence is attested to by representations in mosaic and on sarcophagi, lamps and coins. Vermaseren, *op.cit.* pp.51-54.
who were regarded as helpless and as a consequence needed 'comfort or mothering like infants, from mother or wife, to close the eyes, straighten the limbs, fix the jaw shut.' Similarly, in both the Greek and Roman worlds there was a common belief that it was the mother of the deceased who was most suited to formally end the life of her child, through the rite of a last kiss in which it was hoped that the spirit of the infant was caught as it passed from the body. This is a further example of the world of mortals reflecting that of the divine. It is understandable, therefore, that a deity who was popularly conceived of as the Great Mother of all, who loved all life with a mother's devotion, and who lamented at its passing, would eventually assume a protective role over all who acknowledged her dominion.

It is possible that for many devotees, the implications behind the inclusion of a representation of the Goddess in mourning in their sepulchral environment transcended the provision of a mere guardian of the tomb or guide to the soul. Just as Cybele lamented the death of her beloved, so too might she mourn the passing of her devotees, who through their communion with the Goddess were transformed by the attainment of sacred knowledge (gnosis), and as a result of their identification with Attis, entered into a firm alliance with Cybele. For the majority of followers this process consisted primarily of initiation into the Mysteries of the Goddess and of their observance of her

48 One aspect of the religion of the Great Mother which often dominates both ancient and modern commentaries is the wild and mystical rites of the Galli, or priests of Cybele, for which the cult is most famous. The impression that such a concentration creates, however, is sometimes misleading, as it tends to obscure the true nature of the cult, where the observance of mourning was of central importance, not only to the theology and ritual of the cult, but also to the legends from which they were derived. For Jungian analysts, the origin of this phenomenon is to be found in the primordial character of the 'Great Mother archetype', in which it is believed that in its positive manifestation as mater, the nature of this prototypical feminine, having been deprived of the child to which she gave birth and nurtured, is frequently sorrowing. Subsequently, as an archetype in the collective unconscious, it is this characteristic which emerges into the consciousness of mankind, and thus finds expression in the great goddess of many cultures. As such, a mourning Cybele would thus be explained as but one embodiment of the psychic phenomenon which similarly gave rise to the grieving aspects of Demeter, Isis and even the Virgin Mary.

49 Vermaseren, op.cit. p.105. For Cumont, inherent in these rituals from their inception was the eschatological doctrine of salvation, where by the virtue of union with Attis (whose career is seen here as comparable to those of Osiris and Adonis in their perpetual triumph over death) through imitation, like the god, the initiate was reborn. Chronological reassessments of evidence such as taurobolic inscriptions traditionally thought suggestive of the promise of resurrection, would, however, indicate that such factors were a consideration only in the latter stages of the cult. Cumont, After Life pp. 35-36, 116-117 and Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism (New York, 1956) pp.49-51.

50 Firmicus Maternus, De err. prof. rel., XVIII, 1: 'I have learned the secrets of the cult, I have become an initiate of Attis.' If, as A. Dieterich contends, the inclusion of the word pastas in the ritual formula given by Clement of Alexandria (Protrepticus, II, 15) is taken to mean 'bridal chamber', then the bond between the mystes and Cybele is further enhanced, representative as this may have been, of a holy marriage between Attis and the Goddess, and symbolically, of a hierogamy of the initiate and Cybele. Vermaseren prefers, however, to interpret this term purely as 'the room of the Goddess'; op.cit. pp.116-117.
rites and participation in the sacred drama. Thus, the dedication to the Great Mother of the genitals of a sacrificed bull or ram during the performance of the *taurobolium* or *criobolium* can be interpreted as a substitution rite in which the participant assumes the role of Attis by offering *vires* to the Goddess. In dramatic re-enactments of the passion of Attis, either in the theatrical performances of public celebrations or as part of the sacred drama confined to the precincts of the sanctuary, initiates once again emphasised their connection to Cybele's lover by adopting his character in the recreation of his life.51

If benefits of a closer relationship with the Goddess and an assurance of her sympathy and protection after death resulted from emulating Attis, then none could claim to be more favoured than the priests of Cybele, who in their imitation of the dancing, ecstasy and even emasculation of Attis, believed themselves to be at one with the deity, possessed by his divine power.52 This deliberate mimicry is evident in their ritual behaviour and also in their public persona, *Attis populi Romani*, or *Attis publicus populi Romani Quiritium*, 'the public Attis of the citizens, the people of Rome';53 the priests were often individually named Attis after their model54 and collectively referred to as the *Galli*, from the eponymous river by which the lover of Cybele was abandoned and died. In art, this identification is similarly attested to by statues, reliefs and busts of *Galli* who are depicted wearing medallions which in turn contain the likeness of Attis; and by representations of the priest in the guise of Attis himself, as is the case with the sepulchral marble of a devotee from Portus, dating from the second half of the third century C.E., in which an *archigallus* is seen reclining on a funerary couch, in a pose clearly reminiscent of renderings of Attis, lying on the banks of the Gallos with his head raised on one arm and his legs crossed, just prior to, or immediately following his self-mutilation.55

51 Evidence that the sacred drama of Attis was known to both the public and cult stage is to be found in the works of zealous Christian writers who often refer to the performance, during the *ludi Megalenses* in Rome, of scandalous mimes and dances which expressed the passion of Cybele and Attis (e.g., Arnobius, IV, 35; V, 42), and the archaeological remains of sanctuaries such as those at Vienne (CCCA V, 370), and Mamurt Kale near Pergamum (CCCA I, 387) which indicate the presence of theatre complexes within the temple grounds. Bronze figures of Attis in which he is represented holding a tragic mask elevated above his head (Vermaseren, *Attis*, pis. XXXIX, XL), and terracotta votives in the form of theatrical masks serve to further illustrate this connection.

52 Vermaseren, *Cybele*, p.97.


54 Catullus, 63.

55 e.g., the Attis *pudens* relief from Gallia (Vermaseren, *Attis*, pl.XXI, 2) and the cult statue from the Attideum in Osta (*ibid*. pl.XXI, 3).
Now that it has been established, on the basis of iconographic similarities, that the image portrayed in the Logie statuette is that of the goddess in mourning and that this symbolism was entirely consistent with the nature of Cybele and her cult, the second and third distinctive characteristics of the 'Bithynian group' with which this analysis began, that is, the absence of the tympanum and its replacement with the lion on the left arm of the throne, thus become explicable.

From the Classical period onwards, seldom is there found a representation of Cybele enthroned which does not include a portrayal of the tympanum. This situation undoubtedly arises from the deliberate reproduction of the Agorakritos-type cult statue and from a conscious recognition of the significant role this musical instrument played in both the public persona and the private rituals of the cult. In the light of this dynamic tradition, the significance of the absence of the tympanum in the Logie statuette and in the Bithynian group of images in general becomes even more pronounced.\textsuperscript{56}

For Naumann, the impulse behind the exclusion of this otherwise virtually indispensable attribute is to be found in the nature of that group to whom she ascribes the creation of the genre, that is, the extremely xenophobic native Bithynian people. She argues that the absence of the tympanum can be explained simply by the fact that it was unknown to this Thraco-Phrygian tribe, who in their worship preserved the ancient form of the cult, in which the orgiastic practices introduced into later rites were unknown to the goddess or her devotees. There are, however, a number of anomalies evident in this theory which combine to make its acceptance untenable.

Most obviously in opposition to Naumann's hypothesis must be the extreme unlikelihood that an entire people, no matter how xenophobic, could preserve in totality the rituals and images of a primitive cult in the face of the extraordinarily high degree of Hellenisation both of the cult and of Bithynian society as a whole, which began at an early date and continued unabated throughout the Roman period. Herodotus, for example, provides evidence that the Greek inhabitants of nearby Cyzicus were honouring Cybele with magnificent festivals which included the use of ritual drums from at least the

\textsuperscript{56} One representation of Cybele in mourning, a relief in limestone from Kandira in Bithynia (fig. 25 = CCCA I, 236), depicts the Goddess enthroned within a naïskos. As is seen in the Logie statuette, her left hand is raised to her head, but she rests her elbow on a tympanum rather than on a lion. An explanation for this may be that over time the hand-to-head mourning gesture lost much of its significance and became a standardised motif. Therefore the incongruity of the tympanum with mourning to be argued for below was no barrier to the juxtaposition of the tympanum with the hand-to-head gesture.
mid-fifth century B.C.E.; and history records the considerable influence which Greece and (especially) Rome had on the policies of Bithynian kings, who in many instances considered themselves the rivals of the greatest proponents of Greek art and learning in the Hellenistic period in the East, the Attalids of Pergamum.

Additionally, to even the most untrained eye, it would appear that the group of images identified by Naumann as 'Bithynian' have far more in common stylistically with the traditional Classical type of enthroned goddess created by Agorakritos than with the old Phrygian style of cult statues, works which were characterised by a standing, rigidly frontal portrayal of the Great Mother. That these works could have been the products of a people whose primary intention was the preservation of traditional forms of worship and indigenous methods of the depiction of the goddess is, therefore, unlikely in the extreme. Similarly, while it is true that nowhere does the tympanum appear in association with Cybele before the sixth or early fifth century B.C.E., its origins are nevertheless believed to be Phrygian and thus it could not constitute the undesirable manifestation of a corrupted cult which Naumann would have us believe the native Bithynians avoided at all cost.

A limestone statue from the post-Hittite citadel at Büyükkale, dated to the eighth or early seventh century B.C.E., provides evidence that at least two hundred years prior to the first inclusion of the tympanum in representations of the Great Mother the Goddess was associated with instruments characteristic of the performance of orgiastic rites. Here Cybele is depicted standing in full ceremonial attire, wearing a high polos and earrings, dressed only in a tightly wrapped skirt. In her left hand she holds a fruit, variously described as a pomegranate or an apple. Her figure is flanked by two small musicians, one of whom is playing the double-pipe, the other a large lyre. It is unclear whether the inclusion of these attributes comes as the result of early influences from the Greek world or indeed if later Greek portrayals of the Goddess with musical instruments may have been dependent upon this Phrygian type of

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57 Herodotus IV.76.
58 Such was the depth of influence of Greek culture on Bithynia, that in his study of the cities of the Greek East, W.W. Tarn singles out the province for special mention, noting that of all the provinces of Asia Minor, 'in Bithynia alone Hellenism went deeper.' Tarn, W. W. Hellenistic Civilization (London, 1941) p.149.
59 Showerman, Great Mother p.17, interprets the above passage in Herodotus (n.20), as indicative of the fact that the tympanum was a necessary part of the equipment of a Gallus by the sixth century, however the first dated representations of Cybele enthroned with the tympanum in Asia Minor are from the cities of the Greek East and date from the fifth century B.C.E. (CCCA I; nos. 344 from the Troas, 674 from Ephesus, and 716 from Halicarnassus).
60 Vermaseren, Cybele pp.20-21; CCCA I no.32.
image. What can be seen here, though, is evidence that, even if such attributes were not intrinsic to early representations of Cybele, the Phrygian cult nevertheless proved amenable to their assimilation from another source. For Vermaseren, however, there is little doubt that, not only was music a fundamental aspect of the cult of the Goddess from an early date, but that its origin was most assuredly Phrygian.61

It thus appears unlikely that even the most isolationist Bithynian tribe could keep centuries-old local traditions unchanged in the face of considerable Greek and Roman influences. Rather, evidence of the orgiastic rites represented by the tympanum and other musical instruments, which Naumann regards as absent in the native Phrygian cult of Cybele, suggests that the instruments, even if they were not the actual creations of this cult, were nevertheless present in its ritual from at least the eighth century B.C.E.

When the absence of the tympanum is considered in connection with the representation of a mourning Goddess, however, far more feasible reasons can be determined for the production of an iconographical type which excluded the traditional attribute of the tympanum. Simply put, in an image whose primary function was to convey a sense of grief at the loss of a loved one and whose intended context was funerary, there was no place for the attribute of the Goddess which, above all others, symbolised the wild nature of the Great Mother and represented both the joyful rites of the living and a celebration of life itself.

From the very first moment of its incorporation into the cult of Cybele, the tympanum was endowed with life-saving properties. In Greek mythology, according to a legend of Phrygian origin which was believed to pre-date the fifth century B.C.E., its inclusion followed the actions of the Corybantes who protected the infant Zeus from the searches of Cronos by concealing the wailing of the child with the noise of their tambourines.62 In an alternative tradition it is suggested that its significance as an attribute of the Goddess resulted from the dedication to Cybele by a Gallus, of the tympanum which saved his life when its noise drove off a lion which the priest had encountered in a cave.63

61 Vermaseren, *ibid.* p.21
In later literary accounts of the cult by ancient authors there are frequent descriptions of the colourful and riotous processions through the streets of the eunuch priests of Cybele. Rarely lacking in these is mention of the 'taut timbrels' which thunder in the hands of the participating Galli.\(^{64}\) These instruments for Ovid assume a beneficent character, following the explanation of their symbolism by the Muse Erato,\(^{65}\) yet remain for Catullus the maleficent tools '...whose rhythms summon men to your mysteries...', subsequently inducing the madness necessary for the act of self-mutilation and the abandoned worship of the goddess.\(^{66}\)

As representative of either the characteristic attribute of the wild rites for which the Galli were renowned or the instruments through which the individual may gain admittance into the mysteries of the Goddess, there was no place for the tympanum in an image of Cybele in mourning.

The third characteristic of the Logie statuette, namely the altered position of the lion in relation to the seated Goddess, further demonstrates the extent to which concerns regarding the suitability of the image for its context explain the distinctive iconographic details. Close connections can be seen between the tympanum and the lion as attributes which embodied the unbridled and emotive aspects of the cult. Thus, when describing the role of the king of the beasts in relation to Cybele, Vermaseren has this to say: 'they are her paladins, ever alert to jump up at the first dull beat of the tambourine, to carry the Goddess into the woods on their backs, or to draw her chariot through the wild forests.'\(^{67}\)

When these factors are considered in conjunction with the nature of other contexts in which the figure of the lion would have been familiar in antiquity such as the graphic representations of lion hunts in decorative relief or the detailed mosaics of the Circus Maximus representing lions as noble savages in captivity, it can be argued that, like the tympanum, the figure of the lion would have been unsuited to depiction in a funerary context.

Unlike the tympanum, however, the lion was no stranger to funerary art. Its conventional place in this genre, combined with the significance of the altered position of the lion in the Logie statuette, renders its inclusion with Cybele in mourning wholly appropriate. The traditional placement of the lions of Cybele, as early as c.6000 B.C.E., in the prehistoric goddess of Çatal Hüyük, has them

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\(^{64}\) Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, II.621-22.

\(^{65}\) *Fasti*, IV.200-215.

\(^{66}\) Catullus, 63.1-36.

\(^{67}\) *op. cit.* p.72.
appear as the fearsome guardians of their mistress, standing at either side of
the rocky throne, and symbolising the dominion of this Anatolian deity over
wild nature, and life itself.\(^{68}\) In later representations throughout antiquity, the
basic repetition of this motif can be seen in innumerable depictions of Cybele
enthroned in statuary, relief work, and other decorative media. Variations on
this theme consist, for the most part, only of the omission of one of the flanking
lions, which are seen standing, crouching or recumbent on either side of the
throne; less commonly, the lion is included as a footstool, or lying in the lap of
the Goddess.

Just as the power and majesty of the lion made it a fitting companion and
guardian for Cybele, so too did these qualities prove ideal for their utilisation
in a funerary context, as protectors of the graves and remains of the dead.
That from an early date lions joined Cybele in her vigil over tombs in Asia
Minor has already been noted, in their incorporation with their mistress on the
tomb facades of Arslan Kaya and Büyük Aslanta. In fact, so common was the
lion of the Goddess on the sepulchral monuments of Phrygia that, according to
Graillot, its name became synonymous with the word for tomb.\(^{69}\) It is also
evident that in their own right the figures of lions were considered effective
funerary guardians. This is seen clearly in the number of grave-markers which
take the form of this animal, particularly evident in Attica following the fourth
century B.C.E.,\(^ {70}\) but also manifest earlier in tombs of Lycia and Phrygia and
in the Archaic cemeteries of Athens, Kythera and Miletus.

In the Hellenistic period it can be seen from the elaborate sculptural
programme of the famous Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, whose exterior
decoration included statues of fifty-six guardian lions, that the funerary image
of the lion made the transition from grave-marker to monumental sculpture. An
alternative expression of this tradition in the Roman world took the form of the
production of lenos sarcophagi in Asia Minor in the third century C.E. These
works were characterised not only by their distinctive form (rounded at the
ends to resemble the vat used in the treading of grapes) and their decoration

\(^{68}\) These animals have been variously identified as leopards (Vermaseren, *Cybele* p.15) and
panthers, but in this early example, their symbolism, given the similar natures of these species,
must have been consistent with that of the lion.

\(^{69}\) Graillot, p.402.

\(^{70}\) In many cases, it would appear that the significance of the lion transcended the simple role of
protector, and in addition to ensuring that the tomb remained safe from plunder, also testified to
the meritorious nature of the deceased. An epitaph by Simonides, whilst also intended as a play
on the name of the dead man, Leon, clearly presents an example of this phenomenon:
'I am the strongest of beasts, as was he, whose grave I stand to
guard in stone, of mortals. But if Leon had not possessed my
spirit as well as my name I would not have set my feet on his tomb'.

Kurtz and Boardman, *op.cit.* p.239.
with strigil-shaped channels, but also by the prominence given to the inclusion of lions in their composition, either as menacing heads which project from the fronts of the sarcophagi or as full figure reliefs on the sides.

Given the long funereal tradition in which the lion, as protector of the dead, was perceived in a similarly beneficent light to Cybele, it would hardly be surprising if in the Logie statuette the Goddess and her traditional companion were being represented together with this purpose in mind. Yet if this were the only iconographical consideration, it would be difficult to explain the change which has taken place in the attitude of the lion, who is no longer represented in the traditional pose of a guardian, either of Cybele or of the dead. Instead, the lion appears in a size greatly reduced from that of the norm, neither standing nor crouching to the side of the Goddess, but rather seated on its haunches on the left arm of the throne, its head turned and raised towards its mistress, with its left paw placed almost comfortingly on her thigh.71 It may be that behind this variation in form there lies nothing more than a desire on the part of the creator to decrease the emphasis traditionally placed on the ferocious and wild nature of the lion, thus resulting in an image more suited to the sombre context for which it was intended.

It is also conceivable, however, that a concern for greater symbolism inspired the change which is evident in the Logie statuette. The most likely source of inspiration for this divergence from the traditional image of Cybele enthroned is found in the other artistic convention which utilised the figure of the lion in a funerary context, that is, as a symbol of the ravening powers of death. From the first date of the inclusion of the figures of animals in primitive renderings of prehistoric Mother Goddesses, these archetypes served both to define the personality of the deity and to embody her power. Central to this power was the duality of nature of the Great Mother, that is, as the giver of life and the bringer of death. Thus it is no surprise that from the Neolithic period onwards the ever-present lion of Cybele came to be regarded as the incarnation not only of the nurturing, protective character of the Goddess but also of her alternative, terrible nature.

71 An interesting parallel to this gesture can be seen in the grave stele of Polyxena from the late fourth century B.C.E. in Athens, where it is evident that premature death has claimed the young mother who is depicted in traditional seated form, veiled, with her head inclined. Behind this central figure stands a female mourner, her hand raised to her head in the usual manner of lamentation, while in front of Polyxena stands a small figure, presumably the child of the deceased woman, who, looking up at his mother's face, leans against her legs, his arms extended across her thighs in what appears to be a gesture of longing and support. Johansen, op.cit. fig.10.
That this essentially negative conception of the lion continued later into antiquity can be ascertained through evidence provided by many art forms. Predominant among these was the popular portrayal of the lion hunt. Ever fashionable as a subject for decorative sculpture, in works such as Herakles wrestling the Nemean lion or the elaborate mosaic compositions of villas (such as those of Maxentius and Constantine), the lion hunt in a temporal setting provided the ideal means for the portrayal of the bravery of man and of his dominance over wild nature. Represented in a sepulchral context, however, this scene acquired additional symbolism: of the victory of man over the embodiment of evil or death. Thus in many funerary sculptures, on the relief panels of sarcophagi (including those of the lenos variety), and even on wall paintings such as those from a tomb at Ostia, there are scenes which clearly illustrate the power of the lion as the bringer of death, in conjunction with those which attest to the ultimate superiority of man over beast and, symbolically, to the triumph of the soul over death. These predominantly take the form of the lion shown ravaging other animals such as the boar, antelope or stag, accompanied by, or independent of, a hunting scene in which the lion is captured or killed as a result of the ingenuity and bravery of man.

With this additional symbolism in mind, the transition of the lion in the Logie statuette, both in position and style, from ferocious guardian to a far more placid and tame companion whose attention is firmly focused not on the viewer but on the Goddess herself, may therefore feasibly represent the subduing of death by Cybele, and the promise of safe passage into the afterlife for the soul of the initiate to whose grave she extended her protection. Again, then, this characteristic is compatible with the proposed funerary context of the statuette.

Thus far, it has been shown that those characteristics which set the Logie statuette apart from the multitude of more traditional images of Cybele enthroned, that is: the Goddess' hand-to-head gesture, the absence of the

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72 That this scene was also accorded soteriological symbolism can be seen in its usage in a funerary context, both in tomb sculpture (e.g. the stone group from Cologne) and relief sarcophagi. For Toynbee, there is little doubt that, 'As Hercules earned apotheosis through his toils, so the soul of the deceased triumphs over death and evil'. Toynbee, J.M.C. Animals in Roman Art and Life (London, 1973) p.66.

73 A particularly graphic example of this form of allegory can be seen in an early third century B.C.E. grave stone from Athens for a Phoenician visitor who died there. Represented in relief is the body of the dead man, laid out, attacked by a lion, who is in turn fought off by a man whose upper body takes the form of a ship. This unusual scene is clarified by the inscriptional epitaph which explains that the body was in danger from evil spirits, symbolised by the lion, if not properly buried, but that the deceased, one Antipatros of Askalon, was saved by the arrival of a ship from Sidon with Phoenician priests who performed the necessary obsequies in the proper manner. Kurtz and Boardman, op.cit. p.265, fig.57.

74 Toynbee, op.cit. p.67.
tympanum and the position of the lion, all appear consistent with iconographical alterations one might expect to be made during the adaptation of the largely formalised ritual image of the Goddess to a sepulchral environment. The hypothesis that this was indeed the context for which the Logie statuette was intended is further supported by the discovery of a marble statue of Cybele in a sarcophagus dated to the second century C.E. (fig. 21). This was found at Prainetos next to the Izmit-Karamüsel road - an area once part of ancient Bithynia. In both size (H. 0.33, W. 0.14, D. 0.11) and appearance this work is comparable to the Logie statuette. Stylistically, it is much less refined than the latter sculpture, lacking both its attention to detail and its delicate modelling of form. Iconographically, however, the Prainetos statue mirrors the Logie statuette in its depiction of a classically-inspired Cybele seated on a high-backed throne, her outstretched right hand holding a patera, her left elbow resting upon the lion sitting on the arm of the throne and her left hand, with its index finger extended, raised to the side of her head. Here also, no trace of the tympanum is to be found.

Of the twelve known representations of the Goddess in this manner (i.e. in the guise of Cybele tristis) the statue from Prainetos is the only work whose context is recorded. The fact that this context was funereal provides evidence to support the thesis that a direct relationship existed between this genre of goddess imagery and perceptions of Cybele as a protective deity whose likeness was well suited to placement either within, or in close proximity to the final resting place of a devotee. The assumption that the tomb was the most feasible situation of the remaining representations of Cybele tristis would further explain the survival of two terracotta figurines (both presumably saved from breakage as the result of deposition in a sarcophagus or grave) both of which depict the Goddess in the familiar attitude of mourning. One, a figure discovered in Miletopolis, is remarkably well preserved and in terms of iconography, differs from the Logie statuette only in the exclusion of the patera - the Goddess' right hand in the former being placed simply in her lap (fig. 22). The second work, which is rather more worn, comes from Corinth and similarly represents Cybele with her left arm resting on the back of a lion and her left hand raised to her head (fig. 23). It thus appears that the little

75 CCCA I, 244 = Schwertheim, I B, 8, p.806; Firatli, N. 'Finds in Izmit and its neighbourhood' in Anatolian Studies 18 (1968) p.41. Correspondence with both the University of Istanbul and the Archaeological Museum at Izmit where this statue is now housed (Inv. no. 119) has failed to bring to light any additional information regarding this find. It is to be hoped that further enquiries will reveal details such as the nature of the devotee in whose sarcophagus the statue was found and whether any correlation exists between Cybele and the exterior decoration of this monument.
76 CCCA I, 263.
77 CCCA II, 465.
archaeological evidence which is provided by monuments analogous to the Logie statuette is entirely consistent with findings made on the basis of a purely iconographic study of the work in question.
2: DATING

The process of attempting to date the Logie statuette on stylistic grounds is one fraught with difficulties. This is primarily due to the longevity of the Hellenised representation of Cybele enthroned, which having assumed its canonical form with the cult image of Agorakritos in the mid fifth century B.C.E., in essence remained unchanged throughout the subsequent history of the cult. While the attributes and gestures of the Goddess may vary with the context for which they were intended, the fundamentally classical appearance of cult statues of this type and the subsidiary works which owed them their form, invariably depict Cybele attired in chiton and himation. If the appearances of such works do differ stylistically, this can usually be put down, not to chronological variables, but rather the quality of the work itself, and the location of the workshop from which it came - urban sculptors presumably having greater opportunities to observe their sacred model and perfect their techniques than their rural counterparts.¹

In the absence of a secure stylistic basis on which to date the Logie statuette, it is necessary to turn once again to the iconography of the figure in order to establish the likely chronological parameters of the Cybele tristis image.² Central to this end are two pre- eminent considerations: the establishment of the point in the history of the cult that Attis attained a level of status sufficient to warrant the creation of an image of the Goddess mourning his passing and the period in which Cybele herself came to be regarded as the epitome of the caring Mother Goddess, apt to lament not only the death of her lover, but also those of her devotees whose tombs she protected and whose welfare she continued to ensure beyond the grave. It is perhaps no coincidence that a synchronicity in the acme of these two

¹ This is the possibility most likely to account for the differing appearances of the Logie statuette and its closest iconographic equivalent, the statue of the mourning Goddess from Prainetos.
² Those elements visible in the Logie statuette which provide a very general basis on which to date this sculpture include: the mural crown, an attribute which would appear to replace the traditional polos during the Hellenistic-Roman period (possibly as a result of syncretism with Tyche), the faint 'Venus rings' at Cybele's neck (a detail unknown in sculpture until the Hellenistic period), and the combination of a high-waisted chiton and veil which Naumann (op.cit. pp.247-250) attributes to workshops at Pergamum under the Attalids.
currents can be discerned, that is, during the first and second centuries of the Common Era and the Roman Empire.³

From the origins of the cult of Cybele in Neolithic Anatolia until its gradual decline under the legislative onslaught of Christian emperors in the fourth century C.E., the ability of this metroac religion to adjust in order to accommodate the changing requirements of societies in which the Goddess was venerated was essential to its unprecedented longevity.⁴ Far from subsisting in a static form, the cult possessed a dynamic nature, the influence of which may be traced both in the changing role of Attis within legend and ritual, and the extent to which perceptions of the Goddess and her consort altered as a result of external factors such as growing dissatisfaction with the traditional religion of the Roman state and the corresponding increase in the numbers of adherents of the more personal Mystery Religions. Nowhere is this vitality of form more pronounced than in the meteoric rise of Attis from the simple shepherd of Phrygian legend to become a great god and king, a cosmic symbol of the sun considered as omnipotent and omniscient, in the fourth century C.E.⁵

Few aspects of the cult of Cybele have given rise to more controversy than the status of Attis, and the evolutionary process by which the above transformation occurred. Issues often the topics of scholarly debate include: the establishment of the period in which Attis first came to prominence, the subsequent date or dates of the introduction of festivals in his honour, and the degree to which doctrines concerning his resurrection

³ The second century C.E. is the approximate date assigned to the Logie statuette by Sotheby's London. However, no indication was given, either in the auction catalogue of July 1991, or in subsequent correspondence, of the grounds on which this attribution was based. Of those additional images identified here as representations of Cybele tristis, five are given dates in Vermaseren's Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque. Two of these, (CCCA I, 225 and 871) are dated simply 'Roman period', another, (CCCA I, 239) is assigned to the period of Antoninus Plus on the basis of a dedicatory inscription. The remaining works, (CCCA I, 263 and 579) are attributed to the 'Hellenistic period' and the first century B.C. - first century A.D. respectively. The statue from Prainetos is undated in CCCA, but the funerary monument in which it was found is dated by Dr. Nezih Firatli to the second century A.D. (Firatli, op.cit. p.41) With the exception of the marble base from Deli Mahmudlar whose age is substantiated by epigraphical evidence, however, no explanations are given of the grounds on which these datings are made. Thus, while not unconsidered in the research upon which the following discussion is based, the dates of these monuments are regarded with caution.

⁴ cf. Cumont at his most moralising, '...all the ignominies that stained the old Phrygian cult must not...cause us to slight the long continued efforts that were made to refine it gradually and to mould it into a form that would fulfil the new demands of morality and enable it to follow the laborious march of Roman society on the road of religious progress.' Oriental Religions, p.72.

⁵ Showerman, G. "Was Attis at Rome under the Republic?" in Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 31 (1900) p.53.
affected both the liturgy of the cult and the expectations of the personal salvation of its adherents. Each of these factors can be seen to be directly relevant to any attempt to establish a date for the creation of a mourning image of the Goddess.

It is generally accepted by recent scholars that until the introduction of the Hilaria or 'Day of Joy' into the March festivals at Rome in either the third or fourth century C.E., the cult of Cybele with regard to Attis, was one of grief and sorrow for the death of the beloved of the Goddess. This impression is strengthened not only by the prominent role assigned to lamentation in Phrygian mythology but also by the evident popularity of depictions of Attis as Winter (and thus, symbolically, Death) and in the guise of Attis tristis, the mournful figure, in funerary monuments and tomb figures. In many of the works in this latter genre, the lover of Cybele appears in a position similar to that of the Goddess in the Logie statuette, i.e. seated on a base or rock in a sorrowful attitude, or more commonly standing cross-legged, with one elbow leaning on a shepherd's crook, the other hand raised to his head as if, according to Vermaseren, 'meditating his ill fate.'

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6 Lambrechts, P. 'Les fetes "phrygiennes" de Cybèle et d'Attis' Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome XXVII 1952 pp.141-170; Fishwick, op.cit. p.195; Rutter, J.B. 'The Three Phases of the Taurobolium' Phoenix XXII 3 1968 p.240; Vermaseren, Cybele pp.119-123. It is, however, with regard to the date of the institution of this festival marking the celebration of the rebirth of the companion god Attis that opinions differ. Lambrechts for example (in an article much criticised by Vermaseren), put toward the tentative hypothesis that it was during the reign of Severus Alexander (222-235) that this innovation took place, and that in the West it was not until the third century C.E. that Attis evolved into a god. (Vermaseren, ibid. p.119, n.713). Rutter (ibid. p.240) prefers to date the introduction of the Hilaria to the end of the third century C.E., i.e. concurrent with the time in which the nature of the taurobolium also appears modified as a result of a new belief in rebirth. In contrast, following an analysis of the textual evidence for the Hilaria, in which he takes as most significant the lack of reference to this festival in the writings of Arrian (Tactica 33. 4), and its inclusion in the later calendar of Philocalus (345 C.E.) and in the writings in 362 of the Emperor Julian (Or., VIII [V]. 168d) and the philosopher Sallustius (De diis et mundo, IV. 10, 10), Vermaseren concludes that the Hilaria were unknown until the fourth century. (ibid. pp.119-123). Should it be proven that a direct link between the Cybele tristis image and the liturgy of the cult existed, then this date may perhaps serve as a terminus ad quem for the efficacy of this genre. For if the resurrection of Attis, and by extension the initiate, was assured, then it is possible that the need for representations of the Goddess in mourning would correspondingly decrease.

7 eg., CCCA VI,286; Vermaseren, Attis, pl.X,3; a terracotta figurine from Amphipolis dated to the first half of the second century B.C.E., in which Attis is depicted seated on a rock wrapped in a tunica manicata with long trousers, mantle and a Phrygian cap with long flaps. That this allegorical manifestation of Attis continued even after the introduction of the Hilaria can be seen in the relief decoration of sarcophagi from the fourth century C.E., the most famous of which is the Dumbarton Oaks sarcophagus, where in representations of the Four Seasons, Winter appears as a youthful figure draped in the garment of Attis. (CCCA III, 315; Vermaseren, Attis, pl.XXIV.

8 ibid., pp.40-41. For Vermaseren, it is these works which stand in the place of representations of Cybele as a piéta lamenting her dead son. Given the similarities in pose between Attis in these figures and the renderings of Cybele here labelled as mourning images on the basis of the hand-to-the-head gesture, these works would seem rather to confirm the identification of the 'Bithynian genre' of works as representations of Cybele tristis. Examples of Attis in this position include: CCCA VII, 23, 24, 26, 56. In many figurines
While acknowledging that from a relatively early date the mourning by Cybele at the passing of Attis was an established element in the mythology of the Goddess, the status of Attis within the cult prior to the third century B.C.E. is ambiguous, and evidence sufficiently scant for Showerman to conclude that, '...up to the time of the migration of the cult of the Great Mother to Rome in 204 B.C., Attis, as an object of worship, had not risen to prominence.'9 Certainly the few literary references to Attis which exist prior to this date, would tend to confirm the impression that at this stage little consistency existed in popular perceptions of either the character or status of this youthful figure. It has already been noted that for Herodotus, writing in the mid fifth century B.C.E., Atys was none other than the son of the Lydian king Croesus, a figure with no connection to the Anatolian Mother Goddess and was slain by his friend during a wild boar hunt.10 Approximately one hundred years later, in the poem by Hermesianax of Colophon, dated to 340 B.C.E., and recounted in Pausanias, Attis was the son of King Calaüs of Phrygia and his relationship to the Goddess was that of a priest rather than of a lover or divine equal.11 In comparison, Idyll XX, a work commonly ascribed to Theocritius and thus to the first half of the third century B.C.E., makes it clear that Cybele (identified in the work with Rhea) wept only for the cowherd she loved.12

Further confirmation that in this 'Phrygian' stage of the cult, the importance of Attis was far from established, is the corpus of artistic

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9 Showerman, TAPA, p.53.
10 I. 34-46. For Showerman, the absence of any mention of the Phrygian Attis in this account provides sufficient grounds to doubt that even the legend of the favourite of the Great Mother was known at this time. ibid., p.53.
11 Pausanias, VII. 17. Prior to this the only reference in literature to Attis is in a fragment of Theopompus, c.390 B.C.E., which gives no indication of his importance at this time. Showerman, ibid., p.52.
12 Theoc., XX. 39-40. The authorship of this work has, however, been questioned, scholarly opinion seeming to favour an attribution to either Moschus or Bion. If this is so, then a later date must be accepted for the composition, probably closer to the end of the second century B.C.E. Theocritus, vols I and II, trans. A.S.F. Gow (Cambridge, 1965) pp.1510-1511, 364-365.
13 In this context the term 'Phrygian' is used to describe the cult prior to its adoption by Rome, when the centre of the cult remained unquestionably Pessinus, and the majority of its adherents resided in Asia Minor. This term is used by Lambrechts to distinguish this period in the history of the cult from that following the end of the third century or beginning of the second century B.C.E., when Rome began to assume the position of paramount importance in the development of the cult, subsequently labelled 'official'. op.cit., p.141.
monuments from this period, in which it would appear that no reference is made to the accompaniment of Cybele by her consort until the Roman period. The youthful figures who are depicted at her side prior to this lack sufficient distinctive characteristics to allow their identification as Attis, appearing in many cases to indicate rather the presence of Hermes-Mercury. Similarly, no representations of the solitary figure of Attis would appear, according to Vermaseren's CCCA, until the production of a marble statue from Cyzicus, now much deteriorated, in which a winged youth is depicted standing against a pillar; and a terracotta figurine from Pergamum, again representing a winged figure of the Attis-Eros type, both of which are attributed to the third century B.C.E. Following these, the next datable representations of Attis from Asia Minor seem to be a statue exhibiting female characteristics from Pergamum, labelled in the CCCA second century B.C., and two terracotta figurines of a dancing Attis from Myrina which are dated respectively third-second century B.C. and first half of the second century B.C. Numerous similar figures, in particular a series of terracotta figurines from Tarsus appear simply identified as 'late Hellenistic.'

Taken in conjunction with what he believes is 'the total absence of allusion to Attis in the East in the earliest period, and the extreme paucity of mention in Greek writers...', including Pindar, Aristophanes, Sophocles and Euripides, all of whom made mention of the Great Mother yet contain no reference to her favourite, Showerman is thus of the opinion that, 'no such widespread worship of Attis could have existed in Asia Minor prior to the third century B.C. as is known to have existed at Rome and in the Provinces under the Empire.' Nicander provides evidence that at least in one

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14 Such works would seem to belong to a class of relief scenes unique to Ephesus, e.g., CCCA I, 673, a white marble relief, dated to the fourth century B.C.E., of which only the lower part is preserved. Cybele is depicted seated on a throne with a footstool, a lion crouching in her lap. On her right stands the youthful Hermes-Mercury wearing a short tunica, holding a jug in his right hand. Two similar representations, simply labelled 'Hellenistic' are nos. 671 and 677. Another genre of works, also from Ephesus which span the Hellenistic period include a similar type of accompanying youth who frequently remains unidentified, but whose gesture of the right hand held in front of the breast is not one associated with later representations of Attis. (e.g., CCCA I, 641, 644. In 651 this figure is again named Hermes-Mercury).

15 CCCA I, 280, 374. There is, however, a terracotta bust from Tarentum dated to the fourth century B.C. (CCCA IV, 115) which may be Attis. This attribution is supported by the feminine appearance of the work and the Phrygian cap worn by the figure, however, this identification is uncertain.

16 CCCA I, 359.

17 CCCA I, 495, 506.

18 CCCA I, 809, 818, 821, 823, 826-829.

19 Showerman, TAPA, p.52. Noteworthy, however, is the fact that even during the periods of the greatest popularity of Attis elsewhere, Cybele's consort received comparatively little
locality in Asia Minor in the second century B.C.E., Attis held a special place in the mysteries of the cult. He refers in his poem *Alexipharmaca* to a site, '...by the tempestuous sea beneath bossy Arctus, where are the caverns of Lobrinian Rhea [Cybele] and the place of the secret rites of Attes...'. For Vermaseren, this is sufficient basis on which to conclude that, at least in the Lobrine Mountains near Cyzicus, Attis enjoyed divine veneration in this period, a belief which need not be negated by the failure of Apollonius Rhodius in the previous century to mention Attis in *Argonautica* I. 1123-1152, in what, after all, was intended only as a brief account of the founding of the cult of the Great Mother at Cyzicus by the Argonauts.

To attempt to surmise, on the basis of this geographically specific evidence, that at this date Attis was accorded similar status on a more widespread plane in Asia Minor would be erroneous. Nevertheless, the fact that Diodorus Siculus, in the mid-first century B.C.E. refers to the offering in ancient times to Attis of 'honours in keeping with his suffering', would suggest a certain recognition of his significance in the cult, both in the time of the author and the unspecified past, although it is also made clear that it is to Cybele alone that altars and temples are erected and sacrifices made. Ultimately, therefore, in the search for the period in which Attis attained sufficient status to inspire the creation of an entirely new genre of goddess imagery in Bithynia and its surrounds, it would appear that it is impossible to progress further than the conclusion that prior to the Imperial period, Attis received veneration in at least one locality in Asia Minor, while veneration in Greece, and thus his absence in these authors need not be indicative of a widespread disinclination to promote his importance, but rather a purely local rejection of one of many Asiatic features of the cult which would seem to have had little appeal in mainland Greece. Pausanias, writing in the second century C.E., records that it was only in the seaport towns of Dyme and Patrae in Achaia, and Piraeus in Attica, that Attis was worshipped at this time, his character sufficiently obscure for the author to comment that at Dyme, '[t]here is also a sanctuary of Mother Dindymene and Attis. Who Attis was I could not discover, for it is a secret.' (VII, 17, 9).

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20 Nicander, *Alex.*, 6-8, trans. A.S.F. Gow and A.F. Scholfield (Cambridge, 1953) pp.94-95. Although debate exists as to the exact nature and location of 'Arctus', there is, nevertheless consensus on the belief that it was near Cyzicus that this sacred cult place of Attis was situated. ibid., p.190 cf. H. White *Studies in the Poetry of Nicander* (Amsterdam, 1987) pp.68-69.

21 Vermaseren, *Cybele*, p.111. This hypothesis is also supported by the *scholia* to the above lines of verse which explain that 'the chambers of Lobrine are sacred, subterranean places where the worshippers of Attis and Rhea who had emasculated themselves used to come and deposit their genitals.' ibid., p.111.

22 In a similar fashion, the silence of the *Anthologia Palatina* (dated to c.200 B.C.E.) on the topic of Attis is inconclusive, given numerous references to the *Galli*, the presence of whom presupposes a knowledge of the beloved of Cybele, the model on which this order was based.

23 Diodorus Siculus, III, 59, 7-8.
in others his significance as a subsidiary figure in the mythology, if not the ritual of the cult was established.

Assessment of the extent to which gaps in information regarding the importance of Attis in the cult of Cybele in Asia Minor before the first century C.E. can be supplemented by evidence from Rome during the Republican period is problematical. To begin with, allusions to the cult in general, and Attis in particular in the literature and archaeological remains of this time are comparatively rare, a fact which may be taken as indicative either, as Cumont suggests, of the concerted effort made by the senate to minimalise the effects on the minds of the people of '[t]he enthusiastic transports and the sombre fanaticism of the Phrygian worship [which] contrasted violently with the calm dignity and respectable reserve of the official religion...'24; or the complete absence of Attis in the cult of Cybele under the Republic as Showerman contends. That the former hypothesis, if true, can be taken primarily as a measure of the degree to which many Phrygian aspects of the cult found little favour in Rome, rather than as an indicator of their popularity in the East, is obvious. Nevertheless, when considered in conjunction with the possibility that Attis did not follow Cybele upon her introduction to Rome, what has often been regarded as the reluctance of Romans to acknowledge this fundamentally Phrygian aspect of the metroac cult could, rather, be considered illustrative of the fact that Cybele and Attis were not so closely related in their homeland as to make the worship of the goddess, without the accompaniment of her beloved inconceivable in the West.

Certainly, arguments first put forward by Showerman, and more recently reiterated by Lambrechts and Thomas,25 that Attis was virtually unknown in Rome during the Republic would appear to be amply supported by the dearth of evidence attesting to his presence prior to the first century C.E. In depictions of Cybele's arrival at Ostia, for example, the figure of Attis cannot be identified while, as in Asia Minor, the only representations known of the Goddess accompanied by Attis would all seem to date from the Roman

24 Cumont, Oriental Religions, p.52. There can be little doubt that much of the extant literary evidence attests to the restrictions placed on the more public aspects, both Roman and Phrygian in origin, of the cult of the Magna Mater in this period, for example: expenditure at the mutitationes (reciprocal banquets given by patricians in honour and encouragement of the cult; Aulus Gellius, II, 24,2), entrance into the priesthood (these offices were held by Phrygians alone until the reforms of Claudius; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, II, 19,4), and veneration of the goddess in any form, when the ceremonies were of Phrygian instigation (ibid., II, 19,5).
imperial period.\textsuperscript{26} Assertions that Attis received veneration in Rome during the Republic; by Pietro Romanelli based on numerous terracotta Attis figurines found amongst the ruins of the Palatine Metrono,\textsuperscript{27} and by Cumont who maintained that the existence of both Phrygian priests and priestesses in the cult at Rome corresponded to the duality of the divinities, and were thus indicative of the presence of both Cybele and Attis,\textsuperscript{28} have likewise been convincingly refuted. Further supporting this hypothesis is the fact that no mention is made of Attis in epigraphical sources until a considerably later date - the first mention of his name in dedicatory inscriptions, for example, coming not until 228 C.E., while the majority of references thereafter date from the late third or fourth century C.E.\textsuperscript{29}

To the at best inconclusive findings made possible by a study of the archaeological evidence regarding the status of Attis in the cult of Cybele prior to the Imperial period, may also be added the paucity of references to this youthful figure in Latin literature until the first century C.E. The first, and apparently the only work to break this silence before the Christian era is Catullus 63,\textsuperscript{30} an essentially hostile composition once thought to describe

\textsuperscript{26} According to Lambrechts, such representations do not occur in official Roman art before the Antonine period (Vermaseren, \textit{Attis}, p.23, n.2.). Examples include: the elaborate contorniate of Faustina on which Cybele is represented enthroned in her temple on the Via Sacra with Attis, in oriental dress, standing at her left-hand side (\textit{CCCA III}, 201), and the marble altar dated to 295 C.E., probably from the gardens of Orfitus at the Via Appia, which shows Cybele riding in a \textit{biga} drawn by two lions, moving towards the figure of Attis who is depicted leaning against a tree at the right of the composition (\textit{CCCA III}, 357). The dangers inherent in assuming that such works can be taken as representative of a more widespread tendency towards the relatively late development in the status of Attis is graphically illustrated, however, by the existence of a marble relief dated to the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century B.C.E. from the Metroon at Piraeus which was dedicated to Agdistis=Cybele and Attis and upon which both figures are depicted. (\textit{CCCA II}, 308; Vermaseren, \textit{Attis}, pl. XI). Another relief, of unknown provenance (possibly Greece or Asia Minor), similarly shows both the Goddess and her consort in a temple or sacred precinct, and is variously dated to the middle of the third, or second century B.C.E. (\textit{CCCA VII}, 158; Vermaseren, \textit{Attis}, pl. XII, 1).

\textsuperscript{27} Paramount in the criticism of this hypothesis has been Lambrechts, who believes it unlikely that these statuettes, which date back to the last centuries B.C.E., represent Attis the god, given the nature of the accompanying figures, which include female and caricatural figurines, masks and pine-cones, and the fact that if this were the case, then the absence of similar representations of Cybele from what was the precinct of her own temple, is inexplicable. Despite the fact that Vermaseren has endorsed Romanelli's interpretation, stating that these works indicate that Attis was 'clearly more than just a beloved shepherd' (\textit{Cybele}, p.114), scholarly consensus would seem rather, to follow the example of Lambrechts, cf. Thomas, \textit{op.cit.}, p.1506, n.21.

\textsuperscript{28} It was, in fact, entirely the norm in the Phrygian religion for both sexes to be represented in cult personnel, thus, the existence in Rome of a dual priesthood 'cannot be taken to prove more than that the Roman ministry was modelled on the Phrygian, and this would signify nothing as to Attis'. Showerman, \textit{op.cit.}, p.48, n.1.


\textsuperscript{30} The conjecturally emended fragment of Varro (\textit{Men. Sat.} 150) describing the placement of a grain-offering on a statue of Cybele, which is sometimes quoted in support of arguments for the worship of Attis at Rome under the Republic, need not be of concern here, given the
the madness and emasculation of Attis, the beloved of Cybele. More recent reviews of this poem, however, would seem to interpret it as presenting the trials of a neophyte who has assumed the name Attis, in imitation not of the god Cybele's lover was to become, but rather of his mythological counterpart.\(^{31}\) Thus, further than constituting evidence of the eponymous nature of the relationship of Attis to the priesthood of Cybele, this poem provides little information as to the status of the beloved of the Goddess within the cult itself during the first century B.C.E. The failures of both Lucretius, during his extended interpretation of the religion and rites of the Great Mother,\(^ {32}\) and Livy, in his account of the reception of the cult in 204 B.C.E.,\(^ {33}\) to make any reference to the existence of Attis further reinforce the impression that in literature and the cult as a whole at this time, this youthful figure was far from established in doctrine and ritual. In fact, after Catullus, the only other author to mention Attis prior to the reforms of the cult instituted by Claudius, was Ovid in his \textit{Fasti}.\(^ {34}\) Here, the youth appears not as the consort of Cybele whose significance is recognised in formalised elements of worship, but merely as a character in cult mythology, a figure whose presence is introduced purely as a means by which the writer is able to rationally explain one of the many Phrygian aspects of the cult which at this time found little favour in Rome, that is, the self-emasculation of the \textit{galli}.

On the basis of what can only be described as a virtually uniform silence on the subject of Attis in all the traditional sources of evidence, it is thus possible to assume that in Rome during the last two centuries of the Republic the position of Attis within the cult of Cybele had by no means developed to a level sufficient to inspire the creation of the \textit{Cybele tristis}

\(^{31}\) An interesting but unconvincing exception to this general concurrence is the opinion of T.P. Wiseman, who contends, on the basis of metre, that this work was intended for performance as a hymn at the \textit{Megalensia}, and that the Attis of the poem is actually Cybele's consort. Given the highly unsympathetic portrayal of the Goddess as a vengeful mistress who takes everything but gives nothing in return, the fact that the events described in the poem have no exact parallel in any legend known today, and the possibility that the name Attis could be generic as well as specific (e.g. Polybius XXI, 37; \textit{C.I.L. VI.} 2183), this interpretation would appear untenable. Wiseman, T.P. \textit{Catullus and His World - A Reappraisal} (Cambridge, 1985) pp.200-206; cf. Small, S.G.P. \textit{Catullus - A Reader's Guide to the Poems} (New York, 1983) pp.118-126.

\(^{32}\) \textit{De Rerum Natura}, II, 600ff.

\(^{33}\) Livy, XXIX, 10-11.8.

\(^{34}\) \textit{Fasti}, IV, 221-246.
image visible in the Logie statuette. This conclusion is additionally supported by the fact that no allusion, save that made through the presence of the *galli* (whose self-mutilation was motivated by the mythic paradigm established by Attis), was made to a consort of the Goddess during the Republican festival in her honour, the Megalenisa, the primary purpose of which was to commemorate the arrival of the Magna Mater at Rome, and the dedication of her temple on the Palatine. As is often the case, however, the absence of evidence cannot necessarily be taken as evidence of absence; as such, the lack of allusion to Attis in the art, epigraphy and literature of the Republic serves only to make it probable that, whilst undoubtedly present in some form of the myth of Cybele, Attis as a subject of veneration or focus of cult practice had not yet risen to prominence. For the purpose of attempting to rule out the Republican era in the search for the period most likely to have utilised an image of Cybele mourning the death of Attis, far more conclusive evidence is provided by the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who, when writing at length on the character of Roman religion in the first century B.C.E., could categorically state that '...there is no festival of mourning among them on the occasion of which black garments are worn or there is lamentation of women for gods who have disappeared, as there is among the Greeks to commemorate the rape of Persephone and the passion of Dionysus...'

If, under the Republic, no festivals existed whose contents would suggest anything other than that the mourning of the Goddess and her followers for

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35 This is the only festival attributed by Ovid in his *Fasti* to the cult of Cybele (IV, 179-390). Accordingly, it is extremely unlikely that ceremonies such as those in honour of Attis which are amply attested during the Empire, could have existed under the Republic and gone unremarked upon by ancient commentators.

36 Representations of Cybele enthroned in a *biga* or chariot drawn by lions and proceeding towards the figure of Attis which may have been influenced by the initiatory ceremony of the *Megalensia* (in which the statue of the Goddess was carried through the city on a sedan-chair), all date from well into the Imperial period, e.g., *CCCA* III, 236-370 C.E. and 357-295 C.E. Given the extent of the eclipse of the Megalenisa by the March festivals of Attis in this period, and the differences evident in the mode of transport of the Goddess in these works when compared to a depiction of four *galli* carrying the sacred bier of Cybele on their shoulders, (a relief taken by Vermaseren to represent the procession during the *Megalensia*, *Cybele*, p.124, n.760), it is more likely that such works illustrate the later *lavatio* ceremony.

37 Dionysius of Halicarnassus II, 19, 2. That this circumstance may once again have been the result, however, not of the lack of an Eastern exemplar on which to base the honouring of Attis, but rather the conscious exclusion of one of many alien aspects of the cult which found little sympathy among Roman sensibilities can also be inferred from Dionysius, who in a prelude to his discussion of the cult of Cybele at Rome states, ‘[b]ut even in cases where religions have been introduced in obedience to oracles, the State itself provides for their worship after its own customs, doing away with all mythic nonsense, as in the case of the rites of the Idaean goddess.’ (II, 19, 3-4) Translation Showerman, *op.cit.*, p.54. cf. Wiseman, T.P. ‘Cybele, Virgil and Augustus’ in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* Woodman, T. and West, D. (eds) (Cambridge, 1984) p.117.
Attis remained exclusive to the realm of mythology, then there can be few greater contrasts in the history of the cult than that between this period, and the first two centuries of the Empire when, for the most part, recognition of the passion of Attis and lamentation at his passing constituted the primary focus of cult ritual. Nowhere is this fundamental reorientation of practice and belief more apparent than in the introduction of the March festivals in honour of Attis. Until relatively recently, however, two misconceptions concerning the content and introductory date (or dates) of these festivals have proved a barrier to an accurate understanding of their nature, and a reconstruction of the stages in which they developed. For the purpose of demonstrating that a period existed in the history of the cult in which the image of *Cybele tristis* feasibly developed as a result of unprecedented emphasis on the passion and death of Attis, brief mention of these hypotheses and the grounds on which they may be subsequently rejected is thus appropriate.

First, based on the calendar of Furius Dionysus Philocalus which listed those festivals associated with the veneration of Attis in the year 354 C.E.,

38 it has been assumed by J. Carcopino that from the moment of their instigation, the March festivals gravitated around both the death *and resurrection* of Cybele's beloved,

39 that is to say, they incorporated both the predominantly funerary ceremonies of the *Tristia*, as well as those rites which were synonymous with the resurrection of Attis, the *Hilaria*, or 'day of joy.' Second, associated with this is the belief held by both Carcopino and Showerman that '[t]o Claudius was due the step which established a complete cycle of events for the annual celebration...'

40 the basis of which was the reference made by the sixth century Byzantine writer Johannes Lydus to the *arbor intrat* of March 22 and his additional comment that 'the emperor Claudius created this.'

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38 The list is as follows:

- 15 March: *Canna intrat*
- 22 March: *Arbor intrat*
- 24 March: *Sanguem*
- 25 March: *Hilaria*
- 26 March: *Requiesco*
- 27 March: *Lavatio*

It is, however, likely that the actual cult festivals ended on March 27. The *Initium Caiani*, despite juxtaposition in Philocalus, in all likelihood was unrelated to the rituals of Cybele and Attis, cf. Fishwick, D. 'The *Cannophori* and the March Festival of the Magna Mater' in TAPA 97 (1966) p.193.


40 Showerman, *Great Mother* p.50.

In reply to these assertions, recent studies of evidence for the chronological development of the March festivals have, however, established that not only was the cycle of ceremonies listed by Philocalus the result of a long period of development and only gradual acceptance by Roman authorities, but that a fundamental alteration in its nature and significance can also be identified. This change consisted of the ultimate shift in emphasis from the observance of a festival of mourning (the Tristia), to a celebration of the triumph of Attis over death, and the rebirth of a god of resurrection to rival the examples of Dionysus and Osiris themselves (the Hilaria). On the basis of these conclusions, it is possible to begin to isolate the one period in the history of the cult of Cybele when the most important public and private rituals (for indeed this is what the March festivals of Attis quickly became) were centred around the grief of the Goddess and her devotees over the death of Attis.

Fortunately for this objective, there would appear to be little controversy over the introductory dates of those rituals regarded as comprising the Tristia, that is, arbor intrat, dies sanguinis and the lavatio, all of which remain firmly attributed to the reforms of the emperor Claudius, despite extensive reworkings of the chronology of the March festivals. That the enhancement of the status of Attis via reform of the doctrines and rituals of the cult of Cybele at least began with this Julio-Claudian emperor is an unsurprising conclusion given the close connection of the Claudian gens to the Phrygian Goddess. The reference to the arbor intrat in the treatise of Johannes Lydus leaves little capacity for doubt as to the identity of the instigator of this festival, a fact which is reinforced by the first appearance of the dendrophori in epigraphical sources soon after the reign of this emperor. Similarly, although the first direct allusion to the dies sanguinis is not to be found in literary sources until 180 C.E., mention made by Seneca during the time of Claudius to "...that mournful tribe of Corybantic priestesses...[who] after their parent...work themselves up into a state of frenzy, and tear their breasts...so that they may sufficiently bewail

42 Fishwick, op.cit., p.198.
44 E.g., Ovid, Fasti, IV, 305-328; Livy XXIX, 14, 12. This hypothesis is further strengthened by the detailed representation of the Palatine temple of the Magna Mater on the Ara Pietatis of Claudius, erected in 43 C.E.
45 That the Claudius referred to in the text is the emperor of the first century C.E., and not Claudius Gothicus (268-70 C.E.) is virtually universally accepted, cf. Fishwick, op.cit., p.194.
46 E.g., CIL X 7 (from Regium Iulium) 79 C.E.; CIL VI 641 (from Rome) 97 C.E. Fishwick, op.cit., 201.
47 Tertullian, Apolog. 25, 5; Fishwick, p.201.
their Phrygian Attis', and the slightly later reference of Valerius Flaccus to the '...cruel wounds [that] have lately gushed in the temples...' and '...the holy Almo [which] washes away Mygdonian sorrows...,' would suggest that both the Day of Blood and the lavatio were firmly entrenched in the cycle of March rituals well in advance of both this date and the next stage in the reformation of the Attis cult, now generally attributed to Antoninus Pius.

Just what this next evolutionary phase consisted of, and what its possible implications were for the prevailing rites of the Tristia, are topics of greater debate. For Lambrechts, the first scholar to successfully challenge the attribution of the entire festival cycle to Claudius, the rites listed in the calendar of Philocalus were the result of two distinct stages of development. The first was the introduction by Claudius of the Tristia, (including canna intrat); the second the addition of the Hilaria by Antoninus Pius. Given the widespread belief that the motivation behind the Day of Joy was the celebration of the resurrection of Attis, it would thus be expected that, for Lambrechts, this later innovation would mark an end to the primarily melancholy focus of the March festivals and the concentration of ritual on the death of Attis and the mourning of Cybele. What is particularly interesting about this interpretation is that the festival of March 25 is regarded, not as an allusion to the joy of believers over the resurrection of Attis, but rather as a celebration of the joy of Cybele following her cleansing in the Almo, and the expunction of the μισσοματα which had accumulated during the preceeding Tristia. Accordingly, while an end to the mourning of the Goddess is in sight, Attis remains firmly entrenched in a funerary context until the late third century C.E., when under the influence of Neo-Platonism and Christianity, he developed from the mortal lover of legend into a god of death and resurrection whose status was to ultimately challenge the pre-eminence of Cybele herself.

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49 Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, VIII, 239-242, trans. J.H. Mozley (London, 1934). An approximately contemporary reference by Martial (Epig. Ill, 47, 1-2) to the place '...where the Almo washes the Phrygian Mother's knife...' is also suggestive of a direct link between these two rites.
50 The rite of the lavatio is, in fact, attested by a long series of texts, the earliest of which dates from 50 C.E. (CIL VII 2305), i.e. within the reign of Claudius himself. Fishwick, p.201.
51 Lambrechts, op.cit., pp.141-70.
In more recent years, the model put forward by Lambrechts for the chronological development of the March festivals has undergone further refinement. This is primarily the result of a study of epigraphical material concerning the cannophori by Duncan Fishwick, the conclusions of which would indicate that the earliest appearance of this society and its participation in the festivities for Attis did not occur until the final years of the reign of Antoninus Pius. Thus, with the introduction of canna intrat firmly relegated to the second half of the second century C.E., Vermaseren conducted a review of the dating of the Hilaria. His conclusion, based on the ambiguous nature of both literary and archaeological evidence, is that it is impossible to attest with certainty to the presence of this ritual until a date significantly more advanced than that suggested by Lambrechts, possibly as late as the fourth century C.E.

These findings have significant ramifications for the dating of the Logie statuette. Most noteworthy is the fact that the continued attribution of arbor intrat, sanguem, and the lavatio to the emperor Claudius leaves little room to doubt that immediately following the mid first century C.E., it was the Tristia which dominated the rituals of the cult of Cybele for at least the next one hundred years. This is an important consensus, given that few circumstances could have more effectively ensured the rise to prominence of the passion and death of Attis, and the image of Cybele mourning his passing, than the accentuation of these melancholic rites. The extent to which this funereal emphasis may have been lessened as a result of the introduction of canna intrat during the reign of Antoninus Pius, and the later addition of the resurrection principle of the Hilaria is, however, difficult to assess.

53 Fishwick, op.cit., pp.193-202. For Vermaseren this supposition is supported by the fact that the procession of the cannophori took place one full week before the other feast-days. (Cybele, p.115) A full chronological list of inscriptions referring to the cannophori is given in Fishwick, p.200. The earliest of these are CIL XIV 40 (CCCA III 405) dated to the second half of the second century C.E. and CIL XIV 117 (CCCA III 416), simply designated second century C.E.

54 Vermaseren, Cybele, pp.113-124. At the centre of controversy regarding the dating of the Hilaria lies the fundamentally contradictory nature of the evidence, for which even Vermaseren fails to offer a satisfactory solution. Essentially, representations of Attis dancing (Attis hilaris) which appear to date from the Hellenistic period have been interpreted as Attis rejoicing in his triumph over death, and as such, indications of the early existence of the Hilaria. In contrast, the first explicit reference to the Hilaria in a literary text occurs approximately four hundred years later, in the calendar of Philocalus, although an account by Herodian (I, 10, 5-7) of festivities in which there was rejoicing is often considered evidence of this rite in the year 187 C.E. The fact that figures of a joyful Attis may alternatively be interpreted as representing the youth in the throes of ecstasy prior to his emasculation, and that the 'rejoicing and procession of the goddess' mentioned by Herodian may, in fact, refer to the lavatio, would indicate that a fourth century dating of the Hilaria is not entirely unfeasible.
The dangers inherent in seeing these developments as indicative of the *terminus ad quem* of the *Cybele tristis* genre are made abundantly clear when it is considered that not only does the calendar of Philocalus attest to the continued observance of the rites of the *Tristia* during the third and fourth centuries C.E., but that even greater emphasis was placed on March 23 as the day of mourning in this later period, by the inclusion of a feast of the Roman god Mars in the Palatine ceremonies.\(^{55}\) Nevertheless, given the fact that the primary motivation behind the Day of the Reed was an honouring of the life of Attis, rather than a commemoration of his death,\(^{56}\) and the belief that he would ultimately transcend mortality which almost certainly accompanied the celebration of the Day of Joy, it is tempting to theorise that the existence of first one, then both of these rites would have quantitatively reduced both the funerary emphasis in the March festivals, and correspondingly, the immediate relevance of any image of Cybele mourning the death of Attis. For these reasons it is generally accepted that only until the reforms of Antoninus Pius did the character of the March rites remain unreservedly appropriate to a festival of mourning designed to commemorate the death of Attis, the consort of Cybele.\(^{57}\) It is for the same reasons that a date corresponding to the period in which the *Tristia* remained the sole rites of Attis and the principal rituals of the cult (that is from the mid first century to the mid second century C.E.), is here suggested as the period in which the status of Attis, the importance accorded his death, and perceptions of Cybele as a mourning goddess achieved sufficient enhancement in the cult to inspire the creation of the *Cybele tristis* image represented by the Logie statuette.

Insofar as it is possible that this sculpture constituted not only a formalised rendering of one element of legend which later found expression in cult ritual, (i.e. the mourning of Cybele for Attis), but was also designed to convey the image of a benevolent goddess lamenting the death of one or more of her followers, then two further factors relevant to the dating of the Logie statuette become apparent. The first of these is the extent to which

\(^{55}\) Julian, *Orat.*, V, 168CD and 169D; Vermaseren, *Cybele* p.115, n. 660, 661. The fact that a reference to 'pretended mourning' is made by Firmicius Maternus in his description of a ritual thought to correspond to the *mesonyctium* (symbolic burial) of Attis, may indicate, however, that by 350 C.E., the expression of grief had degenerated into little more than an obligatory gesture, its previous significance negated by widespread belief in the inevitable resurrection of Cybele's divine consort. (*De err. prof. relig.*, XXII, 1).

\(^{56}\) The fact that it was not uncommon for the *cannophori* to act as a burial society would indicate that a funerary connection nevertheless was maintained. Vermaseren, *Cybele* p.115.

\(^{57}\) Fishwick (after Lambrechts) *op.cit.*, p.195.
developing expectations of personal salvation may have reduced the need for a representation of Cybele mourning the loss of a devotee; the second is the identification of a period in which the perceived character of the Great Mother would have appeared most suited to the role of guardian of the tomb and protectress of the souls of the dead.

It has already been noted that a close relationship existed between the figure of Attis and those who sought to imitate both his sacrifice and his importance to Cybele through initiation into the mysteries of the cult, and in more extreme cases, the act of self-emasculation itself. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that these devotees considered their fate inextricably entwined with that of their legendary archetype. Accordingly, just as the fortunes of Attis were seen to alter radically when the soteriological influences of Neoplatonic philosophy and the doctrines of rival religions such as Christianity and Mithraism necessitated a change in the cult to a focus on his ultimate triumph over death and resurrection instead of his passion and demise, so too did perceptions of the eligibility of initiates for salvation, be it spiritual or corporeal, correspondingly increase.58

There can surely be little coincidence in the fact that it was during the reign of Antoninus Pius, the period which marked the beginning of the above change in Attis, that the potential for the personal salvation of individual devotees is first suggested by archaeological evidence. This came in the form of inscriptions commemorating the performance of a rite which was introduced into the cult of Cybele from Asia Minor at approximately the same time as the canna intrat, that is, the taurobolium or bull sacrifice.59

Until relatively recently there would appear to have been little doubt amongst scholars that, from its inception, the perceived benefits to the

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58 Thus, the priest of Firmicus Maternus is able to instruct and reassure participants in his curious nocturnal rite to '[b]e of good heart, you novices, because the god is saved. Deliverance from distress will come for us, as well.' Vermaseren, Cybele p.116.

59 This rite is believed to have had its origins in some form of bull chase practised in Asia Minor. Such was the extent of its acceptance (along with that of its counterpart the criobolium or ram sacrifice) into the worship of the Magna Mater, that from 160 C.E onwards, its performance would appear exclusive to the Cybele cult. The exact nature of this rite in its early stages is, however, unknown. The majority of extant inscriptions which predate 159 C.E. would seem to suggest some form of religious motivation, possibly a sacrifice to a deity, but this would seem to be only a tentative conclusion drawn by many scholars. Cf Rutter, pp.226-231. According to the calculations of Duthoy, '[t]he total number of inscriptions that record a taurobolium or criobolium is 133, and all of these but five dated before A.D. 160 belong in the context of the cult of Cybele.' (Duthoy, p.1). The first inscription attesting to the execution of this rite at the command of the Magna Mater Idaea is from Lugdunum, and is dated to 160 C.E. (CIL 13.1751).
participant, or *tauroboliatus*, in this ceremony were the remission of sins and the promise of regeneration.60

At the centre of these anastasiological interpretations lay the description of the *taurobolium* as it occurred in approximately 400 C.E. by the Christian poet Prudentius.61 Here, a ceremonially-attired high priest (*summus sacerdos*) was seen to descend into a pit in order to be bathed in the blood of a sacrificial bull which was slaughtered above. As blood, like water was often perceived as a purificatory agent in addition to the embodiment of a life force, it is perhaps unsurprising that this process should be envisaged by Cumont as a 'red baptism' through which the participant was 'purified of all his crimes...and raised to a new life.'62 For Cumont this construction was given additional credence when it was considered that the descent of the *tauroboliatus* into the pit may have been regarded as a symbolic burial designed to parallel the descent of Attis into Hades which was solemnised on the night of the *Sanguem*. Similarly, just as a commemoration of the death of Attis was followed by the *Hilaria*, a celebration of his return or resurrection, so too was the *tauroboliatus* seen to rise from the pit 'the equal of the god,' one of the faithful who had thus been granted 'a temporary or even an eternal rebirth of the soul.'63 These convictions are mirrored on one commemorative altar in Rome,64 which bears the words 'reborn for eternity' (*in aeternum renatus*) and a number of other taurobolic inscriptions which refer to a *natalicum* or birthday,65 the significance of which, according to Graillot, was reference to the freeing of the participant from the power of death and his rebirth into a new life.66

Were these interpretations able to be taken today as indicative of the nature and significance of the *taurobolium* from the moment of its inclusion into the

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60 A list of such scholars is given in Duthoy, R. *The Taurobolium - Its Evolution and Terminology* (EPRO 10; Leiden, 1969) p.105. Important to note is the fact that by far the majority of known taurobolic inscriptions have been found in the western provinces of the Roman Empire. This makes the taking of the evidence that they provide regarding evolving convictions of personal salvation as indicative of similar developments in Asia Minor in general, and Bithynia in particular, fraught with methodological difficulties. Nevertheless, given the extent to which developments to the veneration of Cybele in Rome influenced religious observance in the provinces, and the obvious attractions of a cult which offered salvation to its adherents, it is logical to assume that these trends found a similar acceptance in the East, whether or not the performance of the *taurobolium* was the form in which they found their principal expression.


64 CIL, VI, 510; 376 C.E. Vermaseren, *Cybele*, p.106, n.572.

65 Duthoy, nos. 78, 79, 124, 132; p.106, n.2.

cult of Cybele, then there would be little doubt that a change had taken place which would have had important ramifications for the fate initiates expected after death and for corresponding perceptions of the Goddess as grieving as a result of their passing. Unfortunately for the subsequent conclusion which may have been feasible, that is, that Cybele tristis images such as the Logie statuette would have been unnecessary under these circumstances, recent research into the meaning of the taurobolium conducted by Robert Duthoy and Jeremy Rutter has revealed that, like the March festivals listed in the Fasti Philocali, the taurobolium as it is known from Prudentius was the culmination of a long period of evolution. Although these scholars differ slightly in the allocation of exact dates to the various stages of this evolutionary process, both agree that it was not until the end of the third century C.E. that the taurobolic formula evident in commemorative inscriptions can possibly be taken as suggestive of a purificatory rite in which the objective was spiritual salvation.

This fact need not entirely negate the hypothesis that the introduction of the taurobolium into the cult of Cybele marked a change in the expectations of those who performed this rite. Although no evidence of the blood baptism of Prudentius is discernable in taurobolic inscriptions for over one hundred years following the reign of Antoninus Pius, indications nevertheless exist that, from its inception, the ritual sacrifice of a bull, both pro salute imperatoris, and on behalf of the dedicator, and the consecration of the vires to the Magna Mater, were made with the intention of ensuring either the spiritual welfare of the dead, or the health and bodily welfare of the living. Should the former interpretation prove true, then it is feasible that

67 op.cit.
69 Rutter, quite logically, regards this transformation as a manifestation of the same belief in rebirth within the cult of the Magna Mater responsible for the introduction of the Hilaria, which he also dates to the end of the third century C.E. (op.cit., p.240). Even at this late stage in the evolution of the taurobolium, and in spite of the detailed account of Prudentius and considerable epigraphical evidence, both scholars nevertheless remain hesitant when drawing conclusions regarding the expected efficacies of this rite. For Duthoy, the single occurrence of the phrase in aeternum renatus, and use of the term natalicium (which he cautiously interprets as a reference to the birthday of the tauroboliatus) are hardly sufficient grounds on which to assume there existed a widespread ascription of the potential for rebirth into eternal life to the taurobolium (op.cit., pp.106-107). Given the derisive inquiry of an anonymous Christian writer in the Carmen contra paganos to participants in taurobolia, 'vivere num speras viginti mundus in annos?' (surely you do not expect to live purified for twenty years?) Rutter would add to this the possibility that a twenty-year extension of life was a more frequent expectation held by tauroboliati.
70 These inscriptions are listed by Graillot, op.cit., p.159, n.2.
71 Literally, 'vigor' or 'power'. It is agreed by all commentators that this term refers to the testicles of the bull. Rutter, p.235.
72 Rutter, p.236; Duthoy, p.69.
just as the fate of Attis in the March festivals of the cult seemed poised to alter during the second half of the second century C.E., so too did expectations develop amongst devotees of Cybele and Attis, if not yet of resurrection or immortality, then at least of the promise of a blessed afterlife as a result of the divine intervention of their beneficent Goddess.7

Accordingly, it is possible to speculate that at the time these transformations began, the necessity for a representation of Cybele mourning the loss of either her lover or her votaries would have correspondingly decreased.

More easily confirmed than the chronological relationship of Cybele tristis images to soteriological currents in the cult of the Magna Mater, is the extent to which perceptions of Cybele as a caring goddess well suited to the role of guardian of the tomb and protectress of the souls of the dead coincided with the period identified above as that in which the passion and death of Attis assumed a position of pre-eminence in the rituals of the cult, that is, the period between the reforms of Claudius in the mid-first century C.E. and the subsequent reorganisation of the cult carried out by Antoninus Pius in the middle decades of the second century C.E.

It has already been noted that in Asia Minor, notions of Cybele as a guardian of the dead are attested to by her inclusion in the decorative schemes of tomb façades and grave stelae which date from the sixth century B.C.E. However, in these early funerary monuments the Goddess is never represented as lamenting the passing of those whose tombs she protects. Likely reasons for this have been discussed already, but the most important is the possibility that Attis had yet to attain sufficient status in cult legend and ritual to warrant the placement of emphasis on Cybele mourning his death. Thus, no paradigmatic portrayal of the Goddess could have existed upon which devotees based the assumption that the divinity would have been similarly disposed to grief as a result of their own demise. Nonetheless, just as the character and significance of Attis can be seen to have undergone considerable evolution in the early centuries of the Empire, so too can developments be traced in perceptions of Cybele as a compassionate mother-goddess, one who was apt not only to ensure the felicitous afterlife of her followers, but also to express remorse upon their departure from the realm of the living. On the basis of those alterations to

73 Duthoy, it should be noted, provides persuasive arguments in favour of the assumption that taurobolia were performed for the well-being of the living, and in the case of those for the emperor, also for the empire of which he was the symbol (op.cit., pp.68-72). Ultimately, the ambiguous nature of the evidence has ensured that until further discoveries are made, the exact expectations of those who performed this rite will remain a topic of speculation.
cult practice already considered in this chapter (i.e. the increasing accentuation of Attis and rites in which his death were commemorated), it should come as no surprise that the transformation in the character of this Anatolian Goddess occurred during the first and second centuries C.E., and that its place of origin can be identified, once again, as Rome itself.

From the moment in which Cybele was introduced into Rome from Pessinus in 204 B.C.E., she became the Magna Mater, or Great Mother of the Roman people. That she should be perceived as such was to be expected, given that from her origins in the Neolithic period, Cybele as the *Kubaba* of Phrygian tradition was regarded as a 'mother goddess,' the creatrix and guardian of all life. In addition to this, through her connections as the *Mater Idaea* to Mount Ida and the nearby city of Troy, the Goddess was more specifically regarded at the genetrix of the Roman nation, in particular of the *familiae Troianae*, that is, those aristocratic families who claimed descent from the Trojan hero Aeneas and his followers. Upon her introduction, the fact that there occurred a series of fortuitous incidents such as the production of good harvests, and the end of the second Punic war (an event which fulfilled the Sibylline prophecy on whose authority her admittance into the Roman pantheon had been sanctioned) would have greatly enhanced the perception of Cybele as a maternal protectress.

That Catullus, in his poem recounting the ecstasy and self-emasculisation of a devotee, could portray Cybele in such a manner as to warrant her description by a recent commentator as 'wholly evil' and a *schreckliche mater* would suggest, however, that these perceptions were far from universal during the Republican period. At the heart of this description of Cybele, and indeed of many other essentially hostile portrayals of the Goddess and her votaries at this time by Roman moralists, lay the fact that '[t]he Magna Mater's style of receiving worship was not so well-accepted in

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74 The degree to which this cult was relegated almost to obscurity prior to the time of Augustus, has led F. Bömer to question whether in fact there was any connection made between Cybele and the Trojan legend at the time of her transferal to Rome. However, most scholars would seem to stress Trojan overtones in the importation of the cult. (Galinsky, G.K. *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton, 1969) pp.176-187).
75 Pliny, *NH*, 18.16.
76 According to Livy, the prophecy read, '...if ever a foreign foe should invade the land of Italy, he could be driven out of Italy and defeated if the Idaean Mother should be brought from Pessinus to Rome.' (XXIX, 10, 5) trans. F.G. Moore, (London, 1949).
77 Small, op.cit., p.118; p.123.
the city as she herself was. In saying this, Eva Stehle was referring to the numerous facets of the Phrygian cult which found little support in a city whose fundamentally conservative and strictly regulated state cults had offered little in the way of preparation for the wild and unrestrained practices of the galli and their followers. In their most public form, these included dramatic processions through the streets by the extravagantly attired priests and priestesses of Cybele, each one possessed by a divine madness brought on by the sound of drums, tambourines and castanets, frenzied dancing, and self-flagellation. In what was considered their most abhorrent form, they consisted of the self-emasculaton of neophytes. This action was regarded as the very antithesis of traditional Roman virtus, and found no parallel in any cult acceptable to Roman sensibilities.

Admittedly, there can be no denying that it was these practices, and the conduct of devotees of Cybele, rather than the Goddess herself, which were condemned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and those of similar mind as '...wicked, useless and indecent, and unworthy, not only of the gods, but even of good men...'. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that favourable perceptions of Cybele would have escaped such hostile criticism unscathed, given her intimate association with these aspects of the cult. This conclusion is reinforced by evidence of the numerous restrictions imposed during the Republic on the worship of the Magna Mater in Rome. These included: a senatorial decree forbidding native Romans to participate in any Phrygian rituals including the processions of devotees, or to enter the ranks of the galli; the limitation of public involvement in the cult to the April festival of the Megalensia and, with only rare exceptions, the confinement of worship of Cybele to the precinct on the Palatine.

In contrast, one of the more striking characteristics of the cult of Cybele during the first two centuries of the Empire was the extent to which both the Goddess and her veneration became increasingly favoured by the Roman populace. Many suggestions have been put forward to account for the

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80 '...Thou, mighty Zeus' daughter,
    She is well pleased with the lamentations of castanets,
    Of kettledrums and flutes or the howling of wolves and
    Sparkle-eyed lions, resounding mountains
    And woody high-lands.'
    - Homeric Hymn, dedicated to the Great Mother. Vermaseren, Cybele, p.82.
82 Ibid., II, 19, 4-5.
83 Stehle, op. cit., p.155.
unprecedented growth and prosperity of the religion of the Magna Mater in this period, including mere chance, class favour, and the superstition of the common people.\textsuperscript{84} There can be little doubt that all of these factors proved conducive to the advancement of the cult. However, as Showerman contends, '...something greater must underlie a religion which grows to such proportions and has as long and vigorous a life as this one had. The real causes are to be sought in the character of the Mother herself and in the character of her religion.'\textsuperscript{85} Subsequently, the author lists those qualities of Cybele which he believes contributed to her popularity under the Empire. These include chastity, beauty and intelligence, 'but greatest of all is her maternity. She is not so much a mere Mother of the Gods as a Mother of all creatures of the world. Her touch is healing...[a]nd she is kindly and benignant...She loves the fruits of the fields with all a mother's devotion, welcomes them at birth, rejoices in their growth, and when they waste away and perish, laments them with a mother's sorrow. She is the great, fruitful, kindly earth itself.'\textsuperscript{86}

It is easy to envisage such a Goddess mourning the death of a devotee whose tomb she was required to guard. Given the extent of the repudiation of this Phrygian cult in the first century B.C.E., however, this \textit{volte-face} would appear somewhat extraordinary. What then may have brought about such a change in perceptions of Cybele during the early stages of the Empire? Two factors can be identified as probable causes of this escalation in the emphasis placed on Cybele's maternal qualities. These are the unparalleled promotion of the Goddess as the genetrix of the Roman people first by the Julian, then Julio-Claudian \textit{gentes}, and the simultaneous influence of movements in popular religion away from traditional piety towards more private cults, the primary concerns of which were the fate of individuals rather than the state.

At the forefront in ensuring that never again would Cybele be regarded as an alien intruder in the Roman world was the religious reformation of Augustus. This began in an atmosphere of high expectation and considerable apprehension following the turbulent years of the late Republic. Its primary motivation was the reiteration and consolidation of the authority of the new regime. As the political stability of the state had long been perceived as inextricably linked to the vitality of its cults, it is hardly

\textsuperscript{84} Showerman, \textit{Great Mother}, p.80.
\textsuperscript{85} ibid., p.80.
\textsuperscript{86} ibid., pp.80-81.
surprising that Augustus first sought to establish his dominion by attempting to counter growing dissatisfaction with traditional religious institutions. Thus, using the writings of Varro as a blueprint for reform, the princeps placed unprecedented emphasis on the worship of Rome's ancestral deities. It was as a result of this that Cybele received her greatest legitimation throughout the ancient world, both as the beneficent progenitor of all living things, and more specifically, of the Roman people themselves.

That Augustus should have chosen to promote the worship of the Magna Mater as a deity with a particular association to the gens Julia would no doubt have met with little surprise. Popular or not, the legend of the Trojan origins of Rome was already well on its way to becoming a national dogma. Only a matter of decades before, Julius Caesar had proclaimed his descent from Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, while Augustus himself chose to reside in a palace situated directly opposite the Metron on the Palatine. Thus, it was as a man with personal connections to the Goddess that the first citizen of Rome acclaims his reconstruction of her temple following its destruction by fire in 3 C.E. These personal connections were further enhanced as a result of the ultimate coalescence of the Julian and Claudian families, a fact which led to the direct identification of Livia with Cybele on at least one contemporary cameo, and the possibility that, if a reinterpretation of the Tellus Mater of the Ara Pacis Augustae as Venus Erycina is correct, an additional reference to Cybele was intended on this monument which above all others encapsulated the aspirations of the Augustan era.

Of far greater significance than her promotion as a benefactor of the ruling families of Rome to the popularisation of perceptions of Cybele as a caring

87 Cicero, Acad., I, 3, 9.
89 Augustus, Res Gest., IV, 19.
90 The traditional relationship of the Claudian gens to Cybele has been noted above.
91 This is the cameo known as the Gemma Augustea; Vermaseren, Cybele, pl.58.
92 This reinterpretation was that of Karl Galinsky, who theorised that should this maternal figure represent the goddess Venus in her role as genetrix of the Julian house, then a direct connection is also made to Cybele, who is here considered as another manifestation of the same primitive mother-goddess. Thus it was the intention, Galinsky contends, that reference to the Eastern origins of Cybele on the altar would have served as a reminder to its audience that in the former home of the Goddess, Augustus and Rome were already worshipped as deities. Galinsky, G. K. 'Venus in a Relief of the Ara Pacis Augustae' AJA LXX 3 (1966) pp.223-243. Given the remarkable similarity in the histories and fortunes of both the cult of Cybele and that of Venus Erycina in Rome, as well as their association in some works of literature (e.g., Horace, Odes, IV; Virgil, Aen., X, 26, 1.), it would be unsurprising if the two goddess were conflated in the minds of many at this time.
mother-goddess, however, was the growing conviction that this Phrygian deity was not just affiliated to the ancestry of those few *familiae Troianae*, but was in fact the property of the entire Roman nation. Nowhere is this new awareness of Cybele more pronounced than in Virgil's *Aeneid*, an epic poem whose carefully conceived subject was intended not only to glorify and promote the reign of Augustus, but also to epitomise the history and character of the citizens of Rome. Accordingly, Cybele is depicted within as the mother of all gods, and the patron of Aeneas. She is the deity to whom the Trojan hero accords veneration, the protector he invokes in battle, and the beneficent Goddess who rescues Creusa from enslavement. Although it is true that the Phrygian origins of Cybele were never far from mind of the poet or his audience, it is here that she first emphatically appears also as an ancestral deity of Rome, a national goddess, whose *raison d'être* was the protection and care of the Roman people.

The favourable tenor of numerous other references to Cybele which date from the years of the early empire further enhance the impression that it was during this period, and through the accentuation of her character as a caring mother-goddess, that the first serious efforts to authenticate the cult of the Magna Mater were made. These include the allegorical interpretation by Lucretius of the ceremonies of the cult, and Livy's description of the introduction of the Goddess to Rome. It was the account of the *Megalensia* by Ovid, however, which was arguably the most influential work since that of Virgil in the promotion of Cybele as a goddess suitable for veneration. Influenced no doubt by the religious and political policies of Augustus, as well as their reflection in the *Aeneid*,

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94 *Aen.*, VI, 784; VII, 139; IX, 82.
95 *Aen.*, VII, 139.
96 *Aen.*, X, 252.
97 *Aen.*, II, 788.
98 This can be inferred from the references in the work to the Goddess as 'Cybebe' (X, 220); 'Phrygian Mother' (VII, 139); 'Idaea' (IX, 620; X, 252) and 'Berecyntia' (VI, 784).
99 De Rerum Natura, II, 600-660.
100 Livy, XXIX, 10, 5-8; XXIX, 14, 5-14.
101 *Fasti*, IV, 179-372.
102 The *Fasti* was written at approximately the same time the Claudian Tiberius was established as the heir of Augustus. No doubt it would thus have been prudent for its author not only to have shown interest in the Magna Mater as a deity favoured by the *princeps*, but also as one with special relevance for descendants of the Claudii Pulchri. It is this latter consideration which must surely explain the emphasis placed on the legend of Claudia Quinta by Ovid, an inclusion significant enough for R.J. Littlewood to conclude that it is possible that here the story of Cybele was visualised as 'a poetic expression of the historic alliance of Trojan Julian with native Claudian already prefigured in the *Aeneid*...' Littlewood,
Ovid attempted to explain many of those features of the cult of Cybele which had traditionally found little acceptance under the Republic. These included the noisy processions of the *galli*, their emasculation, and the character and significance of Attis - all facets of the cult now justified as originating from a desire for perpetual chastity and purity.\(^{103}\) The resulting impression of Cybele was that of a tutelary mother-goddess, one moreover who was firmly entrenched in the *Caesaris aerae*.

As has been previously noted in the discussion on the rise to prominence of Attis, the advancement of Cybele under the Empire by no means reached its culmination with the reforms of Augustus. Just as Claudius made official a romanised version of the festival of Attis, so too did he put in place reforms to the worship of Cybele herself. These included the opening of the priesthood to Roman citizens, and the placement of the cult under the control of the *quindecimviri*. Combined with the new March festivals, whose frame of reference was significantly wider than that of the predominately aristocratic *Megalensia*, these amendments could not have failed to increase the accessibility of the Goddess and to promote her veneration amongst the Roman people.

In many cases little evidence survives to give an indication of the attitudes towards the cult of Cybele held by subsequent rulers during the Empire. That which does, would suggest that it was in the first and second centuries C.E., and particularly from the time of the reign of Trajan (98-117) that the continued promotion of the Magna Mater by some, and at least the tacit acceptance of her worship by others, contributed significantly to the increased popularity of the cult throughout the Empire. Having said this, it would nevertheless be logical to assume (given the lack of evidence to the contrary) that both the erratic religious policies of Nero,\(^{104}\) and the turbulent years of his successors, Galba, Otho and Vitellius would have proven unfavourable to the active advancement of the worship of Cybele.\(^{105}\) Immediately following this, Vespasian (69-79) had the temples

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\(^{103}\) *ibid*, p.386.

\(^{104}\) The irreverent attitude of this emperor towards the cult of Cybele is made clear in Dio Cassius LXI, 20, in which it is said that Nero impersonated Attis in the theatre.

\(^{105}\) Showerman, *Great Mother* p.84. Alternatively, it may be, as Vermaseren suggests, that the measures taken by Claudius to reform and promote the cult were so effective that further legislation by the Imperial House was considered unnecessary. Vermaseren, *Cybele* p.178.
of the Goddess at Herculaneum\textsuperscript{106} and Lepcis Magna restored,\textsuperscript{107} despite the fact the primary focus of his religious policies was the revitalisation of the ancient cults of Rome, while conversely, Domitian (81-96) reinstated the Republican law against the castration of Roman citizens.\textsuperscript{108} Given their contradictory natures, these two acts can, perhaps, be regarded as encapsulating the ambivalent approach of emperors to the cult of Cybele in the half-century immediately after the death of Claudius.

In comparison, it is from the reign of Trajan that the first definite evidence appears of the spread of the cult to the northern and western provinces.\textsuperscript{109} This circumstance is surely indicative not only of the increasing popularity and acceptance of the Great Mother, but also of the awareness amongst devotees that once again, her worship had found visible favour with the authorities in Rome. Confirming this is the fact that under Trajan, the imperial coins of both Lydia and Egypt bore the image of Cybele.\textsuperscript{110} Under Trajan’s successor Hadrian (117-138), this practice became more and more common, and even expanded to include the figure of Attis on coins minted for Phrygia, which was a significant concession to the ever-increasing status of the beloved of the Goddess. Further, it was also in this period that the first known \textit{taurobolic} inscription was created, and medallions which represented both Cybele and the empress in the guise of Cybele, were struck.

The strength of these imperially-endorsed movements in the popularisation of the cult of the Magna Mater during the early decades of the second century can, perhaps, best be assessed when it is considered that only a short time after the death of Hadrian, the cult of the Great Mother was to find its most ardent and influential advocate in the person of the new emperor, Antoninus Pius. Singled out by Pausanias as a man conspicuous for the reverence he paid to the divine,\textsuperscript{111} Antoninus Pius favoured the cult of Cybele to such a degree that its continued and increasing prosperity down to the end of the fourth century can, to no small extent, be directly attributed

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\item \textsuperscript{106} \textit{CIL}, X, 1046 is an inscription dated 1 January 76, in which the emperor announces that he has rebuilt the temple after the earthquake of the year 62. Vermaseren, \textit{Cybele}, p.66; n. 356.
\item \textsuperscript{107} \textit{Ibid.} p.129; n.821. It is likely, however, that these actions were more the result of the emperor's general concern for the preservation of sacred buildings, rather than any overtly personal interest in the fortunes of the Magna Mater.
\item \textsuperscript{108} Ammianus Marcellinus, XVIII, 4, 5. Whether or not this measure was directed specifically against the cult of Cybele is, however, unknown. Showerman, \textit{Great Mother} p.84.
\item \textsuperscript{109} \textit{Ibid.} p.84.
\item \textsuperscript{110} \textit{Ibid.} pp.84-85; n.43.
\item \textsuperscript{111} Pausanias, VIII, 43.5
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to his patronage and reforms. As has been already noted, not the least of these reforms was the promotion of Attis as a figure suitable for veneration, hence the introduction of the commemorative ceremony of *Canna Intrat* into the March festivals of the cult, and the increased frequency with which this youthful figure appeared on the coinage of the Empire.

Not content to confine his interest to the status of Attis within the cult, Antoninus Pius would also appear to have made a concerted effort to reinforce existing perceptions of Cybele as the caring protectress of both the imperial family, and the peoples of their Empire. This ideology is clearly manifest in the numerous coins and medallions struck for the two Faustinas which represent their favourite Goddess and her lover. These were widely circulated, and no doubt served as effective propagandist devices, reminding their owners not only of the piety of the Antonine gens, but also of the renewed emphasis placed by the emperor on the Trojan origins of the entire Roman people.

Nowhere is the character of Cybele as a beneficent deity more clearly singled out, however, than on one coin upon which is inscribed the epithet *Matri deum salutari*, 'the salutary mother of the gods.' According to Graillot, this must be a reference to the eschatological function of the Goddess, an hypothesis which led him to conclude that the empress had been initiated into the mysteries of the cult. For the purpose of establishing the extent of the connection between Cybele and perceptions of the afterlife, though, it is perhaps more significant that this coin was issued after the death of Faustina the Elder. Thus, it may denote the existence of a direct link between perceptions of the Great Mother as the benefactor of the living, and simultaneously as protectress of the dead, two qualities in all likelihood essential to the creation of the *Cybele tristis* images and the placement of works such as the Logie statuette in the tombs of devotees.

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112 Direct proof of this patronage includes the restoration by Antoninus Pius of the *tholos* Metroon on the Via Sacra in 142 C.E., while indirectly, the influence of his approbation can be seen in the numerous temples constructed for Cybele and the substantial dedications made within them during his reign. Examples of the former include the Metroon at Banasa in North Africa, and in all probability the Cybele temple in Lyons, while the votive offerings of Caius Cartilius Euplus and Marcus Modius Maximus made at the Attideum in Ostia are but a few of the many oblations made to the Goddess and her consort in this period.

113 cf. Vermaseren, *Cybele*, fig.28.


Overall, the reign of Antoninus Pius may thus be seen as the period in which movements towards the legitimisation and active promotion of Cybele as a caring mother-goddess which had begun over a century earlier under Augustus and the emperor Claudius, reached their culmination. While it is true that archaeological evidence from the years following 161 C.E. continues to attest to the imperial advocacy of the Magna Mater,\footnote{This is most notable in the dissemination of her image on the coinage of the Empire. Those to include Cybele on their coin issues include Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Caracalla, the Gordians, Valerian and Gallienus. In the majority of these instances, however, it is unknown if the striking of these coins had a special significance. Showerman, \textit{op.cit.}, p.85.} never again were religious and secular authorities to place such emphasis on her character as a tutelary deity whose connections to her devotees spanned the history of Roman civilisation itself.

Little benefit would have come to those who promoted Cybele in this manner, however, had not this characterisation found considerable acceptance among the peoples of the Empire. Given the extent to which concerns for political stability often influenced imperial religious policy, rulers such as Augustus and Antoninus Pius must surely have anticipated a favourable reaction to their advancement of Cybele as a beneficent patron of Rome and her Empire. That these expectations were well-founded can be seen in the dramatic rise in the popularity of the cult which occurred during the first and second centuries C.E. It is only logical to assume that at the root of this phenomenon lay a widespread recognition of the attractions of a goddess whose worship had not only been accorded imperial sanction, but whose primary concern was perceived as being the welfare of her devotees.

The nature of the Logie statuette and other works here identified as belonging to the \textit{Cybele tristis} genre presupposes an acceptance of the Goddess in this protective and maternal capacity. From their uniqueness of iconography, modesty of scale, and intimacy of purpose, it is evident that to those who created or commissioned these images, Cybele held a very personal appeal, one which transcended political considerations. She was the deity they envisaged as lamenting their passing and the guardian to whom they entrusted their souls as well as their tombs. Further study of the religious climate of the Empire would suggest that at no time were trends in
popular piety more conducive to this interpretation of the character of the Great Mother than during the first and second centuries C.E.

When writing on the complexion of religion in this period, Carcopino came to the conclusion that while the Roman pantheon still existed, '...the spirits of men had fled from the old religion; it still commanded their service, but no longer their hearts or belief.'\(^{118}\) The applicability of this assertion to the veneration of all of Rome's ancestral deities has been questioned.\(^{119}\) Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that both the excessive formalism and the impersonalities of state cults were responsible, if not for a decline in their significance, then at least the provision of impetus for many devotees to search for other ways of fulfilling spiritual needs. For some, these were to be found in the worship of household deities, primarily Vesta, the Lares and the Penates, for others the answer lay in participation in pilgrimages to the far-off sanctuaries of the gods they accorded veneration. Perhaps the most pervasive of these new religious inclinations was, however, the reverence paid to deities previously considered foreign and exotic, deities which had as a result, been largely excluded from traditional religious observance. These were the gods of the Oriental Cults and the Mystery Religions. They numbered among them Isis, Dionysus and Mithras, as well, to all intents and purposes, as Cybele herself.

Few circumstances more clearly illustrate the change which was taking place in popular religious consciousness during the first two centuries of the Empire than this move to favouring non-traditional, mystic cults. The fact that these found ready acceptance throughout Roman dominions, and for the most part co-existed peacefully with traditional cults, would suggest that in some way, they were considered supplementary, rather than in opposition to the worship of the ancestral gods of Rome. It is generally agreed that the gap which was filled by veneration of deities such as Cybele or Isis was that of the spiritual needs of the individual. This was one aspect of piety which had received little consideration in traditional Roman religion, where the individual existed only in so far as he was integrated into the framework of the State.\(^{120}\)

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119 Dedicatory inscriptions, attacks by Christian apologists, and the building or repair of the temples of Roman deities such as Jupiter, Mars and Hercules are often cited as evidence of the continued vitality of many of the more prominent traditional cults. *Ibid.* p.111.
120 The results of this fundamental alteration in the focus of piety to favour the devotee rather than the body politic to which he belonged were manifest in many quarters. Particularly from the second century C.E. onwards, these included the sharp increase in the
When compared to the clearly political character of official worship, the attractions of these imported cults to a populace whose interests were turning increasingly to the search for means to ensure the temporal and spiritual well-being of the individual, are obvious. Most importantly, the deities of the Oriental Cults and Mystery Religions were perceived as having a direct interest in, and bearing on the fate of their votaries, both during life and after death. Thus, for those who participated in their ritual ceremonies, the rewards of piety were no longer envisaged as an uncertain assurance of public good, but rather the spiritual purification, and in many cases ultimate immortality of the mystae.\(^1\)

As the focus of worship in many quarters inexorably shifted from the respublica to its individual constituents, it further became inevitable that the desire for a relationship of greater intimacy between devotee and protecting divinity correspondingly increased. Once again, these needs were met by Oriental Cults, in which not only were the deities themselves regarded as significantly more humane and approachable than their official counterparts, but where also the mechanisms of both doctrine and ritual assumed forms designed to appeal above all to the individual worshipper. Unlike the traditional Greek and Roman pantheons whose largely impassive members enjoyed the benefits of immortality and perpetual youth, the gods of the East, like their human adherents, were no strangers to suffering and death, or to the joy of renewal. Just as devotees lamented the passing of their loved ones, so too did Isis mourn the murder of Osiris and Asherah sorrow for the death of the Syrian Adonis. Thus, deity and votary were united in the shared experience of grief, following which the frequent return to life of the divinely-favoured consort often served as the paradigm of salvation for the initiate.

On a less esoteric level, opportunities for these bonds to strengthen between human and the divine must have been additionally provided by the fact that membership of these cults was no longer merely a corollary of

\(^{12}\) The true extent of perceptions of Oriental deities as beneficent protectors can be inferred from the many votive inscriptions extant which take the form of prayers for blessings far less grandiose than soteria. Paramount among these was good health, a fact which would help to explain the great popularity of deities such as Isis, Serapis and Aesculapius who were renowned for their healing abilities; closely followed by fertility, prosperity and protection, both from natural disasters and earthly enemies. For examples of these, see MacMullen, R. *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven, 1981) pp.51-52.
birth, but rather a matter of personal choice and conviction. Policies of selective involvement (which had traditionally ensured that the role of the majority of devotees amounted to little more than the witnessing of recitations of formulaic prayers) found no place in the religions of the East, the better part of which imposed no restrictions on membership or subsequent participation in cult rituals.\textsuperscript{122} Thus, in accordance with the benign character of the Eastern divinities, all elements of compulsion were removed from their worship, while those who took part, through the voluntary nature of their actions and their direct involvement in the processes of veneration, were provided with a true sense of affinity, both with their god or goddess, and with others who shared their faith.

Few deities of the first and second centuries C.E. could have offered more to a populace seeking to affirm the value of the individual and ensure his or her well-being than Cybele, whom both tradition and imperial authority proclaimed the Great Mother. Later, as the struggle between Christianity and pagan cults intensified, this maternal aspect of Cybele's nature was to be down-played, and in its place preference given to those characteristics which enhanced her appearance as a celestial goddess whose infinite power made her well able to repulse challenges posed by rival religions.\textsuperscript{123} Before this fundamental change occurred and Cybele came to be regarded as a deity far removed from the realm of the living, for the first two centuries of the Empire no aspect of her character received greater emphasis than those maternal qualities which led to perceptions of the Magna Mater as an accessible patron whose primary concern was the fate of her devotees.\textsuperscript{124} It is against this historical background, and as a product of these trends in both popular piety and the doctrines of the cult itself that the utilisation of the image of \textit{Cybele tristis}, and thus the creation of the Logie statuette, would appear most logical.

\textsuperscript{122} The notable exception to this, of course, being the cult of Mithras, which excluded women from its ranks of initiates. Fraternal relations were, however, instituted between this cult and that of Cybele, thus ensuring that the doctrines of Mithraism exceeded the confines of its immediate adherents.

\textsuperscript{123} One of the many to regard Cybele in this manner was the Neoplatonist Macrobius (c. 400 C.E.), who in his discourse on the character of the Goddess and her consort regarded Attis as but one name for the Sun God, and described the Magna Mater as his counterpart, the earth. Thus, Cybele is the goddess who is '...drawn by lions, animals full of impetuosity and ardour, qualities of the heaven, which under its vault contains the air that carries the earth.' (\textit{Sat.}, I, 21, 7-11; Vermaseren, \textit{Cybele} pp.181-2.

\textsuperscript{124} It is, perhaps, to the strength of this movement that one image of Cybele from Cyprus, simply dated 'Roman' by Vermaseren, can be attributed (\textit{CCCA} II, 719). This work, a terracotta figurine, represents the Goddess seated on a high-backed throne with the infant Attis lying in her lap. The only other examples of this particular genre from Cyprus are designated sixth or fifth century B.C.E. (e.g., \textit{CCCA} II, 695-717), a fact which lends itself to the hypothesis that it was as a result of trends in popular piety during the early empire that this very maternal image of Cybele was revived.
3: PROVENANCE

In many studies of the nature and status of the cult of Cybele in antiquity, it is representations of the Goddess in the plastic arts which have arguably been proven to constitute one of the most valuable sources of information. Their quality and form, for example, whilst not only illustrating popular perceptions of Cybele, may also conceivably be taken as suggestive of the character and status of her devotees; the frequency with which they occur regarded as a gauge of the changing popularity of the cult; and the locations in which they were found accepted as probable indicators of the geographical extent of worship. One factor which has already been identified as a potential barrier to a comprehensive evaluation of many of these works is the difficulty of dating monuments when little or nothing is known of the context in which they were found. A second, equally common problem lies in the frequent lack of documentation attesting to the place of their discovery. As Vermaseren observed, '[p]ractically every art collection in Rome boasts a monument of the Cybele cult...Although these works of art vary greatly in character, they usually have one thing in common, which is that their provenance is unknown.'

It is into this category of *monumenta locis ignotis reperta* that the Logie statuette must unfortunately be placed.

Initially, when considered in conjunction with the many hundred images of Cybele enthroned which have been found throughout the ancient world, the accurate placing of the Logie statuette within this vast geographical area would appear to be an impossible goal. Nevertheless, just as those features

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1 Vermaseren, *Cybele* p.57.
2 In the absence of a record of the origin of the work under discussion, it is inevitable that any suggestions made here as to the provenance of the Logie statuette will remain at best informed hypotheses. In the future, however, it is possible that a study of the unique geological identity of the Logie statuette may help to identify the quarry most likely to have been the source of its marble. At present, the most effective means of achieving this end would appear to be stable isotopic analysis, a process not yet in use in this country, in which the distinctive mixture of oxygen and carbon atoms which constitute the 'isotopic signature' of a fragment of marble is compared to a data base or 'isotopic map' consisting of similar readings taken from marble whose provenance is known. Although not infallible, due to the fact that the isotopic signatures of some quarries such as those at Dokimeion in Phrygia and those on the island of Proconnesos have been known to overlap, when used in conjunction with other methods of marble identification such as petrological analysis and macroscopic petrofabric typing (i.e. 'eyeball' analysis), this process has nevertheless proved to be a valuable means of testing the validity of
which render this work distinct from its more conventional counterparts enable it to be assigned both context and date with a reasonable degree of certainty, so too do they facilitate the formation of conclusions as to its provenance.

Unlike the majority of comparable images whose forms more consistently adhered to that of the Agorakritan prototype, most of those works identified here as displaying similar iconographic anomalies to those of the Logie statuette (the most important of these being, of course, the hand-to-head motif) and whose provenance are known, would appear common only to a relatively restricted geographical area, that is, northwestern Asia Minor. Previously, it has been noted that in their entirety, these representations of Cybele in mourning would appear to number only twelve. It is possible that as many as half of these come from the province of Bithynia, with a further one, if not two works found in such close proximity in Mysia that their dependence upon the influence of the former for their creation is virtually assured (fig. 29).

On the basis of a study of those images presented by Vermaseren in his Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque, there can be no doubt that at least five renderings of Cybele tristis had their origins in Roman Bithynia. This fact has significant ramifications for the attribution of origin to those works, such as the Logie statuette, which display similar characteristics but whose provenance are unrecorded. A case in point is that of a white marble statue of Cybele enthroned, where the Goddess is depicted wearing attire identical to that represented in the Logie statuette (fig. 24). She is also represented with her left hand raised to the side of her head and her left elbow resting on the figure of a lion. This work is of unknown provenance, but nevertheless is assigned to Bithynia by Naumann. No reasons for this attribution are given. However, it

earlier or proposed restorations and attributions of provenance, as recent successful experiments on Roman sarcophagi in the British Museum have shown. (ref. Walker, S. 'Marble origins by isotopic analysis' World Archaeology 16.2 (1984) pp.204-221). Given that, by their very nature, such findings indicate only the quarry from which a particular piece of marble came, rather that the location in which it was worked, and the fact that the demand for this stone in the early centuries of the Common Era was such that its export from many quarries to cities throughout the Empire was common, even were the type of marble used in the Logie statuette to be known, this information would have to be used with caution when attempting to establish the provenance of the work itself. Nevertheless, as the form and scale of the statuette would suggest that its production took place in a workshop within the vicinity of a sanctuary containing a cult statue on which it was based, it is perhaps most likely that the marble from which it was carved would have come from the most immediately accessible quarry.

3 supra p.9, n.8.

4 According to Naumann (op. cit. pp.253-257) six such works are known from this area, four statuettes and two altar reliefs from Izmit or its surrounds. The fact that there may be additional works from Bithynia which could be identified as representations of Cybele tristis only strengthens the likelihood that the origins of similar images are also to be found there.

5 Naumann, op.cit. p.256, pl. 44.3. In Vermaseren (CCCA I, 871), this image is more generally designated as coming from Asia Minor.
is tempting to assume that one of the considerations must surely have been the obvious preponderance of similar images from this area.

Even without the inclusion of this latter work, the ratio of Cybele tristis images found in Bithynia is significantly greater than that from any other location. The only other area from which more than one depiction of Cybele tristis has been recovered is the neighbouring region of Mysia, where a terracotta figurine (fig. 22) and a fragmentary marble statue have been found at Miletopolis and Pergamum respectively.6 Given the proximity, particularly of Miletopolis, to the population centres of Bithynia, there can be little doubt that, if not imported from this latter province, these two works were created as the result of its religious and artistic influences.

Among those representations of Cybele tristis to survive from Bithynia itself, the most significant of these, for the purpose of this thesis, is the marble statuette found at Prainetos (fig. 21). With only minor alterations, this image is repeated in four relief sculptures from Bithynia. These are: a votive stele from Tahtali Köyü, on which Cybele is depicted enthroned in a temple-like niche, her left hand raised possibly to hold her veil, a lion sitting in profile on a sculptured altar to her left;7 a marble base dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius from Deli Mahmudlar where the Great Mother is seated on an elaborate throne, with her left elbow resting on the lion to her side and her left hand raised to her head (fig. 25);8 and a relief in limestone found at Kandira, in which the figure of a mourning Cybele, with her left arm resting not on a lion, but rather on the more traditional tympanum, is incorporated into a naiskos image (fig. 26).9 A fourth, fragmentary relief, preserves only the upper part of the Goddess's body, and while much of this work is lost (including the left elbow of the Goddess) enough remains for it to be clear that she was depicted with her left hand placed against the side of her head, wearing a chiton, mural crown and veil (fig. 27).10

The sheer numerical supremacy of representations of Cybele tristis from Asia Minor, and in particular the province of Bithynia, cannot, however, be taken as a guarantee that all works displaying characteristics of this genre originated in these areas. The dangers inherent in such a presupposition are made clear when it is noted that two works depicting the Goddess in this familiar attitude of

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6 CCCA I, 263, 363.
9 CCCA I, 236 = Schwertheim, I A, 7 p.797.
10 CCCA I, 225.
mourning were discovered in locations outside Asia Minor. One of these is the terracotta figurine found in Corinth (fig. 23), and the other is a marble statue thought to have come from Panticapaeum in the Bosphorus.11 In both, Cybele is seated on a high-backed throne clothed in her usual dress. Her left elbow rests on a lion which is seated at her side on the arm of the throne, and her left hand is raised and placed against the side of her head. A third work, a marble statuette discovered in Thrace at Perinthus would also appear to have represented the Goddess in this form, however, the damaged condition of the marble, and in particular the loss of the left arm from the elbow up make a definite conclusion as to the original appearance of this figure impossible (fig. 28).12

The evidence provided by these final works serves to reinforce the inevitable conclusion that there can be no certainties as to the provenance of the Logie statuette. Even so, based on the distribution of the remaining representations of Cybele in mourning known today, there can be little doubt that Bithynia not only proved the locality most conducive to the production of these images, but was also that in which the Cybele tristis genre itself developed.13 As such, it is first and foremost to this area that, at the very least, the inspiration behind the Logie statuette can be ascribed.

Exactly why it was that, above all others, this one region should have had a particular affinity for the depiction of Cybele in her sorrowful aspect is difficult to determine. At the heart of these uncertainties lies considerable limitations in the evidence available from Bithynia at the present time. This situation is due mainly to the fact that from as early as the sixth century B.C.E., all the major cities of ancient Bithynia have been sites of continuous habitation. Thus few opportunities for excavation have arisen, and it is often left to chance finds

11 CCCA II, 465; VI, 579.
12 CCCA VI, 372. According to Vermaseren, it is probable that Cybele's missing hand was originally raised to support a tympanum. Given the omission of the traditional flanking lions in favour on the one feline upon which the Goddess rests her left elbow, however, and the orientation of the marble which remains to the left of Cybele's head (the diagonal of which corresponds exactly to the traditional line of the raised arm of Cybele tristis figures) it would seem equally, if not more probable, that the missing arm was in fact originally raised to the head of the figure.
13 That Friederike Naumann also observed a correlation between these images and the province of Bithynia has already been noted. Another to make a more general connection between two of these works and a likely eastern provenance is Ernst Mitropoulou, whose Type A XV (a) enthroned image brackets both the Prainetos statuette and the figurine from Corinth as works exhibiting characteristics peculiar to Asia Minor, the terracotta discovered in Greece being logically explained as an eastern import. It is interesting to note, however, that for Mitropoulou, the factor responsible for the association of these sculptures was not the distinctive gesture of the Goddess' left arm (of which no mention is made) but rather the placement of a lion on the left arm of the throne. Mitropoulou, E. 'Different Types of Cybele in Statuettes and Naiskoi representing Her as the Only Deity' in Concilium Eirene. Proceedings of the XVI International Eirene Conference (Prague, 1982) pp.9-10.
made during casual building operations to hint at the wealth of artefacts which may yet remain hidden beneath the surface. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to ascertain not only the extent of the utilisation of the Cybele tristis image in this province, but also the exact nature of those factors which contributed to its creation.

Notwithstanding the lack of information upon which a systematic study of the Bithynian cult may be based, what evidence there is invites the inference that both the religious and the artistic heritage of this region would indeed have been particularly suited to the production of representations of the Goddess in mourning. At its most fundamental, this suitability was manifest in the long tradition of Cybele worship to which Bithynia could lay claim.

As to exactly when veneration of the Great Mother began in this province, testimonies are unclear. The fact, however, that in one of the letters of Pliny the Younger to the Emperor Trajan, the then governor of Bithynia refers to the necessity of relocating the ancient temple (aedes vetustissima) of the Great Mother in Nicomedia, would seem to provide valuable, if unspecific evidence of the considerable antiquity of the cult in this area. This impression can only be strengthened when it is considered that a close relationship between Bithynians and the Goddess must surely have existed from an early date, given the significant role assigned to the province’s Sangarius River in cult legends, and the purportedly eponymous relationship of the city of Nicaea to the Naiad Nikaia, the child of Sangarius and Cybele. Moreover, the close proximity of Bithynia to traditional cult centres such as Pessinus and Cyzicus (where the popularity and antiquity of the Goddess are unquestioned) and legendary sites such as Mount Dindymus (at the foot of which was believed to be the tomb of Attis), would again enhance the likelihood that Cybele was the focus of long-standing veneration throughout northwestern Asia Minor. That this was true in no small part in Bithynia can be seen in the

14 A case in point was the discovery of a statue of Cybele enthroned made during preparation of the foundations for a paper factory in Izmit. According to Vermaseren, there is no doubt that this monument did in fact mark the site of a Metoon, however, nothing is known about its construction. CCCA I, 221.
15 Pliny the Younger, Epistles, X, 49.
16 References to the Sangarius include Pausanias, VII, 17; Arnobius, Adv. Nat., V, 5-7 and Ovid, Fasti, IV, 221-244.
18 Graillot, p.355.
19 The traditional primacy of Pessinus in the legend of Cybele and as a centre for her worship can be seen in Livy, XXIX, 10, 4ff; Pausanias, VII, 15 and Arnobius, Adv. Nat., V, 6. Early references to the cult of the Great Mother at Cyzicus include Herodotus, IV, 76 and the testimony of Neanthes in Harpocratetime.
designations of one of the regions of this province and one of the months in
the Bithynian calendar, the former deriving its name from a Metroon,\textsuperscript{20} the
latter, $\mu\nu\tau\rho\omega\omicron\varsigma$, from the Great Mother herself.\textsuperscript{21}

For the purpose of substantiating the hypothesis that Bithynia was the most
likely provenance of the Logie statuette (and remembering that the suggested
chronological parameters of this work are the first two centuries C.E.) more
significant than the antiquity of the cult, however, is the fact that any early
favour which was accorded Cybele in this area evidently continued and even
increased during the period of the early Empire. Few circumstances illustrate
this more clearly than the fact that by far the majority of datable monuments
from the cult in Bithynia hail from the Roman imperial period.\textsuperscript{22} These include
among their number, three of the works here identified as representations of
Cybele tristis.\textsuperscript{23}

Once again, though, an exact assessment of the extent of adherence to the
cult of Cybele at this time is rendered impossible by the limited nature of the
available evidence. For instance, only two temples of the Great Mother are
acknowledged with certainty to have existed in Bithynia during the imperial
period:\textsuperscript{24} that in Nicomedia which is attested to by Pliny, and a Metroon
described by Arrian as situated on the roadside, eighty stadia from Heraclea
Pontica.\textsuperscript{25} Nevertheless, it is a testament, at least to the importance of the
former, that in 111 C.E. Pliny felt compelled to consult the highest authority
regarding the relocation of the Nicomedian Metroon (fearing as he did that the
removal of the temple from its traditional site may have resulted in the loss of
its sanctity) and in turn that Trajan responded with his judgement.\textsuperscript{26} Add to
this the fact that in almost every Bithynian city under the Empire coins were
struck depicting either Cybele or Attis on the reverse,\textsuperscript{27} and what emerges is

\begin{footnotes}
\item[21] Schwertheim, p.834.
\item[22] ibid., p.834. According to Vermaseren's \textit{CCCA}, all dated monuments from Bithynia are
attributed to the Roman period. The only possible exception to this, a marble relief once
thought to have come from Nicaea in 119 B.C.E., (\textit{CCCA} I, 252), is now believed to have
originated in Mysia, whose system of dating would place this work in 85 C.E.
\item[23] These are: the marble base from Deli Mahmudlar (\textit{CCCA} I, 239), dated by F. K. Dömer to the
period of Antoninus Pius; the marble relief from Nicomedia (\textit{CCCA} I, 225) and the statue
attributed by Naumann to Bithynia (\textit{CCCA} I, 871). Although these final two works are simply
dated 'Roman period' by Vermaseren, it would seem likely that they were products of the
Empire, given Schwertheim's assertion that the bulk of the evidence from Bithynia is datable
to the imperial period, and in the light of the above discussion on the likely chronology of the
\textit{Cybele tristis} image.
\item[24] Schwertheim, pp.830-831.
\item[27] Schwertheim, p.830.
\end{footnotes}
the picture of a cult both fortified by tradition and invigorated by the considerable enhancement of its popularity and profile which must surely have accompanied the adoption and promotion of the Magna Mater by emperors such as Claudius and Antoninus Pius.

In the search for the origins of the Cybele tristis genre, and thus probably of the Logie statuette, one factor which has become clear, however, is that neither a long association with the Goddess, nor the pronounced devotion to her at any given time were themselves guarantees of demand for the representation of Cybele in mourning. Had this been otherwise, then few locations could have proven more conducive to the production of these images than Rome itself during the first two centuries of the Empire, where the emphasis placed on Cybele as both a progenitor of the Roman people and as a goddess with reason to sorrow could hardly have been greater. As it is, no works depicting the Great Mother in this fashion would appear to have come from the imperial capital.

Thus, when seeking to find means by which to justify the attribution of the Logie statuette to Bithynia on grounds beyond that of the basic distribution of similar images, it is evident that factors other than a persistent tradition of the worship of Cybele as mother and benefactor of all living things must have contributed to the creation and popularity of the Cybele tristis genre in this province. One scholar whose research may provide an indication of at least one of these factors is Elmar Schwertheim.28

Although Schwertheim's investigation into Bithynian veneration of the Great Mother is not lengthy, one aspect of the cult to become apparent as a result of it is the emphasis that was placed during worship on the relationship of the individual devotee to Cybele. This can be seen clearly from the number of statuettes depicting the Goddess enthroned which survive to form a high proportion of the overall corpus of Bithynian works. Almost all of these are believed by Schwertheim to have been devotional objects set up by individuals or small groups of worshippers as thank-offerings to an obviously beneficent tutelary Goddess.29

The truth of this can be observed on at least on two occasions where inscriptions survive recording the dedication of statuettes by specific devotees

29 Ibid. pp.834-835.
as the result of a divine command.\textsuperscript{30} These works, and others such as a limestone altar from Hocaköy which was set up following the experience of a dream or vision of the Goddess,\textsuperscript{31} clearly attest to the very personal focus of the Bithynian cult of Cybele. That this was relatively unique, at least in northwestern Asia Minor, is seen clearly when these monuments are compared to their votive counterparts from neighbouring Mysia. Here, according to Schwertheim, few statuettes have been found and sculptural offerings most commonly take the form of relatively impersonal relief stelae depicting the Goddess as the recipient of a ritual sacrifice.\textsuperscript{32} Judging from those accompanying inscriptions which survive, it would further appear that the dedicators of these works were most often professional fraternities, such as groups of civil servants, rather than the individual worshippers who dominate Bithynian tradition.\textsuperscript{33}

Accordingly, if it is indeed correct that the beliefs of Bithynian devotees favoured perceptions of the Goddess as a benefactor apt to display a pronounced interest in the personal well-being of her votaries during life, it is equally easy to imagine that these interests would have been seen to extend to the concern for, and protection of, her faithful in death. The likelihood of this is enhanced by the probability that Cybele's chthonic associations were already firmly entrenched in cult legend and ritual. Further, it is equally to be expected that the physical manifestations of this belief should have been funerary statuettes representing the Goddess enthroned in mourning. As such, these works would have been able, not only to adopt and adapt the essential characteristics and symbolism of the traditional enthroned image of Cybele which was made so familiar to worshippers through its utilisation in both ritual and dedicatory contexts, but also to call to mind a wealth of sepulchral images whose employment of mourning gestures similar to that visible in the Logie statuette so successfully conveyed a sense of caring and loss.

\textsuperscript{30} CCCA I, 240 = Schwertheim, I A, 1, p.792; CCCA I, 233 = Schwertheim, I A, 9, p.798.
\textsuperscript{31} Schwertheim, I A, 5, p.796. This monument would appear to be omitted from Vermaseren's CCCA.
\textsuperscript{32} Schwertheim, pp.810-824. Not mentioned in this study, however, are numerous terracotta figurines mostly representing Cybele seated, which were found at Troy (CCCA I, 304-328) and a series of similar marble statues from Pergamum (CCCA I, 349-350; 356-364). Had these works been considered by Schwertheim, they may have altered this aspect of his comparison of the relative cults of Bithynia and Mysia. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that in direct contrast to evidence from the former, a great number of the monuments from Mysia appear to possess a more official and formalised character.
\textsuperscript{33} For example, Schwertheim, II A, 5, p.813 and II A, 11, p.817.
Even on the basis of those factors which indicate that both the character of the cult of Cybele, and the relationship of the Goddess to her Bithynian devotees were such that conditions would have been ideal for the production of images of *Cybele tristis*, it still is not possible to explain, however, the virtual exclusivity of the genre to this region. Certainly, neither evidence for the appeal of the cult to individuals nor suggestions that the Great Mother was perceived as a sympathetic protector are unique to Bithynia, yet as has been seen, the occurrence of works depicting Cybele in mourning outside this province are rare indeed. Thus, once again it is necessary to seek to identify alternative aspects of the Bithynian cult which may have acted as catalysts in the development of the *Cybele tristis* image. Should they exist, such factors do not, of course, provide any assurance that it is to them that the Logie statuette owes its creation. Nevertheless, given the relative scarcity of monuments of this type and the positive attribution of the majority of them to Bithynia, any fact which further validates the assumption of a connection between this genre of images and this Eastern province cannot help but strengthen the probability that Bithynia was also the place of origin of the Logie statuette.

Paramount among those elements which corroborate this assumption is evidence that one of the more pronounced characteristics of the cult of Cybele in this area was its funerary tenor. Here again, however, methodological difficulties arise due to the restricted nature of the information available from Bithynia. If this lack is able to be accurately supplemented by evidence from adjacent provinces though, the picture of the cult to emerge is one in which perceptions of Cybele as both the goddess and protector of the dead and the grieving beloved of Attis could hardly have been more fundamental.

Some of the monuments which affirm the first of these two aspects of the Great Mother in the East (that is her chthonic nature) have been mentioned already. These include many of the great Phrygian rock tombs constructed between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C.E., upon which it is not uncommon to identify carved, sculpted or painted images of Cybele in her role of guardian of both the deceased during their eternal repose and of the tombs themselves. The Goddess appears on these monuments standing and sitting like her cult statues, or simply as a bust. Often, if her figure is missing, her presence is

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34 This correlation between cult statue and funerary monument which is also visible in the Logie statuette, is unsurprising given that the tendency was for these tombs not to be aligned along a roadway as was Graeco-Roman custom, but rather to be grouped at will near or around a sanctuary of Cybele. (Graillot, p.402) This practice must surely have encouraged the creation of sepulchral representations of the Goddess which were based on official cult images.
35 Graillot, p.401.
nonetheless implied by the depiction of her lions, as is the case at Büyük Aslanta.\textsuperscript{36}

In regions other than Phrygia, but still in close proximity to Bithynia, indications of the prevalence and endurance of this funereal side of Cybele’s character are provided by many less extravagant works from Aeolis and Ionia. Closest of these in age to the monumental rock façades are the late archaic grave \textit{stele} from Dorylaion which depicts the Great Mother as ποτνία θηρόν (fig. 20)\textsuperscript{37} and three sculptures found in a necropolis in Cyme. These latter works (two reliefs and one statue) all depict Cybele enthroned in hieratic attitude. They are dated by Vermaseren to the sixth century B.C.E.\textsuperscript{38} and according to Graillot, were designed specifically to watch over these ancient tombs.\textsuperscript{39} That this conception of the Goddess and the funerary nature of her cult persisted can be deduced from the number of terracotta figurines of both Cybele and Attis which were evidently placed around the dead in the graves of Myrina during the last two centuries of the pre-Christian period.\textsuperscript{40}

Elsewhere in Asia Minor the chthonic nature of Cybele was manifest not in apotropaic sepulchral monuments, but rather in the conflation of this Anatolian deity with another goddess similarly perceived as embodying the opposing roles of Giver and Taker of Life. This deity was Artemis, who in the East retained many of her original features as Great Mother, and in numerous relief sculptures the two goddesses appear side by side, sharing both sanctuary and veneration.\textsuperscript{41} One of many such works is a \textit{stele} dated c.400 B.C.E. which was discovered in Sardis during excavations in 1968.\textsuperscript{42} On it, Artemis is represented holding a hind in the crook of her arm. Next to her Cybele echoes this gesture by holding a small lion. Two worshippers approach both

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{36} Vermaseren, \textit{Cybele}, p.20 = \textit{CCCA} I, 118.
\item\textsuperscript{37} If indeed Cyzicus, rather than Dorylaion, was the provenance of this work as G. Mendel suggests, then the potential for connections between similar works and Bithynia are even greater. According to Johansen, however, this hypothesis has no foundation in fact. Johansen, \textit{op.cit.} pp.76 and 77, n.2.
\item\textsuperscript{38} \textit{CCCA} I, 520-522. S. Reinach in \textit{BCH} 13 (1889), p.548, n.1 also mentions some terracottas of Cybele enthroned which were found in graves at Cyme, however, no dates for these works are given (=\textit{CCCA} I, 529).
\item\textsuperscript{39} Graillot, p.362.
\item\textsuperscript{40} \textit{CCCA} I, 494-519. No indication is given in Vermaseren’s \textit{Corpus} of the context in which these works were found. Graillot, however, believes that they were designed for the graves of this Aeolian town and were intended as reminders of the fact that from mythical times this site came under the protection of the Mother Goddess. Graillot, p.362.
\item\textsuperscript{41} Several inscriptions found at Perge in Pamphylia which refer to one Plancia Magna attest to the fact that priestesses could serve both Cybele and Artemis (\textit{CCCA} I, 742).
\item\textsuperscript{42} Hanfmann, G. M. A. and Waldbaum, J. C. ‘Kybele and Artemis - Two Anatolian Goddesses at Sardis’ \textit{Archaeology} XXII 4 (1969) pp.265-266 = \textit{CCCA} I, 460. Other evidence for the syncretisation of these two deities can be taken from the fact that although reference is made in Herodotus, V, 102 to a temple of Cybele at Sardis, excavations have only revealed inscriptions and reliefs dedicated to Artemis.
\end{itemize}
deities from the right, their arms raised in gestures of adoration. Another work where Cybele's funereal character appears even more explicit is a gold diadem from Neapolis in Palestina, on which the Great Mother is depicted accompanied not only by Artemis, but also in all probability Hades, Mercury and Hecate - all figures whose chthonic associations were well known.

That in perceiving Cybele as a goddess with clear connections to the afterlife, worshippers in Bithynia differed little from their counterparts in these and no doubt many other areas of Asia Minor, can similarly be assumed on the basis of evidence provided by a limestone altar from Yağcilar. On the left side of this monument, which is dated to the Roman period, Cybele is represented seated on a low throne, flanked by lions and, like the goddess of the Logie statuette, wearing a veiled mural crown, chiton and himation. On the right side stands the figure of Hermes, possibly in his guise of Psycopompus. On the back, the Phrygian satyr Marsyas is depicted standing with his left hand on top of a naïskos which contains the figure of Cybele seated between two lions. The inclusion of a representation of the Goddess on two sides of the altar encourages the impression that these figures were not meant to be considered in isolation, but rather were in some way interrelated. The probability that this monument was itself intended for a funerary context, and the fact that Hermes (as the conductor of the shades of the dead into Hades) and Marsyas (as the devotee of Cybele who was believed to have been buried near the Goddess' temple at Pessinus) both had funerary connections to Cybele, would seem to point to the conclusion that the factor which united these scenes was the chthonic character of the Great Mother.

As one of the undoubted heirs of Phrygian religious tradition, it is surely not only in the matter of perceptions of Cybele as a goddess suited to the protection of the dead that Bithynian devotees followed the lead established by their Anatolian neighbours. Were this not so, then while the placement of images of the Goddess in Bithynian tombs would still be explicable in terms of an adherence to Phrygian tradition and the apotropaic functions of the monuments themselves, the alteration of standard funerary images of Cybele enthroned to include gestures typical of mourning such as that visible in the

43 CCCA I, 896. Admittedly, this location is significantly further away from Bithynia than any of the sites previously referred to in this context, however, this in itself gives some indication of the pervasiveness in the East of conceptions of Cybele as a goddess with pronounced funerary associations.

44 CCCA I, 241 = Schwertheim, I B, 6, p.805.

45 The close correspondence of Phrygian and Bithynian cults of Cybele can be inferred, not only from the close proximity of the two regions, but also as a result of the fact that native Bithynians were descended from the Phrygian race.
Logie statuette, would appear more difficult to account for. It would seem, however, that of equal, if not greater importance to the Phrygian cult than the conception of Cybele as a sepulchral guardian, was the emphasis placed in legend and ritual on the lamentation of the Goddess for Attis. Few circumstances illustrate this point more clearly than the fact that it was according to the Phrygian tradition (*phrygio more*)\(^{46}\) that the *Tristia* were performed in Rome. It was also due to information gleaned from native Phrygians that Diodorus Siculus, in his version of the mythology of the Great Mother, portrayed Cybele as wild with grief following the death of her lover, and subsequently attested to the institution of mourning rites in the Phrygian cult.\(^{47}\)

Inextricably linked to any long-standing perceptions of Cybele as a mourning goddess is the relative status of Attis. Should it be proven that he traditionally occupied a position of significance in the Bithynian cult, then one more factor exists which may have influenced the production of images of the Goddess mourning his death. Unfortunately, once again the limited archaeological evidence available from this province does not, in all likelihood, provide a true indication of his popularity. Nevertheless, the fact that at least five figures of Attis are to be found amongst the small number of cult monuments unearthed in this region would suggest that this Phrygian youth was definitely known to Bithynian worshippers.\(^{48}\) That he was almost certainly far more than just familiar can be inferred from a reference made by Arrian in the second century C.E. to the journeys of devotees to 'high places' (presumably sacred sites on nearby mountains) in order that they might invoke Attis *Papas*.\(^{49}\) Given that *Papas* is usually taken to refer to a Father God, this text then attests not only to the worship of Attis in Bithynia during the period suggested here as that in which the *Cybele tristis* genre developed, but also to his possible deification.

This picture of Attis as a significant figure in the Bithynian cult of Cybele is entirely consistent with evidence discovered in neighbouring Mysia. Here, coins from Cyzicus which depict the head of Attis clearly attest to his considerable status as early as the fifth century B.C.E.\(^{50}\) His worship, at least


\(^{47}\) Diodorus, III, 58-59.

\(^{48}\) These works are: two bronze ornaments showing the bust of Attis (*CCCA* I, 222-223), a head wearing a Phrygian cap (*CCCA* I, 226), a terracotta figurine of a winged Attis (*CCCA* I, 228) and a bronze bust (*CCCA* I, 229). All were found in Nicomedia.

\(^{49}\) Graillot, p.377.

\(^{50}\) Schwertheim, p.833. Graillot also emphasises the importance of the cult of Attis at Cyzicus, *ibid*, p.374.
in the second century B.C.E., is confirmed in the reference by Nicander to a sacred cult-place for Attis in the Lobrine Mountains.51 The discovery of three marble statues of Attis and one circular column against which he is depicted leaning (all of which are from Cyzicus and two of which are from the second century C.E.)52 further strengthen impressions of Attis as a figure whose importance both to Cybele and to her worshippers in these areas was long-standing and substantial.53 That this should be so in northwestern Asia Minor in general is to be expected, given that it was here that the legend of Cybele and Attis began. It was also here that the passion and death of Attis and the grief of the Goddess at his passing were firmly entrenched in cult legend and ritual at a time when Cybele's beloved was still regarded with suspicion and contempt in places such as Greece and Rome.

It is feasible that no circumstances other than these need be sought to explain the creation of the Cybele tristis genre in this area. With the exception of the possible emphasis placed on the relationship of the individual devotee to the Goddess, however, no facet of the Bithynian cult of Cybele would appear unique to this province. Thus, on evidence taken purely from the monuments of the cult itself, it remains difficult to account for the preponderance of these images in Bithynia. Such cults do not exist in isolation from their social contexts, however, and thus it is possible that outside factors may have influenced the representation of Cybele in this manner. In Bithynia, such a factor can be identified in the siting of one of the ancient world's most important centres of funerary sculpture at Nicomedia.

It is very much due to the research of J. B. Ward-Perkins into the marble trade in antiquity that there has emerged in recent years, a clear picture of the vital role played by this provincial capital in an extensive commercial organisation which specialised in the production of funerary sculptures and their export to locations throughout the Roman Empire.54 This would appear to have developed during the first half of the second century C.E., when Nicomedia

51 Nicander, Alexipharmaca, 8-9. When commenting on this text the Sophist Eutekmios (second century C.E.) further makes mention of the celebration of Attis' wedding, an event which, according to Vermaseren, can only refer to his alliance with Cybele. Vermaseren, Cybele, pp.111-112, n.615.
52 These are: CCCA I, 280 (third century B.C.E.); CCCA I, 282 and 284 (second century C.E.) and CCCA I, 281 (undated) = Schwertheim, Ill B, 1 a-d.
53 For Vermaseren, the origin of the divine child Attis can be recognised as far back as c.6000 B.C.E. in the figure of Cybele from Çatal Hüyük (fig. 1) where the mother goddess is seen either giving birth to a child, or receiving it back into her womb. More specific evidence of the antiquity of Attis in this area is provided by the fact that a figure of Attis dated to the sixth century B.C.E. has been found at Marseilles. This area was colonised from Asia Minor. Vermaseren, Cybele, n.713.
became the distribution centre of marble products from nearby quarries on the island of Proconnesus.\textsuperscript{55} As early as the third century B.C.E., however, Bithynian ateliers were renowned for their production of grave reliefs and funerary sculpture. Later, as demands for more substantial monuments grew in relation to levels of prosperity, this repertoire expanded to include marble sarcophagi, whose appeal to those in Bithynia can be seen in the vast cemeteries, mostly of Roman date, which stretch to the east and west of Nicomedia.\textsuperscript{56} It was no doubt in one of these sarcophagi that the Prainetos statue of \textit{Cybele tristis} was discovered. This fact indicates that it may have been as a corollary of sarcophagi production in this area that works such as the Logie statuette were created.

Overall, based on what can be deduced from the little evidence at hand from Bithynia and information which can be extrapolated from the monuments of neighbouring provinces, it is apparent that not only would the Great Mother have been perceived by Bithynian devotees as a deity long committed to the protection and guidance of her worshippers in death, but also as the devoted lover of Attis whose sorrow at his death was such that the display of mourning became firmly entrenched in cult ritual. Add to this a long history of the production of funerary sculpture in which artists would no doubt have been aware of conventions such as the mourning hand-to-head gesture, and what emerges is the picture of a province in which religious belief, personal concerns and artistic tradition combined to produce conditions that were ideally suited to the development of the \textit{Cybele tristis} genre and, therefore, also to the production of the Logie statuette.

\textsuperscript{55} ibid. p.23.
\textsuperscript{56} Hanfmann, G. M. A. \textit{From Croesus to Constantine - The Cities of Western Asia Minor and Their Arts in Greek and Roman Times} (Ann Arbor, 1975) p.80. Evidence for these tombs also appears in Dion Chrysostomus (Discourses, 47, 17) where the author claimed that, in support of his plan for urban renewal, 'the people of Nicomedia passed a resolution to transfer their tombs...'.

There can be no denying that the lack of records detailing the context, date and provenance of the Logie statuette precludes the formulation of definitive conclusions on these topics. Nevertheless, careful examination of the distinctive iconography of this work and its consideration in the light of what is known of the artistic conventions of antiquity and the cult of Cybele itself do provide a valuable basis for many informed hypotheses. Not the least of these is that, whilst belonging to an enduring and substantial tradition of images of Cybele enthroned, the Logie statuette exhibits a sufficient number of atypical characteristics for it to be placed more specifically within one sub-group of monuments. This group is that of Cybele tristis, and the iconographic adaptations which these images display would appear to have ensured that representations of the Goddess in this manner were particularly suited to a specific situation, time and place.

At the centre of these conclusions lies the identification of the hand-to-head gesture which is prominent in the Logie statuette as indicative of Cybele in her mourning aspect. This interpretation is consistent with the artistic traditions of the Greek and Roman worlds, where funerary monuments in a multitude of media frequently utilised this motif to express lamentation. It is also in keeping with the emphasis placed on the Goddess' grief in both the legends and rituals associated with the Magna Mater. From the time of her genesis in Phrygian mythology to the point of her greatest popularity under the Roman Empire, a fundamental aspect of the character and attraction of Cybele was her capacity for caring. In cult ritual, this tendency was clearly manifest in the Tristia, where the sorrow of the Goddess at the death of her beloved played an essential role in the ceremonies commemorating the passion of Attis. In the funerary monuments of many of her devotees a similar propensity for the characterisation of Cybele as a Goddess apt to lament the passing of those dear to her is equally apparent.
With these factors in mind, there can be little doubt that the mechanisms necessary for the creation of the *Cybele tristis* genre were firmly entrenched in both cult and society. Further, acceptance of this interpretation of the iconography of the Logie statuette helps to explain two other distinctive characteristics of this work. The absence of the *tympanum* can thus be regarded as the calculated removal of an attribute whose orgiastic connotations rendered it unsuited to a depiction of the Goddess in mourning. The metamorphosis of the traditional guardian lion into a docile and empathetic companion likewise constitutes a fitting corollary to the adaptation of the archetypal image of Cybele enthroned to use in a sepulchral context. The hypothesis that it was indeed for a funerary setting that this image was intended is substantiated not only by the iconographic suitability of the work to this context, but also by the little archaeological evidence which is available. The discovery of the Prainetos statue within a sarcophagus provides tangible proof of a direct correlation between images such as the Logie statuette and the sepulchral environment.

It is on the basis of the identification of the Logie statuette as an image of *Cybele tristis* that chronological parameters are subsequently assigned to this work. Although it is true that for the duration of her veneration Cybele was considered to be a caring protectress who was deeply concerned with the welfare of her devotees, it was only in the first and second centuries C.E. that conditions truly favoured perceptions of her as a mourning goddess. The fact that prior to this period Attis was very much a subsidiary figure in the cult is important in justifying this contention. In mythology, his character had yet to receive a definitive form, in art his presence was infrequent, and what is known of cult rituals at this time would suggest that it was only in a very small number of areas that Cybele's beloved was accorded any honours at all. Thus it is unlikely that the status of Attis before the early Empire would have been sufficient to warrant the creation of an image of the Goddess lamenting at his passing. After the first and second centuries C.E., such was the influence of contemporary cosmological and soteriological doctrines on the character of Attis that the question of his death and the subsequent performance of lamentation becomes redundant.

In comparison, during the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, no aspect of the cult of Cybele received greater emphasis than the passion of Attis and the mourning of the Goddess and her devotees. This is particularly true of the period from the mid-first to the mid-second centuries
C. E., when the funereal rites of the *Tristia* formed the undisputed focus of cult practice. It is logical to assume that the resulting increases in the status of Attis, the importance accorded his death and perceptions of Cybele as a mourning Goddess, provided the necessary impetus for the development of the *Cybele tristis* genre.

It was also in the first and second centuries C. E. that catalysts for the placement of images such as the Logie statuette in the tombs of the faithful are to be found. Two factors can be identified as contributing to this practice. The first of these was the overt promotion of Cybele as a benevolent and tutelary Mother Goddess by emperors such as Augustus and Trajan. Imperial recognition such as this could not have failed but to raise awareness of Cybele as a deity well suited to the protection of the souls of her devotees and guardianship of their final resting places. Simultaneously, these characteristics found ready acceptance among many for whom traditional religious observance offered little in the face of increasing anxieties over the nature of the afterlife and the unpredictability of fate. As a goddess whose solicitous disposition appeared to affirm the value of the individual, it is probable that at this time Cybele was considered likely to mourn not only the loss of her beloved, but also the deaths of those who sought to emulate the relationship of Attis to the divine.

A belief in the existence of an intimate bond between votary and divinity is one of numerous circumstances observable in the Bithynian cult of Cybele which combine to make this region the most likely provenance of the Logie statuette. What little evidence there is would suggest that worship in Bithynia was geared particularly to fulfilment of the spiritual needs of the individual, thus encouraging perceptions of the Goddess as a sympathetic and caring protectress. That this tutelary role was believed to encompass the realm of the dead as well as that of the living is attested to by the many funerary monuments from northwestern Asia Minor on which Cybele assumed the mantle of guardian of the tomb and of the deceased. The fact that ultimately, these hieratic images gave rise to representations of the Goddess actively mourning is easily explained by the importance accorded Attis in both the legends and rituals of the Bithynian cult and the emphasis which was no doubt placed on the lamentation of his death.

Factors such as the considerable status of Attis and the marked funerary tenor of worship in Bithynia testify to the existence of conditions favourable to the creation of images of *Cybele tristis*. To this list may be added an
artistic tradition which ensured that this province became a major centre of
the production and export of funerary sculpture in the early centuries of the
Roman Empire. Evidence that this production included images such as the
Logie statuette is amply provided by the numerous monuments depicting
Cybele in mourning which have been found in Bithynia and its environs.
True, representations of *Cybele tristis* have been discovered in locations
outside this eastern province. However, these occurrences are explicable
variously as a consequence of the movement of individual devotees, trade,
or the practice of artistic commercialism. The sheer numerical
concentration in Bithynia of representations of Cybele enthroned with her
hand raised to her head in the age-old gesture of lamentation leaves little
doubt that, at the very least, it is to this province that the inspiration for the
Logie statuette can be attributed.

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Figure 1.

Figure 2.
Figure 15.

Figure 16.
Figure 19.

Figure 20.
Figure 21.

Figure 22.
Figure 23.

Figure 24.
Figure 25.

Figure 26.
Figure 27.

Figure 28.
LOCATIONS WHERE CYBELE TRISTIS IMAGES HAVE BEEN FOUND

• Find spots of Cybele Tristis images

• Other significant sites referred to in the text

Figure 29.