

Shared Symbols and Cultural Identity

The Goddess Tyche on Coins from the Roman Province of Syria

By

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THESIS

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SUMMARY

This study explores the history and iconography of the goddess Tyche and the cultures of the Roman Province of Syria in order to determine why coins depicting this goddess were so numerous in Syria. Tyche was a Greek goddess but she had many ties to the cultures of Syria. The most important iconographical element of Tyche images, the mural crown, had its origin in Near Eastern art, which allowed inhabitants of Syria to recognize Tyche images as part of their own culture. The tradition of a city protection deity was well established in the area through the deity Gad. Tyche could easily replace the city protector and represent the city. Tyche was also commonly combined with other goddesses in the area that were closely associated with a particular city. These three factors made Tyche images recognizable and popular in Syria.

Through several case studies, it can be seen that Tyche coins could use the three factors described above and could also be further customized to represent an individual city. This allowed Tyche coins to be used in cities across the province to differentiate themselves and also create a network of similar cultural output.

These coins also helped the cities create a relationship with Rome by placing an image representing themselves on one side and the image of the emperor on the other. The Syrian cities made a statement about their acceptance of the hierarchy created by the Roman Empire through the use of these coins.

How can one goddess be used to create a unique civic identity for dozens of cities simultaneously? This is the question I set out to answer after viewing a coin from the city of Antioch ad Hippum, on the Sea of Galilee in Israel (Figure 1). Minted during the reign of Lucius Verus (161-169 CE), this coin depicts, on the obverse, a bust of Lucius Verus wearing a laurel crown.¹ The reverse image shows a city Tyche, the goddess who represented and protected a given city. One can tell she is the city goddess by the mural crown, which is a crown that looks like city walls. She holds a cornucopia in one arm and on her outstretched hand holds a miniature horse. There are inscriptions on either side of the Tyche image including the abbreviation for Hippos. While investigating the coin, it became clear that the Tyche had been customized to represent the specific city she was being invoked to protect, since “hippos” is the Greek word for horse. The concept of Tyche as a city goddess was not novel, but this level of specificity was intriguing.

Coins depicting Tyche, of every rank from Roman imperial to the smallest denomination of bronze, can be found throughout the Roman Empire from its inception until its demise. There appear to be more from Syria than any other province, however, and the frequency with which Tyche is featured on civic bronze issues in that province raises the question of local agency and civic identity. Who was involved in the creation and reception of these coins? Were the cities themselves allowed to control production or were they supervised by a higher authority? The meaning of the Tyche images could change drastically depending on their creators. Equally important is the audience, as the differing groups of individuals who viewed or used these coins interpreted them according to their own concerns. Many cultures, too numerous to list here, coexisted in Syria and had varying degrees of identification with the images on the civic bronze

¹ The inscriptions are heavily abbreviated and their interpretation requires specialized knowledge.

coins. Discussing how these cultures interacted and worked together to create a local identity, as opposed to large categories such as “Greek” or “Roman,” will aid in understanding how Tyche worked as a symbol in Syria.

I argue that the civic bronze coins with images of the city Tyche were more numerous in the province of Syria largely because they acted as a shared symbol between the many cultures of the province. Through the appropriation and manipulation of iconography these coins were able to display a civic identity specific to the city in which they were minted and which tied the city into the broader network of Greek-style city states within the Roman Empire. In addition, the Tyche coins helped the cities to create a relationship with Rome that proved mutually beneficial. Tyche had many ties to the area that solidified her role as a shared symbol. Her origin as a Greek goddess, combined with the associations with the cultures and religions of Syria, allowed Tyche to speak to a wide audience comprised of people from diverse cultures, while creating an identity for all of the citizens of the city she was representing.

Tyche had two primary functions: as a goddess of fortune and as a representation and protector of a city. Tyche developed as a personification of the Greek noun *τυχη*, meaning, “chance” or “fortune.” The associated verb *τυγκανω* means “to obtain” indicating what one is assigned by the gods. She does not appear in Homer and only has a brief mention in the *Theogony* of Hesiod. References to Tyche do not pre-date 700 BCE and she had no mythological narrative of her own. As a goddess of fortune she was powerful and feared which caused people to worship her in the cult of Agatha Tyche, or Good Fortune, in an attempt to evoke only her positive side.² The concept of Tyche as the protector of a city was widespread and long-lived. Pausanias determined that the sculpted image of the Tyche of Smyrna created by Bupallos in the

² Susan B. Matheson, “The Goddess Tyche,” in *An Obsession with Fortune*, ed. Susan B. Matheson (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1994), 19-20.

sixth century BCE, was the earliest image of a city Tyche. We know from literary sources that this statue wore a mural crown and carried a cornucopia, but it is lost to us today.³ There are many inscriptions, dating from the late fifth century BCE through the Hellenistic period and into the Roman era, that tell of the active worship of Tyche in both of her guises throughout the Mediterranean. She was especially popular throughout mainland Greece and the Near East.⁴ Pausanias corroborates this statement by listing temples and altars dedicated to Tyche spanning the Greek world.⁵

The presence of Tyche in Syria, where she was worshipped widely, is also well attested. The images of temples on coins minted throughout the region showing a Tyche inside indicate that there was a temple or sanctuary in the area that was dedicated to her cult.⁶ There is also literary evidence for her worship. Pausanias, for example, tells us that the inhabitants of Antioch venerated a statue of the goddess made by Eutychides.⁷ This sculpture was commissioned by Seleucus at the founding of Antioch ad Orontem (modern day Antakya, Turkey) in 300 BCE.⁸ Known as the Tyche of Antioch, the sculpture was famous in antiquity.⁹ Tyche is represented

3 Pausanias 4.30.6.; Pieter B. F. J. Broucke, "Tyche and the Fortune of Cities in the Greek and Roman World," in *An Obsession with Fortune*, ed. Susan B. Matheson (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1994), 36.

4 Giulia Sfameni Gasparro, "Daimon and Tuche in the Hellenistic Religious Experience," in *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks*, ed. Per Bilde, 67-109. (Oakville, CT: Aarhus University Press, 1997), 83-87. See also notes for lists of inscriptions. See also Stephen V. Tracy, "IG II2 1195 and Agathe Tyche in Attica." *Hesperia* 63, no. 2 (1994): 241-244.

5 Pausanias 2.2.7; 2.20.3; 2.35.2; 4.30.4; 5.17.3; 6.2.6; 6.25.4; 9.16.1.

6 Volker Heuchert, "The Chronological Development of Roman Provincial Coin Iconography," in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. Christopher Howgego et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 50.

7 A Roman copy of this sculpture resides in the Vatican Museum. An image of this sculpture can be found on ArtStor.org.

8 Broucke, "Tyche and the Fortune of Cities," 39.

9 Asher Ovadiah, and Sonia Mucznik, *Worshipping the Gods: Art and Cult in Roman Eretz Israel* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2009), 189.; Pausanias 6.2.7.

sitting on a rock with one leg crossed over the other and a personification of the Orontes River, the river that flows through the city of Antioch, at her feet. She rests one elbow on her knee with her hand up near her face holding stalks of wheat while the other hand rests on the rock behind her. She wears a mural, or turreted, crown. The sculptures and temples to Tyche tended to be conspicuously placed as is evidenced by the Tyche of Antioch sculpture, which was set up near the theater. Temples dedicated to her have been found near the agora in other cities.¹⁰

Tyche was depicted in a number of art forms throughout Syria. Evidence has been found in dozens of cities in media ranging from sculpture to gems to mosaics.¹¹ The existence of miniature forms, in statuettes and on gems, indicates the importance of the goddess on a personal level.¹² In a fresco from the Temple of Bel in Palmyra (modern day Tadmor, Syria) from 239 CE, Julius Terentius, a Roman tribune, is shown sacrificing to gods (Figure 2). In the bottom left corner of the fresco are depictions of the Tychai of Dura and Palmyra, labeled in Greek. Both of these Tychai follow the pattern of the Tyche of Antioch, complete with mural crown. They sit atop rocks with one leg crossed over the other and a water personification at their feet. The water deities were the Euphrates for Dura and the Ephqua for Palmyra, which was the well that fed the city. Even as far east as Dura-Europos (modern day Salhiye, Syria), and Palmyra, which were on the fringes of the province of Syria, cities used the Tyche image. Due to the wars against Parthia and Persia, Roman troops, largely composed of local men, were frequently stationed in and

10 Broucke, "Tyche and the Fortune of Cities," 40.

11 Ovadiah and Mucznik, *Worshipping the Gods*, 189-90.

12 Jas Elsner, "The Origins of the Icon: Pilgrimage, Religion and Visual Culture in the Roman East as 'Resistance' to the Centre," in *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, ed. Susan E. Alcock, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 187. Elsner talks about Artemis from Ephesus and these small items as pilgrimage souvenirs. There is no evidence that I am aware of that indicates that there was any sort of Tyche pilgrimage but the power of the images may have been similar to that of the Artemis souvenirs. Some may have been viewed as having protective qualities, particularly the gems.

around these border cities.¹³ It could be that the soldiers shown worshipping in this fresco used the Tychai images to indicate that these cities were important to them. The Tychai may also be receiving sacrifices as they are depicted beneath the warrior deities being worshipped.

In addition to indicating the importance of the deity, these sorts of objects also point to the familiarity of her image. It would be difficult to find a person in Syria who at the very least did not know what his or her own city Tyche looked like, and the goddess would have been recognizable even in cities lacking their own Tychai. The fame of the Tyche of Antioch also aided in the spread of this goddess and her image.¹⁴

Whereas ethnicity or tribal affiliations might determine the composition of worshippers of certain cults, others were apparently open to a wider range of people.... A few of these gained international recognition, and their images, like those of the Tyche of Antioch or the figure of Roma, were icons recognized across the empire.¹⁵

It is possible that Tyche's nature as a deity representing a city, not affiliated with a specific cultural group, opened up her worship to people from diverse backgrounds. All of the inhabitants could have held Tyche as a symbol of their city. The association of the image with the city in which it resided would have created an identity and sense of belonging. A particular attribute that is present in every depiction of a city Tyche is the mural crown. This attribute had roots in the Near East and gave Tyche a special connection to Syria. In addition, her role as a city protector further connected her to Syria through local manifestations of protection deities.

Based on the needs and character of a particular city, several types of Tyche images could be utilized to represent it on coins. The simplest type shows only a bust wearing a mural crown,

13 AHM Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 266; Maurice Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome* trans. Catherine Porter et al. (London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 137-38.

14 Kevin Butcher, *Roman Syria and the Near East*, (London: British Museum Press, 2003), 335.

15 Ibid., 335.

meant to mimic city walls. This is the type most frequently used when Tyche is featured on the obverse. Attributes are occasionally placed next to her face or in her crown. The goddess can also be shown seated on a throne or chair wearing the mural crown and holding attributes. The fortune goddess is transformed into a city goddess by the addition of a mural crown. The fortune type, when not acting as a city Tyche, does not wear a mural crown but rather a polos, a small cylindrical headpiece, and stands carrying a cornucopia and rudder.¹⁶ These attributes are sometimes retained when altering the fortune type Tyche to a civic representative and the mural crown is added to make the distinction clear. A city would presumably choose this type if it wanted to utilize attributes usually associated with fortune. Harbor towns, for example often employ this type making iconographic use of the rudder. Another type is based on the Tyche of Antioch statue. This Tyche sits on a rock with one leg crossed over the other and a personification of the river Orontes below her feet. The water personification represents the local city's water source when this type is used on civic bronze coins of cities other than Antioch. While the Tyche of Antioch sits upon Mt. Silpius, on regional variations of this image the rock represents any local mountain or hill.¹⁷ City coins following the Tyche of Antioch type depict Tyche wearing a mural crown and various attributes based on the nature of the city. A third type of Tyche is the Amazon and is the result of merging with the local warrior goddess Astarte. This type occurs throughout the Near East, not just in Syria.¹⁸ The Amazon stands dressed in military garb with one breast exposed. She has one foot raised and resting on an object, usually the stern

¹⁶ Examples of the Fortune type Tyche can be found on ArtStor.org.

¹⁷ Ibid., 232.

¹⁸ To my knowledge, this type was not used outside of the East where Astarte was worshipped.

of a ship.¹⁹

The first known coin depicting a Tyche with a mural crown was minted in Salamis on Cyprus, under Euagoras II, in 361-351 BCE. The reverse of this coin shows the bust of Tyche wearing a fairly detailed crown with crenellated turrets and a veil coming down from the back of the crown.²⁰ The first known coin minted with the Tyche of Antioch type comes from Antioch under Tigranes I in about 83 BCE. She is in profile on this coin seated on a rock with one leg crossed over the other. She wears the mural crown and holds a palm branch.²¹

While the attributes held by Tyche on civic bronze coins were specific to that city, one attribute was common to all of these coins and helped make her recognizable to a wider audience: the mural crown. It appears to have had its origins in the Near East and then have been borrowed for use on the representations of the city Tyche in Greek art. The oldest example of an image with a mural crown is an Akkadian depiction of a seated goddess on a royal seal from 2225 BCE. The goddess is not identified but the seal belonged to princess Tutanapsum, daughter of the Akkadian king Naramsin. The crown is common in Near Eastern art and throughout the Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian periods the crown is worn by women of the royal court. A tile from Nineveh dating to the reign of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE) shows the king wearing a crown that even features gates and towers. A stele from the reign of Assurbanipal (663-626 BCE) depicts the king's consort wearing a mural crown.

The Achaemenids borrowed the crown from Assyrian art and the Sassanians borrowed it

19 Rivka Gersht, "The Tyche of Caesarea Maritima," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 116 (1984): 110.; Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 340.

20 Broucke, "Tyche and the Fortune of Cities," 36.

21 Mark D. Stansbury-O'Donnell, "Reflections of the Tyche of Antioch in Literary Sources and on Coins," in *An Obsession with Fortune*, ed. Susan B. Matheson (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1994), 55.

from the Achaemenids.²² Men also appear wearing the mural crown but only the highest members of the royal family such as princes and kings carry this iconography. On the heads of the men, the crown may symbolize their protection of the city. When women wear the crown, they are queens or women of high standing and it seems to represent their power in the city and also, in the cases of the queens, their protection of the city. There are Hebrew texts that describe prominent women, usually the wives of rabbis, wearing a “city of gold,” an extravagant piece of jewelry that has been interpreted as a mural crown. Esther is also shown wearing a mural crown in the late second century CE mural from the synagogue in Dura-Europos, Syria (Figure 2).²³

Crown-wearing goddesses include the Akkadian Ishtar; the Aramaean Atargatis; the Anatolian Cybele; the Syrian Dea Syria; the Greek Ge, Oikoumene, Artemis, and Aphrodite; as well as the Roman Magna Mater. I am unaware of any gods being depicted wearing the crown. In some cases, the crown stresses the universal nature of the goddess, such as Ge (Earth) and Oikoumene (the Inhabited World) because city walls serve as a boundary and structure made to encompass an area. Because the crown imitates city walls, it symbolizes strength and protection, making it the perfect attribute for a goddess who is called upon to protect the city.²⁴ Walls served an important purpose “as both sacred and secular barrier, to keep evil from crossing the boundary between the desert and the city.”²⁵ Thus the crown represented the “separation of the orderly life,

22 Dieter Metzler, "Mural Crowns in the Ancient Near East and Greece," in *An Obsession with Fortune*, ed. Susan B. Matheson (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1994), 77-78.

23 Shalom M Paul, “Jerusalem of Gold - Revisited,” *Divrei Shalom: Collected Studies of Shalom M. Paul on the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005), 333-342.

24 Metzler, "Mural Crowns," 79-80.

25 Ted Kaizer, "De Dea Syria et Aliis Deabusque (Part 2)," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 29 (1998): 51.

under the aegis of the town deity, from the chaos outside the walls.’’²⁶

With the image of the mural crown and its significance deeply rooted in the art of the Near East, its association with the city Tychai would have tied the images on the coins to the older traditions of the cultures of Syria. Further, it would have connected even those who had not been indoctrinated in the Hellenic culture to the meaning of the image. The presence of images with the mural crown in the art of the Near East would have allowed the citizens to see parallel uses of Tyche’s iconography in the indigenous art as well as the imported Hellenistic art. Tyche’s iconography would also have been familiar to Syrian residents through her interactions with local goddesses.

The term “syncretism” is often applied by classicists to situations where two or more ancient deities were merged.²⁷ Andre Motte and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge identified three models of syncretism that were employed specifically in the Greek world and the Near East. In the *interpretatio* model a god from one pantheon is seen as the equivalent of a god in another pantheon, with the same powers. *Amalgam* is the model by which one or more gods are combined to create a new deity associated with new customs or a mixture of customs. The final model, *henotheism*, sees the plethora of deities of the same gender across multiple pantheons as being the same deity. The *interpretatio* model was the most common among the Greeks and was

26 Ulrich Turck, “‘Mural Crown’ Kilims: the Historical Origin of an Anatolian Kilim Design,” *Hali* 115 (2001): 89.

27 While many disciplines find this term controversial along with terms such as “hybrid,” Classical scholars still use the term. Often these scholars do not seem to use it as much more than an alternate word for “merged” or “combined.” I have chosen to use words other than “syncretism” to avoid the confusion of charged terminology. I do use “syncretism” in this section, however, because the sources I am referencing use it intentionally and describe some of the specific methods of syncretism they have identified.

also popular in the Near East.²⁸ The choice of which deities to combine could be made on the basis of a single common characteristic. For example, in Apuleius' *Metamorphosis* xi, 5, Isis equates herself with a long list of other goddesses who also share a relationship to good fortune.²⁹

What can be seen on the coins of Syria is a merging of Tyche with whatever local deity was traditionally responsible for the protection of the city.³⁰ These coins most closely follow the *interpretatio* model as Tyche is equated with the local goddess or god based on a single characteristic - city protection - while not becoming a new entity. It does not fit the model perfectly, since the local deity is almost consumed by Tyche's city nature, but it is still likely that the locals would recognize both deities and their worship of the city Tyche could be altered accordingly. In most cases, Tyche adopted the attributes commonly associated with the other goddess. This may indicate that she now possessed some, if not all, of the powers usually attributed to that deity.

There were three goddesses in Syria with whom Tyche was commonly merged: Atargatis, Cybele and Astarte. Atargatis was an Aramaean goddess whose attributes included lions, doves, stalks of wheat, a drum and a scepter. A relief from the first century CE from Dura-Europos depicts a Tyche-Atargatis with a mural crown and two doves (Figure 4).³¹ Additionally, Atargatis was often syncretized with Cybele, an Anatolian mother goddess whose symbols

28 The original article by Motte and Pirenne-Delforge was published in 1998 in French. Their arguments are summarized in Stephanie L. Budin, "A Reconsideration of the Aphrodite-Ashtart Syncretism," *Numen* 51, no. 2 (2004): 97-98.

29 Luther H. Martin, "Why Cecropian Minerva? Hellenistic Religious Syncretism as System," *Numen* 30, no. 2 (1983): 138-39.

30 Matheson, "The Goddess Tyche," 25.

31 It is difficult to tell the exact context of this image due to its fragmentation, but it was discovered near the temple of Adonis.

included lions and mountains. In another relief found near the temple of Atargatis in Dura-Europos from the second century CE, Atargatis-Cybele is shown sitting on a throne to the right of the god Hadad, with whom she is often associated. Two lions flank her throne and she wears a polos instead of a mural crown (Figure 5). Since Cybele had a link to mountains, she is often shown sitting on a rock, as was the Tyche of Antioch.³² Tyche is represented with lions on numerous occasions, which could be indicative of either Atargatis or Cybele. When shown in depictions of the Tyche of Antioch type she may have been interpreted as Tyche-Cybele if the city had a special connection to Cybele. Tyche is also often conflated with Astarte, a Phoenician goddess. Astarte also had doves and lions in her repertoire, in addition to sphinxes and a warrior persona. She is associated with the planet Venus and therefore is often combined with Aphrodite. In her warrior aspect her combination with Tyche takes on the Amazon type.³³ The cities that worshipped these Near Eastern goddesses would have seen any combination of Tyche with the attributes of these goddesses as familiar. At the same time Tyche would clearly be a Greek deity. The combination would create a unique symbol for a city that had special meaning for the Hellenized and the non-Hellenized viewer alike. Her role as a city protector further connected her to Syria through local manifestations of protection deities.

Tyche was not the only deity in Syria acting as a city protector; there had been a tradition of the divine city protector, called the Gad, including a reference to Gad in the Book of Isaiah (c. sixth century BCE).³⁴ *Gad* is a word found in Aramaic and Hebrew and has a meaning similar to the basic meaning of the Greek *tuche*, “to assign” or “cut off.” It is used in bilingual Greek and

32 Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 340.; Matheson, "The Goddess Tyche," 24.

33 Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 340.

34 Isa 65:11

Aramaic or Palmyrene inscriptions in Syria to replace the Greek word, as noun and verb, and for the name of the city protector. The development of Gad into a deity was similar to, but independent of, the development of Tyche. Gad transitioned from personification to god, with a connotation of good fortune and soon an association with city fortune and protection.³⁵ Gad could be either a male or female deity. The Gad could represent anything, such as the Gad of the garden, or any group of people, such as the Gad of the fullers, who cleansed wool. There was a Roman equivalent to the Gad, the Genius, which could be associated with a whole city just as the Gad or Tyche. The Genius could also represent a specific part of the city, such as the port.³⁶

The Gad paired with the city's local name is often mirrored in the Tyche of the city paired with the Macedonian or Roman name in inscriptions and art. For example, the Gad of Tadmor, which is the local name of the city, is analogous to the Tyche of Palmyra, which is the Macedonian name. This is not the case every time, however, as the Gad of Dura, the local name, finds its parallel in the Tyche of Dura, rather than the Tyche of Europos, which is the Macedonian name. In the case of Dura-Europos, the Genius is recorded as the Genius of Dura in a late second century Latin inscription.³⁷ At times the Gad and Tyche were equivalent to one another and at other times, they may have represented a slightly different role. They could both also represent more specific bodies of the population such as tribes. A bilingual inscription from the Temple of Bel at Palmyra from 140 CE, written in Palmyrene and Greek, equates the Gad of

35 Ted Kaizer, "De Dea Syria et Aliis Deabusque (Part 1)," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 28 (1997): 147-48.; Kaizer, "De Dea Syria (Part 2)," 47-48, 52.; J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 2.

36 Kaizer, "De Dea Syria (Part 2)," 50-51, 59.

37 Ted Kaizer, "Religion and Language in Dura-Europos," in *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, ed. Hannah M. Cotton et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 247.

Taimi, a local tribe, with the Tyche of Taimi.³⁸

The visual representations of the Gad and Tyche were not always the same, but most often they followed the pattern of the Tyche in the region. Two reliefs from the temple of the Gadde in Dura-Europos dating from about 158 CE show the Gad of Tadmor (Palmyra) and the Gad of Dura (Figures 14 and 15). The Gad of Tadmor follows the more traditional representation of a city protector, she is a goddess seated on a throne, wearing a mural crown with a lion at her side and her feet resting on the personification of the city's spring or well. A priest stands on the left and a female figure on the right is crowning the Gad. In the second relief the Gad of Dura is a male deity, bearded and flanked by eagles. He is also being crowned, this time by the founder of the city, Seleucus, while a priest stands on the opposite side. The action of the priest is obscured by damage to the relief but he appears to be making a sacrifice.³⁹ As noted above, the standard depiction of the city deity of Dura was that of the goddess, crowned with two doves.⁴⁰ Both Gad and Tyche, however, could be depicted as a female, seated and wearing the mural crown. Judging by the addition of doves to the Tyche of Dura, Gad could also be merged with other deities. In Syria, many depictions of the city protector could exist in the city at the same time and not all had to be traditional goddess types or even labeled as a Gad or Tyche.⁴¹ The history of Syria allows for a deeper understanding of how these variations of a Tyche could be used.

38 Kaizer, "De Dea Syria (Part 1)," 152-53.; Kaizer, "De Dea Syria (Part 2)," 54.

39 Kaizer, "Religion and Language," 247; Kevin Butcher, *Coinage in Roman Syria*, (London: Royal Numismatic Society, 2004), 299. Male Tychai are rare, but they are not unheard of. There is another prominent example from Cyrene in North Africa where the Tyche was melded with the mythic founder of the city. Matheson, "The Goddess Tyche," 27-28.

40 Kaizer, "De Dea Syria (Part 2)," 49.

41 Kaizer, "De Dea Syria (Part 2)," 48-49, 51. Heracles also makes an appearance as a city protector in Hatra, for example, complete with his Greek iconography.

The region referred to as Syria encompasses a large portion of the modern Middle East. It extended from the southern-most strip of Turkey down to Israel and the northern half of Jordan. The eastern boundary was in flux and is harder to mark with certainty, but it encompassed part of the Syrian desert with Palmyra being incorporated at some times and not at others. In the fourth and third centuries BCE, the Seleucids, particularly Seleucus I and Antiochus I, founded many new *poleis* in Syria, and re-founded old ones. The purpose of these cities was to control the economics and politics of the surrounding countryside and act as mediators for the ruler. These foundations often had dynastic names, which were a “deliberate act that associated the landscape and political geography of the empire with the family of the king, and not merely with the person of the king himself.”⁴² Seleucus is attributed with founding the tetrapolis, a group of four cities that dominated the region. They include Antioch ad Orontem, Laodicea ad Mare, Seleucia, and Apamea. Antioch and Laodicea have survived to modern times as Antakya, Turkey and Latakia, Syria.⁴³ Seleucia is on the mouth of the Orontes near the site of modern day Samandag, Turkey. Apamea was also on the Orontes near the modern city Hama, Syria.

During the first century BCE, near the end of the Seleucid Empire, claimants to the throne began to fight one another and shower cities with privileges in order to gain their support, which created an atmosphere conducive to the creation of city identities. The result was the collapse of the Seleucid empire and the creation of a series of smaller kingdoms and autonomous cities, some of which were taken over by dynasts. The northern region of Syria was under the control of the Commagene kingdom and the Armenians while the south was divided between the

⁴² Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 26.

⁴³ Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 242.

Nabataean, Ituraean and Jewish kingdoms.⁴⁴ The Roman general Pompey defeated Tigranes I of Armenia and established the Roman province of Syria in 64 BCE. At that time, the region served as the staging point for war against Parthia.⁴⁵ The geographic boundaries and political organization of Syria stayed relatively unchanged from the time of Pompey until the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 CE), when it was divided into two smaller provinces to prevent the Syrian governor from gaining too much power. The northern section was called Syria-Coele and the southern Syria-Phoenice.⁴⁶

Typically, Rome preferred to use existing power structures and social institutions throughout its provinces where possible. Even before the Roman conquest, Syria had a system of *poleis*, or Greek-style city-states, which submitted to a centralized government, the Seleucid Empire. The *polis* was a fundamental part of the politics and culture of Syria. It was a method of organization and a source of identity and local pride. Rome found it easy to convert this system to its needs.⁴⁷ The *poleis* were responsible for the crucial tasks of collecting taxes and distributing food. It was these tasks in particular that made the *polis* a favorite method of organization and governing in the east.⁴⁸ The existing network and government of cities was relatively unchanged under Roman rule.⁴⁹ The cities were governed by a *boule*, or council, which

44 Ibid., 252-255

45 Martin Goodman, *The Roman World 44 BC-AD 180* (London: Routledge, 1997), 267.

46 Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 55; Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 82.

47 Ibid., 79-80.

48 Ibid., 98.

49 Statements about the government in Syria are drawn from accounts of the other eastern Roman provinces and inscriptions found in Syria due to an absence of first-hand accounts such as were found in the other provinces.

was comprised of local magistrates.⁵⁰ But a close eye was kept to make sure that no local officials gained too much status and support so as to challenge Rome's authority.⁵¹

Competition between cities was a vital part of the *polis* system, led to the creation of individual city identities. Competition came naturally "precisely because the ritual exchange of praise for privilege through embassies had formed the heart of diplomatic practice for generations."⁵² By Roman decree smaller cities could lose their status as cities and villages could also enter the competition and rise to city status.⁵³ There were real benefits to receiving this status from Rome, such as imperial funding of festivals, the donation of buildings, contributions of food, and reduction in taxes.⁵⁴ A major honor was the title *neokoros*, which meant the city had a temple of the imperial cult. This honor could be bestowed multiple times with some cities claiming "three times *neokoros*."⁵⁵ Other privileges included titles with benefits, some of which are not completely understood. *Asyilia* gave "exemption from reprisals and legal pursuit," *autonomia* gave a city the "right to live according to its own laws," and *hiera* designated the city as holy. The benefits of such titles as metropolis and *colonia* are not fully defined.⁵⁶ A sudden emphasis on, or invention of, mythology or history related to a city might have been intended to raise its prestige in order to demonstrate that it deserved accolades. The use of history and

50 Fergus Millar, *The Roman Empire and its Neighbors* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1981), 86-7; Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 158.

51 Goodman, *The Roman World*, 147-48.

52 Clifford Ando, "Imperial Identities," in *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, ed. Tim Whitmarsh, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 25.

53 Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 101.; Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 232-33.

54 Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 101.

55 Goodman, *The Roman World*, 175.

56 Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 184.

mythology, on coins and monuments for example, could also be in response to a neighboring city gaining some honor or privilege.⁵⁷

A key aspect of the competition between *poleis* was Rome's intention for competition. The empire created relationships with the provincials whereby the people had to acknowledge Rome's authority in order to gain the privileges they were seeking thus validating the system by using the documents to prove that they had those privileges. An example of the division of people is the creation of four assize districts in the province of Macedon. Rome split the territory into smaller geographical regions each with its own sub-government and forbade marriage and the ownership of property between them. This separated the inhabitants from people they had formerly seen as equal and gave them the opportunity to rise above them. In order to accept the power allowed by Rome to the assize districts, the local governments had to recognize Rome's authority to bring about these changes.⁵⁸

The motive behind Rome's support of competition was the awareness that while the locals were competing with each other, they did not form an alliance under the flag of oppression. They allowed themselves to be subjects of the empire in order to gain status over one another.⁵⁹

As Clifford Ando notes,

[Competition] is a powerful testimony to Roman success in reorienting traditional forms of civic and regional rivalry around a new dynamic, whose currency was the expression of loyalty to Rome and whose reward was distinction among, and occasionally power over, one's peers. What did not and could not emerge from such contests was the realisation of solidarity against Rome.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Ibid., 187.

⁵⁸ Ando, "Imperial Identities," 7, 31-32.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 18-19.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 33-34.

During periods of civic conflict and rapidly-changing emperors, provincial cities rushed to mint coins that depicted the current emperor in order to show their support.⁶¹ This rush to show loyalties would have the same effect on the *poleis* during the civil wars at the end of the Seleucid period. The cities became distinct units within the empire. These units would then have to construct an individualized identity in order to differentiate themselves from the other *poleis* with whom they were competing. The Tyche coins are one method by which the cities could circulate their identity in a succinct manner to their own citizens and those nearby.

Roman coins are typically divided into two groups, imperial and provincial/civic, a convention used by ancient writers as well as by scholars today. A prime distinction between the imperial issues and the eastern provincial issues is that the inscriptions on the imperials are in Latin while those on the provincials are primarily in Greek.⁶² Rome and, in the early first century CE, Lugdunum, a city in modern day France, produced the bulk of the imperial coinage for the entire empire. Locally-minted provincial, or civic coins, mostly bronze, disappeared from the West by 37-41 CE, but remained in production until the late third century in the East.⁶³ The issues of civic bronze coins throughout the empire were usually small in the first century CE but grew in the second and third centuries.⁶⁴ While there were many mints in Syria, production was limited. Minting was sporadic and each

61 Kenneth W. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East AD 180-275*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 34

62 Andrew Burnett, "The Roman West and the Roman East," in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. Christopher Howgego et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 172-74.

63 Christopher Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 100-101.

64 In the reign of Trajan (98-117 CE) the civic bronzes became more popular in the northern part of Syria and during the reign of Hadrian (117-138 CE) and Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE), their popularity rose in the south.

mint usually only produced for a few years with intervals of ten to twenty years possible.⁶⁵ Not every city minted coins and the presence of minting does not indicate the importance of the city, as some of the larger *poleis*, such as Apamea, stopped minting early on. Cities that did not mint their own coins, or did not do so very often, could use the coins of a neighboring city.⁶⁶ It is assumed that in order to issue coins, a city must have reached a certain level of urbanization to assure that it had the necessary government structures and magistrates to mint coins and so coins were most frequently minted in Greek-style city states.⁶⁷

Cities also had to have permission, granted by a Roman authority, to mint their own coins. Modern opinions about the granting of permission range from its being a mere formality to a necessity. For example, Patrae, a city in the Peloponnese in Greece, seemingly gained the right to mint from Domitian (81-96 CE) under the *Indulgentiae Augustus Moneta Inpetrata*.⁶⁸ In some cases the coins themselves even mention that permission was granted, occasionally with the name of a magistrate who may have been responsible for funding or securing permission. This seems to be more common when the city had status as a *colonia* or *municipia*. The *colonia* of Berytus in Syria stamped PERMISSV on one of its issues to indicate that it had been granted permission.⁶⁹ Despite the need to obtain permission to actually mint, the matters of minting were

⁶⁵ Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 255.

⁶⁶ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 217.

⁶⁷ Patrick Bruun, "Coins and the Roman Imperial Government," in *Roman Coins and Public Life under the Empire*, ed. George M. Paul et al. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 38.; Heuchert, "The Chronological Development," 30.

⁶⁸ Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 40.; Peter Weiss, "The Cities and Their Money," in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. Christopher Howgego et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 58. I have roughly translated the declaration title to "Money obtained by the concession of Augustus."

⁶⁹ Weiss, "The Cities and Their Money," 59.

left up to the city with little interference from Rome. Cities could decide when and how much to mint and even the denominations and standards of weight, which could differ from city to city. Most often the civic bronze issues tended to be smaller than imperial issues.⁷⁰ Most important for this study was the right to choose the images depicted on the coins. However, it is not always clear who had that privilege.

The question of who was in charge of minting the coins is an interesting and difficult subject. From the time of the Republic at least until the reign of Severus Alexander (222-235 CE) there were officers in Rome called the *triumviri monetales*. These officers are assumed to have been in charge of coin design due to the frequency with which their names, families and other related imagery are depicted on the coins.⁷¹ In the provinces, there were officials who usually took care of the business of minting and the city paid for most issues. It is interesting to note that most of the officials who were involved in minting coins on behalf of the city had a separate, primary office to which coin production seems to have been added. The actual production was conducted in workshops, which also produced similar items, such as seals. This means there was no physical mint that existed solely for producing coins, which is logical since production was so sporadic and limited.⁷² Having a dedicated minting official and physical mint would have been impractical if they were only used once every ten years or so.

In the province of Syria it is a little more difficult to discern how the minting process operated. Some scholars argue, based on comparisons with other areas of the east, that the *boule*, or city council, was in charge of all decisions related to coinage. However, there are also a

70 Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 249.

71 Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 67, 70.

72 Weiss, "The Cities and Their Money," 62-63, n. 24.

number of magistrates whose names are listed on coins. This might indicate that the elites paid for the coin issues, and that funding of issues was seen as an act of euergetism, the practice of elites bestowing gifts on the populace. It is also possible that the names of magistrates might simply have been listed as a dating mechanism.⁷³ What is clear is that the person, or people, in charge of designing and controlling the minting of coins were from the wealthy, educated elite class. This had an impact on the motives behind minting, the images chosen and the intended audience.

It was long assumed by scholars that coins were accepted in all regions of the Empire with a few exceptions. However, the fact that coins are found mixed in hoards and general excavation contexts does not mean that they circulated together or were interchangeable as currency. Simply because a coin is found in a particular city does not mean it was allowed to be used in that city.⁷⁴ Each minting city determined its own standards and denominations, thus making it difficult to tell how a coin from one city would have been valued in another.⁷⁵ Additionally, it is known that coins leaving their province may have been subject to a tax. The Ephesus Tax Law states that coinage carried on official business was exempt from taxation, suggesting that coinage was taxed in other circumstances.⁷⁶ If people knew that their city's coins were not viable currency in another city or that they would be taxed if they crossed a border carrying those coins, they would be less likely to bring along their civic coinage when traveling. Imperial or silver issues would probably have been used instead.

The current scholarship concurs that there was limited circulation; coins were likely

⁷³ Weiss, "The Cities and Their Money," 61-62.; Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 218.

⁷⁴ Burnett, "The Roman West and the Roman East," 175.

⁷⁵ Heuchert, "The Chronological Development," 31.

⁷⁶ Burnett, "The Roman West and the Roman East," 176.

intended to illustrate messages to the locals. “Thus they were a reminder rather than an advertisement intended to promote the city’s symbols abroad.”⁷⁷ Therefore, the symbols chosen for the coins would have had special significance for the inhabitants of the city they represented. The images did not have to be directly translatable by outsiders and it is likely that the inhabitants of the city would be able to read nuances into the coins that outsiders could not. It is unclear whether the coins were intended for the populace at large, or only for other elites. The extent to which the elites choosing the designs made them self-referential is still being debated, but some scholars feel that the intended audience would have been the elite.⁷⁸ However all classes of citizens, and non-citizens alike used coins and everyone who saw them would have interpreted the images. The use of coins for exchange of goods was common both in cities and the countryside.⁷⁹ Members of all classes of society used them to acquire goods and most of the time it is unlikely that they were contemplated for their imagery. However, the presence of important images on the coins, such as declarations of status, implies that they were at least occasionally deliberately interpreted. A person would see the obverses and reverses mixed together as he pulled the coins out of the pouch to pay for some item and whether he consciously thought about what the images meant or not, the seeds of interpretation were planted. Through commerce the images on coins would carry messages among the local population. The question then becomes, how did the interpretation change with the different audiences?⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 218-19.

⁷⁸ Heuchert, "The Chronological Development," 40.

⁷⁹ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 213. There are inscriptions and papyri that document transactions made by members of all levels of society in all manner of business. Coins were used for acquiring luxury items as well as everyday necessities

⁸⁰ Kevin Butcher, "Information, Legitimation, or Self-Legitimation? Popular and Elite Designs on the Coin Types of Syria," in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. Christopher Howgego et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 145.

Each city that minted coins struck different numbers and types and the number of times a city produced coins does not always match up with the number of types it utilized. For example, Antioch minted coins frequently and in greater number than most cities but the number of types was limited. The city Gabala (modern day Jableh in Syria near Latakia) on the other hand, did not mint often but it used many different types when it did. Some cities increased the number of types they produced, often in response to an event, such as a festival, the construction of a building, a visit from the emperor or a change in status. Tyre and Sidon both struck new types when they were granted *colonia* status.⁸¹

Since the time of the Seleucids the cities of Syria used the Greek iconography for coins, which came from “the repertoire and idiom of hellenistic art.”⁸² Audiences would easily recognize the images from coins because they would be familiar with the same iconography in their local context, displayed in public buildings and sculpture as well as personal objects such as, statuettes, jewelry and even tombs.⁸³

There are four major themes found on the reverses of Syrian civic coins: religion, local mythology and history, geography and fauna. The image of Tyche is used within each of these themes. Rome tacitly approved these categories for coin imagery by not interfering when the cities chose imagery for their coins.⁸⁴ The first two categories make up the bulk of coin types. It is generally believed that the gods and goddesses depicted on coins represent a civic cult, and that there was probably also a temple in the city where the coin was minted. The archaeological

81 Butcher, "Information, Legitimation, or Self-Legitimation?," 151.

82 Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 67.

83 Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 74.; Howgego, "Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces," 17.

84 George Wiliamson, "Aspects of Identity," in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. Christopher Howgego et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 26.

data cannot always support this claim but it stands to reason that governments would choose the deities most closely associated with their city and those deities would have temples or shrines.⁸⁵ Syrian gods appeared on coins alongside more traditional Greek ones, demonstrating that the cities were adapting the Greek iconography to their own needs.⁸⁶ Mythological and founding heroes were also quite popular. Many cities used coins as an opportunity to emphasize their Greek ancestry, if they had one, or even if they did not in some cases.⁸⁷ There was also a place where mythology and history intersected as some coins made claims of a divine heritage of historical figures such as Seleucus.⁸⁸ Geography could include references to specific landmarks or the region as a whole. Fauna coins often featured an animal that the city was famous for breeding. Each category has numerous examples of Tyche coins that exemplify how cities were able to use traditional coin imagery and customize a Tyche to create an identity for themselves.

The following is an investigation into the ways in which Tyche could be utilized to generate a specific local identity. Four coins were chosen that exemplify different uses of coin themes and types of Tyche to reach this end. The role of Tyche varies and the history of the city is crucial to understanding the identity being created.

Antioch ad Orontem minted a coin in the reign of Severus Alexander (222-235 CE) that shows how the category of history could be used to create a unique identity (Figure 8).⁸⁹ An image of the Tyche of Antioch sits in the center flanked by a fortune-type Tyche on the left and a

85 Heuchert, "The Chronological Development," 44.

86 Butcher, "Information, Legitimation, or Self-Legitimation?," 150.

87 Heuchert, "The Chronological Development," 51.

88 Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 66. Antiochus minted coins that suggested that Seleucus was a descendent of Apollo.

89 The coin pictured is from a private collection photographed for the auction site WildWinds.com. Another coin of the same type was published in the catalogue compiled by Kevin Butcher in 2004.

man in military dress on the right. The fortune-type Tyche is holding a cornucopia and possibly a rudder. The Tyche in the middle represents Eutychides' statue of Tyche, except that she is not holding any attributes. The man on the right, Seleucus, the founder of Antioch, is crowning the Tyche of Antioch. Kevin Butcher has interpreted the second Tyche as the people of Antioch looking on with approval.⁹⁰

The history and character of Antioch make this coin a perfect representation of the city for its time period. In 300 BCE, Seleucus founded Antioch a few miles south of Antigoneia, a rival city he had recently destroyed.⁹¹ The city soon became one of the capitals of the Seleucid empire, housing the successive emperors.⁹² When Pompey created the Roman province of Syria, he naturally chose Antioch as the capital. During the imperial period, Roman emperors often visited the city and lavished it with architectural gifts. It was the third largest city in the empire after Rome and Alexandria.⁹³ For all of its preferential treatment, Antioch was not immune to punishment. When the Syrian governor Pescennius Niger attempted to usurp power in 193 CE, Septimius Severus came down harshly on Antioch for supporting the traitor. Antioch was demoted to village status with no territory and put under the supervision of Laodicea ad Mare, which became the capital of the northern section of Syria after Septimius Severus divided it. The citizens of Antioch were not quiet about their displeasure with Septimius Severus and often made jokes about him.⁹⁴

The appearance of the founder of Antioch on the coin just mentioned is an example of the

⁹⁰ Butcher, *Coinage in Roman Syria*, 225.

⁹¹ Warwick Ball, *Rome in the East: The Transformation of Empire*, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 150

⁹² Ball, *Rome in the East*, 150.; Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 189.

⁹³ Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 189.

⁹⁴ Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 189, 191.; Ball, *Rome in the East*, 152.

tendency for provincial cities to find their roots, Greek if possible, and celebrate their longevity and prosperity. Kenneth Harl sees these acts of history-making as part of a process of reconciling the city's desire for freedom and autonomy with Roman rule. By harking back to a time of the city's former prosperity, they were essentially declaring their hopes for the future.⁹⁵ Placing the founder on their coins was likely to invoke a sense of pride in the long-lived prestige of the city. Antioch may have minted this coin to demonstrate their support of Severus Alexander, the second of two successive emperors from Syria. Severus Alexander's predecessor Elagabalus (218-222 CE) had even been proclaimed emperor by a Syrian legion. When Severus Alexander became emperor, he traveled to Antioch and made it his base for war against Persia.⁹⁶ The coin in question, with the portrait of Severus Alexander on the obverse and the figures of Seleucus, the Tyche of Antioch (the city), and the fortune type Tyche (the citizens) on the reverse made a potent statement, especially at a time when the emperor was in residence. It may have been a way of a way of gaining favor with Severus and recognizing its renewed place as an imperial city. In this way the old founder and the re-founder are in relationship with Tyche. Since Seleucus commissioned the Tyche of Antioch statue at the founding of the city, it was the perfect way to represent the city on a coin also displaying the founder. In addition, it would help alleviate confusion due to the personification of the city and of the citizens on one coin. In this example, Tyche unites the past and the present to show the city's opinion of the current emperor.

Samosata (modern Samsat, Turkey) found a unique way to add a mythological figure to its Tyche in order to create an identity that ties it to a greater network of Greek mythology.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 76.

⁹⁶ Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 145, 149.

⁹⁷ The site was flooded by a dam in 1989.

This coin is from the reign of Philip the Arab (244-249 CE), (Figure 9).⁹⁸ A Tyche of Antioch type sits on a rock and faces left, but rather than having her feet resting on a personification of a river, a winged horse flies up from under her and an eagle sits on her right arm. Butcher suggests that the eagle and winged horse together could reference a foundation myth.⁹⁹ Alternately, winged horses are at times used to personify rivers or the source of a river. For a coin in Samosata this could be the Euphrates River. The eagle is possibly a solar symbol or stand-in for Zeus who appears on other coins from Samosata.¹⁰⁰

Alliances shifted frequently for the city from its foundation to Roman incorporation. This may have led to the city's desire to find a way to tie into a tradition. King Samos, son of Ptolemy I of Commagene, founded Samosata in the mid-second century BCE and it was the capital for the Commagenian kingdom until it was annexed by Vespasian in 72 CE.¹⁰¹ Before the kingdom was annexed, Marc Antony attempted to besiege the city in 37 BCE because there was a rumor that the Commagenians were aiding the Parthians.¹⁰² When Vespasian incorporated the Commagenian kingdom into the Roman Empire, he changed the name of Samosata to Flavia Samosata, adding his family name.¹⁰³ In 75 CE, a legion was stationed in Samosata to fight the Parthians. The proximity of the city to the Parthian border, one can see the Parthian kingdom

98 This coin, and the others like it that I was able to locate, are in private collections photographed for the auction site WildWinds.com

99 Butcher does not reference any possible source for this myth. My own extensive research did not turn up any possibly myths either.

100 Butcher, *Coinage in Roman Syria*, 228-29, 232.

101 Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 263-4.

102 Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 74.

103 Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 453.

from the Samosata acropolis, required the presence of Roman troops with some regularity.¹⁰⁴

Samosata was directly tied to the Second Sophistic movement by the presence of the satirist and rhetorician, Lucian (lived c. 125-180 CE). Lucian is well known for his satire of the histories written to cast a favorable light on the efforts of Lucius Verus (161-169 CE) against the Parthians from 162-164 CE. It is important to note, however, that Lucian's style of writing places him firmly within the Greek tradition and thus marks him as a participant in the Second Sophistic movement.¹⁰⁵

Within this context the coin from Samosata may express a need to fit into an overarching identity system. Butcher suggests that Samosata may be referencing a founding myth with the combination of eagle and winged horse. However, with the lack of support for this claim it is easier to see the eagle as a representation of Zeus and the winged horse as a symbol for the Euphrates river. What is interesting is the choice of the winged horse instead of the normal river personification present on other coins minted by Samosata. It is possible that adding the winged horse may have been an attempt to add the illusion of mythology to the city by recalling the famous Pegasus. Being a Hellenistic foundation, Samosata would not have had the opportunity to create an authentic sounding Greek-style foundation myth. The fact that Samosata produced Lucian, a Second Sophistic author, indicates that the ideas of the Second Sophistic, such as finding a Greek past, would have been present in the city despite its youth and non-Greek history. Pegasus, and even the eagle in place of Zeus, may have been just enough for the citizens to feel they had connected to a Greek means of identity-building simply by the use of Greek symbols. The Tyche of Antioch Type would then facilitate the use of Pegasus as a water symbol.

104 Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 61, 64, 74.; Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 437.

105 Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 454-55.

Religious imagery likely makes up the largest portion of coin types possibly because it is this category that allows cities to customize their Tyche to show their religious character as well as other aspects of the city all in one image. A coin from Caesarea Maritima (near modern Caesarea, Israel and now a national park) from the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE) shows Tyche merged with the local goddess Astarte (Figure 10).¹⁰⁶ This reverse image shows a standing Tyche clad in militaristic dress, inside a temple structure. Two figures stand in the outer colonnades and have been identified as statues.¹⁰⁷ Tyche is holding a scepter or spear in her left hand and a bust in her right hand. Her foot is raised and resting on an object. The scepter or spear and militaristic garb, which usually includes a sword in a scabbard slung over her shoulder and the shorter peplos, are attributes of the goddess Astarte.

The foundation and population of Caesarea Maritima may shed light on the nature of its Tyche coins. Caesarea was founded by Herod the Great in 20 BCE. Herod intended the city to be his new capital and so spared no expense, filling it with Roman architectural standards such as an amphitheater, baths, a forum and a temple to Roma and Augustus. The name, Caesarea, was meant to honor Augustus and show that Herod had supported him in the civil war going on in Rome.¹⁰⁸ Roman emperors also built in the city and the remnants of several temples have been found, including one of Tyche.¹⁰⁹ Because Vespasian was first recognized as a Roman emperor while using Caesarea as a military base, he granted it status as a colony and gave the population

106 The coin pictured is in the Staatliche Museum in Berlin. There is another of this type in the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow.

107 According to the Roman Provincial Coinage database listing from the Staatliche Museum.

108 Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 153.; Ball, *Rome in the East*, 52, 177.

109 Ball, *Rome in the East*, 177-78.

citizenship.¹¹⁰ The port was a major source of wealth and fame for the city and was very active from its foundation until about the end of the first century CE. A weakening of the breakwaters may have caused the sudden decline in port prosperity at the end of the first century CE. There was a slight resurgence after repairs in the second and third centuries CE but it never fully regained its full potential.¹¹¹

Shortly after Caesarea's foundation the image of the Tyche of Caesarea took shape and incorporated elements of its surroundings.¹¹² A sculpture of this Tyche found in Caesarea was clearly the model for the image on the coin. Her foot is placed on the prow of a ship and she has one breast bare as Amazons are described in their myths. The Amazon imagery comes from the combination with Astarte. The bust she carries is taken to be either the emperor or the founder of the city.¹¹³ Since the city was named to honor Augustus, it is likely that it is his bust the Tyche carries. Amazon-type Tychai were popular in other Phoenician and coastal cities on the Mediterranean but also all along the Jordan River.¹¹⁴ The fact that the Tyche image so strongly resembled the local and Greek modes of depicting a city, rather than a Jewish one, supports the idea that the Jewish population was a minority despite Herod's intention to make Caesarea his capital.¹¹⁵ In this instance the coin represents a known statue of Tyche. The image was chosen for the city because it portrayed the character by which the majority of the citizens, gentiles rather than Jews, felt represented. The inclusion of the prow may indicate that this coin was

110 Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 73.

111 Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 259-60.

112 Ibid., 153.

113 Gersht, "Tyche of Caesarea Maritima," 110-111.

114 Ibid., 110-111.

115 Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 153.

minted during one of the resurgences of the port or that the city wished to convey an image of its past or hopes for the future.

A coin from Laodicea ad Mare (modern Latakia, Syria), from the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE), shows how a city could use geography to customize its city Tyche (Figure 11).¹¹⁶ This coin displays the bust of Tyche in profile much like the imperial portrait on the obverse. The crown has unusual detail showing a turret and a lighthouse.¹¹⁷ Dropping down from her hair is a bunch of grapes.

The longevity of settlement on the site of Laodicea added to its ability to play on its geography for creating identity. There was a city on the site of Laodicea ad Mare beginning with a Canaanite settlement in the second millennium BCE.¹¹⁸ Seleucus founded a Macedonian settlement at about the same time as the other cities of the tetrapolis, Seleucia, Antioch ad Orontem and Apamea. When Septimius Severus elevated it to be the capital of the northern half of the province he also named the city a metropolis in 194 CE, and then in 198 CE he made it a colony with citizen rights.¹¹⁹ Laodicea had long been known for its vineyards, which stretch out over a vast territory into the mountains nearby. It was also a harbor town. The actual lighthouse depicted in the crown cannot be firmly dated but there is a coin from Laodicea dating from 47-27 BCE that depicts Dionysus on the obverse and a lighthouse on the reverse.¹²⁰ Dionysus is

116 The coin pictured is in a private collection photographed for the site WildWinds.com. There are several other coins of this type in major collections around the world such as the British Museum in London, the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, and the American Numismatic Society in New York.

117 I have been unable to find any reference, ancient or modern, to a lighthouse in Laodicea. Therefore I cannot accurately tie the coins to any construction.

118 Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 157.

119 Ibid., 123.

120 This coin is not pictured with its entry in the British Museum database.

associated with wine so the two ideas of wine and lighthouse are paired, even on the earlier coin. The lighthouse could have been an actual structure at least as old as the coin from 47-27 BCE or it could have represented the harbor in general. Its appearance on the coins from 138-161 CE could be a commemoration of its construction, a celebration of a new construction replacing the earlier building or it could simply be used as a symbol of the city and its maritime nature. The wine from Laodicea was exported all over the Mediterranean and was quite famous.¹²¹ The use of the Tyche bust rather than statue allowed for greater detail in the crown and hair in order for these attributes to be added and make this city Tyche represent the geographic elements for which Laodicea was famous.

It is now clear how Tyche could be used to create a unique message based on the history of a particular city. As the goddess of city protection she could incorporate the symbols of the city and portray the identity that the citizens wished to express. History, mythology, geography and fauna could all be utilized in conjunction with Tyche in order to construct this identity. How exactly these identities displayed by the Tyche coins were created depended on a number of factors unique to Syria.

Ancient identity is best thought of as a performance acted out by a person's choice of dress, language, religion, political affiliation and many more aspects of daily life. The choice of identity would depend on context and a person may not have even noticed that he or she was switching identities with his or her surroundings.¹²² This means that identities were changing and not all needed to be expressed at the same time.

121 Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 223.; Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 173, 237.

122 Greg Woolf, "Afterward: The Local and the Global in the Graeco-Roman East." in *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, ed. Tim Whitmarsh, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 195.

In searching for Syrians the quest is not so much to locate a multicultural society lurking behind a Hellenized facade, and nor is it to classify and arrange identities according to distinct cultures occupying contiguous regions, with well-defined boundaries between their different customs, language, art and dress, and with the individuals in each cultural group all adhering to a single identity: ‘Phoenician,’ ‘Arab,’ ‘Syrian’ and so on. ... identity and culture are not the same thing. Individuals and groups construct their identities by participating in cultures or social institutions to differing degrees, using various different identities to negotiate status and rights, depending on context.¹²³

The myriad cultures, comprised of customs, religious practices, artistic styles, dress, eating habits, and more all contributed to the way the inhabitants of Roman Syria formed their identities. The way the inhabitants combined these to create an identity was different in each instance so that one cannot use broad terms such as “Roman,” “Phoenician,” “Greek,” etc.

There are always countless ways to express a culture and in turn to participate in the ongoing creation of and identification with a city. This was especially true in Syria. In addition, it was not necessary for any individual or community to choose a single culture as they acted out their identity. They could choose to take symbols from any of the cultures that were present in the region and fashion a new culture with new identities associated with it based on the local context. There were many cultures present in Syria for the inhabitants to draw on when creating their identity and there has been much scholarly debate over the dominance of one cultural group over another. The coin from Caesarea drew on Greek traditions of coin imagery and Phoenician religious imagery to create a new type of image for the city. While this process may not have been consciously carried out, it is nonetheless true that all of the specific civic identities emerged from the variety of cultural elements that came together from the broader cultural traditions.

Some see the promotion of Hellenism under the Roman Empire as a continuation of

¹²³ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 333-334.

Greek culture that lasted from the Hellenistic period to the Byzantine.¹²⁴ Hellenism took many forms from use of Greek language to art, literature and education. Monumental architecture and other media of material culture tended to mimic classical styles, and one another, throughout the province. The local elites who funded such public works were indoctrinated in the style through an educational system that spread from the Greek world throughout the East. It is true that Greek culture was more visible than indigenous culture especially in the urban and coastal areas. Also, Greek culture did not seem to have such a hold on the rural areas and lower classes. The local elites, who were indoctrinated into Greek culture, partially as a means of taking part in competition for Roman favor, were the same people responsible for the public image of the city. However, these urban elites did not need to only ascribe to Hellenistic culture.¹²⁵

The strong evidence for both Greek and indigenous forms in Syria point to the presence of a population that was able to identify with symbols from more than just one culture group. Elements of both went into the creation of unique civic identities; therefore, it is important to take note of where these symbols appeared. The use of Greek imagery and themes is not just found in public art, but in the private sphere as well. Tombs, mosaics and paintings in tombs, sanctuaries and private homes all contained Greek cultural symbols, including religious imagery.¹²⁶ This indicates that the people making such cultural claims did not just do so to win favor from Rome, or compete with neighboring cities. They must have found the images compelling in some other way as well. But this does not necessarily mean that they were Greek, but rather that they found a way to employ Greek symbols. Indigenous culture was also exhibited

124 Millar, *The Roman Empire and its Neighbors*, 196.

125 Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 30 , 277.

126 Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 279.

in private contexts. Funerary monuments, for example, often follow local, non-Greek forms and incorporate native language. This, of course, indicates that such symbols had an audience in Syria who could interpret them and who saw their identity as expressed by them.¹²⁷ The coin images themselves showed the same methods of portraying identity as other media of cultural expression such as festivals, sculpture, processions, public buildings and spaces, rhetoric, epigraphy and literature, again falling into the “acceptable canon.”¹²⁸

It is important to recognize where a symbol had been assimilated, taken from one culture and used with the same meaning in another, and where it had been appropriated, taken from one culture and used in another with a different meaning. Greek and indigenous cultural symbols interacted throughout Syria and it is difficult to tell in each context which method of borrowing was at play. By this process, a symbol that is usually indicative of Greek culture may be understood as the local.¹²⁹ In other words, modern scholars still see these symbols as Greek even though “the Greeks” had been present in Syria for generations. The symbol no longer meant “Greek” to the people using it. The Tyche coins could be seen as demonstrating the appropriation model. Take for example, the coin from Caesarea. The iconography comes from the Greek canon of symbols. Tyche, however, was tied to the indigenous cultures through the local religion because of the mural crown and her role as a city protector. By putting them together on their coin the inhabitants of the city created a “Caesarean” identity. The Greek iconography was appropriated and given a new meaning as an identity marker for the city of Caesarea.

The culture groups “Greek,” “Roman” or “indigenous” are, in a sense, unrealistic choices

127 Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 333.

128 Howgego “Coinage and Identity,” 17.

129 Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 281-83, 289.

for identity because more often, people identified with a city.¹³⁰ It has been noticed by many scholars that the effect of Empire on regions is often counterintuitive. “If anything ... centralisation fostered an increased sense of regional diversity.”¹³¹ The consolidation of geography by a central power tends to make the local identities all the more potent.¹³² In studying the occurrence of the word “local” in rhetoric and literature, Greg Woolf finds that it is an acknowledgement of a greater power structure and the community’s place within it. It is a form of self-identification that must be opposed to, or part of, a larger network in order to exist.¹³³ A major source of localism arises from knowing one’s neighbors. At that point there are two options open, to try to find a place among them, or to compete with them.¹³⁴

Rather than conforming to a single identity, especially given all of the options - Greek, Roman, any of the indigenous cultures, local, Empire, religious and so on - it is likely that citizens of Syria held more than one identity at the same time. In fact, it would appear that the same elites who utilized Hellenistic symbols in their interactions with Rome and each other continued to identify with the local indigenous culture as well, as evidenced by the funerary monuments crafted in indigenous styles, and the use of multiple languages.¹³⁵ This situation was likely present since the beginning of the Seleucid Empire. Seleucus was the only member of the dynasty he founded who was fully Macedonian. Since Seleucus took a Persian wife, the very

130 Woolf, "Afterward," 195.

131 Tim Whitmarsh, "Thinking Local," in *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, ed. Tim Whitmarsh, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 10.

132 Ando, "Imperial Identities," 33-34.

133 Simon Goldhill, "What is Local Identity? The Politics of Cultural Mapping," in *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, ed. Tim Whitmarsh, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 46.

134 Woolf, "Afterward," 189-90.

135 Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 270.

next king was heir to two identities, at least.¹³⁶ The same is true for the colonists, both in the Hellenistic kingdoms and in the Roman Empire, who came to Syria to populate the cities. Within a few generations it would be difficult to tell who had a “pure” Greek, Roman, Persian, or Syrian identity. There are even examples of famous men who openly claimed multiple identities, such as Meleagros of Gadara, Paul of Tarsus and Iamblichus of Chalcis.¹³⁷ But even these men specified themselves by using their hometown, Gadara, Tarsus and Chalcis.

The concept of specific versus generic, similar to local versus “Greek” or “indigenous,” also aids in understanding the way the Tyche coins express civic identity. Rather than an image of Tyche, the generic, one should focus on the Tyche of Laodicea, the specific. Problems arise, however, when modern scholars are unable to identify the specific version of the generic type. When an altar appears on a coin the designer probably had a specific altar in mind. “It may be the case that many apparently generic or repetitive types were signifiers of the communal identities whereas rarer and unusual types better represented the interests of groups or individuals, or were used for special occasions.”¹³⁸ The coin from Caesarea Maritima, again, is an example of this idea but in this case the temple on this coin is further specified by the statue of Tyche shown inside. The Tyche coins in general may be considered when thinking of the generic versus specific. Tyche in her broadest sense, as a goddess of fortune, is a generic type, but her image could be altered so that it could refer to a specific aspect of her worship and even more, a specific civic identity.

136 Ibid., 26-27.

137 Sartre, *The Middle East Under Rome*, 367.

138 Butcher, “Information, Legitimation, or Self-Legitimation?,” 149-50.

Sian Jones expounds upon the development of theories of ethnic identity and its relationship to material culture, which can be applied to the study of civic identity. While Jones's own conclusion is that material culture cannot be confidently tied to ethnic identities from the past, many of the same principles traditionally used to attempt to identify the process of constructing ethnic identity appear to be applicable to the construction of civic identity in the Roman provinces. The first step toward a definition of ethnic identity for a particular group is the formation of an idea of a common culture and origin.¹³⁹ *Poleis* utilized the complex set of cultural symbols from their diverse population in order to create an image that represented themselves to the world. They also strove to create a unique place in history and geography that resembles the search for common origin in the ethnic groups. Thus even though a *polis* may have been made up of people from several cultural or ethnic groups, a common civic identity was created in order encompass the shared interests of the entire citizen body. Jones also discusses the nature of ethnic identity as a construction in contrast to an "other." The difference between one group and another was grounds for the distinction of various cultural output and social behavior.¹⁴⁰ Likewise, *poleis* created an identity for themselves that was contrasted with the identity of neighboring *poleis*. This allowed them to better compete with one another on the grounds of their difference and therefore supposed superiority.

The Tyche images on coins are the representations of the civic identity created by the *poleis*. They were created to be used in a world where cities were often treated as

¹³⁹ Sian Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, (New York: Rutledge, 1997), 84.

¹⁴⁰ Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 94.

distinct units that operated independently of each other to a greater or lesser extent. Such identities are especially important in the periods of reorganization, such as at the end of the Seleucid Empire and at various times in the Roman period, when arbitrary boundaries were shifted to include or exclude smaller local cultural or ethnic groups. At these times the creation of a civic identity that could be used by all members of a *polis* in order to receive attention and benefits from a larger political body was essential. The incident with Antioch and Laodicea shows how one city could lose everything while another gained. Antioch lost more than a title: its territory was also stripped and, it is safe to assume, other benefits related to food, taxes and autonomous government were also lost.

The cities of Syria created a regional phenomenon by participating in this use of civic identity. Syria became linked to all of the eastern, Hellenized – and therefore *polis*-based – provinces of the Roman Empire. Each city could understand the political aims of the others. Some cities fiercely competed while others formed alliances. A person could travel from Syria to Greece and understand the civic atmosphere of the cities in between since they were all utilizing civic identity in a similar manner. The Tyche coins, then, act almost as markers on a map of the Roman Empire indicating the location and identity of the *poleis* participating in this political scheme. At the same time, a relationship with Rome was being fostered through the combination of obverse and reverse.

By far the most common obverse image was the imperial portrait, although there were other images on the obverse, including busts of Tyche. Before the days of the empire, the obverse of coins in Syria typically showed the primary deity, or king, of the city that minted it. Late in his reign, Augustus began being featured on coins in Syria and the adoption of his image was gradual. This slow reception indicates that the imperial image was not mandated by the

empire but rather chosen by the minting cities. This was done as a response to a change in political hierarchy and may indicate the place that the cities found for themselves in that hierarchy.¹⁴¹

The imperial portrait on the obverse connected the Tyche reverse images to Rome in three important ways. In the first place, cities were acknowledging the emperor's power and, at the same time, "they were incorporating the Roman emperor into their own world, thus defining their relationship with him."¹⁴² The *poleis* put themselves into a hierarchy within the Roman system and replaced their dominant deity with the deity of the emperor. It is likely that in the later empire the image of the emperor was revered as a sacred image just like the images of their gods and goddesses.¹⁴³ Along the same lines, by placing the imperial portrait on the obverses the locals were demonstrating their loyalty by legitimizing his rule. Since Rome was not mandating the portrait on their coins, the claim to legitimacy could have been sincere or it could have been an attempt to make Rome believe that the city found the hierarchy legitimate.¹⁴⁴ Rome would be more likely to bestow privileges on a city complying with its power structure. Finally, the obverse represented imperial promotion of the image depicted on the reverse.¹⁴⁵ Since it was the local elites choosing the images, rather than the empire dictating them, it could be the city's attempt to imply that its cult or tradition was imperially supported. Again, the cities placed themselves in the hierarchy indicating that they accepted the empire and the empire had accepted them as they were.

141 Heuchert, "The Chronological Development," 44.; Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 218.

142 Heuchert, "The Chronological Development," 44.

143 Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, 34.

144 Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 64.

145 Elsner, "The Origins of the Icon," 186-87.

Rome encouraged the local identities of *poleis* and the competition between them. One scholar argues that “the actions of Roman government contributed decisively to the contours and expression of localism under the empire and ultimately to the rise of an imperial subjectivity.”¹⁴⁶ Not only did local identity flourish under the Roman empire, but Rome managed to turn local identity into an engine for creating good citizens who competed for its approval. At the point that minting was most prolific, under the Severans, citizenship was also the most widespread, which supports the argument that there is a link between the promotion of the local and the promotion of imperial subjectivity.¹⁴⁷

Local identities also rely on the larger picture, or are “in constant dialogue with the translocal.”¹⁴⁸ It may be argued that local identity is a projection of the community that is meant for outsiders or somehow colored by the perceptions of outsiders. It may also be influenced by what the community *thinks* are the perceptions of outsiders.¹⁴⁹ The local identities, focused around the city state, created “a heightened sense of place, a sense very literally of their location in a Roman mapping of the world.”¹⁵⁰ In addition to the benefits bestowed on them for their efforts in the competition, the communities obtained another layer of depth to their identity. They were placed in a complex world system and managed to locate themselves in it.

The coins were an ideal medium for realizing this identity. The imperial obverse worked with the local reverse to create a hierarchy of identity. The fact that the coins circulated locally helped remind the citizens of the identity they had created as well as show those around them

146 Ando, "Imperial Identities," 19.

147 Ando, "Imperial Identities," 18.

148 Whitmarsh, "Thinking Local," 3.

149 Whitmarsh, "Thinking Local," 11.

150 Ando, "Imperial Identities," 35.

how they fit into the network. The coins that would have circulated together would enhance that sense of empire.

Tyche was the perfect symbol for civic identity on civic bronze coins from the Roman province of Syria. The Tyche coins could represent the major achievements, historical or cultural heritage or characteristics of a city. They were specific to the inhabitants and the location in which the coin was minted and at the same time they had connections to the larger cultures in the area. Most of the iconography was drawn from a Greek canon of images. The Tyche herself, however, was able to cross cultural boundaries and tie the image to the indigenous cultures of the area through the mural crown, through combination with local goddesses, or even simply through her role as a city protector. Thus, through the appropriation of the symbols, each city was able to produce coins that displayed an identity specific to the city in which it was minted, such as “Antiochene,” “Laodicean,” “Caesarean,” and so on. Furthermore, by using this method of identity building, each *polis* that minted Tyche coins was taking part in a widespread phenomenon that connected the province of Syria to all of the Eastern provinces. All of the cities in these provinces needed a method of communicating their worthiness for favors to Rome and these coins served that purpose by allowing each to play up their unique qualities while still conforming to a single idea, the city Tyche. Finally, the cities were able to create a special relationship with Rome by using their specific image on one side of a coin and the imperial image on the other. The *poleis* made known to Rome that they wished to take part in the imperial system whereby they could receive benefits and also tell their neighbors that they were active competitors. The Tyche coins allowed each city to navigate the political landscape and attempt to rise within the Roman hierarchy.

FIGURES



Figure 1 Coin from Antioch ad Hippum, Lucius Verus (161-169 CE), permission of WildWinds.com



Figure 2 Fresco from the Temple of Bel in Palmyra, 239 CE, Tychai of Dura and Palmyra, Yale Art Gallery

FIGURES (continued)



Figure 3 Esther wearing mural crown, Mural from Synagogue in Dura-Europos, late 2nd Century CE, Yale Art Gallery



Figure 4 Relief from Dura-Europos, Tyche-Atargatis, Yale Art Gallery

FIGURES (continued)



Figure 5 Atargatis-Cybele and Hadad, 2nd Century CE, Yale Art Gallery



Figure 6 Relief from the Temple of the Gadde in Dura-Europos, 158 CE, Gad of Tadmor, Yale Art Gallery

FIGURES (continued)



Figure 7 Relief from the Temple of the Gadde in Dura-Europos, 158 CE, Gad of Dura, Yale Art Gallery



Figure 8 Coin from Antioch ad Orontem, Severus Alexander (222-235 CE), permission of numisantica.com and WildWinds.com

FIGURES (continued)



Figure 9 Coin from Samosata, Philip the Arab (244-249 CE), permission of WildWinds.com



Figure 10 Coin from Caesarea Maritima, Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE), British Museum, found on Roman Provincial Coins Online

FIGURES (continued)



Figure 11 Coin from Laodicea ad Mare, Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE),
permission of CNG Coins and WildWinds.com

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2008 B.A Major: History, Minor: Art History, Religious Studies, Ferris State University, Big Rapids, Michigan.

Awards

2010-2011 school year received a Graduate Assistantship from the University of Illinois at Chicago. I was assigned to the Visual Resources Library.

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Other Student Related Activities

October 2011 - October 2012 Planning committee for the Second Annual Graduate Student Conference organized by the Art History Graduate Student Association

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April 2010 volunteered for the Society of Architectural Historians conference in Chicago, IL.

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VITA (continued)

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Society of Architectural Historians
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Classical Association of the Midwest and South
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